

## 『美術真説』とフェノロサ遺稿

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明治15年（1882）5月14日、伝統美術工芸の振興を目ざす竜池会は東京大学御雇い教授アーネスト・F・フェノロサを上野の教育博物館に招き、文部卿福岡孝弟以下貴紳数十名臨席の下、一場の警世演説を行わせた。その秋「フェノロサ氏演述、大森惟中筆記」として出版された60頁の小冊子、竜池会蔵版『美術真説』は飛ぶような売れ行きを見せる。この講演が当時の知識界、ひいては明治文化史の展開に及ぼした影響は計り知れない。『美術真説』の思想は、盲目的欧化熱からその反動としての国粹主義抬頭に至る混沌たる過渡期の闇を照らす曙光であり、坪内逍遙『小説神髓』（明治19年）をはじめ外山正一、大西操山、森鷗外、高山樗牛らによる批評の黄金時代現出の導火線ともなった。

フェノロサは御雇い時代（1878-90）、わが国の記録に残っているだけで十数回の美術講演を行っている。しかしその内容については、「日本美術工芸ハ果シテ外国需給ヲ喚起スルノ力アルヤ否ヤ（日本美術工芸ハ果シテ欧米ノ需用ニ適スルヤ否）」（明治18年）、「日本美術工芸ノ将来如何」・「奈良の諸君に告ぐ」（同21年）のように後に単行本に収録されたもの以外、一部の大意・抄訳、時には演題のみが断片的に新聞等に掲載されたにすぎない。

ハーヴァード大学ホートン・ライブラリー資料の最大の価値の一つは、十余に上る（必ずしも日本側の記録と一致しない）フェノロサ講演の自筆草稿がほぼ完全な形で残っていることである。そのため、彼が当時日本人聴衆に訴えよとした美術思想を、彼自身の側から総合的に理解することが可能になる。筆者は昨秋、その内容の概略を紹介する序文を付した『ハーヴァード大学ホートン

・ライブラリー蔵フェノロサ資料・第一巻（美術教育と文化財行政）』（ミュージアム出版）を刊行した。第二巻（美術に関する講演・鑑画会関係資料）を目下準備中であるが、その中から『美術真説』に極めて近い一編を原文とともにご紹介する。両者の異同を検討し、本草稿と関連を持つと思われる他の二、三の講演草稿との係わり合いを明らかにしながら、かの有名な演説の成立過程を考える一助としたい。

最近その所在が確認された本草稿は四六判ノートに鉛筆書きで、単に「講演」と題された前半40頁と「美術に関する連続講演総括——十箇条の特質（十格）の詳説を終えた直後、<sup>げじょう</sup>下条の反論に答えて——」と題する後半24頁に分かれる。1920年ニューヨーク Walpole Galleries フェノロサ遺稿売立目録番号325 a)・b) にそれぞれ該当する（前掲拙著『ホートン・ライブラリー蔵フェノロサ資料』第一巻[英文 p. 10 参照]）が、『美術真説』に共通するところの多いのは前者である<sup>1</sup>。

本草稿と『美術真説』とを照合してみると、全体のほぼ 3/4 は順序や細部の多少の異同を除けば、大よそ内容的に共通する。内容的一致、共通の用語・表現は、部分的には筆者が既に紹介した他の幾つかの講演草稿にも見られる。しかし新出の本草稿が『美術真説』の「幻の草稿」との幻想を一部に招いた理由は、絵画批評の規準としてのいわゆる「十格」、これに基づく東西絵画の優劣比較、油絵と文人画の糾弾等かの竜池会講演の核心というべき部分を含んでいるからであろう。

他方、本稿が『美術真説』の原本であり得ない理由としては、この講演が単独の特別講演ではなく、「長期にわたる連続講演」の一環であること、聴衆は「貴紳」でなく画家で、フェノロサは会場に掛けられた複数の面幅を示しながら説明していること、『美術真説』最後の十頁余の美術教育論が欠けていること等があげられる。

ここで、『美術真説』および本稿と密接な関係を持つ同じホートン・ライブ

ラリーの他の講演草稿に注目しなければならない。先ず「東京の美術家達を前にした美術に関する講演Ⅰ. 1881年4月10日」の標記のある112頁の草稿がある。この全訳紹介の際注解に記したように、上の日付は竜池会講演を1年1ヶ月ほど遡るが、内容的に相通ずる部分を含む。フェノロサは先ず「美術とは何か」の根本的問に対し、六つの否定的命題を提出する。即ち1技巧、2快感、3自然の模倣、4科学的真理、5倫理的真理、6非精神的関係は、美術の本質に無縁である。最初の三点は、『美術真説』が1技倆の精巧、2心意の愉悦、3天然の実物との擬似を美術の「善美」の規準とする通説を反駁するのと軌を一にする。その外、琴、龍、men in clouds（「雲ニ駕スル人物」）等を例にあげる点も共通する（隈元謙次郎編村形訳「ハーヴァード大学ホートン・ライブラリー蔵フェノロサ資料12」、『三彩』334 [1975年7月], p. 65)。

明治14年4月10日に始まるこの長文の講演草稿は大きくⅠとⅡ（最後の部分では中断）に分かれ、それ自体何回かの連続講演の形をとっている。全体の序にあたる冒頭の次の一節は『美術真説』の趣旨の予告に外ならない。「東洋美術は、全世界がその滅亡を手を拱いて傍観できない独特の美点をもっています。ところが、日本人は今油絵に夢中になっています。油絵は皆さん自身の画法よりはるかに劣っており、また当然そうでなければならない、と私がいえばどうでしょう。真の絵画芸術をいかにして再興するか、という課題の解決のために西洋が範と仰がなければならないのは、東洋美術そのものであることを証明できたらどうでしょう。西洋が捨てようとしている油絵をとり上げようとするのは、愚かなことではないでしょうか。」

また『美術真説』の次の一節と上記講演Ⅰの一部（下段）を比較すれば、殆ど完全な一致を見るのである（竜池会蔵版による頁数）。

美術ノ逸品傑作ハ吾人ノ精神ヲ吸収シ心目ヲ奪フノ力アルハ復タ疑フヘカラサルナリ諸君若シ優逸ノ画ヲ熟視セハ或ハ恍惚トシテ塵寰ノ外ニ逍遙スルノ想ヲナスヘシ此ノ如キモノハ心ニ欲シテ然ルニアラス又理ニ由テ然ルニアラス唯其物件ノ為ニ自然ハ

