The Interaction of Bengali and Japanese Artistic Milieus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1901 1945) : Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpo, and Nandalal Bose

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The Interaction of Bengali and Japanese Artistic Milieus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1901–1945): Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpō, and Nandalal Bose

Inaga Shigemi
International Research Center for Japanese Studies

In both India and Japan, the literature on twentieth-century art history has been elaborated within the framework of nation-building. Japan enjoyed independence during the first half of that century, while India endured colonial rule. However, the difference between polities did not prevent intellectuals from the two cultural spheres from engaging in intensive interactions. This essay focuses on Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin), author of *The Ideals of the East* (1904), and the painters Yokoyama Taikan, Hishida Shunsō, and Arai Kanpō. Yokoyama and Hishida were invited to India through Okakura's agency, and Yokoyama subsequently recommended Arai for an expedition to India. Exploring their deeds in this essay, the author seeks to shed new light on these figures' relationships with Rabindranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore, and Nandalal Bose. Okakura and these Japanese painters provided technical and iconographic inspiration to Nandalal, and as they did so they were exposed to early twentieth-century India. Their engagement with modern India does not exclude ideological dimensions, and the author touches on those here, as well. Fitting into a project that has a reevaluation of Asian modernism as its ultimate objective, this essay locates these examples of mutual influence between Japan and Bengal within the larger context of Asian intellectual history in the first half of the twentieth century.

Keywords: Abanindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpō, Bengal New School, Nandalal Bose, Hishida Shunsō, *mōrōtai*, Nippon Bijutsu-in, Okakura Kakuzō, Shimomura Kanzan, Rabindranath Tagore, Taki Seiichi, Yokoyama Taikan

Swadeshi Movement and Japan

Okakura Kakuzō's 岡倉覚三 (1863–1913) involvement in the Bengal Renaissance in art at the beginning of the twentieth century is well known. That involvement deepened during a period of self-imposed exile from Japan, after he was forced to resign from the post

of director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. His plight was treated allegorically in works by artists who remained fiercely loyal to him such as Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868–1958) and Hiragushi Denchū 平櫛田中 (1872–1979). In a famous 1898 painting, Yokoyama depicted Okakura as the Chinese tragic classical poet, Qu Yuan 屈原 (343?–278? B.C.E.), a figure solitary but resolute on a windy plain. Hiragushi's sculpture of a drunken Chinese poet (*Suiginkō* 酔吟行, 1915) also implicitly refers to Okakura, suggesting the desperation that drove him to indulge in alcohol and seek refuge.

Three years after quitting the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Okakura made his way to India. There in 1901 and 1902 he encountered Vivekananda (1863–1902), a Hindu reformer in the footsteps of Ramakrishna. Already a legendary figure in his homeland, Vivekananda had generated widespread interest at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, held to coincide with the World Columbian Exposition. All the religions of the world, Vivekananda had declared, lead to the ultimate Truth of one-ness. This idea—*advita*, in Hindi—was shared by Okakura, who made it a theme of his first book in English, *The Ideals of the East* (1904).[1] During Okakura's absence from Japan, his disciple Yokoyama Taikan executed a painting that shows a strong affinity with the religious syncretism Vivekananda was advocating. In *Meiji* 迷児 (A Stray, 1902, fig. 1), Taikan depicts a boy surrounded by four adults. The scene is enigmatic, but it seems the boy is at a loss and will be either consoled or led astray by the adults, who represent Buddha, Confucius, Laozi, and Christ; the painting evokes the

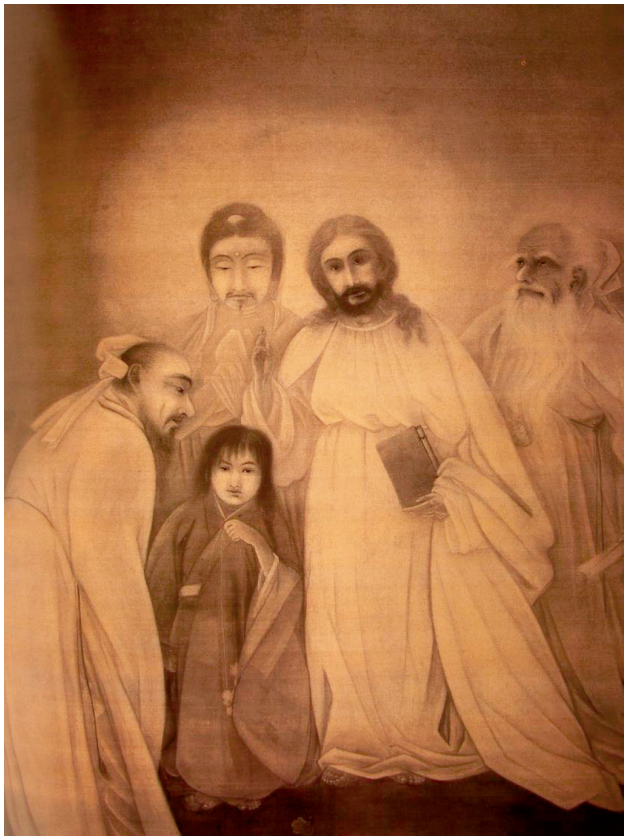

Fig. 1. Yokoyama Taikan, *Meiji*, or *Maigo* (1902).

uncertainty of spiritual awakening. A hybrid character similar to that in Taikan's work is also manifested in the eclectic architectural style of the temple at Belur Math. The temple, combining Hindu, Christian and Islamic styles, was completed after Vivekananda's death.[2]

The year after Okakura left India, Yokoyama Taikan himself was invited to Calcutta, together with his colleague Hishida Shunsō 菱田春草 (1874–1911), by the Tagore family. Rabindranath Tagore's nephew Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951) left us a vivid account of Japanese painting technique during the two artists' stay. Abanindranath closely scrutinized Taikan's water dripping technique, which he adapted for use in his own "wash" technique.[3] The Japanese, in turn, were also inspired by things Indian. Shunsō's *Saraswati* (*Benzaiten* 弁財天, fig. 2) and Taikan's *Indo shugojin* インド守護神 (Indian Guardian Goddess, fig. 3), both executed in 1903 during or immediately after their stay in India, may have frightened the Japanese public with their unfamiliar iconography (e.g., the vina, a stringed instrument unknown in Japan) and unconventional treatment of the divinity (a black goddess with hu-

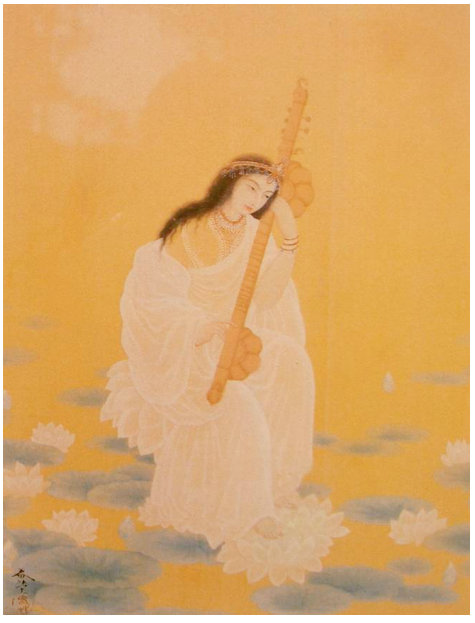

Fig. 2. Hishida Shunsō, *Sarasvati* (1903). Private Collection.

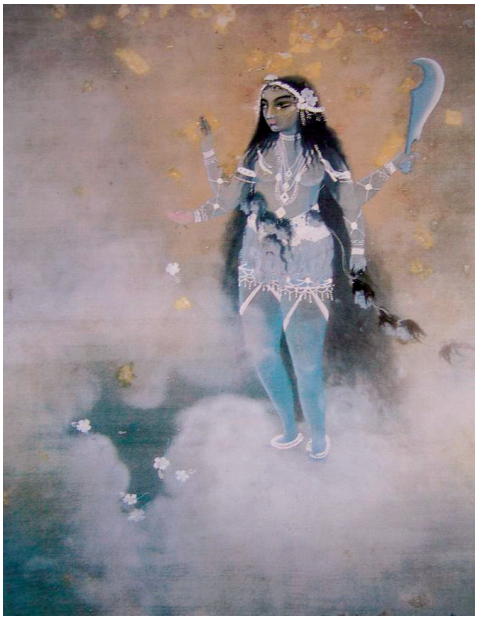

Fig. 3. Yokoyama Taikan, *Indo shugojin* (1903).

man skulls around her waist). As Satō Shino has pointed out, these two pieces prefigure Abanindranath Tagore's *Bharata Mata* (Mother India, 1905–1906, fig. 4), a symbolic piece of the Swadeshi nationalist movement.[4] The four arms of the Kālī goddess in Shunsō's painting and the floating figure on the water-lily petals in Taikan's reappeared in *Bharata Mata*.

We may recall that Sister Nivedita, as the Irish-born Margaret Noble (1867–1911) was known, had stated in her *Kālī the Mother* (1901) that the Kālī figure was the exact reverse of Indian womanhood as it was ordinarily perceived; the dreadful Kālī was an illusion, a *maya*, a negative and false image of Indian womanhood. Perhaps we may see in A. Tagore's vision a reversed "positive" idea of what Kālī represents (or rather conceals): an ideal image of Indian womanhood that "has to be seen through," has to be "crossed over"—the negative and

Fig. 4. Abanindranath Tagore, *Bharat Mater* (1905–1906), Rabindra Bharati Society, Kolkata.

Fig. 5. Popular imagery of the Kali Goddess. Calcutta, ca. end of nineteenth century. (From Mitter 1994.)

"dark" side of the black goddess.[5] Nivedita's interpretation of the Kālī goddess (fig. 5) could have been transmitted to the Japanese painters prior to their visit to India in 1903, through Okakura, with whom Nivedita had a relationship of mutual admiration. In the political manifesto called "We Are One" in English that he penned in 1902 (although it would remain an unpublished manuscript until 1938), Okakura included an impassioned invocation of the Kālī goddess: "Om to the Steel of honour! Om to the Strong! Om to the Invincible."[6] This reference to Kālī bespeaks his direct inspiration by Nivedita's *Kālī the Mother*.

