Visualizing Japan's Wartime Pan-Asianism: The Ideological Landscape in *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing*

Yi Julian Cao
Advisor: Chelsea Foxwell
Preceptor: Savannah Esquivel

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

MASTER OF ARTS PROGRAM IN THE HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
MAY 24, 2019

This thesis is dedicated to

the city of Nanjing

where I was born and raised

Abstract

This thesis examines Kanokogi Takeshirō's (1874-1941) painting, *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing* (1940), as a visual representation and witness of Pan-Asianism at its critical transformation in wartime Japan. A tribute to the Japanese army and the Yasukuni Shrine, the painting depicts the scene in which the army, after taking over China's capital on December 13th, 1937, held an official ceremony of the city entry on the 17th. *Nanjing* invites a new way of looking at wartime record paintings produced in the 1930s and 40s, most of the existing research on which focuses only on the representation of either the establishment or disintegration of the human figures. This thesis argues that *Nanjing* shifts the visual emphasis from the representation of human figures to the identified landscape elements, thus inverting the pictorial construction by giving both visual and ideological primacy to the compositional background instead of the foreground. It successfully overcomes the circumscriptions of both objectivity and a mere record of war. Instead, the painting actively witnesses the historical event by involving its viewers into a nationalistic participation, through which the notion of a communal body is given form.

This thesis, while providing a detailed visual examination of *Nanjing* and its comparison with photographs and architecture, combines different types of media and literature—including news reports, memoirs, and travelogues—in order to demonstrate *Nanjing*'s capacity as an ideologically charged symbolism that uses the landscape to generate a specific interpretation—of the occupied territory and its national icons—that fits with Japan's own Pan-Asian and colonial ideals. In general, this thesis intends to shed light on the art historical understanding of the subtlety and ambiguity of Japan's wartime ideology, one that consists of both violence and a (re)imagination of Asia that overcomes borderlines and modernity.

List of Figures

Visualizing Japan's Wartime Pan-Asianism: The Ideological Landscape in *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing*[1][2][3][4]

When Japan's total war ended in 1945, the nation's imperial wartime ideologies collapsed together with its extensive colonies and annexations. Unsurprisingly, visual propagandistic tools for such ideologies were also removed and negated, swiftly disappearing from the public eye. Among them were some 153 wartime record paintings (戦争記録画) confiscated by the U.S. due to their imperialistic and fascist themes.[5] Returned to Japan in the 1970s, these paintings are now still under U.S.'s "permanent loan," and most of them are kept in the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo. It was not until the 1990s when scholars of art history, politics, and history both in Japan and the West started to turn their eyes to these artworks.

However, one painting still remains unnoticed within the wartime record paintings' revitalization of general academic interest during the past decades. Such neglect becomes even more ironic given the immense size of the artwork—about two meters wide and five meters long—that cannot be disregarded by any look. Kanokogi Takeshirō's (鹿子木孟郎, 1874-1941) *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing* (南京入城図, Fig. 1, hereafter *Nanjing*) depicts the historic city entry ceremony four days after Nanjing, the capital of the Republic of China, was captured by the Japanese on December 13th, 1937. The date also marks the beginning of the infamous

[1] Japanese personal names in this paper are presented with surname first and forename last.
[2] For Japanese words, macrons are used to indicate long vowels, except for widely recognized names as Tokyo. The spellings of Japanese names and words in book titles are preserved as in the original.
[3] Well-known Chinese names and terms, such as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and Pu yi, are spelled as they frequently appear in English literature.
[4] The translations of Japanese and Chinese sources are all mine unless otherwise specified.
[5] For a brief history of these wartime record paintings and their rediscovery in the late-1960s in U.S., see Asato Ikeda, *The Politics of Painting: Fascism and Japanese Art during the Second World War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), 1-2.

Nanjing Massacre (or The Rape of Nanking), which lasted till January 1938.[6] Kanokogi was commissioned by the Army Art Association (陸軍美術協會) as well as his friend (and patron) Shōfu Kajō (松風嘉定)[7] in 1938 to make a painting as a tribute to the Yasukuni Shrine (靖国神社) in Tokyo. Kanokogi visited Nanjing in late-March 1938 to observe the landscape.[8] The making of the painting took two years, during which he produced drafts and piecemeal exercises of the painting, such as a portrait of General Matsui Iwane (松井石根, 1878-1948). In 1940, the painting was finished and was enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine, where war dead are commemorated.

[6] The cause, length, and casualties of the Nanjing Massacre remain controversial today. While the Chinese official holds the approximate death around 300,000, the numbers range from 40,000 to over 300,000 according to different sources and parties. Yet it was almost certain that the domestic of Japan was not very aware of the incident due to rigid censorship of news report as well as all photos taken in the battlefield, albeit cases such as the notorious "contest to kill 100 people with sword 百人斬り競争" were indeed covered by *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shibun* on December 13th, 1937. See, for an example, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "The Nanking 100-Man Killing Contest Debate," in *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38: Complicating the Picture*, 2nd ed, ed. Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 115-148.