脈動盪シ精神飛動スルカ故ノミ然ルニ諸君ハ此感覺ニ就テ他ノ解ヲ下サント欲スルヤ其画愈善良ナレハ其感スルコト愈深キヲ覺エサルヤ若シ陋劣ナル画ナレハ啻ニ感覺ノ深カラサルノミナラス或ハ他ノ事物ニ意思ヲ轉移スルコトナカラスヤ諸君若シ目ヲ閉チ口ヲ噤シ静ニ耳ヲ音楽ノ嫋々タルニ傾ケハ則チ万籟頓ニ消エ美術上ノ妙想ヲ除クノ外宇宙ノ間更ニ一分ノ事物ナキヲ覺ユヘシ

(18-19頁)

This fact perhaps you will recognize better in the case of a fine picture. In viewing it, you are drawn out of yourself into something which for the time being forms your only world, and this drawing is not one of thinking or willing, but of feeling. Can you give any other explanation of your state of mind? Do you not feel this absorption the better the picture is? Do you not lose this feeling the poorer the picture is? When one sees a great picture, he is so struck that he cannot speak, or think but all his functions remain still, except the contemplation which absorbs his whole being. It is the same with a piece of fine music. When you hear it the world vanishes, and you remain alone in the universe with the artistic creation.

("Lecture on Art. Delivered before the Tokio Artists. Lecture I. April 10 th, 1881," pp. 40-41.)

新出「講演」とさらに密接な関係を持つのは「講演Ⅳ」(『三彩』353 [1977年1月], pp. 92-95 に拙訳)である。この冒頭に「これで批評の規準ができました。先ず東洋と西洋の違い。顯著なのは七点です。七, 八, 九頁参照」とあるが、頁数までびたりと「講演」の該当部分に一致する。ここにいう「批評の規準」とは『美術真説』の有名な十格(「講演」の ten qualities)で、列挙の順序は多少違っているが、「講演」と共通する。大森訳の各項に「講演」原文該当項目を対置すれば、

- 1 図線ノ湊合 unity of line
- 2 濃淡ノ湊合 unity of shades

- 3 色彩ノ湊合 unity of color
- 4 図線ノ佳麗 beauty of line
- 5 濃淡ノ佳麗 beauty of shades
- 6 色彩ノ佳麗 beauty of color
- 7 旨趣ノ湊合 unity of subject
- 8 旨趣ノ佳麗 beauty of subject
- 9 意匠ノ力 force of subject
- 10 技術ノ力 force of execution

東洋画と西洋画（油絵）の比較について、「講演」は7項をあげるが、『美術真説』には5項しかなく、順序も違う。十格の一部は「講演Ⅳ」でも言及されており、これに基づく日本画諸派評は「講演」のそれをさらに敷衍したものである。

『美術真説』の文人画批判の部分と照合すると、「講演」より密接な対応関係が「講演Ⅳ」に見られる。

抑文人画ハ天然ノ実物ニ擬似スルヲ主トセサルノ一点ニ就テハ稍賞スヘキモノアルモ其目的トスル所ノ妙想ハ画術ノ妙想ニアラス其实文学美術ノ妙想ニ外ナラス前ニ陳スルカ如ク諸美術妙想ノ形状ハ各全シカラス随テ其旨趣ニ影響スルヲ常トス是ヲ以テ詩文ノ妙想ハ必画ノ妙想ト全シカラス文人画ニ就テ人心ヲ感スルハ畢意文学上ノ関係ニ由ルモノニシテ毫モ画ノ善美ニ関セス殊ニ文人ノ毎ニ磊落疎率ヲ喜フモノハ果シテ何ノ由アルヤ是レ蓋シ画ニ係ルノ故ニアラス別ニ其源因アルヤ明ケシ

(47頁)

In one thing bunjinga is right, namely that to copy all forms of nature is not true art, but to get spirit. Nevertheless bunjinga errs in going after the wrong spirit, not the pictorial but the literary. We have seen something common to all arts. Also that each art has its own form under which its ideality is to be realized. We see thus that poetical or literary ideals are quite different from those of painting. Though subjects sometimes

the same, sometimes not. Even so, their ideality differently conceived. Now in bunjinga, the feeling is obtained through the medium of literary association, and thus is quite independent of excellence in painting. Thus bunjinga is not picture at all, in an artistic sense. There is no art of painting in it. Bunjins admire the most horrible daubs, not for pictorial reasons, but for extra pictorial reasons.

(“Lecture IV,” [pp. 1 and 3])

且ツ文人ハ隱逸幽靜ノ情趣ヲ好ミシ竹石花草等ヲ除クノ外概子之ヲ画クコトナシ是レ其心ヲ暢ヘンカ為ニ殊ニ天然幽靜ノ物件ニ依ルモノニシテ即チ識淺ク技拙ナルノ致ス所ナリ苟モ画ノ妙想ヲ尽サハ何物カ吾人ヲシテ世情ヲ忘レシメサランヤ而シテ所謂妙想ナルモノハ各般ノ物件ニ属スルヲ以テ画家一タヒ其事物ヲ觀取セハ則チ之カ妙想ヲ表スルヲ得ヘシ是故ニ其物ノ何タルニ拘ハラス意ノ欲スル所ニ随テ隱逸幽靜ノ情趣ヲ生セシムルニアラスンハ其ノ大家トナスヘカラス特ニ其物ヲ限テ其情趣ヲ生セシムルハ是レ其力足ラサルノ徴ナリ其物ヲ限リテ其情趣ヲ感スルハ是レ事物ノ精神ヲ感覺スルハ明ナキノ徴ナリ是ニ由テ之ヲ觀レハ隱逸幽靜ノ情趣ハ元來余カ所謂妙想ノ本色ニシテ各物各件ニ就テ其妙想ヲ顯スヲ得失ノ特ニ一ニノ物件ニ拘々スルモノト全日ノ比ニアラサル以テ知ルヘキナリ

(49-50頁)

The notion of unworldliness often dominates bunjin. And they go so far as to despise pictures of all subjects except rocks, flowers, and bamboo. A picture of a man is too worldly. Now such feeling does not prove the strength of their unworldliness, but the weakness of it. The very essence of an idea is to draw us off from all worldly relations. The great works of great artists of all times have always done this. Ideas lie in all subjects. If nobly conceived anything has become ideal. He is the great man who can put unworldliness into any subject. He who can do it only in one subject shows the weakness of his own ideality. He who can feel it in only one subject, proves his own lack of seeing the depth of spiritual things. Understand then that the only true sense of unworldliness means ideality.