Technical and iconographical convergence is already apparent, then, in works by Yokoyama Taikan, Hishida Shunsō, and Abanindranath Tagore. Two points deserve mention in connection with this. First, the so-called "vague style" (*mōrōtai* 朦朧体) of water dripping was at its apogee when Taikan and Shunsō were in India. It would fade away soon after. It was therefore by improbable chance that Abanindranath was influenced by an untypical, highly experimental, and rather disparaged style—a technique of which these two Japanese artists made use for a relatively short time, not throughout their whole careers.[7] A comparison of James McNeil Whistler's (1834–1903) *Valparaiso* (1866, fig. 6) and Yokoyama Taikan's *Kihan* 帰帆 (Sailing Back, 1905, fig. 7), for example, suggests that the choice of the vague style *mōrōtai* may well have been intended to appeal to the Western public by deliberately taking Western *japonisme* as a model, that is, by adopting an accepted image of Oriental-ness with the purpose of persuading Westerners of the significance of Oriental contributions to world art history]. Indeed, in an homage to J. M. Whistler, Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) would formulate it as follows: "Oriental influence was no accident, no ephemeral ripple on the world's art stream, but a second main current of human achievement sweeping around—into the ancient European channel, and thus isolating the three-hundred-year-long island of academic extravagance."[8]

Second, by the time they painted *Indian Guardian Goddess* and *Saraswati*, Yokoyama Taikan and Hishida Shunsō had made, at Okakura's instigation, several copies of the historical scrolls representing divinities of the esoteric Buddhism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[9] Taikan's copy of *Taigen Myō-ō* 大元明王 (Atavaka, fig. 8) and *Kujaku-Myō-ō* 孔雀明王 (Mahamaturi) with four arms may have helped the painter later initiate himself into the iconography of modern Hinduism. Okakura's own deep interest in modern Hinduism may account for, at least in some measure, his cherishing, in his last years, of the *Dai-itoku Myō-ō* 大威徳明王 (Yamantaka) of the Heian Period (eleventh century; purchased by S. Bigelow for bequest to the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, after Okakura's death). Such convergences of interest between Indian modern Hindu faith and Japanese esoteric Buddhism may help us better understand the underlying cross-cultural conditions which over-determined Abanindranath's creation of *Mother India.*

Elsewhere I have offered a detailed analysis of the political implications of Nandalal Bose's (1883–1966) *Sati* (ca. 1907; fig. 9) and Surendranath Ganguly's (?–1909?) *Flight of Lakshman Sen in 1207* (ca. 1907); the former was notable particularly in terms of religious practice, the latter, in relation to a controversy in Bengali Swadeshi historiography.[10] As a powerful champion of these nationalistic new paintings and as a follower of Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita defended Bose's *Sati* by justifying the practice (forced social convention) of

Fig. 6 (above right). James McNeil Whistler, *Valparaiso, Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green* (1866). London Tate Gallery.
Fig. 7 (center right). Yokoyama Taikan, *Kihan* (1905).
Fig. 8 (below right). Yokoyama Taikan, Copy of Taigen Myō-ō (Atavaka) (1895). Original at Daigoji Temple, Kyoto, Kamakura Period (fourteenth century).

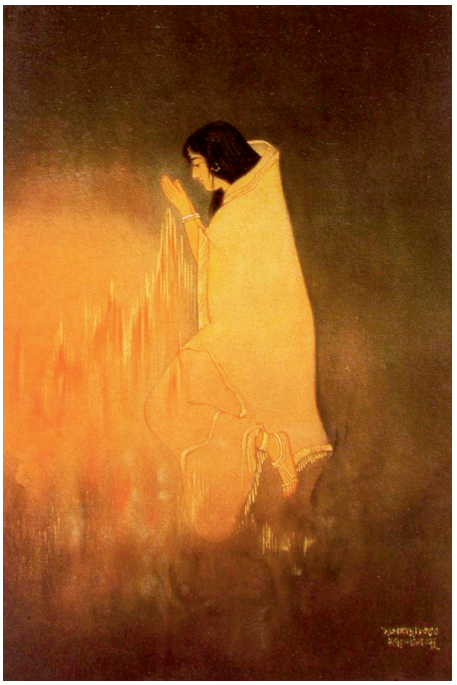

Fig. 9. Nandalal Bose, *Sati* (ca. 1907). National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi.

Fig. 10. Nandalal Bose, *Queen Kaikayi*. Ramayana Collection of Drs. Aziz and Deanna Khan, reproduced in *Kokka* 223 (1908).

female self-sacrifice as an expression of fearless will to unite with the loved one, a sacred act of glory in search of "one-ness" (*ad-vaita*) that she boldly compared to Catholic martyrdom for the sake of unity with the God almighty.[11] Writing of Ganguly's *Flight of Lakshman Sen*, she took the abdicated king as the symbol of the reestablishment of the Indian dharma or "national righteousness" and as a reference to *Bhagavad-Gita.* In Sister Nivedita's ideological interpretation, the human immolation of sati (suttee) was not a savage practice but a sign of spiritual dignity. Moreover, she held that the message of unity must also be allegorically understood as an encouragement of resistance against Bengali Partition, and "dharma" should be taken to mean Indian Independence from British colonial rule. Together with *Bharat Mata,* these Bengali new paintings were enthusiastically celebrated by Sister Nivedita in the context of the Swadeshi nationalism with which Okakura and his circle directly and willingly involved themselves. Accordingly, Okakura's famous slogan "Asia is one" must be interpreted as a manifesto articulating political aims and desire for Indian independence in the particular socio-historical context of Bengali nationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

New Bengali Painting and Its Early Appreciation in Japan

Kokka 國華 (literally, "National Glory"), a journal founded by Okakura in 1890, was the first medium by which first-hand information about the new Bengali painting was transmitted to Japan. It has been generally accepted that *Kokka* paid special attention to Bengali painting thanks to Okakura's initiative. However, the editors of *Kokka* were not unconditionally appreciative of this new trend. One issue of the journal in 1908 includes a color woodblock print of Nandalal Bose's *Queen Kaikayi* (fig. 10), taken from *Ramayana,* with

a detailed explanation by John G. Woodroffe in Japanese translation.[12] Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) had complained that the new Indian painting was not much appreciated by the Indians themselves, Woodroffe reported, while, ironically, it was highly evaluated by Englishmen; Woodroffe remarked that it was E. B. Havell (1861–1934), former Director of the Calcutta School of Art, who had successfully inaugurated the restoration of "genuine" Indian art as a counterforce to Europeanization. Besides Bose, artists named in this *Kokka* piece included Abanindranath Tagore and Surendranath Ganguly. In issue 226 of *Kokka*, in 1909, a color woodblock reproduction of Tagore's *Moon-Light Orchestra* (also known as *The Music Party*, fig. 11)[13] was printed, accompanied by a critical commentary by Hamada Seiryō 濱田青陵 (1881–1938), a leading archaeologist. Hamada criticized the syncretistic style of the Bengali school, and did not hide his disdain for an India "which has a nation but does not have a state." In the New Indian Painting, Hamada saw "a representation of a national agony" of the sub-continent, which "has only a history full of scissions and submissions."[14]

Fig. 11. Abanindranath Tagore, *Moon-Light Orchestra*, reproduced in *Kokka* 226 (1909).

The tepid appreciation expressed by Hamada echoes not only Indian contemporary skepticism to the New Bengali school of painting but also, and more importantly, the critical position that the editors of *Kokka* were establishing vis-à-vis the Nippon Bijutsuin 日本美術院, the private Japan Art Institute founded by Okakura. A similar negative assessment can be seen seven years later, in 1916, in Tanaka Toyozō's 田中豊蔵 (1881–1948) review of the exhibition of Indian contemporary painting held at the Nippon Bijutsuin on the occasion of Rabindranath Tagore's first visit to Japan.[15] Tanaka found "a faint-hearted sentimentalism" dominant in the works on view, "beneath the Indian carapace of subtly expressed spiritual profundity and melancholy of the earthly suffering." The small-scale miniature-like watercolors, he continued, "do not emanate new vitality comparable to the drama by Shakuntala or the poetry of Kâlidâsa (sic)." (It is not clear that by so stating Tanaka Toyozō indicated a preference for Raja Ravi Varma's (1848–1906) interpretation of Kalidasa's literary works as rendered in Westernized academic style oil paintings.[16]) It is true that Tanaka in the same review favorably mentioned Abanindranath Tagore's *Journey's End* as prize-winning piece at the Parisian Salon, but he regretted that painting's lack of reference to the art and literature of ancient India. Tanaka adverted to Nandalal Bose's urban landscape of *Calcutta* as an example of ordinary life "not completely devoid of interest," and he touched on a small *Ramayana* and a huge *Initiation* in which he thought he discerned "a will to restore ancient mural painting of Ajanta" but only "on a diminished scale."[17] He judged the whole effort as being "too faint-hearted to be convincing as a newly founded national art," and "even inferior

to the contemporary Japanese-style painting" (of which *Kokka* was no less critical). Tanaka thus completely disagreed with Woodroffe's favorable opinion of the Bengali New School. Incorporating remarks Rabindranath Tagore made in a public lecture in Japan into his own thinking, Tanaka concluded in a nationalistic and ethnocentric tone: as far as Buddhism is concerned, Indian thought and art have been better preserved and developed in Japan than in the native land of their birth.[18]

In India the glory of the ancient Buddhist past was nothing but a source of regret and nostalgia, Tanaka argued, whereas Japan could be proud of the presence of the historical legacy of ancient Buddhism. Take A. Tagore's *Tissa, Asoka's Queen* (ca. 1907–1909) as an example. For the background of this painting, Tagore chose the Sanci Stupa, a stupa that at the beginning of the twentieth century was regarded as no less important a ruin than the Parthenon in Athens. In contrast, Terasaki Kōgyō 寺崎廣業 (1866–1919), in his *Daibutsu kaigen* 大佛開眼 (Ceremony of the Opening Eye: Inauguration of the Great Buddha in Nara, 1907), depicted the inauguration of the Great Bronze Buddha at Tōdaiji 東大寺. The Buddhist temple was still vital when Terasaki executed his painting, continuously in service since its foundation in the eighth century. It was not a mere coincidence that issue 226 of *Kokka* (1909), which reviewed Abanindranath Tagore's painting, featured a collotype photograph of one of the oldest paintings then known, *A Beauty under a Peach Tree* (*Torige ritsujo byōbu* 鳥毛立女屏風. That work, executed in 756 C.E. according to a surviving document, was described in *Kokka* as an ancient "treasure" (*hōmotsu* 宝物) of the Shōsō-in 正倉院 storage house of Tōdaiji; deemed a precious historical work, it was subjected to intensive scrutiny.