[7] The Shōfu here is the son (the fourth generation) who shared the same name with his father, Shōfu Kajō (the third generation, 1871-1928), a lifelong friend and patron of Kanokogi. The Shōfu family owned an enterprise that originally produced porcelain but later transferred into Japan's pioneering artificial teeth material monopoly. Kanokogi's three trips to and study in France were all sponsored in part by the Shōfu family. When *Nanjing* was completely in December 1940, a reproduction of it was exhibited for around one week (December 17th-December 25th, 1940) at the studio (and the store) of Shōfu company at Ginza (銀座), Tokyo, while the original piece was moved to the Yasukuni Shrine. For the detail of this special exhibition, see Bijutsu Kenkyū Sho, *Nihon Bijutsu Nenkan*, *Shōwa 16 Nen* [The Yearbook of art of Japan, the 16th year of *Shōwa*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 79, 81. For the commission by the Shōfu family, see Hariu, Ichirō, Sawaragi Noi, Kuraya Mika, Kawata Akihisa, Hirase Reita, and Ootani Shogo, *Sensō to bijutsu 1937-1945* [Art in wartime Japan 1937-1945], 2nd ed (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2017), 203.

[8] This first trip was officially recorded in most of the historical sources, but it is possible that Kanokogi went to Nanjing for a second visit in December 1938, roughly at the one-year anniversary of the fall of Nanjing. While this trip was not well-documented, it was mentioned once in a piece of personal writing and explanation of the background story of the making of *Nanjing* included in a postcard version of the painting sold at Yasukuni Shrine in the early 1940s. Kanokogi probably went to Nanjing in winter and during the same timeframe with the city entry ceremony for a better grasp of the color and landscape of winter (since his first visit was in spring). Such modification is also witnessed in the comparison between his "exercise" painting of a portion of *Nanjing*, with a closer depiction of general Matsui. The "exercises" was exhibited in the first Holy War Art Exhibition in 1939 (**Fig. 18**). In this exercise, trees behind the general close to the entrance of the Central Supervisory Committee compound are shown with leaves, whereas in the full painting of *Nanjing*, the trees are all rendered leafless.

Since the 1990s, some well-received theories about Japanese wartime art have been established, including issues about the medium, the figural representation of Japanese, and the artworks' spiritual implication and embodiment of the ideological body as well as collectiveness of the nation.[9] Some more recent studies have even noted the modified realism in some wartime representations. Yet most of them neglect the power of the landscape, which in *Nanjing* is not only the background but an agential embodiment that surpasses the power of human figures, which are only compositionally in front of the landscape.

In contrast, Kanokogi Takeshirō's *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing* invites a new way of looking at the wartime record paintings produced in the 1930s and 1940s. I argue that, although it is categorized as an objective visual record of a war event, *Nanjing* successfully overcomes the circumscriptions of both objectivity and a mere record of war. Through a close visual analysis, I demonstrate that *Nanjing* shifts the visual emphasis from the representation of human figures to the identified landscape elements, thus inverting the pictorial construction by giving both visual and ideological primacy to the background instead of the foreground. Meanwhile, the painting actively witnesses the historical event by involving its viewers into a nationalistic participation, through which the notion of a communal body is given form. Therefore, *Nanjing* departs from a simple realistic record of the incident and becomes ideologically charged symbolism that uses

[9] This interaction between the representation of individual human bodies and a suggested spiritualization of their (dead) souls elevated to a nationalistic level is more witnessed in the later period of wartime record paintings, especially those produced at the last phase of Japan's total war. In this period, massive suicidal combats happened, and the notion of *gyokusai* (玉砕, smashed jewels), was acclaimed by the authority. Artworks oftentimes feature the last fight of Japanese soldiers in order to convey such determined sacrifice for the country, and these artworks themselves also function as visual evidence of these soldiers' transformation into *eirei* (英霊, courageous spirit), that transcends their physical existence. See Winther Tamaki, "Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting during the Fifteen-Year War," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 2 (Summer, 1997), 174-180. Aya Louisa McDonald has written a more specific article about the spirituality of such paintings by Fujita Tsuguharu (1886-1968) in "Fujita Tsuguharu: An Artist of the Holy War Revisited," in *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960*, ed. Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa McDonald, and Ming Tiampo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 169-189.

the landscape to generate a specific interpretation—of the occupied territory and its national icons—that fits with Japan's own Pan-Asian and colonial ideals.

This thesis intends to show how the artist deploys realism and re-appropriates the landscape as tools to construct an ideological visuality of Japan's wartime Pan-Asianism. This becomes obvious through examination of the value of *Nanjing*'s ideological and political symbolism together with other wartime media, including photography and literature. The painting is situated, therefore, as a witness to the transformation of Japan's Pan-Asian ideal (and its intertwinement with imperialism, colonialism, and fascism) at the pivotal juncture of the 1930s and 1940s. Although *Nanjing* has a manifest realistic style and effort, Kanokogi re-appropriates the elements in the background of this painting. Through this visual re-appropriation and rearrangement, certain elements in the landscape are enhanced, while others are distorted or simply omitted to reinforce the visual power and mental centrality of the enhanced ones.

The adapted landscape in *Nanjing* necessarily suggests Japan's control over China (and East Asia). It overcomes its Chinese originality and is no longer natural. Instead, it only serves the Japanese version of Pan-Asianism, colonialism, and its total war against the Western modernity, not China (i.e., this is *not* a painting about China. It is a painting about *Japan*).[10] While the presence of Chinese nationalistic icons is preserved, the meaning of them is re-appropriated and transferred to underscore an implied, indirect presence of Japan. Thus, the

[10] A parallel of this absolute centrality of Japan in literature can be found in, for instance, Nakamura Kōya's (中村孝也,1885-1970) travelogue. Nakamura was a historian, and he visited Nanjing in the spring of 1942. In his writing, he called Nanjing an "ancient soil 古き土壌" in which new buds were being cultivated. However, such cultivation was only possible with the help of Japan, which was, according to him, "proceeding in its full power" along with the trend of a power shift from the West to the East. Thus, the delineation of a foreign land of otherness is utilized here to prove Japan's "robust construction power." See Nakamura Kōya, *Shina wo iku* [Going to China] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1942), 303-309.