( [p. 2] )

第一の引用の直前にくる石臼の比喻の件「之ヲ譬フルニ油絵ハ磨機ノ頂石ニシテ文人画ハ其底石ニ等シク真誠ノ画術其間に介リテ連リニ磴碎セラルカ如シ」についてみると、

If bunjinga is the upper millstone, oil painting is the lower, between which Japanese painting is being ground to powder.

(“Lecture”)

Bunjinga is the lower millstone.

(“Lecture IV”)

一見「講演」の方が『美術真説』に近いと思えるかもしれない。しかし文人画と油絵との位置関係に関する限り、「講演」では上下逆になっていることに気づく。即ち、『美術真説』と「講演IV」において、批判の第一の矛先は文人画より油絵に向けられているのである。

「講演」に欠落している『美術真説』最終部の美術教育論を補ってくれるのも「講演IV」である。また微妙な相違ではあるが、「講演」が流派にとらわれない官立日本画学校創設を説いているのに対し、『美術真説』も「講演IV」もともに「国立美術学校」に反対の主張をしていることも注目されよう。

美術学校ニ就テ之ヲ言ハンニ目下其宜ヲ得ルハ甚タ難ク之ヲ各国ノ前例ニ徴スルニ或ハ弊害ヲ他日ニ遺スノ虞ナキニ能ハス古来名家ノ出ルハ毎ニ国立美術学校ノ如キ一般ノ風趣ノ左右スヘキモノ之ナキノ時ニアリ抑此ノ如キ学校ノ起レルハ大率美術退歩ノ徴ニシテ之カ為ニ益々退歩ヲ促スニ至ル其故何ソヤ曰ク此学校ヲ設立スルトキハ随テ一種特殊ノ画風起リ漸ク他ノ流派ヲ掃蕩スルハ自然ノ勢ニシテ之ヲ制止スヘカラス既ニ一種ノ風起ルトキハ其妙想モ亦必ス其風ニ止ル……

蓋シ各国諸名家ノ轍ニ由リ先ツ私ニ画術ヲ教フルモノノ指導ヲ承ケ然レ後自強自勉シテ其術ヲ煉磨スルノ外復タ他道ナシ且ツ其術ヲ勉レハ随テ潤筆ヲ資シテ其画ヲ乞フモノ到リ画家自ラ淬励スルヲ得ルヤ必セリ何ソ教育ノ勞ヲ取ルヲ須タンヤ

(53-55頁)

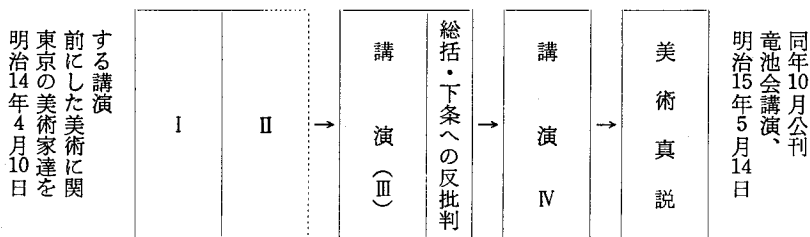
By a national school, with professors, courses of instruction etc.? Now

here gentlemen learn the lessons of history on this point. There never has been in the world a case of the growth of great art, when education was carried on by academies or government schools. The great masters of Greece, the great masters of Italy, the great masters of China, and the great masters of Japan, all received their first education from private masters during youth, selecting usually such masters as suited their talents, but, completing their own education by themselves through self evolution of their own genius. To suppose that art is something to be taught, is to mistake what art is.

If genius is the power of realizing ideas, we must be careful not to crush the idea at its birth by false systems of teaching. It is thus an historical fact that wherever national academies have attempted to control the teaching of art, or whenever family academies have attempted to control it, then is always the period of art decay.

([p. 10])

以上をまとめれば、『美術真説』はその前半から中心的部分の多くを「講演」および1881年4月10日に始まる「東京の美術家達を前にした美術に関する講演Ⅰ・Ⅱ」と共有し、後半の文人画批判と美術教育論を「講演Ⅳ」と共通にしている。「講演Ⅳ」が冒頭から「講演」の十格と東西絵画の比較に依拠していることは明らかである。『美術真説』以外はいずれも連続講演の一環であるから、それぞれの時間的順序関係を次のように仮に図式化することが可能ではないだろうか。





結論を急げば、講演「美術真説」は前年東京の美術家達のために行ったかなり長期的連続講演の内容の要約であった、と言えるのではないだろうか<sup>2</sup>。従って、今「講演」を「講演（Ⅲ）」と仮定すれば、『美術真説』の原文は明治14年4月10日に始まる講演Ⅰ・Ⅱ・（Ⅲ）・Ⅳその他から大方復元できるかもしれない。しかし翌15年5月14日の竜池会講演の「幻の草稿」を追求め、皮相的照合関係を云云するより大切なのは、今まで埋れていた遺稿全体から蘇るフェノロサ自身の思想を、より深く総合的に理解することではないだろうか。

もう一つの課題は、日本側の資料から竜池会講演に先立つフェノロサ連続講演に係わる事実関係の具体的裏付けを行うことである。明治17年以降の鑑画会講演については、当時の新聞、『大日本美術新報』等からある程度の情報は得られるが、『美術真説』以前のフェノロサ講演に関する我々の知識は極めて乏しい。

明治10年第一回内国勸業博覧会の際牙角彫刻家金田兼次郎、石川光明、旭玉山ら20数名が相互の知識交換、作品批評による実技向上を旨として月例研究会を組織した。毎月20日金田宅へ集まっていたが、会員増加のため翌年会場を不忍池弁財天境内長駝亭へ移し、12年規約を制定して勤工会と称した。14年竜池会幹部塩田真、岸光景等の賛同を得、彫刻競技会と改称、河瀬秀治を会頭に推して学識家、実験家、考案家（デザイナーか）等の講話、フェノロサの講演を催した（内藤政宗編『東京彫工会史』[昭和2年]、1-2頁）。