The *Kokka* editorial board's negative view of the Bengali school still held sway in Japan in 1916, when Rabindranath Tagore (fig. 12) made his first visit to the archipelago. Okakura's death in 1913 had become the occasion for public exposure of the split between the contemporary art movement represented by the Nippon Bijutsuin and art historical and archaeological research circles represented by *Kokka*. In what was ostensibly an obituary of Okakura, Taki Seiichi 瀧精一 (1873–1945), editor-in-chief of *Kokka*, published an anonymous miscellany that characterized Okakura's scholarship as lacking credibility. Disregarding completely the fact that Okakura had been the founding father of the journal, the miscellany also sarcastically denounced the "miserable failure" of the new paintings by Nippon Bijutsuin member artists under Okakura's leadership.[19] Obviously Taki was not convinced of the artistic value of Yokoyama Taikan's stay in India as it was epitomized by *Ryūtō* 流灯 (Lantern Offering on the Water, 1909) or *Shaka jūroku rakan* 釈迦十六羅漢 (Shakamuni and His Sixteen Arhat Disciples, 1911).

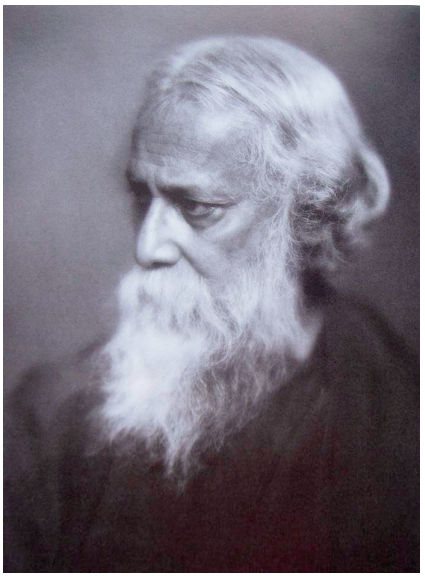

Fig. 12. Rabindranath Tagore. Photograph by Igarashi Studio, taken during his stay in Japan in 1916.

It was in the context of situation of internal conflict, then, that Rabindranath Tagore was initiated into the *mécénat* circle around Hara

Tomitarō 原富太郎 (style name Sankei 三渓, 1868–1939). The 1913 Nobel Prize laureate stayed for a month and a half at a pavilion in Hara's garden villa, Sankeien 三渓園 in Yokohama. The famous title poem of Tagore's collection "Stray Birds" was composed in Japan and seems to be based on his experience at Hara's:

> Stray birds of summer come to my
> window, to sing and fly away.
> And yellow leaves of autumn, which
> have no songs, flutter and fall there with a sigh.

Tagore's interpreter Yashiro Yukio 矢代幸雄 (1890–1975), who would later make a name for himself as an authority on the Italian Renaissance as well as Oriental art history, observed Tagore being welcomed by birds. Yashiro also left vivid accounts of the Tagore's discovery of the painter Shimomura Kanzan 下村観山 (1873–1930). Recalling the Japanese painter's conversation with the Indian guest, Yashiro reported that Shimomura Kanzan said that when one copies the appearance of things, one is caught by their outer form and cannot penetrate their spirit; it was his own rule to make paintings by depicting only the impressions that remained in his heart's eye after he had contemplated nature. This idea, although rather conventional in the East Asian tradition, surprised and satisfied the Indian poet, Yashiro observed.[20] Why it satisfied him is suggested by the following anecdote: Shortly before his death, Okakura had composed an opera, *The White Fox*. He dedicated it to Isabella Stuart Gardner in Boston as well as to Priyanbada Devi Banerjee (1871–1935), an Indian poetess with whom he had exchanged letters since his last trip to India. Shimomura Kanzan, who had studied at and later became a member of the faculty of the Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō when Okakura headed that school, executed a painting inspired by *The White Fox* (*Byakko* 白狐, 1914). The scene, in a forest, also evokes Hishida Shunsō's final masterpiece, *Rakuyō* 落葉 (1911). R. Tagore is known to have been particularly impressed by another painting of Shimomura Kanzan's based on a piece of classical noh drama, *Yorobōshi* 弱法師 (fig. 13). Of the six large panels of *Yorobōshi*, the three on the left side remain almost empty, which led the Indian poet to the conviction that "emptiness of the space is the most necessary for fullness of perception (sic)."[21] The scene depicts a blind man named Shuntokumaru 俊徳丸 (the name literally means "Clever and Virtuous Youth") praying under plum blossoms in full bloom as the sun sets on a spring evening. In his heart's eye, the blind beggar could see "the blue of the mountains," as he had seen it as a child. And now, as he stood within the precincts of the Shitennō-ji 四天王寺, or Four Heavenly Guardians' Temple, in Osaka, his blinded eye literally saw the setting sun in the West, thanks to the Buddha's mercy.[22]

As the Indian poet himself recalled, the painting reminded him of a passage from the

Fig. 13. Shimomura Kanzan, *Yorobōshi* (1915). Important Cultural Property. Tokyo National Museum.

Upanishad: "Tomaso ma jyotirgamaya" (Lead me from the darkness to the glorious light).[23] The scene of a blind man praying in the midst of emanating light was, for R. Tagore, a revelation "beyond description by words." We must not forget, however, that Shimomura Kanzan's notion of seeing through one's heart's eye was conveyed to Tagore through the medium of Yashiro's interpretation. This idea seems to have been associated with—or superimposed upon—the painting to convince the Indian poet of its importance. Here physical blindness is the key to spiritual awakening. Tagore was receptive to this, aware as he was of the literary topos of the blind poet, exemplified by Homer, with whom he wished to identify himself in his own dramatic creation. It seems that Yashiro himself later chose the same phrase from the *Upanishad* for his own book, *Taiyō o shitau mono* 太陽を慕ふ者 (One Who Longs for the Sun, 1925), a collection of essays written during his stay in Europe. Needless to say, perhaps, sunlight also could be taken to imply the message of liberation from the humiliating colonial darkness. That *Yorobōshi* could be interpreted as containing both the message of spiritual awakening and political ideological meaning seems to have pleased Rabindranath Tagore, who hoped to awaken Indian national consciousness and to inspire young people in Asia.[24]

In actuality, Shimomura's original conception of *Yorobōshi* when he painted it in 1915 had nothing to do with the political slogan of "Awakening of the Orient"; it simply derived from the medieval Buddhist idea of the Pure Land of the Western paradise 西方浄土, which the setting sun evoked. It is bitterly ironic that the aspiration for the sun would soon be associated with the ultranationalism of the Empire of the Rising Sun. As is well known, Tagore disapproved of what he saw as Japan's imitation of Western nationalism, and from the time of his third visit to Japan, in 1924, he intensified his criticism of this. The opinions of a celebrated Indian poet, however, could do nothing to halt the rise of extreme nationalism in Japan or overseas expansion by the Japanese military. It was in the heyday of ultranationalism and expansion abroad that Okakura's unfinished pamphlet "We Are One," written in English during his first stay in India in 1902, was finally translated and published in Japanese, first by Okakura's son Kazuo 岡倉一雄 and grandson Koshirō 岡倉古志郎 in 1938 as *Risō no saiken* 理想の再建 (The Reconstruction of Ideals), and then again by Asano Akira 浅野晃 (1901–1990) in 1939 as *Tōyō no kakusei* 東洋の覺醒 (The Awakening of the Orient).[25] The latter translation came to be used for purposes of wartime propaganda. By this time, around 1939–1940, Tagore's anti-imperialism led him to take a highly critical stance against Japan, and he published a frontal attack on a Japanese poet of international renown who had been a personal friend, Noguchi Yonejirō 野口米次郎 (1875–1947), in an open exchange of letters.[26]

Let us now turn back to 1916. After discovering Shimomura's folding screen *Yorobōshi* in 1916, Rabindranath Tagore wished to have an actual-size copy of the two panels (187.2 cm x 406.0 cm each) sent to Vichitra at his home in Jorasanko in Calcutta; later it would be sent to Santiniketan, where he was to establish what would become Vishva Bharaty University. Upon hearing Tagore's request, Hara Tomitarō recommended that Arai Kanpō 荒井寛方 (1878–1945, fig. 14), who had been assiduously studying Indian painting, be commissioned with making the copy. Yokoyama Taikan and Shimomura Kanzan are said to have agreed to this proposal on the spot.[27] Arai moved into a remote villa in the Sankeien garden and took more than a month to finish the copy. Tagore closely examined the Japanese painter's technique as he was making the copy and decided to invite him to India as a teacher. Large-scale

painting comparable to this screen was unknown in India, and Tagore seems to have been interested in liberating the Indian contemporary painting from the tradition of Mughal miniatures.[28] It would be some years until Nandalal Bose began, in 1930, to realize mural frescos for public decoration in Santiniketan and Baroda.[29] Nandalal seems to have combined the tradition of Ajanta mural painting, which he had copied in 1910, with the idea of outdoor commemorative painting galleries that Sister Nivedita had conceived and dreamed about.[30] Parallel to the contemporary revival of public wall decoration in Europe and Mexico, the example of a large-scale Japanese screen offered by Arai's copy could have helped Nandalal put the project of public decoration into realization.