Japanese nationalistic notion behind the visuality turns this landscape into symbolism of "otherness" or "locality," which reflects its Japanese counterparts that enjoy the real socio-political "centrality"[11] of the painting as well as its viewing experience.[12] Through this treatment, the artist re-appropriates both the Chinese landscape and the Japanese figures in *Nanjing*, with which the ideology of Japan's wartime Pan-Asianism is unmistakably spotlighted.

***

The Making of a Pan-Asian Landscape: Visual Re-appropriation and Transformation

If you visit the city of Nanjing today, you can go to East Zhong-shan Road（中山東路）to take a look at what is called: "the former site of the Nationalist Central Supervisory Committee compound (國民黨中央監察委員會, Fig. 2)." The architecture is still there, and the road has the same direction although it has been repaved several times since the 1930s. Do not expect a detailed look at the architecture, and do not even dream about going inside the compound. The building is now a military asset and is not open to the public. The meandering Purple Mountain (紫金山, or 鍾山), with its 450-meter peak, is also there kilometers away at the compound's northeast, but you might not be able to see it either. The Chinese parasol trees along

[11] The comparison (direct or indirect) between the geopolitical center and its "localities" remains a central concern for Japanese imperialism and colonialism, which dated way before Japan's total war to its acquisition of Taiwan and Korean Peninsula in the 1890s. By stressing the backwardness, undevelopedness, and primitiveness of the "locales," this "colonial gaze" at the "others" and the confirmation thereof of the Japanese notion of "self" is also witnessed in art and becomes a peculiar inheritance Japan took from a Western, Orientalist idea. See Ikeda, *The Politics of Painting*, 96-98.

[12] It is necessary to note here the unavailability of the information about the Nanjing incident for common people in domestic Japan. Most of the facts about the massacre were censored, and the majority of Japanese people were not even aware of it. So, while we notice the implied violence hidden in this painting under a contemporary context, in order to reconstruct the painting's reception and viewing experience in the 1940s, an overflow of the discussion about the massacre itself needs to be withheld. For the filtering of wartime photographs and the artists' lack of independence thereof in choosing a photographic scene as their basis of artistic reproduction, see Kawata Akihisa, "The Japanese Physique and the 'Proper Body,'" trans. A.D. Covalt with Aaron Hames, in *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960,* ed. Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa McDonald, and Ming Tiampo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 145-148.

the sides of the road, some of which probably those in *Nanjing*, have grown all the way up to taller than the central archway of the compound. In summer, the full-grown leaves block out the sky, hiding the faraway mountain. Even without the trees, the high-rise hotel building, built in 1997 in the block between the compound and the Nanjing Museum (南京博物院, previously the National Central Museum 國立中央博物院), just east of the compound stands as an overwhelming visual barrier, with its 170-meter height, forbidding any perspectives that try to penetrate and reach the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum (中山陵) in the mountain (Fig. 3).

The clear and unhindered visuality in *Nanjing* stands in sharp contrast to today's obstructed view. The painting depicts the moment when General Matsui and Prince Yasuhiko Asaka (朝香宮鳩彦王, 1887-1981) led the victorious troops from the eastern gate of the city (中山門, Zhong-shan Gate) into the inner-city in the early afternoon of December 17th, 1937. The visuality in *Nanjing* combines the trace of war, implicated by the smoke and the broken electric posts, and a sense of emptiness. This is a common depiction in Japanese wartime art to suggest that civilians were not involved in military captures, obscuring actual atrocities. While neither the painting nor the media mentioned the inhuman act, the capture of the capital was generally a vital ideological tool that enjoyed a visual familiarity in Japan due to newspapers, magazines, and videos. The troop, with the generals and other high-ranking commanders under the salute of soldiers, has just passed the Central Supervisory Committee compound in the painting's left half. The architecture is in Chinese style and is built by the Nationalist government, some 550 meters away from the city gate and the connecting city wall. The troop's final destination in this ceremony is the Headquarters of the Nationalist Government (國民政府), the highest state organization and the office of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石, 1887-1975), about 2.5 kilometers west of the compound along East Zhong-shan Road.

Kanokogi Takeshirō forges a visuality of Japan's Pan-Asianism and colonialism by amending the landscape and shaping it into a carefully staged scene that still looks natural. In the painting, the landmarks and the landscape are mediated by the artist in a realistic style. However, this view, albeit based on an actual visit to the site, is by no means a literal record of it.[13] This practice obviously accords with the flexibility of the interpretation of realistic Western-style oil paintings (*yōga,* 洋画) in wartime Japan. Although a truthful commitment to "documentary realism" was always advocated by the authority,[14] artists still tended to consider realism a combination of ideological content, romanticism, and their own attitude, and not merely verisimilitude.[15] Therefore, Kanokogi intends to forge a visual and mental comparison to Japan by amending the landscape to underline the prominence of certain representative landmarks, which entail either historical or political aspects of China. Most of the vital re-appropriation of landscape in the painting is centered around the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum (Fig. 4), which is shown in the middle of the Purple Mountain afar in the upper right part of the canvas. Sun (孫文, 孫逸仙, or 孫中山, 1866-1925) and his mausoleum, completed in 1931, are undoubtedly symbolic of modern China as a nation and its revolutionary origin.[16] As the founding father of