この会は画家よりも彫刻・工芸家の集まりであるが、『東京日日新聞』（明治14年10月24日）の「昨23日柳橋の萬八楼にて大学<sup>77</sup>理学部教師米国人フェネローサ氏画学の演説あり云々」という記事は彫刻競技会月例会の報告であろうか。また、この年4月10日に始まる「講演Ⅰ・Ⅱ」および「講演（Ⅲ）」、「講演Ⅳ」が画家を対象としていることは明らかであるが、これらの連続講演と彫刻競技会月例会演説、10月23日の画学演説とは無関係なのだろうか。こうした疑問に答えることが「講演Ⅰ・Ⅱ・（Ⅲ）・Ⅳ」の正しい位置づけ、そしてそれらの

『美術真説』との係わりを理解する手がかりを提供するものと思われる。

ここで、上の論考において殆ど触れなかった新出草稿の後半24頁「美術に関する連続講演総括——十格の詳説を終えた直後、下条の反論に答えて——」に注目しよう。フェノロサに反駁した下条[正雄]は桂谷と号する北宗画家、海軍省主計官で電池会幹部、明治17年第二回内国絵画共進会等の審査官をつとめた。ここでフェノロサは自らの見解が西洋の観点のみに基づくのではなく、東洋の画論をも深く研究した上の所産であること、東西絵画の根本的相違はそれぞれの起源——書と彫刻——に由来することを確認した上で、彼の「十格」を中国の謝赫『古画品録』のいわゆる「六法」と同一視する見方に対し反批判を加えている。フェノロサが冒頭で名指している下条と「前回私の次に登場」、「私の立場に疑問を提起」した「学識ある講師」が同一人物なのかどうかは今一つははっきりしないが、彼の連続講演が必ずしもその独壇場ではなかったことを示唆して興味深い。

下条は後に鑑画会におけるフェノロサの指導についても反論を加えるが、下条氏談として紹介されている次のようなエピソードは批判者の側から見た真相の一端を伝えている、と考えてよいだろう。

曾て築地の本願寺で電池会のあった時分のことである。フェノロサは演説して日本画に船を上景に描いて、地平線を下景に描いたものが多いが、此等は自然の道理に違背した非科学的なものだと言った。其折下条氏は曰く、日本画で船を上景に描くは、懸物が豎幅である制約上当然であるが、また遠景の船などは上部に位して見える者だと反駁した。フェノロサは頭として聞かなかったので、燭台を海岸に出し、品川の台場を望み、実験上遠景の船が高位に見えるので、流石の科学先生も下条氏の意見に敬服したことがあったそう。

(梅沢精一『芳崖と雅邦』[純正美術社、大正9年]、151頁)

このエピソードが「以前の講演で、新しい美術がその純粋性を失わずに外国美術から借りることのできる幾つかの要素、特に風景画における折々の陰影、科学的邪魔物ではなく本能としての透視画法について話しました」というフェ

ノロサの言とどういう関係にあるかは別として、それが竜池会の出来事として語られていることに注意しよう。竜池会にフェノロサと画家下条が上のような議論をする場があったとすれば、それはフェノロサ連続講演の舞台として彫刻競技会より適当であることは確かだろう。それとも明治14年竜池会有力幹部の賛同を得、河瀬秀治（竜池会創設時の副会頭、明治18年鑑画会会長）を会頭に迎えた彫刻競技会は、フェノロサにとって画家中心の鑑画会の前身、竜池会から鑑画会への過渡期の橋わたしの存在でもあったのだろうか。

いずれにせよ、フェノロサは「講演（Ⅲ）」において「真実で論証可能な中国の六法のすべてを包含」し、「この六法を理性の眼で敷衍、解釈すれば、すべてと言わずとも殆どを含ませ得る」ものとして、彼の絵画批評の規準である十格を説いたのである。「宋の郭若虚はそのすぐれた画論〔『図画見聞誌』〕においてまさに私の立場、即ち気韻という特質は文字通り精神の優秀性、私のいアイデアリテイわゆる観念性であること、これは表現のあらゆる筆法や技法が気韻から生じ、その必要に応じて相互に関連従属し合う時はじめて絵画の中に達成し得る、ということを慎重に論述しようと努めています」。

またフェノロサの主張は「ヨーロッパの言葉で書かれた本」の中に見つかるべくもなかった。ヨーロッパの見方だけでは東洋の見方だけに劣らず不完全である。彼の目的は「哲学的研究」によって東西双方における「本質的なもの」を見出し、それを証明することであった。「私の意見中どの論点も立証に依存しており全体が合理的に証明されていますので、臆測の余地は皆無です。…数学が万人にとって同じものであるように、私の美術に関する連続講演も理性の権威に基づいているのです」従って反論は、彼の「論理の基盤を直接危うくする限りにおいてのみ」意味を持つ筈であった。

東西の過去の画論を総合し、時代の最先端を行く理論としてこれほど熱意と確信をもって提出されたフェノロサの「絶対的美術哲学」は、日本人識者の間にそれなりの反撥を招いたとしても、合理的近代批評精神確立の上で十分啓発

の役割を果たした、と言えるのではないだろうか。

最後に、『美術真説』中の訳語で善美、<sup>イキセルレンス</sup>簇集、<sup>グルツプ</sup>妙想等<sup>アイジヤ</sup>ルビのある言葉は極めて限られている。次に掲げる フェノロサ 遺稿の transcript との照合により、明治翻訳語の研究にも役立てることができれば幸いである。拙著『ハーヴァード大学ホートン・ライブラリー蔵フェノロサ資料Ⅱ・美術に関する講演・鑑画会関係資料』には前・後半を併せた全訳を収録するが、ここに紹介する transcript は『美術真説』と密接な係わりを持つ前半の「講演」のみにとどめる。なお「東京の美術家達を前にした 美術に関する講演 I. 1881年4月10日」, 「講演Ⅳ」も鑑画会等の美術講演とともに全訳を第二巻に収録する予定である。

- 1 日本フェノロサ学会『会報』6 (1983年8月), 1頁参照。
- 2 事実、フェノロサ自身後の鑑画会講演で次のように述べている。「私は既に何回か、日本の色々な会を前にこの点〔完全な絵画の必要条件としての諸特質＝十格〕に関して講演を行ったことがあり、その大意については二年前竜池会が発行した私の講演の翻訳 [『美術真説』] があげられます」(「日本絵画の将来 (1)」—明治17年5月11日—)。

## Ernest F. Fenollosa, "Lecture"

Edited by Akiko Murakata

I have thought it will be interesting to you to have the opinions of a foreigner upon Japanese painting. Having studied to some extent the history of Art in the West and, so far as yet possible, its history in the East, I have come to some very definite opinions. And my opinions are not only about the past state of things, but practical ones about progress in the future. Today so far as I can in a short time, I will give you my reasons for these opinions.