Fig. 14. Arai Kanpō.

Arai Kanpō's Travel to India

Arai Kanpō, charged with copying Shimomura Kanzan's screen, occupied a special position between the artistic creation proposed by the Nippon Bijutsuin and the art historical and archaeological research sponsored by *Kokka*. He may well have been the only person capable of bringing about conciliation. While he was a full member of the private institute Nippon Bijutsuin and supported by Yokoyama Taikan, Arai Kanpō also had a close connection with Taki Seiichi through his father, the famous painter Taki Katei 瀧和亭 (1832–1901). In addition, Arai Kanpō was on the editorial staff of *Kokka*.

Let us examine briefly Arai Kanpō's early work before his trip to India. Among the surviving early pieces, his preparatory sketch, *Bodaiju no shita* 菩提樹下 (Under the Linden Tree, 1907) shows undeniable affinities with the Buddhist subject matter that Yokoyama Taikan was about to treat after his return from India (in such works as *Lantern Offering on the Water* and *Shakamuni and His Sixteen Arhat Disciples*, mentioned above). The romantic tone also shares something in common with Abanindranath Tagore's *Kacha o Devjani* (1906). *Offering of Milk Pudding* (*Nyūbi kuyō* 乳糜供養, 1915) took its subject matter from a famous anecdote of the Buddha's life in which Hishida Shunsō, too, had taken interest during his stay in India. A. Tagore treated the same subject-matter again in his *Buddha and Sujata* (ca. 1915) in a strikingly similar fashion.[31] Arai's invention was to evoke the presence of Buddha without depicting him, keeping him out of the frame of the painting. Nandalal Bose also employed the same strategy of not showing the Buddha figure. In his *Sujata* (second version, 1942), for instance, he only depicts Sujata milking a cow. This common feature of their paintings suggests mutual emulation by Arai and Nandalal. Their friendship is documented in drawings and photographs from the Japanese artist's stay in India, and also in detailed entries in Arai's Indian diary.[32]

Arai left Tokyo on 13 November 1916 and disembarked in Calcutta on 17 December. His itinerary can be minutely reconstructed from diary and sketchbooks he kept during his tour of the sub-continent and Ceylon. Let us sum up some of the entries. By 1 January, Arai's copy of the *Yorobōshi* painting had been installed, and Abanindranath Tagore had talked

about the painting for several hours. In a memorial essay that he wrote after Rabindranath Tagore's death, Arai Kanpō reported that the Nobel Prize winner had prayed with his family in front of the painting.[33] The prayer declared, "All the people in the world stay in darkness and long for a light," words that obviously came from the *Upanishad* "Tomaso ma jyotirgamaya," cited above. Arai believed the verse to be Tagore's own composition, and thought that it encapsulated the Indian poet's fundamental thought. The Japanese painter was moved by the pious and respectful attitude with which the whole Tagore family venerated the painting.[34]

It was on 30 December 1916 that the name of Nandalal Bose (fig. 15) appears for the first time in Arai Kanpō's diary. Many references thereafter witness to the fact that Arai toured extensively with Nandalal Bose and Surendranath Tagore (another of Rabindranath's nephews), riding an ox-drawn carriage. On 27 January 1917, for example, they went together to Puri, and on the 29th Arai saw "Bose harassed by many beautiful women." On 22 February, Bose brought with him a branch of Ashoka flowers, and the Japanese artist painted them. These flowers would reappear in some of Arai Kanpō's Buddhist paintings. On 17 March, Rabindranath Tagore returned from a trip to the United States, and the Japanese visitor was allowed to follow the procession to celebrate the poet's coming home. The Tagore family invited Arai as a special guest to an "archaic style dinner," and again the painter made detailed sketches (fig. 16). On 27 April, Nandalal Bose and Surendranath Tagore invited the Japanese guest to a "table turning" at which Arai's ancestral spirit was successfully invoked—speaking in English! On 4 and 12 August, Arai provided on-site assistance at public lectures delivered by R. Tagore. Speaking publicly at this time of Swadeshi upheaval might have resulted in R. Tagore's being arrested by the British colonial authorities, and Arai was relieved to see the poet return home safely. On 4 October, Arai wrote in his diary, he went to see a movie with N. Bose in the evening. From 8 October to 28 November, Arai Kanpō made a southern tour to Ceylon together with a Japanese Buddhist monk, Oka Kyōtsui 岡教邃 of the Nichiren Sect 日蓮宗. On 5 December 1917, our painter set out for Ajanta, where he would stay until the beginning of March 1918.[35]

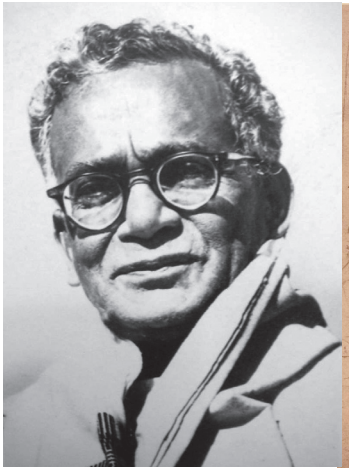

Fig. 15. Nandalal Bose.

Fig. 16. Arai Kanpō, *Kodaishiki no shokuji* 古代式の食事 (Dinner at the Tagore Family in Ancient Manner), dated 17 March 1917. Tochigi Prefectural Art Museum.

Copying of the Ajanta Mural Painting

Arai's most important endeavor during his stay in India was the execution of copies of Ajanta mural paintings (fig. 17). Before his departure, his acquaintance Taki Seiichi, then professor of art history at the Tokyo Imperial University, took the role of intermediary in approaching Hara Zenzaburō to request financial support for the expedition to Ajanta to copy mural paintings. *Kokka* proudly announced its sponsorship of the expedition. Sawamura Sentarō 澤村専太郎 (1884–1930), art historian and poet, future professor of the Kyoto Imperial University, was nominated superintendent of the project.[36] The team left Calcutta on 6 December 1916 and stayed in Ajanta for almost three months. Sawamura mainly took charge of the photos and the rubbing copies. His studies of the Ajanta sculptures were serialized in *Kokka* in 1919 and later integrated into his posthumous *Tōyō bijutsushi ronkō* 東洋美術史論考 (Studies in Oriental Art History).[37]

Arai made his copies of the wall paintings (fig. 18) in collaboration with Asai Kanpa 朝井観波(1897–1985), whom Yokoyama Taikan had recommended as an assistant. Kiritani Senrin 桐谷洗鱗 (1877–1932) and Nousu Kōsetsu 野生司香雪 (1885–1973) joined on the scene.[38] Despite the permission and support of the local government of Hyderabad, working conditions were far from ideal. The fragile wall surface, made of mud and cow dung, required "constant measures to prevent exfoliation."[39] Although a large-scale restoration of the destroyed architectural structure was underway, mobilizing several hundreds of laborers, the dark caves were inhabited by innumerable bats and stank hideously; the stifling smell of dung was intolerable. Work on the ceiling part forced Asai Kam-

Fig. 17. Ajanta caves—an overview. Seth 2006, p. 28.

Fig. 18. Arai Kanpō's copy of Ajanta cave mural (*Ajanta hekiga byōsha zu* (*Rengeshu bosatsu zu*) アジャンタ壁画模写図(蓮華手菩薩図, 1918). Lost in the Great Kantô Earthquake on 1 September 1923.

pa to struggle especially hard; the young artist had to work lying on his back on an unstable scaffold. Paint constantly dripped on his face. He and others were also threatened by huge wild monkeys and boars. One day a leopard was reported sleeping at the entrance of the cave, and another day a tiger's footprints were found in nearby places. The (presumably same) tiger's roar was heard at night and once a local civil servant narrowly escaped from its assault.[40] Disregarding such extremely difficult and even dangerous physical conditions, the Japanese painters are reported to have continued to work intensively. They diligently made copies from morning to afternoon consecutively for three months, taking only two or three days off. Mukul Chandra Dey (1895–1989), who had accompanied R. Tagore to Japan in 1916 and observed Arai Kampō's work in Yokohama, also watched him closely in Ajanta. Dey would later publish in London his highly reputed *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh* (1925).[41]

Arai Kanpō's diary notes that upon completion of the copies on 2 March 1917, he could not help being moved to tears, realizing that he had to bid farewell to the historical cave "decorated by paintings which cover a time span of 2,500 years, ranging from the twelfth century B.C. to the sixth or seventh century A.D." In his recollections, he repeatedly mentions the local legend according to which the painters in Ajanta cut off their right hands once their paintings were completed. "Such were the deep devotion and high spirit of the artists in ancient times. It is therefore not by chance that this giant work of art survives to this day. Here is the great endeavor that the Buddha-virtue accomplished. During the execution of the copy I was honored by the chance to converse continuously with the souls of the artists of two thousand years ago. I myself also give thanks to the Buddha virtue."[42]

Arai Kanpō's pious and devoted approach toward Ajanta stands in stark contrast to Taki Seiichi's authoritarian attitude. Immediately after Arai Kanpō's return from India, Taki publicly made his position clear. In a series of newspaper articles, "The Necessity of Research in Indian Art" (14–18 April 1918), the founding father of the Department of Art History of Tokyo Imperial University tried to make a case for the validity of his own approach to the study of art.[43] Condescendingly describing the painting brought to Japan by R. Tagore as "small-scale sentimental and atrophic art" and "the art of a ruined country," Taki nonetheless insisted upon the merit of learning from the Indian heritage. He strongly recommended that contemporary Japanese artists "directly study India's ancient art." Japanese, he argued, could take advantage of the technical similarity between Ajanta and Japanese ancient paintings; Westerners, he maintained, are incapable, because oil painting remains incompatible with Oriental practice. Taki's spirit of hostility to the West is manifested here in combination with his arrogantly patronizing attitude toward India. His insistence on Japan's cultural superiority reveals his belief in nationalistic ideology.