[13] Aida Yuen Wong, "Landscape of Nandalal Bose (1882–1966): Japanism, Nationalism and Populism in Modern India," in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism*, ed. Brij Tankha (Linden: Brill, 2008), 95.
[14] See Maki Kaneko, *Mirroring the Japanese Empire: The Male Figure in* Yōga *Painting 1930-1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 38.
[15] The definition of realism and its representation were in contention in Japan's art world in the 1930s and 40s. See Mikiko Hirayama, "'Fictionalized Truth': Realism as the Vehicle for War Painting," in *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960,* ed. Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa McDonald, and Ming Tiampo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 39-57.
[16] Sun died on March 12th, 1925, in Bei-ping (now Beijing) at the age of 58. He mentioned earlier in his will that he would like to be buried at the Purple Mountain in Nanjing. The planning and construction of the Mausoleum initiated after Sun died in April 1925. When the main hall was finished in 1929, Sun's coffin was transported from Beijing to Nanjing via railroad. His coffin was moved from the harbor in the northern part of the city to the Mausoleum in the southern slope of the mountain. It was welcomed by the capital with a grand ceremony, and the 15-kilometer Zhong-shan Avenue (中山大道, which includes the present-day North Zhong-shan Road, Zhong-shan Road, East Zhong-shan Road, etc.) that cuts through the heart of the city was the route along which the coffin was transported. See Tiquan Dong, Zongren Yang, ed., *Zhongshanling dang'an shiliao*

the Republic of China, Sun led the unprecedented civil revolution that terminated China's final imperial dynasty, Qing (清, 1636-1912) and was the first (although temporary) president of the newly-founded nation in 1912. Unsurprisingly, Sun was also a reputed proponent of Pan-Asianism, yet his version was certainly different from the dominant ideology of Japan's Pan-Asianism embodied in *Nanjing* by the juncture of the 1930s and the 1940s.

In *Nanjing*, Kanokogi, through the use of perspective, makes an ideological landscape that frames an undisturbed monumentality of the far-away Mausoleum, guaranteeing its absolute primacy and visual power even with its distance and size (Fig. 5). The body of the Mausoleum itself is modified in order to emphasize certain characteristics of the architecture. Such modification gives the Mausoleum an enhanced, bigger visual presence that is easier to recognize upon the viewer's glance at the painting. The main hall of the Mausoleum, which contains the coffin of and a memorial space for the founding father, is about 700 meters away from the entrance archway (point A), which is depicted in the painting at the lowest right tip of the Mausoleum complex. This pathway between the main hall and the archway is divided into two parts by the tomb gate, which is about 480 meters from the archway and 250 meters from the main hall.

However, in the painting, the distance between the tomb gate and the entrance archway is severely compressed, while the distance between the gate and the main hall is extended. In other words, the widest part of the Mausoleum's stairway depicted in the painting, which connects the narrower stairway below the main hall and the tomb gate, does not actually exist in reality. Nonetheless, the addition of this fictional part of the architecture is very much a visual highlight that immediately differentiates the presence of the Mausoleum from the dull, earthy color of the

xuanbian [Selected Historical Documents of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum] (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe, 1986), 354, 375.

landscape of the mountain and the ground that surrounds the architecture. If the painting is seen from a distance (or at a height, like the way it was installed in the Yasukuni Shrine), one might initially notice the ivory-color band. Only with extreme attention, and a closer view of the painting, can a viewer further make out the detail and structure of the Mausoleum.

Kanokogi also manipulates other landmarks and the landscape in the painting in order to sharpen and strengthen the visual prominence of the Mausoleum. In order to draw attention to the Mausoleum, he reduces the landscape below the mountain as well as that closer to the viewing point (point K). For instance, the city wall shown along the horizon between the mountain and the ground is pushed back so that the height of the wall is reduced to an almost indiscernible belt.[17] According to the location of the Central Supervisory Committee compound, this viewing point is rather close to the east gate of the city (i.e., Zhong-shan Gate), which is a part of the city wall that was initially constructed in the early Ming Dynasty (明, 1368-1644), when Nanjing was also the capital. The portion of the city wall shown in the painting is actually the northeast corner of the inner-city wall, which takes an arc-shape course and changes its east-west direction to north-south (the section XY in Fig. 5). Although the painting does not include the Zhong-shan Gate, the very last bit of city wall that is included in the right half of the canvas has a southwest direction towards the Central Supervisory Committee (i.e., closer to the painting's vantage point—point K). That is, if a perspectival paradigm is taken, the last tip of the city wall (approaching point Y) framed in the painting should have appeared larger (or taller) as it approaches the right end of the canvas (line KYE).

[17] The part of the city wall depicted in the painting belongs to a portion that has been kept almost intact from its completion in the Ming Dynasty. According to a survey conducted in 1958, the average height of the wall of this segment, together with the rampart, is about 15 meters. See Guoqi Yang and Zhigao Wang, *Nanjing chengqiang zhi* [Gazetteer of the city wall of Nanjing] (Nanjing: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 2008), 342.

None of these commitments to reality happen in *Nanjing*. Instead, the city wall is only shown in its minimal height and represented as if every part is equidistant from the viewing point. Therefore, it enables Kanokogi to essentially lower the height of the wall as if he is following the linear perspective, where elements closer to the vanishing point appear smaller in order to approximate the optical experience of viewing. The diminished city wall creates ample space for the presentation of the Mausoleum above the city wall, and thus, underscores the priority of the iconic architecture.