The Art of painting, like everything else in nature, is to be studied scientifically, that is, in connection with the causes which have controlled it. Studied in this way its course seems much like that of a flower or of a man itself, or anything that lives. It begins to grow in a weak, undeveloped condition, like that of a child. It attains maturity only under certain conditions which specially favor it, like a plant, and having reached this point, it grows weak again, and approaches the death of old age. Thus, in Europe, painting attained its highest point from 350 to 400 years ago. Since then there has been a period of terrible degeneration, so much so that we look back upon the powers of such artists as those of gods. This you must understand, that although the West has advanced much since then in science and industry, with all its knowledge, it has lost the power of great painting. A similar thing is true of China. Her greatest period of painting was in the To and So dynasties, and since then

there has been a steady degeneration in power. So in Japan. Great many hundred years ago, her power of painting is now on the point of expiring. Indeed, we might say, looking at the exhibition of paintings at Uyeno, that the Japanese school of painting is already dead. Now this decay in both East and West cannot be accidental. We must then find its causes.

First, however, we must inquire the true meaning of Art, as distinguished from those many human products which are not Art. By Art I do not mean merely painting, but all those products which minister in a similar way to the feelings, such as poetry, music, sculpture, dancing, etc. There are many false opinions on this matter both in the East and West. These I will briefly disprove. See first my problem. I wish to find those characteristics of a thing which make it artistic, and distinguish it from the non-artistic. Well then, some people think that skill in execution is an ingredient of artistic quality; and they think it sufficient for praise of a picture or poem or piece of music, to perceive that it is skillfully done. Now this is not true, for the very simple reason that things which are not art, like carpenters' work or tanning leather or making shoes can be done with skill. Then that which belongs both to art and not art cannot be that which distinguishes art from not art. It is clear then that skill, being an accompaniment of all work, must have the definition of art added to it, in order for us to appreciate art truly.

In the second place many people think that the pleasure which we get from objects of art defines their artistic quality. This clearly cannot be true since we have pleasure in many things besides art, and therefore pleasure cannot define the peculiarity of art. Again, when men take pleasure in works of art, they do it for different rea-

sons, some on account of association, some on account of skill displayed, some on account of novelty, etc. But if they do not take pleasure in the artistic quality itself, it cannot be truly artistic pleasure. We must, then, define the artistic quality apart from pleasure. Thus, those are wrong who think that because a picture pleases them, it is therefore good. They must first ask, why ought it to please them.

Now in the third place, there are a large class of persons, both in the East and West, who assert that likeness to nature is the essential thing in art. This is false for many reasons. First, if it be true, the photograph of the dirtiest and meanest thing in nature must be higher art than the painting of a beautiful and noble thing, because it is more true. The absurdity is apparent. The truth in nature is often very ugly. To make the koto sound like groaning or blowing the nose, while it would be like nature, would not be music. So to describe this room truly would not be poetry, but very bad prose. In the same way if I copy by painting an unartistic thing in nature, that is not art. Thus, even if I copy nature, I must first define the artistic in nature. In the second place many things, not in a nature, are artistic. For instance, music is not a copy of nature, yet it is art. Many things in poetry are not true at all. So in painting Hoos and dragons, we are not following nature, yet this is legitimate art. Indeed painting often makes beautiful decorations of figured patterns, but those are not like nature. If then, all things like nature are not art, and some things are art which are not like nature, this likeness cannot be artistic quality. Then those are all wrong who think it is any excellence in a painting that it is like nature. If it is like the artistic in nature, that is all right, but then it is that quality in nature which we must praise, and not the mere likeness. And if the picture is something

not like nature, then before we condemn, we must first ask whether it has artistic quality.

In the fourth place, some people have said that it is the essence of art to make men better and to teach them to be religious. This is false for the following reason, that many things which give us religious and moral instruction, such as sermons, courts of law, punishments, good example, are manifestly not art. Then since this quality is common both to art and not art, it cannot define the distinction between them. Again, some things which are art do not so instruct us, as for instance, comic pictures, some kinds of music and decorative painting. It may be true then that art often calms the souls of men, but this is not its artistic quality. Those are wrong therefore who criticize pictures because they have no moral influence. And those are wrong who consider that the excellence of art is measured by its tendency to make society better, for poor works of a barbarous age often affect society more deeply than good works of a later age.

I have now proved four things to you. I have proved that the artistic quality of anything is not skill, is not pleasure, is not likeness to nature, and is not moral influence—and that those who appreciate painting for these reasons do not have artistic appreciation at all. What, then, is artistic quality? I will now explain. We have seen that it is not to instruct us either as to skill or as to nature; that is, it does not appeal to our faculties of knowing; also that it does not appeal to our moral faculties or desires, that is, to our will. Then it must appeal to the third set of our faculties, namely, our feelings. But we have also seen that it is not to our feelings of pleasure; then it must be to some other kind of feeling still undefined.

Now I may advance another step. What qualities in a thing



make us feel artistically with regard to them? It is not the relations in which these things stand to other things. For these relations lead us out to other things, and therefore do not point to the artistic quality inside the thing itself. Again all things in the world, even those which are not art, stand in relations to one another; then these relations form no peculiarity of art things alone. For instance, if I am pleased with a painting of fruit because it looks good enough to eat, this relation to my appetite is independent of the artistic quality in the picture, since it is the same relation in which rice or daikon stand to my appetite. If again, I admire a painting for its skill, it is not for itself I admire it, but only in relation to its maker, which relation is the same for which we may admire a well made pair of boots. Again, if it is the relations of the picture to nature, or to the effects produced upon men, that is common to many things not art, and so is not admiring its artistic quality. The same is true of all possible external relations. Artistic quality must then lie inside the work itself. But it must also be such a quality as to make us feel it. Now how is it possible to satisfy both of these conditions?

The parts or internal relations of most things cannot make us feel them, but can only make us understand them. For instance a group of stones. These we group in succession one after another; but that gives no peculiar feeling belonging to them; and is what we do when we understand things which are not art; for instance this paper. But there is a second kind of relations of parts which things may have. There may be such a relation that the whole is not merely the sum of the parts, but the parts exist only through the whole, and the whole only through the parts. For example a man's body—another example is a circle or equiangular triangle. Here we have such a relation of

parts that we do not merely understand them, but they present themselves to us as a whole which must be grasped at once if at all. Now such a grasping of the wholeness which underlies the parts must be intuition, that is, feeling, since it is a direct immediate impression.