As if objecting to Taki's argument, Arai Kanpō, at the end of his diary, wrote his own opinion on the much discussed problem of relationship between Ajanta mural paintings and those of Hōryūji 法隆寺 temple in Ikaruga, Japan (executed around 693 C.E.). Although the similarity between the two heritages had been cited by numerous scholars, as a painter, Arai perceived profound difference. Yet he could not help feeling the direct Indian influence on the Hōryūji mural painting, which he believed not to have been executed by Japanese craftsmen.[44]

Nandalal Bose is known to have visited Hōryūji with Arai Kanpō on 21 June 21 1928, when he accompanied R. Tagore on his second trip to Japan.[45] Arai recalled that the vener-

able Saeki Jōin 佐伯定胤 (1867–1952) himself opened the protecting rain-proof shield of the Golden Hall (Kondō 金堂) and allowed the unexpected Japanese and the unknown foreign guest to look at the mural paintings without any previous arrangement.[46] Nandalal Bose immediately remarked upon the similarity between Ajanta and Hōryūji mural frescos. He was amazed that such precious example of frescos had been preserved for more than 1,200 years.[47]

In 1940, Arai Kanpō was named a member of the team charged with making replicas of the Hōryūji Golden Hall wall paintings. By the time of his sudden death in 1945, he had almost completed his copy of wall no. 10, located at the northeast corner of the hall, representing the Pure Land presided over by Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来 or Bhaisajya-guru. Wall no. 6, at the southwest corner, representing the Pure Land of Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 or Buddha Amitabha, had been copied in the late nineteenth century by Sakurai Kaun 櫻井香雲 (1845–1890?).[48] The images of Kannon 観音 (Avalokteśvara, fig. 19) on the right and Seishi 勢至 (Mahasthamaprapta) on the left have been frequently compared with the *Padamapani Buddha* as well as with the figure of a *Bodhisattva* in cave no. 1 in Ajanta. With the eye of a superb artist and skilled craftsman, Arai Kanpō observed minute details as well as larger matters; while appreciating the apparent aesthetic affinities between the Indian and Japanese artistic heritages, he discerned the technical and stylistic divergence that separates them. He remarked, for example, that in India the human palm and sole are rendered in white, in contrast to the black skin, which is not the case in Japan, and that the neck is conventionally depicted with three lines in India whereas the Japanese depict it with only two lines.

Arai Kanpō's copies of *Descent of Demons* and *Bodhisatava* from cave no. 1 at Ajanta measured 272 cm in height and 364 cm in width. Judging from color reproductions of the copies, Arai Kanpō's replicas were important documents that captured the colors of the pigments that remained as of 1918. The surface of the mural paintings is said to have been damaged by the varnish applied by early English expeditions in a carelessly botched attempt at conservation. Further discoloration and accelerated deterioration were menacing the fate of the frescos. Sayd Ahmad, who had, together with N. Bose, assisted Mrs. Hallingham in her copying endeavors in Ajanta between 1909 and 1911, was in charge of the preservation of the site when Arai's team arrived. Ahmed is reported to have expressed the hope that the new copy made by Japanese Buddhists sharing the same traditional technique

Fig. 19. Kannon Bosatsu zō 観音菩薩像 (Avaloktesvara) on wall no. 6 (southwest corner) of the Golden Pavilion, Hōryūji (ca. 693).

with the ancient Indian masters would help preserve the actual state of the original painting for posterity.[49]

Both of Arai Kanpō's copies of the Ajanta painting were preserved—"jealously," as art historian Yashiro Yukio later wrote—under Taki Seiichi's supervision in the Department of Art History at Tokyo Imperial University. Taki's monopolizing attitude resulted in an irremediable loss. The two copies were burned to ashes in the fires caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake on 1 September 1923.[50] It is well known that most of the main Ajanta copies were similarly ill-fated. The first copy, by Major Robert Gill (1805?–1879), was lost in the burning of the Crystal Palace in London in 1858. The second copy, made by John Griffith (active in India between 1872 and 1885), was also lost to fire at the South Kensington Museum on 13 June 1885. To Nandalal Bose's regret, the original Hōryūji Golden Hall mural paintings, which he so highly appreciated, were also lost in a fire in the early morning of 26 January 1949.[51]

Return to Japan and After

On 7 May 1918, two days before Arai Kanpō's departure from India, he was invited for dinner by Nandalal Bose and was presented with two paintings. The next day, Rabindranath Tagore gave the Japanese artist a poem in Bengali calligraphy as a token of his friendship.

> Dear Friend,
> One day you came to my room
> as if you were a guest.
> Today at your departure
> you came into my intimate soul.
> 1325th year in Bengali calendar, 25th Boijack (8 May 1918)[52]

At the end of his diary in India, Arai Kanpō wrote, "The one and a half years of my stay in India were full of joy and suffering, which marked an unrepeatable experience. Thanks to the protection of the Buddha, I could enjoy Indian life. The experience is an incomparable treasure for me" (11 May 1918).[53]

His Indian experience left a deep impact on Arai Kanpō. Let us summarize it in three points. First, he began to depict images of Buddha by applying what he had learned from making copies of Ajanta mural paintings. *Shaka shussan* 釈迦出山 (Shakamuni descending from the Mountain after Asceticism, ca. 1918) is a typical example. Tropical plants, which the artists assiduously copied often, form the background of the paintings, surrounding the central figure. *Portrait of Maya* (1918) is decorated by the flowers of Ashoka, Maya's floral attribute, which Arai Kanpō had copied, following N. Bose's instruction (as mentioned above).

Second, Arai applied a sophisticated palette and vivid primary colors without hesitation. He had stayed in Ranchi in the State of Bihar. The beauty of the landscape in the evening particularly attracted the artist. The painter audaciously applied the same combination of blue, green, and orange in the Buddhist iconography, realizing mysteriously colorful divinities in meditation. The most striking example may be the case of *Kujaku Myō-ō, Mahamayuri* (1926). The frontal position of the divinity sitting on the back of a peacock is a faithful adaptation of a famous historical piece depicting the same divinity. That piece was in the possession of Hara Sankei, under whose patronage Arai had been promoted for

the mission to India.[54] In addition, the peacock happened to become the Indian national bird, after independence, thus emblematizing the tie between Japan and India through Arai's experience. Arai Kanpō's reference to Indian iconography gave birth to large scale screens of Buddhist historical scenes, ranging from *Maya fujin no reimu* 摩耶夫人の霊夢 (Queen Maya's Dream, 1920) and *Kōrin* 光輪 (Golden Halo, 1921) to *Nehan* 涅槃 (Buddha's Nirvana, 1922). These paintings—the former two are six-fold screens and the third, a hanging scroll—have in common the depiction of a huge circular spiritual halo. Some contemporary critics praised these monumental decorations highly, while others claimed that they exposed the limitations of a painter imprisoned in imitation of his Indian lessons.[55] Arai Kanpō also enlarged his repertory, incorporating scenes from Chinese Buddhist history. The encounter of Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 622–664) with the Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 599–649), executed in 1927, is an example of this development.

Third, Arai Kanpō's strong devotion to Rabindranath Tagore resulted in his development of a specific iconography. Kanpō began to idealize the Indian poet as an Oriental sage. In some of the portraits, it becomes difficult to differentiate the Tagore figure from the Chinese Confucian or Taoist. Sometimes the Indian poet-sage was depicted with ink. The figurative effect with vivid brush strokes evokes the tradition of Zen Buddhist painting, while the golden background suggests the artist's indebtedness to the decorative effect of the Rinpa school. One of Kanpō's renderings of Tagore shows him against a monochrome golden panel, strongly reminiscent of Shimomura Kanzan's *Yorobōshi* screen that the Indian poet cherished.

In the merger of Indian and Chinese "old wise man" figures in Arai Kanpō's painting, one may detect the traces of the artist's understanding of the latest development in R. Tagore's thought. On the occasion of the lecture on "The Philosophy of Idleness" (*Yūkan tetsugaku* 有閑哲学) that he delivered at the Asahi auditorium in Tokyo in 1929, Tagore gave Arai a fragment of his manuscript. The subject of this lecture may suggest not only R. Tagore's interpretation of Taoist philosophy, but also his tendency to synthesize Oriental philosophy in his own personality.

A similar attempt at synthesis is also observable in Arai's iconographical choice in wartime. *Konohana Sakuya-hime* 木花咲耶姫 (1938) depicts (fig. 20) a flower divinity. A female figure from Japanese mythology is represented under the title of *Tenchi wahei* 天地和平 (Peace under Heaven and on Earth). Here a nationalistic personification of the Mother figure (recall A. Tagore's

Fig. 20. Arai Kanpō, *Konohana Sakuya-hime* (1938).

Bharat Mata) is neutralized by her similarity with the Buddhist Kuan Yin (Kannon) divinity. In 1939 Arai presented to the Twenty-sixth Salon of the Restored Japan Art Institute (*Dai 26-kai saikō Inten* 第26回再興院展) a painting of a figure representing syncretism between Christianity and Buddhism, *Kannon Mariya* 観音摩利耶. His choice of the Virgin Mary in the guise of (or in parallel with) Buddhist *Avalokitesvara* might be interpreted as a thoughtful religious message of reconciliation. If indeed that is what Arai intended, it stood in opposition to the approaching military clash between the West and the East. The syncretism might be regarded simultaneously as a symbol of Eastern appropriation of Western values and as a wish to search for a compromise within the limits of the officially authorized code of wartime patriotism.