Again, it is necessary to briefly revisit the significance of the Mausoleum (and Sun himself) that leads to the architecture's unhindered visual priority in *Nanjing*. In short, Kanokogi not only re-appropriates the building but also re-appropriates and thereby realigns the iconic significance of this founding father in parallel to Japan's wartime ideology of Pan-Asianism. As an ideology that has been drastically evolving since the late-19th century, the core of Pan-Asianism—the unity of Asian countries opposing the hegemonic West—maintained. Yet during its early days, proposed by scholars such as Okakura Tenshin (岡倉天心, 1862-1913), Pan-Asianism was a much milder idea that only centered around the unity of Asia and Asian culture (against the position of "leaving Asia (脱亜論)," for instance, advocated by Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1835-1901)) without claiming who shall be the leader or any form of territorial expansion.[18]

It was not until the 1920s[19] did the issue of the "Asian leader" became more prominent as a competition between Japan and China, regarded by most scholars as the only possible leader(s)

[18] For a general history and intellectual discourse of the development of Pan-Asianism in the late-19th and early-20th centuries China and Japan, see Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 99-130.

[19] The idea of the "leader of Asia" approach was already brought up in the 1880s. The resurrection of this idea, however, was more influential in the 1920s due to the claims by scholars such as Naitō Konan's (内藤湖南,

of the "landscape of dying nations" in Asia.[20] While upholding the idea (or ideal) of Asia's universality and collective civilization differed from the West, Sun Yat-sen mentioned the notion of *wangdao* (王道, *ōdō* in Japanese, the way of the ethical monarchs) in his famous speech titled "*Greater Asianism* (大亞細亞主義)" in Kōbe, Japan, 1924.[21] While *wangdao* certainly recalls China's central status in the ancient tribute system, Sun emphasized the peace and morality of such rulership and leadership, contrasting particularly with the Western hegemonic way (*hadō*, 覇道).[22] Ironically, after Sun died, it was Japan and its military that appropriated the language of *wangdao* and used it to occupy and colonize, first Manchuria in the early-1930s, and then mainland China.[23] By 1935, Japan's Pan-Asianism had become almost synonymous with Japanese chauvinism and was slanting towards an extreme accentuation of Japan's superiority.[24] Therefore, by featuring the Mausoleum of this iconic leader in the center of landscape in

---

1866-1934) that China is "not a state but merely a civilization" with no "clearly delineated political borders." See Miwa Kimitada, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japan: Nationalism, Regionalism and Universalism," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History,* ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 26-27.

[20] This phrase was first brought out by Nakano Seigo (中野正剛, 1886-1943), a Pan-Asian politician who, during his trip from Kōbe to Europe in 1915, traveled to many Asian cities, including Shanghai, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc. He named what he saw on these colonized lands "The Disgraced Asia" brought about by what Okakura put the "glory of Europe." It was from then on that Nakano became an enthusiastic propounder of Pan-Asianism. See Matsumoto Kenichi, "Okakura Tenshin and the Ideal of Pan-Asianism," in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism*, ed. Brij Tankha (Linden: Brill, 2008), 14-19.

[21] Sun's idea of Pan-Asianism was both significantly formed in and influential to Japan during his many visits. His stays in Japan had also made him acquaintance of local politicians and military figures, one of which Matsui Iwane. It was possible that Matsui even offered Sun accommodation during one of Sun's stays in Japan. As one with a more complicated attitude towards China, one that was different from the pure colonialism and militarism held by many others, Matsui and his presence in *Nanjing* further complicates the mixed property of the painting as a manifestation of Japan's Pan-Asianism. See Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," 115. For Matsui and his connection and relationship with Sun, see, for an example, Takashi Hayasaka, *Matsui Iwane to Nankin Jiken no Shinjitsu* [Matsui Iwane and the fact of the Nanjing incident] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjun, 2011), 31, 42-43.

[22] See Kimitada, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japan," 30.

[23] Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," 116.

[24] For the discussion on Pan-Asianism as a contradictory doctrine and the appropriation of the notion of *wangdao,* see Christopher W.A. Szpilman, "Between Pan-Asianism and Nationalism: Mitsukawa Kametarō and His Campaign to Reform Japan and Liberate Asia," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 85, 97-99.

Nanjing, Kanokogi explicitly brings the notions of semantic, semiotic, and visual appropriations to the surface in his ideological landscape. The painting not only legitimizes the takeover and development of a previous stage of Pan-Asianism but also is an acknowledgment of one of the very sources (i.e., Sun Yat-sen and his idea of *wangdao*) of this ideology, which is, together with the landscape, re-appropriated and reinterpreted in *Nanjing* only under the leadership of Japan.

A second selective re-appropriation of the landscape in *Nanjing* is the National Central Museum (Fig. 6), which in this case is removed entirely from the painting in order to guarantee the visual and mental centrality of the Mausoleum. The Museum is only one block away from the Committee compound and is the first national institution inside the Zhong-shan Gate. In the painting, it should have appeared roughly behind the second electric post from the right (along with line KA in Fig. 5). Starting from 1936, the construction of the new national museum was halted in the summer of 1937 due to the outbreak and aggravation of the Sino-Japanese warfare.