Another distinction between these two kinds of grasping is that the first is necessarily imperfect. We can add or subtract parts from it at pleasure without affecting the way in which our mind grasps it. But in the second kind, a single change destroys the mutual relations of the parts, and breaks up the feeling with which we regarded it. Circle, triangle. Now such a perfect interrelation of parts, I call an idea. For instance, a circle is an idea, and all circles in nature are only imperfect copies of it. Thus idea must be distinguished from imagination, since the latter often pictures things which have no ideality at all. The test of an idea is the impossibility of making a change without loss of feeling with which we grasp it. I will now give several examples of ideas. If I sing some strange sounds or play at random on the koto, this is only noise you say. But if I sing some fine tune, then at once each part falls into its place in a whole, which we grasp as a whole with a peculiar feeling which can be defined in no other way. Now this is music. Music then is distinguished from noise in that the former embodies an idea and the latter is a mere imperfect sum. Another example. In reading an ordinary book, the words are a mere succession, following on, to which we may add, but which have no unity in themselves. But when the words form parts of a whole, such that a single change would spoil the impression of that whole, that is poetry. So with nature. Take a tree. The parts and relations of this seem accidental, they might as well be other than this, they give us no particular feeling. But in the great

painting of a tree we feel its perfection, each branch and leaf is put exactly where it is, and we should not dare to suggest a change, for fear of disturbing the unity of the whole. It is like looking through a microscope. When out of focus, the image is blurred; but suddenly out of the blur springs the clear image which we grasp at once. So with nature and art. Nature is a distracting blur of imperfect forms. But art grasps clear, perfect relations of parts by a single feeling which nothing distracts. Example—tree in Shinno—

Now we have seen that artistic quality must lie in the thing itself, and also that it must make us feel. Now these ideal relations of parts do just these two things. They refer to nothing outside of themselves, and in the perfect interrelation they make us feel their wholeness at a blow. To have such relations of parts then must be artistic quality, and wherever such relations are found, whether in sounds, in words, in colors, or in nature, there is artistic quality. Such then is the true definition.

What we have said so far is true of all forms of art. But now we wish to speak of painting in particular. We must then find how artistic quality is to be specially realized in the art of painting. Now in a painting we generally see two things, the subject or matter of the painting, and the form in which it is expressed. In music the form of expression is sound, in poetry it is words, but in painting it is lines, shades, and colors. As for subjects, they may belong equally to all three arts. In the case however, of some decorative art, painting has no subject. In most cases it has both subject and form. Now since a painting must impress our feelings as an idea, there must be artistic quality in both these parts, subject and form. Artistic quality of subject would be such a subject that the internal relations or parts of

it are all necessary and complete for getting an impressive feeling of that subject. Artistic quality of form would be such a disposition of the lines, shades, and colors of a picture that each part is necessary for giving us a single impression of the form as a whole. Example.

But these two idealities cannot be independent of one another, for that would be to break up our feeling, and so spoil its perfection. The artistic quality of the subject, and the artistic quality of the form must then be united together so closely into a single whole that any variation in either would spoil the perfection of both. Now this requirement throws a certain limitation or control over the possibilities of both. For not all possible artistic lines and colors are good in any picture, since they must be suited to the artistic requirements of the subject. On the other hand, not all possible subjects are proper for painting, but only such subjects as can find expression in an artistic rendering of lines, shades and colors. For instance the idea of a process in time cannot be given properly in painting, whose form comprises ideal relations of space only. Thus the artistic of both subject and its lines, shades, and colors must be grasped by the artist at once in a single feeling, and not one after the other. Example.

We can now deduce a list of artistic qualities possible in a painting. We have seen that in artistic feeling our impression must be perfect. Then it must be one. But the parts of a picture are many and tend to distract one's attention. Then those parts must be so arranged as to concentrate the attention upon one part alone in the picture. At the same time the other parts must be seen. Then they must be seen as secondary only, not taking the attention from the primary, but by their judicious relation even enforcing the attention upon the primary. This quality of a picture, without which no feeling

can be realized, I call the unity of the picture. Examples. No unity—Tosa. Unity. Ganki, dragon etc.

But unity alone is not sufficient to make a fine picture; for unity, while it is indispensable to our having artistic feeling, does not of itself necessarily imply artistic feeling. (Examples)

Artistic feeling is caused by the perfection of the relations. Now in order that the whole shall be perfect, all the parts themselves must be perfect, as perfect at least as parts can be; that is they must be ideal in character, such that they are interesting for themselves alone. Now this quality of harmonious relation in each part, which fits it to be part of a complete pictorial idea, is what we mean by beauty. Is beauty the same thing then with complete ideality? No, for we speak of beauty of parts, but of perfection of the whole. For instance the lines alone may be beautiful, and nothing else. Then the picture as a whole is imperfect. So if the right side is beautiful and the left not. Now in a perfect picture all ought to be beautiful. Beauty then is not artistic quality, but that abstract peculiarity of the parts which lies at the basis of artistic quality and renders it possible.

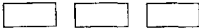
Now we can see still better what we mean by beauty if we say that it is a combination of contrast and gradation. There can be no beauty without contrast. But contrast alone would be too harsh, if the gap was not filled up by intermediate grades. I will illustrate this in a moment by several kinds of beauty. But this gradation can go on infinitely from part to part. This, then, increases the beauty.

Now I have shown that a picture must have unity and the unified parts must have beauty as a means to being perfect. But painting has four elements, one of subject and three of form. Now each of

these must have a unity of its own, and each must be beautiful. Then we can deduce 8 necessary qualities of a perfect picture. Let us consider them separately.

1st of *Lines*. Unity. This consists in such a disposition of lines that the attention is concentrated on one point, and other lines support the attention. (Examples) Kakei picture, bad Shaka

2nd, Beauty of line. This means such a contrast and gradation of lines added to this unity, as gives them as much of an interest as they can have by themselves. This can increase in degree infinitely. (Example) Toba

3rd, Unity of shades. All colors have a shade. Example. Bunrin[?] Now, whether colored or not, unity of shade means such a disposition of light and dark parts that the attention is concentrated. This can be reached only by having one strongest light and one strongest dark. (Example) Sessiu  bad example, Quannon

4th, Beauty of shades. This means such a contrast and gradation of parts, that added to the main contrast of the unity it gives us an artistic feeling of its own, not complete, but still powerful. This can be carried to infinite degree. Examples. Quannon. Taniu dragon.