Frequent reference to *Marishiten* 摩利支天, or *Merici* (1941, fig. 21) is also full of implications. Born in the Indian popular faith, this female divinity also symbolizes the sun as a supreme goddess. The figure thus can perfectly represent Japan as a divine superpower which is entitled to be supported by the Indian people (because of its Indian origin). The fact that the divinity was also worshipped as protector of warriors made it a conveniently fitting subject for an artist in the Empire of Japan during wartime. In this respect, the iconography of *Marishiten* can be interpreted as an undeniable (or most suitable) incarnation of the ideal of *hakkō ichiu* 八紘一宇 or "All under the heaven is unified within a house." That phrase, put forward in August 1940, became the leading slogan of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Dai Tōa Kyōeiken 大東亜共栄圏, serving to justify overseas military expansion and invasion.

While Princess *Konohana Sakuya-hime*, the flower divinity, was also regarded as a personification of Mt. Fuji, *Marishiten* was the divinity symbolizing the sun. Judging from this symbolism, Yokoyama Taikan's famous combination of Mt. Fuji with the rising sun (*Nichirin* 日輪, 1939) presented at the Commemorative Exhibition of the 2600th Anniversary of the

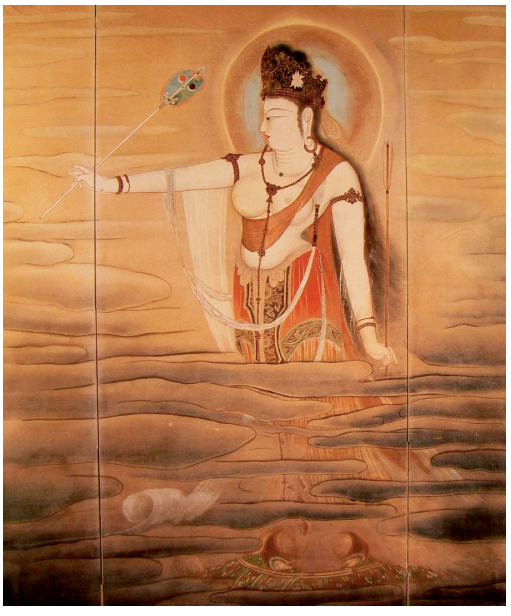

Fig. 21. Arai Kanpō, *Marishiten*, or *Merici* (1941).

Fig. 22. Nandalal Bose, *Annapurana* (1943).

Foundation of the Nation (1940) was an unambiguous allegory of Japan's wartime ideology. The idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had its counterpart in India. Nandalal Bose's *Annapurana* (1943, fig. 22) is no less explicit a message of Indian national consciousness against British rule than its Japanese counterpart, Arai Kanpō's *Ryūtō Kannon* 龍頭観音 (Kuan Yin on the Head of a Dragon, 1942, fig. 23). Being the female personification of plenitude and nourishment, Annapurna is also identified with a summit of the Himalaya, source of the Ganges River. It is well known that "Nandalal produced this painting in 1943, the year of a devastating famine in eastern India brought on by the stockpiling of rice from the region by the British to be used as rations for the Allied forces."[56]

Fig. 23. Arai Kanpō, *Ryūtō Kannon* (1942).

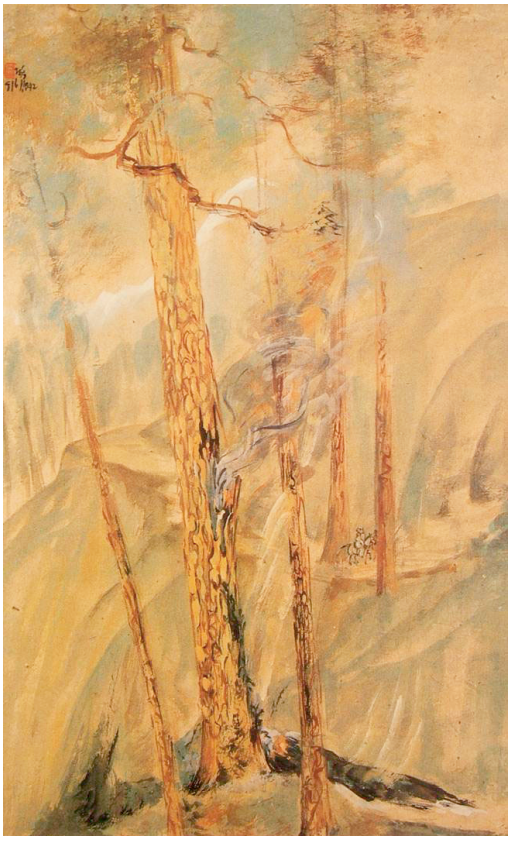

Fig. 24. Nandalal Bose, *Burning Pine Tree* (1942).

Shortly after the outbreak of the Pacific War, Nandalal Bose painted another enigmatic image, a pine tree bursting into flame. I cannot help seeing some hidden affinity between this *Burning Pine Tree* (fig. 24, 1942), and Yokoyama Taikan's no less enigmatic allegory of two pines trees transforming themselves into twin dragons in front of the rising or setting sun (ca. 1905, fig. 25). The strange image of two dragons competing with each other for a treasure was a not-so-subtle visualization of the conflict between Western and Eastern civilizations during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Taikan presented the work to Isabella Stuart Gardner during his stay in Boston in 1905.

What, I wonder, did Nandalal Bose mean to imply by depicting a pine tree taking fire? Clearly the fire stands for the nascent dragon, but the pine tree in flame is doomed to destruction. What was the relationship between the fire and the pine tree in Bose's hidden symbolism? Was it a warning to the danger of the Japanese imperialism? Or was it on the contrary the painter's camouflaged metaphor of the Eastern dragon of Pan-Asianism starting

Fig. 25. Yokoyama Taikan, *Two Dragons* (ca. 1905). Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum.

a destructive fire on the old pine tree of the British colonial rule? The question remains open, and I hope that we might pursue the answer in dialogue with Indian scholars who have studied the life and work of Nandalal Bose closely.[57]

* * *

Before concluding, in hopes of shedding new light on the geometrical configuration of the Asian trans-nationalism in the twentieth century, let me trace one additional line. When Arai Kanpō was busy copying the Hōryūji temple murals (figs. 26 and 27), the prodigious Chinese painter Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983), was also involved with copying mural paintings, in his case the paintings in the Dunhuang 敦煌 caves during the period of Japanese invasion (1943). While fully capable of achieving a high level of exactness in reproducing ancient mural paintings filled with Buddhist iconography, Zhang Daqian preferred, in

Fig. 26. Arai at work in the Golden Pavilion in Hōryūji, around 1942.

Fig. 27. Arai Kanpō, copy of *Yakushi jōdo zu* (Amida's Paradise) of Hōryūji 法隆寺金堂壁画薬師浄土図, 1940–1944, 1951.

his final years, to rely upon the broken brush stroke (*haboku* 破墨) or splash (*hatsuboku* 溌墨) technique (fig. 28). I wonder if he learned that technique in Kyoto, where he spent time as a young student. His audacious but carefully calculated splash technique is highly reminiscent of the skillful dripping of the Kyoto artist Takeuchi Seiho 竹内栖鳳 (1864–1942). Partly inspired by seeing works of J. M. W. Turner during a trip to Europe, Takeuchi is known to have modified the *mōrō* style of a Yokoyama Taikan into his own personal style (fig. 29). *Mōrōtai,* or vague and ambiguous style, was an intentional choice of some avant-garde Japanese artists in search of expressive brush strokes at the beginning of the twentieth century.[58]

In the final stage of his creative life in the 1950s, Nandalal Bose also made experimental use of dripping as a developed style from the wash technique of his younger days (fig. 30). Clearly conscious of the concept of *haboku,* or *hatsuboku,* the Indian master draftsman rendered a rain storm through the dripping of the black Indian ink. The birds flying under the storm strongly evokes a work of *mōrō* style, *Yū no mori* 夕の森 (The Forest in the Evening, 1904, fig. 31), that Hishida Shunsō painted in the United States shortly after he had been in India. Hishida Shunsō's scene of birds making a circle in the sky also reminds us of a piece by Arai Kanpō in which the birds in the sky are substituted for the fishes in the pond of *Jō no ike* 浄の池 (Purifying Water, 1934, fig. 32). The cosmic "rhythm of Universal Life" (Nandalal's expression)[59] that the Japanese painters were searching for

Fig. 28 (above). Zhang Daqian, *Yanyun xiaoling* 煙雲暁靄 (1969). Private collection, Taipei.

Fig. 29 (above). Takeuchi Seiho, *Yōshū jōgai* 揚州城外 (Outside the City Wall of Yangzhou), 1922. Shizuoka Prefectural Art Museum.

Fig. 30 (right). Nandalal Bose, *Buildings in the Rain* (1955). National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi.

Fig. 31. Hishida Shunsō, *Yū no mori* 夕の森 (The Forest in the Evening; detail; 1904).

Fig. 32. Arai Kanpō, *Jō no ike* 浄の池 (Purifying Water; 1934).

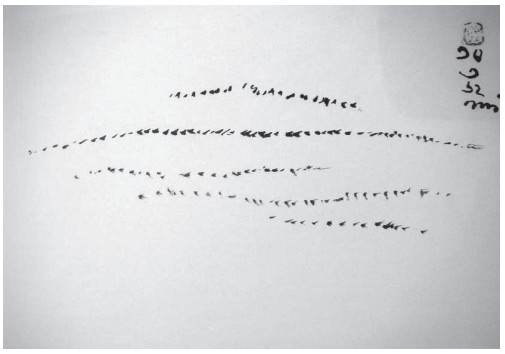

Fig. 33. Nandalal Bose, *Landscape* (1962).

seems to be articulated by Nandalal either in such ink-brush work as the *Waterfall-Kanua* (1954), in which fish are jumping to ascend (and overcome) the water fall, or in one of his final pieces, *Landscape* (1962, fig. 33), in which migrating birds are reduced to lines of dots on the paper.