However, the exterior of the main hall of the Museum, which features a low but wide and large volume palatial structure imitating the architectural style of the Liao Dynasty (遼, 907-1125), was already completed. Seen also from videotapes taken on-site during the city entry ceremony in 1937, the impressive main hall of the Museum does appear many times in the background.[25] In Kanokogi's painting, however, while the main hall of the Museum would have been included if Kanokogi had followed the rule of perspective, the building disappears and is supplanted by a billow of gunpowder smoke. Again, like the diminished city wall, the disappearance of the main hall of the Museum brings about a smooth terrain in the right half of

[25] See, for example, "Nankin kanraku Matsui taisho no eppei <tokushū seisen yonen> [General Matsui's military review on the fall of Nanjing <special collection for the four-year anniversary of the Holy War>]," produced by NHK, *Nihon nyu-su* (Japan news) no. 56, July 1st, 1941, video, 7:09-7:11. https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/shogenarchives/jpnews/movie.cgi?das_id=D0001300441_00000&seg_number=006.

the canvas that provides a substratum for the Mausoleum, which sits undisturbed in the middle of the mountain at the center-right half of the canvas.

Kanokogi might have omitted the Museum because of the landmark's limited potential to generate sufficient visual power and ideological implication. It is clear from the cases of the Mausoleum and the city wall that the landscape in *Nanjing* is heavily designed and manipulated. As long as the landscape could not exert either the sense of warfare (like the smoke or the electric posts do), "landscape of dying nations" (like the abandoned and undeveloped land does), or monumentality performed by the Mausoleum, there is no need to include it in the painting. Thus, the partly finished Museum could be simply left out to keep the painting as a compact and coherent visual narrative. Another, albeit minor, reason for the Museum's exclusion might be Japan's sensitivity to the notion of "museum," as the nation envisaged itself as the true and only "exhibition hall" or "heterotopia" of Asian civilization(s).[26]

The ways in which Kanokogi renders the electric posts and cords provide a combination of the horizontal as well as the vertical visual frames for the Mausoleum. On the day of the city entry ceremony on December 17th, 1937, news photographs (Fig. 7) show that the electric cords (at least those between the Committee compound and the Zhong-shan Gate) were not completely broken as shown in the painting. Yet in *Nanjing*, Kanokogi renders all the electric posts disconnected. While the broken electric cords and posts, together with the smoke, do provide a visual balance between the happening of war and Japan's relative uncontested status, without those cords, the architecture of the Mausoleum, as well as the closer Committee compound,

[26] Kashiwagi Tomō discusses the Japan Empire, borrowing Michel Foucault's term, as the "heterotopia" of East Asia and the geopolitical dichotomy between the center (i.e., Tokyo or Japan) and its relative peripherals (i.e., localities and colonies) in "The Creation of the Imperial City of Tokyo and Landscape Expression," in *Shitsuraku en: Fūkei hyōgen no kindai 1870-1945* [Paradise Lost: The Politics of Landscape 1870-1945] (Tokyo: Taishukan, 2004), 53-54.

would be unimpeded. The vertical electric posts in the right half of the canvas also function as the visual configuration that frames the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum within, and the vast land that underlies the Mausoleum without the interference of any other objects further stresses the importance of the Mausoleum as the true center in the background of *Nanjing*.

Kanokogi's treatment of the landscape, together with the use of a spatial structure that emphasizes the Mausoleum, elevates the landscape from a natural representation of the capital city to a functional one with political and ideological investments. This is significant because it successfully transfers a foreign territory and its nationalistic icons into a visual tool that serves the Japanese ideal of Pan-Asianism and justifies its occupation of this territory. Since the late-19th century, Japanese politicians and scholars had noticed the imminent competition between China and Japan, both of which were reworking the old notion of common civilizations to be ready for their status as the leader of a united Asia.[27] The Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in *Nanjing* certainly represents a notable fruit of such reworking in the past decades, as Sun's conception of *wangdao* became an accepted and practiced strategy in both Japan and China.

Yet *Nanjing* also visually provides a clear outcome of the competing Chinese and Japanese nationalisms. In this contest, the notions of Japan's Pan-Asianism, imperialism, and colonialism are visually and mentally proved in this painting, accentuated further by the vantage point's elevation, which raises the visuality slightly up to create a quasi-bird's-eye view of the landscape.[28] Altogether this effect implies Japan's powerful domination of the land. The

[27] This sense of common culture and common race was both brought up in Japan and China in the late-19th century, and it was seen as an opposition to Fukuzawa Yukichi's exhortation of Japan's escape from Asia and entry into Europe to become civilized. The collective civilization of East Asian, again, was seen as something unique and different from the Western Civilization. In fact, it was more a combination of contemporary Social Darwinism as well as old, traditional Chinese culture. Unfortunately, this attempt to make and put forward this East Asian Civilization did not make much headway. See Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," 101.

[28] Bird's-eye representations of places in Japan and Taiwan were popular since late-Edo period. It enjoyed equal artistic enthusiasm even during Taishō period (1912-1926) especially by artists such as Yoshida

treatment of the landscape in *Nanjing* matches the intellectual discourse of Japan's concept of Pan-Asianism. *Nanjing* thus embodies the process of the formation of Pan-Asianism itself—a process that constructs a new universalism and communal body, during which visual and ideological traits that are either identical or opposite to the object (i.e., China) are identified.[29] The Mausoleum, for instance, is obviously something that is visually represented as relatively identical to Japan's own ideology and is appropriative. Nonetheless, the broken electric posts, the dilapidated governmental building in the foreground, and the undeveloped land below the Mausoleum are all characteristics to suggest that this occupied land failed to be governed and managed properly by the Chinese locals, current governments, or its version of modernity.