One of the rarest qualities to find, contributes very largely to fineness of picture. Can be carried to parts of parts.

5th, Unity of color. This means such a disposition of the colors, that our attention is concentrated, and the others are subservient to it. Rare quality. Examples. No good one. Kwangu. Very bad. Many birds.

6th, Beauty of color. This means such a contrast and gradation

of colors, that, combined with the unity of color, we get a color idea from it. This admits of infinite gradation. Examples. *imp* on other side of Kwangu. Tosa on the other side of Quannon.

Now these six qualities are to be found in the form of painting. Unity is most important, without unity there can be no beauty. To sacrifice unity to beauty is failure. (Example) But keeping unity, the greatest artist *in form* is he who can carry beauty the farthest.

7th, Unity of subject. By this I mean that the things represented in the picture must be such and so disposed that the attention is attracted to the main thing in the subject, and the accessories remain secondary. Examples. Toba. bad, many birds.

8th, Beauty of subject. By this I mean such a character in the subject by which its many parts impress us with a deep idea. Examples. Nijiushiko (have already explained this).

We have now described eight qualities. But there are two more. So far we have described the qualities of the parts. But we previously saw that the perfection of the picture requires singleness of impression. Then all these eight qualities must be realized at once. How is this possible? Only by the highest genius. (Magic) Cannot be done in succession. If so, some will be lost. Now from this necessity spring two qualities.

9th, Force of subject. That is, the picture must be so conceived by the artist in the first place that all eight qualities flash out at once. This can only be when the whole thing has a force of its own, which seizes as well on the spectator. Examples. None. Taniu dragon a little.

But this effect cannot be produced in the picture without another quality.

10th, Force of execution. This means that all eight qualities must not only be all conceived together, but all executed together. To attempt to realize them in succession is to fail. How can all be done at a single touch? Only by the touch containing all at once. This is force in the true sense. This requires the highest genius. Examples. None. (Will speak more next time)

Now let me make some comments on these qualities. To realize all is perfection in a picture. This is hardly ever done. Only certain qualities alone are even tried for by most people. Each is celebrated for one quality alone. This is bad and the *first cause* of degeneration in art. Unity more important than beauty. Or Unity with a little beauty makes a finer picture than high beauty with no unity. Force does not mean mere strength of touch. This is nothing, unless it expresses something. The more it expresses the stronger it must be. Thus if only two or three qualities are united together, that is some strength, though not so much as if all were united. To aim at strength alone is to defeat oneself. Most people, especially women, satisfied with beauty and ignorant of other qualities.

A great artist must be original, for he has an original unity of many qualities to express, which he must conceive together first. This is the reason why a mere copyist is always poor. We can copy one quality, but we cannot copy the unity of all qualities. Every man who invents a new style, does so because he has need of it to express his new idea. But that originality which is a mere startling grotesqueness is not what I mean. We require high spiritual qualities to be original. This is the second cause of degeneration in painting. To copy the style of another is to destroy all greatness or power of original conception in ourselves. It cannot reach artistic



quality. Examples.

We have now a test for criticizing paintings. Japanese art was formerly great. In later times it was much crushed out by bunjinga. Many gentlemen, even at the present day, suppose that bunjinga is good art. We can now prove that it is not. It ignores the essential difference between literature, poetry, and painting. We said before that the idea of subject must be unified with the idea of the form. Now the form of poetry is words in succession. The form of painting is lines, shades and color in coexistence. Consequently those subjects, fit for one, are not for the other. Painting conceives its subject in space, not in the form of a process. Poetry conceives of its subject in the form of a process. If either takes the subject of the other it fails. For instance, poems sometimes give tedious lengthy descriptions of some thing, so that we forget the first before we get to the last. How much better [than] this description can be given by a picture? An example of the opposite error is the attempt to paint a history in a long makimono. This has no pictorial unity. Its unity is properly poetical and not fit for painting. We must make a succession of pictures, each perfect in itself. Now bunjinga makes this mistake. The picture suggests a poem to the literary man. But it does not suggest a picture, for it has no unity or beauty of form. It then is not the true art of painting, and there is no painting idea in it at all. Thus the most horrible paintings are now prized by bunjin for reasons extraneous to artistic reasons. Then these men do not know what painting is. Of course some bunjinga is good, for the artists were truer than their theory, but rarely this is so. (Examples) This mixture of literature with art is the third cause of degeneration of the latter, in both East and West.

Of late, however, Japanese gentlemen have taken up oil painting, borrowed from Europe. If bunjinga is the upper millstone, oil painting is the lower, between which Japanese painting is being ground to powder. Now is this a good thing [?] Let us apply our tests, and value the differences between Eastern and Western painting.

First difference. Japanese look largely at touch in a picture. But Europeans look at the effect of the whole. Now which is wrong? The Japanese are here wrong. Touch is merely a single abstract quality, and unless it be forceful in the true sense of combining many qualities, it is not artistic at all. But if it combines them, then it makes great effect. Thus Taniu's touch is great, because it makes great effect. (Examples) But touch alone without effect is nothing. Now the belief that touch is all is the fourth cause of degeneration of painting in Japan. It is as if we should take the dead bones of a man, instead of his living body. Modern Japanese critics see nothing but touch in an old picture. But it is certain that the artists themselves saw great ideas. The critics, having lost the knowledge of impressive ideas, cannot see them. This cause of degeneration almost always attacks great artists themselves. Becoming proud of their own great touch, they follow that alone, and thus lose all spirit, and so become poor. Thus every artist has three periods; that of growth, that of maturity of power and style, that of slavery to style and decay. So with each school of painting generally in East and West, Japanese must learn to follow their own and old Chinese masters of painting whose style was but a means of realizing effect. They must learn this also from Europeans. (Picture—Examples)

Second difference. Oil painting is more like nature than Japa-

nese. But we have already seen that this is no artistic excellence. Nature hardly ever presents true ideas. But sometimes she does. Then we say she is picturesque. That means that he can readily see an artistic idea in her. To copy nature for the sake of likeness only is then to lose all power of ideality. This is the fifth cause of degeneration in painting. It has killed art in Europe. Oil painting is bad, when it merely realizes nature. Foreigners are generally proud of their oil painting. But this only shows the ignorance of the times. Artists go to consult the professors. If they paint a rock, they do not feel it, but go to the geologist to tell their intellects how to paint it. If they wish to paint some night scene which happened in history two thousand years ago, they must consult the astronomers to find out in what phase the moon was that night. All this is nonsense. It is science but not art, for it has nothing whatever to do with unity of feeling.