The seemingly spontaneous dripping effect brought the artist into proximity with the *Informel* and abstract expressionism which were then in vogue in the Western contemporary art scene. It was partly in response to this tendency that Zhang Daqian also ventured an oriental version of atmospheric expression, *qi-yun-sheng-dong* 氣韻生動, or the rhythmical vibration of vital movement.[60] In this context, Nandalal Bose translated the Chinese notion of "life-rhythm" into the Indian term *pranachhande* and declared, "In all forms, ordinary or extraordinary, I seek that life rhythm *(pranachhande)* of the reality whose vitality has generated the whole world and all its forms, actual and imaginary, and pulsates within them."[61]

Is the parallel between a Zhang Daquian and a Nandalal Bose a mere coincidence? Was it a resonance to the contemporary Western art scene in the late 1950s and '60s? Or was it rather an unconscious reactive manifestation of the Oriental-ness in artistic expression that has been present since the propagation of the *mōrōtai* style on a Pan-Asiatic scale at the beginning of the twentieth century, which occurred at about the same time as Ernest Fenollosa enunciated a favorable judgment (in 1905) of the "place in history of Mr. Whistler's art"? What we might regard as Fenollosa's last will in the guise of manifesto tried to place Whistler's much criticized form-less-ness as a sign of spiritual emancipation and artistic origi-

nality. Whistler's dissolution of form under the pretext of "nocturne," "arrangement," or "harmony" found its justification in Oriental aesthetics. Neither verisimilitude nor abstraction, the Oriental ideal or "the truth" lies, according to Nandalal, "in the middle ground between the form and the formless, partaking of both,"[62] where the fusion of the seer and the seen was searched after for the sake of inward spirituality.

Nandalal asks: Why are the clouds of the East, which are as dark as "collyrium," so appealing that they "shake [my] heart to its root"? He replies: "There is no other reason—the clouds on one side, and I, on another, are the two sides of one consciousness. Maybe the cloud is there and I am here, but the cloud's joy permeates me and my sorrow enters the cloud. The seer and the seen become the same thing."[63] This dark cloud in constant movement is unquestionably the metaphor of Kālī the Goddess that Sister Nivedita described as "dark like an ominous rain-cloud," and "her laugh beats the thunder-clap all hollow."[64] The dreadful black formless form is also a cosmic mirror of the artist's own subconscious, from which a dragon in its making appeas as smoke coming from the pine tree which has taken fire. Was this dark cloud of thunder storm, rendered through black ink dripping, a lure to liberate the Oriental artists from the yoke of Western academic tradition (as Ernest Fenollosa visualized it in his remarks on Whistler)? Could it be that the dripping of ink spots in *haboku* or *hatsuboku* manner by Indian, Chinese, and Japanese artists was an appeal for a Pan-Asian challenge to the overwhelming domination of Western modernism?

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NOTES

1 Inaga 2001a, pp. 119–32.

2 The actual architecture (designed by N. Bose, according to some sources) shows a strange affinity with

the architectures by Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, for example, the main sanctuary of the Higashi Honganji Temple at Tsukiji. Encouraged by Okakura, Ito also stayed in Bengal in 1902. Both of the architectures are marked by syncretism of Indian and European styles.

3 Tagore, A. 1973, ch. 14; Japanese translation in the exhibition catalogue Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985. Hishida's painting in the Mōrō style, representing the flying birds in a circle, may be the source of Arai Kanpō's later work, which depicts fishes in circular movement. Hishida's work also accounts for the motif of birds in migration that N. Bose rendered by brush spots in his final years. Satō 1998, p. 90.

4 Satō 1992, pp. 436-52; Satō 1998, p. 90.

5 Nivedita 1967, vol. 2, p. 431. For more detail see Inaga 2004, pp. 129–59.

6 Okakura 1984, vol. 2, p. 191. In his recent study, Rusthom Bharucha quotes from this passage of Okakura and mistakenly identifies the Fudō 不動 divinity or Acalantha with Watsuji Tetsurō's 和辻哲郎 idea of *fūdo* 風土 (Bharucha 2006, p. 27). "*Fūdo*" is Japanese translation for "climate," and cannot be confused with the Buddhist divinity Fudō. Still it is interesting to note that Fudo-Acalantha stems from achala in Sanskrit which derives from the Siva divinity in Indian mythology, which is regarded as the personification of monsoon. Watsuji extensively discussed the monsoon type of climate in his famous book, *Fūdo*, in the course of developing his characterization of the Asian mentality and cultural specificity under climatic conditions. In his discussion, Bharucha refers to Naoki Sakai's critical analysis of Watsuji's writing. See Sakai 1996.

7 Satō S. 1997, pp. 31–58.

8 Fenollosa 1903, p. 15. Yokoyama Taikan himself compares their "Mōrō style" with Whistler's painting which he saw in a retrospective held in Paris. Yokoyama (1951) 1982, p. 78. See also Satō D. 1992, pp. 436–52. Satō points to the fact that four of Yokoyama's pieces in exhibit in Boston were mentioned as "Nocturne" in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (18 November 1904), suggesting their similarity with Whistler's work.

9 Satō D. 2007, pp. 198–207.

10 Inaga 2004, pp. 129–59; and more briefly in Inaga 2006, pp. 90–95. It is well known that Sister Nivedita's political interpretation was contested by the historical facts and provoked controversy.

11 A. Coomaraswamy also gives his theoretical defense of the painting in his "Status of Indian Woman," included in his *Dance of Siva* (1924). See Coomaraswamy 1985, p. 95 et seq. See also a relevant account on the issue by Guha-Thakurta 1994, pp. 286–88. Nandalal Bose's *Sati* was also brought to Japan and a color woodcut reproduction was circulated. See Kumamoto 1971, p. 30. The fact seems to have been developed later into a mysterious story. According to that story, the original piece had lost its color when it was returned from Japan, but miraculously recovered its initial color in its homeland.

12 Woodroffe 1908, pp. 150–51.

13 This piece is reproduced as *The Music Party* in Mitter 1994, XXIV. Kumamoto 1971, pp. 26–31, gives an overview of Bose's relationship with Japan, but omits all the controversial elements we mention here. Kumamoto's seminal paper was translated into English by Louise Cort in Kumamoto 2008, pp. 72–79.

14 Hamada 1909, pp. 234–38.

15 Tanaka 1916, pp. 41–43.

16 See Ravi Varma Kalidasa Shakuntala google image (jpg.upload.wikipedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/40/RariVarma), accessed 3 April 2008. Inaga 2001, pp. 329–48.

17 The piece mentioned in Tanaka's review is not identified but is stylistically similar to *The House of Lac,* based on Sister Nivedita's posthumous *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists.* The work is reproduced in Mitter 1994, ill. 159, as well as in Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, p. 5.

18 Tanaka 1916, pp. 41–43.

19 For the details of these accusations, see Inaga 2001b, pp. 329–48.

20 Yashiro 1958, pp. 98–115, 1972, pp. 42–51. Evidently this passage, attributed to Shimomura Kan-

zan, repeats well known ideas in Chinese painting theory, but Yashiro does not mention that.

21 Rabindranath Tagore 2006, p. 176.

22 For an English translation of *Yorobōshi* by Kenneth Richard, see http://www.genji54.com/four%20noh%20plays/Yoroboshi.htm.

23 Extract from Tagore's *Memoir*, printed in Tagore, R. 1961; reprinted in *Nippon Bijutsuin hyakunenshi* 1994, p. 1146.

24 "People aspire for glory and the youth entertain hope" was Tagore's message, according to Arai Kanpō's interpretation of the anecdote. See Arai Kanpō's obituary of the Indian poet, composed around 1941–1942 and published in Arai 1943, p. 5. One may suspect that Arai's interpretation was somehow influenced by the political situation during World War II, which broke out shortly after R. Tagore's death. Inserting a nationalistic message was a bow to convention and a compromise so as to obtain official permission for printing and publication.

25 The Japanese translation by Okakura Kazuo and Okakura Koshirō, *Risō no saiken*, was published by Kawade Shobō. Asano Akira's translation was published by Seibunkaku, with annotations by Asano.

26 For a relevant recent assessment of this controversy, see Bharucha 2006, pp. 167–75, and chapter 13 of Hori Madoka's Ph.D. dissertation (Hori 2009). See also Wakakuwa 2009, pp. 22–26. I will return to the problem of Pan-Asian nationalism in the final section of this essay, discussing Yokoyama Taikan's paintings of Mt. Fuji with the rising sun during the Second World War.

27 Arai Kanpō, "Shishi Tagōru-ō" 志士タゴール翁, in Arai 1943, p. 6.

28 Mitter 2007. Tagore was interested in Mughal art and adopted some elements from it in his own work, but the scale of most of his art exceeds that of the miniatures.

29 Mitter 2007, pp. 82–90.

30 Sister Nivedita 1967–1968, vol. 3, p. 58. Quoted in Inaga 2004, pp. 149–50.

31 On this motif, see Satō S. 1999, pp. 37–44.

32 This diary, *Indo nikki* 印度日記, was edited and published in Nonaka 1974, pp. 60–101. The diary was annotated by Professor Azuma Kazuo, who extensively stayed in Santiniketan. Azuma also published a Bengali translation of the diary. (My thanks to Tapati Guha-Thakurata for this information. I also owe thanks to Kawai Tsutomu for a copy of the Bengali edition [Arai 1993].)

33 Arai Kanpō 1943, pp. 5–27, esp. p. 10. Cf. also Tagore, R. 1961 (1996), p. 1146.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., pp. 271–326; Arai 1993 in Bengali translation.

36 *Kokka* 329 (vol. 28, no. 4) (1917), p. 149.

37 Sawamura 1932. The articles appeared originally in *Kokka*, vol. 30, nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, and 12.

38 Kiritani Senrin had already made extensive stays in India and left several writings. Kiritani 1913 includes a photo of Kiritani in Tagore's house. See also Kiritani 1916, which provides a detailed explanation of A. Tagore's wash technique which Kiritani finds surprising and primitive, and observes that the manner prevents A. Tagore from executing larger scale works.