By underscoring such visual and ideological comparisons, Kanokogi renders Japan as the legitimate leader of China, as well as of Pan-Asianism, exactly because of Japan's own success in mastering (and then overcoming) Western civilization.[30] That is, Japan's own nationalism becomes closely linked to this universalism of Pan-Asianism much greater than itself, transcending national borders. The land of China thus becomes Japan's territorial dominion, sharing Japan's imagination of a communal East Asia, yet clearly differentiated from Japan, which is the only ideological and political *centrality* within this New East Asian Order (東亞新秩序).[31] It is in this visual making of the *implied* centrality and the *represented* peripheral that

---

Hatsusaburō (吉田初三郎, 1884-1955), a student of Kanokogi's. Bird's-eye view artworks were banned during wartime Japan for the fear of leakage of geographical information of Japan's mainland and overseas annexations. But still, Yoshida produced some postcard paintings of Nanjing with slightly elevated views similar to *Nanjing* (**Fig. 8**). See Huei-fen Luo, "Rizhi shiqi niaokantu zhi yanjiu—cong riben huishi zhiyan jian Taiwan [A study of the artworks of birds-eye view during the Japanese colonial period: the representation of Taiwan from the viewpoint of Japanese painters]," (Master thesis, National Pingtung University, 2011), 145, 246-249.

[29] See Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," 108.

[30] Ibid., 107.

[31] The idea of the New East Asian Order was officially pronounced on November 3rd, 1938, by the prime minister Konoe Fumimaro (近衛文麿, 1891-1945), saying that "what the Empire craves is the construction of a new order to secure the perpetual stability of East Asia." Underneath this phrase was a notion that was

the landscape in *Nanjing* further surpasses the visual power of the human figures and dominates as the visual protagonist of the painting, which I will discuss in detail in the following section.

***

The Landscape as Protagonist and the Foregrounded Background

While most of the existing research on Japanese wartime record paintings features the representation of either the establishment or disintegration of human figures as the only focus,[32] in *Nanjing*, the representation of the human only functions as an inverted background and context of the natural and manmade landscape and landmarks. It is clear that by manipulating and re-appropriating the landscape in *Nanjing*, Kanokogi invests the compositional background of the painting as a functional embodiment instead of a secondary context of the human figures in the front. That is to say, rather than the typical visual protagonist in Japanese wartime art occupied dominantly by figural representations, the ideological narrative as well as the visual drama in *Nanjing* are both achieved mainly by the landscape that possesses particular implication through Kanokogi's re-appropriation. If the landscape is deprived, the artwork loses its significance as an ideological tool and is reduced to a similar level of mundane photographic records of the incident. Therefore, I shall discuss specifically in this section the power of

---

heavily influenced by a Germany thought that underlines a hatred of Western (i.e. Anglo-American) hegemony as opposed to the notion of Pan-Germanism. As a phase within the general development of Pan-Asianism in Japan, the New East Asian Order was a "clear link between 'fascism' at [Japan's domestic] home and [its] expansionism abroad." This phrase later developed into its more ambitious notion of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" during the Pacific War period. See Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 166-176.

[32] The theory of embodiment and disembodiment, which was first made by Bert Winther-Tamaki, has been widely embraced in the current scholarship regarding Japanese wartime paintings. Both the embodiment and the disembodiment, however, refer mostly to the representation of human bodies and their relationship with a broader sense of nationalism, fascism, and imperialism. For an early discussion of this theory, see Bert Winther-Tamaki, "Embodiment/Disembodiment." For his more specific opinion on the disembodiment of human bodies in gruesome suicidal battle paintings, see his "The Feast of Fierce Massacre: Maximum Disembodiment," in *Maximum Embodiment: Yōga, the Western Painting of Japan, 1912-1955* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 128-162.

landscape in *Nanjing* as the visual protagonist after manipulation by Kanokogi, and the ways in which this power has been deliberately foregrounded.

The central structures in the painting evoke political implications and comparisons. We can see this in the treatment of the Central Supervisory Committee compound, the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, and even the disconnected electric posts. Since most of these structures are manipulated and modified by Kanokogi, their significance has also been underlined for an easier perception by the audience because the interpretation of this power dynamic between a defeated China and a victorious Japan arises immediately. Simultaneously, the landscape in *Nanjing*, conducted in a realistic brushstroke, generates an automatic illusion of a depicted view, leading the viewer to believe that the landscape and landmarks in the painting are truthfully rendered without any amendments.

While the status of the tomb of Sun Yat-sen remains clear as a representation of the founding father himself, his role as a representative figure of Pan-Asianism, and China's revolution and democratic accomplishment in the previous decades, the political significance of the Central Supervisory Committee, finished in 1936 by the Chinese Nationalist government, needs some further explanation. Obviously, the Mausoleum in the far right of *Nanjing* suggests the revolutionary convention of China and a previous ideology of Pan-Asianism that is both respected and re-appropriated by Japan. Yet as the most noticeable architecture in left half of the canvas, the Central Supervisory Committee refers more to the current status of the nation's politics and nationalism, which is denounced visually in this painting to fit Japan's Pan-Asianism and war agenda.