This notion too has greatly injured art in Japan. Coming in with the school of Okio, it has debased art to be mere copies of natural trivialities. Okio's pictures are generally not good for they have little ideality in them. This is still more true of his followers. If they have ideality then they are good for that, not because they are like nature. If a picture has the ten qualities, that is enough. But if not, then no amount of likeness to nature makes it art. Still we must not neglect to study from nature. Why? In order to learn freedom of expression. An artist ignorant of nature can draw a man only one way. Example. In order to express ideas freely, a man must be able to realize the ideal under any form, then must be able to draw from all points of view. If he cannot do this, then his idea is cramped, and cannot breathe as it were. Thus great artists are those

who can draw all their ideas clearly. Then an artist must study from nature, not mind you, for the sake of copying nature, but for the sake of getting the elements of a variety of ideas from nature. Examples. Then we may conclude that it is no excellence of oil painting that it is like nature.

Third difference. Japanese pictures have no shadow. But this is no fault at all. What we need is variety and unity of dark and light parts. But it is not necessary that the dark parts shall represent cast shadows. This is one way of reaching unity and beauty of shade to be sure, but it is not the only way. Further it is generally a bad way, because it distracts the mind from the purity of its idea in order to calculate intellectually how such and such a shadow would actually fall in nature. This is the old error, that it is art to be like nature. To make shadows correctly is very difficult. To overcome this oil painters sacrifice all artistic excellences. Then the Japanese way without shadows is far better. For it enables one to conceive and realize an idea at once. Examples. Quannon.

I do not say that sometimes we may not introduce shadow, but I say that it is unnecessary. And I say now this has been the sixth cause of degeneration in European art. It has taken all the life out of it.

Fourth difference. Japanese pictures are simpler. This is much better. In oil paintings we must fill up all the corners. This distracts the attention. Foreigners do not like the waste paper in Japanese pictures. They are wrong. Unity of feeling requires simplicity. This is the result of having a taste for ideas. The painting of the old European masters was simple. Examples. Any one.

Fifth difference, kind of color. Japanese thin wash is purer and

more harmonious. Foreign oil colors are harsh, and very difficult to grade so as to keep other qualities.\* In this difficulty of color, European art has degenerated. Beauty of color lies in contrast and gradation and does not require coarse richness. Then a light wash is all that is necessary, for in this there can be unity and beauty. Examples. Any one.

Sixth difference. Oil painting has no outline. This is because nature has none. This is no art reason. Japanese way of giving outline is better generally. Lines become more beautiful. The effect of form is simpler and more unified. The touch can be more powerful. But many good Japanese pictures have little outline. Not always necessary, but when required it is a good thing, and better than oil painting. Examples.

Seventh, ideality of Japanese. This is artistic quality. Oil painting leaves you sticking in the mud often. Oil painting can reach ideality. But not so perfectly or spontaneously. This is the glory of your painting. Examples. Quannon etc. difference of form in figures, perspective.

Thus in all several important differences, all but the first are in favor of Japan, and even in this the old Japanese paintings agree with oil painting. Oil painting in Europe is now at its low point. Our artists, in becoming more philosophical, have come to despair of it, and wish to give it up or improve it. It has spoilt our art. Lessing, the greatest German critic, says it is a pity that oil painting was ever invented, for it has killed out all spontaneity. Now it is

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\* The technicalities are so great that an artist has declared it takes a life time to master. Thus life is wasted over form alone. This makes people think that to be like nature is all the business of an artist. He dies before ideality comes.

certain that in the future, Europe and America will adopt in large degree the Eastern method of painting, because it is the best. We can clearly see the beginning of the movement at home now.

How foolish then are the Japanese! They have given up that very national painting which Philosophy proves to be the best, and which Europe will gladly take from her as a priceless treasure, and they are adopting a bad, wornout style of painting from Europe, which we ourselves are ashamed of and wish to improve. Could anything be more foolish than this to throw away a jewel, in order to pick up a stone? If Japanese do not let their art die and will revive it again in its true glory, then I solemnly predict that twenty years from now Japanese artists will be employed as professors in American schools of art to teach their methods of painting.

The same causes of degeneration in Europe have to some degree also worked in Japan, until her art is now dead. The practical problem is, how is it possible to revive it?

The first thing is to study to reach the ten qualities, consciously to try this. To do this you must study the old Japanese and Chinese Masters. Not merely to copy them however, for that is weakness and death. But to get a basis for producing new things. But new things require new ideas, and great ones. These no longer found in religion. Then must be found in the great field of national history. But how treated. Buddhist style? No unity or beauty of shade. Tosa? No unities of any kind. Okio? Merely copies nature. Hokusai? No beauty and is vulgar. Old Chinese and Kano combines all excellences. Examples.

No shadows, outlines freely used. Color more or less of a wash. One thing only borrowed from foreign, must study from nature to get

variety and ideal beauty of form. For instance, hands and feet. If we do not know how to draw them in all positions, then we cannot express the ideal in them. This is a fault of old art, but it is out-balanced by a thousand excellencies. If a man is full of ideas, he will seize them from nature and his soul at all times.

But how can Japanese artists afford to make the experiment? They can't without patronage. Few good things have ever been done in art without patronage. Government may set the example. Found a school for Japanese painting. But not teach bunjinga or oil painting or Tosa style, and not teach to copy, but to express new ideas. Public or private means must found an academy, with regular exhibitions, and guarantees of purchase of all good work. When people buy only old things, art is already dead. Then public taste will follow this academy, and demand will spring up. But Japanese are too prejudiced. Then they will wake up some day to find European and American millionaires buying from under their eyes the gems of Japan. Artists, your patronage may have to begin from abroad if your own people neglect you. But be true to yourselves. If you try to paint like foreigners you only disgust them by failure. Paint your own style. Strange you have not yet learned that foreigners of taste like it best. Do not paint to catch the eye and pennies of the vulgar, but to entrap the heart and dollars of the educated.

Lastly, earnestness and highmindedness are required. An artist must be refined in order to have great ideas. An ignorant man can only copy. A bad man too can see no great ideas. If you have genius to seize ideas, follow it reverently, and do not prostitute it for money. Other things equal, the man of greatest mind makes the

best artist. Be noble. If these directions could be followed, art would arise in Japan and surpass all former achievements. This lecture brief. Cannot say much. Thank.

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