39 *Bijutsu no Nihon* 美術之日本 (vol. 10, no. 1 [1918], p. 29), reports that the Indian government complained about the deterioration of the Ajanta mural after Japanese expedition's copy work. Asai responded by objecting to this charge, attesting that the Japanese team had been extremely cautious and moreover had warned the local authorities of the dropping pieces left unrepaired. The same issue of the monthly also reports, by coincidence, that the technical difficulty in conserving the Hōryūji temple mural painting was at issue, and a proposal to permit less-restricted admission to the Shōsōin treasure house during its fall public opening was being discussed between the Ministry of Education and the Imperial Household Ministry (p. 28).

40 Arai Kanpō, "Ajanta hekiga mosha yodan" (Causerie on the Copying of Ajanta Mural Paintings), in Arai 1943, pp. 51–64.

41 Azuma 1974, p. 127.

42 Azuma 1974, p. 92. See also Arai 1935, pp. 13–15.
43 Taki 1918, in *Ōsaka Asahi shinbun* 大阪朝日新聞, reproduced in *Nippon Bijutsuin* 1994, vol. 5, pp. 1141–1143.
44 Later, at the end of his life, Arai somehow changed his opinion. He withdrew his previous hypothesis that one master must have supervised the work and supposed instead that several painters worked individually; he declared that "though the paintings look stylistically Indian, they cannot be executed by Indians." Arai Kanpō, "Hōryūji Kondō hekiga" (Mural Painting of the Hōryūji Golden Hall) in Arai 1943, pp. 49–50.
45 Among the members of the delegation was Kalidas Nag, who would publish a book containing an archaeological study of Japan. Nag was also Indian representative to the Buenos Aires Inernational PEN Club convention in 1936. His friendship with Shimazaki Tōson and Arishima Ikuma deserves further investigation. See Inaga 2007.
46 Arai 1943, pp. 141–42.
47 Bhārat Silpi 1967, pp. 71–72.
48 Ernest Satow (1843–1929), British diplomat who stayed in Japan seems to be the initiator of Sakurai's copy of the Golden Pavilion mural painting, of which one copy is bequeathed by Satow to the British Museum. See Princess Akiko 2008, pp. 130–31.
49 Arai 1935, pp. 13–15.
50 Yashiro 1972, p. 50.
51 Nonaka Taizō, "Denki" 伝記, in Nonaka 1974, pp. 16–17, 33.
52 My English retranslation from Azuma Kazuo's Japanese translation from the Bengali original. Original calligraphy is reproduced in black and white in Nonaka 1974, p. 105; and in color in the Exhibition catalog Arai 1998, p. 30 plate 18.
53 Arai's Indian dairy, transcribed in Nonaka Taizō with the annotation by Azuma Kazuo, in Nonaka 1974, pp. 60–101, 105.
54 Cf. Yashiro 1958, pp. 91–98.
55 For these critical commentaries, see, *Nippon Bijutsuin* 1994, vol. 4, pp. 841–43.
56 See exhibition catalog, Quintanilla 2008, p. 138, ill. 8.
57 Aida Yuen Wong proposes another reading of the work. See Wong 2009, pp. 95–110.
58 My earliest proposal in this direction concerning the *mōrō* style is found in Inaga 1988, pp.145–47. Also see Iio 2008, pp.232–248. The issue is also closely related with the modern re-appreciation of the Southern school (Nanga 南画) painter Tomioka Tessai (1836–1924) as well as the classical Zen Buddhist painting master Sesshū (1420–1507?) in an international expressionist trend in the 1920s.
59 Bose 1999, p. 35.
60 To interpret "*qi-yun-sheng-dong*," as one notion meaning "rhythmical vibration of vital movement" is rather a modem interpretation, according to Taki Seiichi, who supposed that *qi-yun* and *sheng-dong* were two separate notions in Xie He's original idea. See Taki 1918b, pp. 16–21. Also for "*haboku*" or "*po-mo*" see Tanaka Toyozō's philological study according to which the ancient Chinese notion of *po-mo* does not designate a particular painting style but simply "india ink painting" (Tanaka 1918, pp. 182–85).
61 Nandalal Bose, "The Art Pursuit," in Bose 1999, p. 18.
62 Ibid., p. 47.
63 Ibid., p. 50.
64 Sister Nivedita 1901; 1967–1968, vol. 2, pp. 419–20.

SOURCES OF REPRODUCTIONS

This list identifies the books and exhibition catalogs that are the sources of the figures in this article. Most of those books and catalogs are included in the list of references above, and are cited here in abbreviated form, e.g., Mitter 1994 refers to Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922* (Cambridge University Press, 1994). For illustrations found in publications that are not included in my list of references, bibliographical information is given here.

Fig. 1. Nippon Bijutsuin 1994, vol. 2, p. 364, pl. 361.
Fig. 2. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 86; Nippon Bijutsuin 1994, vol. 2, p. 301, pl. 294.
Fig. 3. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 74.
Fig. 4. Quintanilla 2008, p. 105, fig. 1.
Fig. 5. Mitter 1994, pl. XII.
Fig. 6. *Whistler.* Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1995, p. 118, fig. 44.
Fig. 7. *Okakura Tenshin: Nihon bunka to sekai senryaku* 岡倉天心：日本文化と世界戦略, ed. Watariumu Bijutsukan ワタリウム美術館. Heibonsha, 2005, p. 137.
Fig. 8. *Mosha, mozō to Nihon bijutsu: Utsusu, manabu, tsutaeru* 模写・模造と日本美術:うつす・まなぶ・つたえる, ed. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2005, p. 53, pl. 26.
Fig. 9. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 1; Quintanilla 2008, p. 115, fig. 1.
Fig. 10. *Kokka* 223 (1908) color woodblock (n.p.).
Fig. 11. *Kokka* 226 (1909) color woodblock (n.p.).
Fig. 12. Arai 1998, p. 30; Wagatsuma Kazuo 我妻和男. *Tagōru: Shi, shisō, shōgai* タゴール：詩・思想・生涯. Reitaku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2006, frontispiece.
Fig. 13. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 82.
Fig. 14. *Arai Kanpō sakuhin shū* 荒井寛方作品集, ed. Sakura-shi Myūjiumu Arai Kanpō Kinenkan さくら市ミュージウム荒井寛方記念館. Sakura: Sakura-shi Myūjiumu Arai Kanpō Kinenkan, 2007, frontispiece.
Fig. 15. Quintanilla 2008, frontispiece.
Fig. 16. Nonaka 1974 (n.p.).
Fig. 17. Seth 2006, pl. 28.
Fig. 18. Nonaka 1974, "Sankō zuhan" 参考図版, p. 179, no. ii.
Fig. 19. *Bi no kuni: Hōryūji hekiga tokushū* 美の國 法隆寺壁画特輯 (February 1941), frontispiece.
Fig. 20. *Arai Kanpō sakuhin shū* (see fig. 14, above), p. 83, pl. 107; Nippon Bijutsuin 1994, vol. 7, p. 83, pl. 64.
Fig. 21. *Arai Kanpō sakuhin shū* (see fig. 14, above), p. 95, pl. 126.
Fig. 22. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 6; Quintanilla 2008, p. 138, fig. 21.
Fig. 23. Nippon Bijutsuin 1994, vol. 7, p. 82, pl. 63.
Fig. 24. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 12; Quintanilla 2008, p. 53, fig. 23.
Fig. 25. *Okakura Tenshin: Nihon bunka to sekai senryaku* (see fig. 7, above), 2005, p. 212.
Fig. 26. Nonaka 1974 (n.p.).
Fig. 27. *Mosha, mozō to Nihon bijutsu: Utsusu, manabu, tsutaeru* (see fig. 8, above), p. 79, pl. 58.
Fig. 28. Ba Dong 巴東. *Taiwan jinxiandai shuimohua, Zhang Daqian* 台湾近現代水墨画大系・張大千. Taibei: Yishujia chubanshe 藝術家出版社, 2004, pl. 153.
Fig. 29. *Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan shūzō mokuroku* 静岡県立美術館収蔵作品目録.
Fig. 30. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 36; Quintanilla 2008, p. 145, pl. 28.
Fig. 31. *Okakura Tenshin: Nihon bunka to sekai senryaku* (see fig. 7, above), p. 116.

Fig. 32. *Arai Kanpō sakuhin shū* (see fig. 14, above), p. 72, pl. 96.
Fig. 33. Ajia Kindai Kaiga no Yoake Ten 1985, fig. 39; Quintanilla 2008, p. 219.

要旨

ロビンドロナート・タゴール、荒井寛方、ノンドラル・ボース
——20世紀前半のベンガルと日本との美術交流の一駒から

稲賀繁美

1901〜02年にインドに初滞在を果たした岡倉覚三は、菱田春草、横山大観をベンガルに派遣した。かれらの帰国の後、1913年岡倉の死後、アジア人として初めてノーベル文学賞を獲得した詩人、ロビンドロナート・タゴールが、1916年に日本を訪れ、原富太郎の三渓園に寄寓する。インドの詩人は下村観山が謡曲を題材とした《弱法師》に感激し、その複製を所望したことから、荒井寛方との交友が芽生え、インドに招かれた寛方は、ノンドラル・ボースほかの現地の画家と交友を育む一方、瀧精一の斡旋も得て、澤田専太郎ほかとともに、アジャンター壁画の模写に従事する。この事業は、追って帰国後、荒井晩年の法隆寺金堂壁画の模写につながる軌跡を描く。本稿では、岡倉の衣鉢を継ぐ日本美術院と、瀧精一が編集長を務めた『國華』との利害を兼備した荒井寛方の位置づけを検討し、その古典作品模写事業を支えた仏教的価値観に迫るとともに、大戦期におけるインドと日本の国民主義さらには超国家思想と美術造形との関わりを、宗教図像の展開のなかに復元する。詩人タゴールが盲目の《弱法師》の心眼に映る西方浄土の太陽の姿に汲んだ教訓は、西欧列強の支配下にあったインドの現状といかに関わっていたのか。それはボース晩年の東洋哲学への傾倒を解き明かす鍵となるのか。そうした論点に論及し、とりあえずの仮説を提起することが、本稿の目的となる。