Meanwhile, the representation of the dilapidated compound is also a visuality of Japan's somewhat ambiguous attitude towards its neighboring countries. This is due to the

intertwinement of Japan's Pan-Asianism, which asserts the liberation (at least nominally) of the suffering East Asia from the West, and its racist inclination, which undoubtedly regards the Chinese government and people as inferior or even non-human.[33] According to the Nationalist government of the Republic of China, the compound is one project under the overarching schedule to (re)build Nanjing into an ideal capital as "the concentration of cultures of the whole nation."[34] It is a good representation of what governmental buildings should be like according to this agenda in order to "apply Chinese indigenous style as much as possible" and "fully exhibit the cultural and architectural essence of the country."[35] Inspired by traditional Chinese palatial architecture, the compound features a classic, three-bay archway, with its main hall built in a double hip-and-gable roof. Situated just inside the Zhong-shan Gate, the compound is also the first governmental institution (that had been finished) one would encounter from the eastern gate of the city along the East Zhong-shan Road, where many central departments, banks, museums, and the Nationalist government are also located. During the occupation of Nanjing, the Committee compound, probably due to its highly recognizable Chinese style, appeared as a commonly used iconic symbol of the city. For example, in this wartime travel souvenir pamphlet (Fig. 9), the compound is featured on the cover together with the title, *The New Impression of Nanking in True Color* (最新原色版・印象の南京).

[33] Many scholars have noticed the combination and co-existence of the Pan-Asian liberation idea and the idea that regards Japan's occupied people as less than human, and the Nanjing Massacre is a widely used example to exemplify this co-existence. See, for example, Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, 150-153, and Kari Shepherdson-Scott, "Entertaining War: Spectacle and the Great 'Capture of Wuhan' Battle Panorama of 1939," *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 4 (December 2018), 93-94.
[34] For the general outline of future governmental buildings in the reconstruction plan of Nanjing as the capital, see Guodu Sheji Jishu Zhuanyuan Banshichu (The Special Division of Capital Design and Technology), *Shoudu Jihua* [The plan of the capital], rev. ed. (1929; repr., Nanjing: Nanjing Chuban She, 2006), 60-63.
[35] See *Shoudu Jihua*, 60.

Kanokogi, therefore, by featuring the Committee compound at such prominence in *Nanjing*, demonstrates a distinct visuality of "city entry," one that is different from typical city entry paintings. This implies a higher notion of entry, which penetrates the political sphere of the occupied nation. City entry paintings are common for Japanese wartime record paintings. Most, however, depict the breaking-in of the literal gate or wall of a city or county. For instance, the only other war-themed art by Kanokogi is his mural *The Triumphal Entry into Hōten* (奉天入城図, 1926, Fig. 10). This painting depicts the occupation and entry of the city of Mukden (nowadays Shenyang, 沈陽) through its southern gate led by Marshal Ōyama Iwao (大山巌, 1842-1916) during the end of the Russo-Japanese War (日露戦争) in 1905. Here Kanokogi includes the city gate as a manifest emblem, literally declaring the entering into and annexation of the city. Another example is Hanaoka Manshū's (花岡萬舟, 1901?-?) *The Troop of Nakajima-ke Entering Wuxi* (無錫ニ入ル中島今部隊, c. 1938, Fig. 11). In this painting, the troop is also depicted approaching the city wall (and gate) in front of it after seizing the city of Wuxi in November 1937, right before Nanjing fell. In comparative terms, however, *Nanjing*, on a first glance, is not semantically an entry *into* a city. Instead, it shows everything already *inside* the city.

This difference is solved, however, once the political status of the city is taken into consideration. The painting's landscape gains a stronger effect in bringing together a wartime reality and an implicit but powerful imagination that resonates with the city's unique characteristic in traditional culture and literature. Nanjing was not a random city, but the capital of the nation, the heart of the country's politics, and a symbol of the nation's sovereignty as well as its integrity. In other words, the loss of the capital, to some extent, equals, or at least foreshadows, the defeat of the whole nation. Thus, the Committee compound here in *Nanjing*

functions as the city wall or city gate in the typical city-entry paintings. Its stylistic characteristic also strongly invokes a stereotypical visual allusion to China and its poetic culture, although the final product of this allusion is clearly different from the original emotion of such cultural traditions. For centuries in ancient China, Nanjing bore a peculiar political destiny, bouncing between the dynastic capital and completely ruined relics. Since the Tang Dynasty (唐, 618-907), Nanjing has been the subject for the poetic genre of *huaigu* (懷古, meditation on the past).[36] Ruined foundations of the palace of former dynasties, legendary mansions and temples, and the past prosperity were referenced and appropriated by the contemporary poets to invoke either melancholy or solitude of the present. Parts and remnants are thus effective literature and visual tools to implicate the imaginarily constructed whole.[37]

Therefore, as the first governmental building the Japanese encounter in the city entry ceremony, the Committee compound suggests the fall of and the entry into the political "gate" of the sovereign integrity of China. In addition, the sharp cut-off of the west-side pavilion next to the central archway, as well as the ancient city wall afar, suggests what is left out in this painting (as well as the parade) and invites an imagination of the "whole" interior of this political center, the other governmental institutions along the street, and the entire past-and-present of Nanjing and China. All of these, including the Headquarters of the Nationalist Government, are soon to be the subject of this parade and the bearer of such political and military dominance by Japan. In

[36] The first peak period Nanjing enjoyed during the history of ancient China was the Six Dynasties (六朝), during which the city was the capital of six consecutive dynasties that ruled south China. When the Sui Dynasty (隋, 581-ca. 619) reunited mainland China and moved the capital back to central-northwest (Xi'an 西安), it leveled the city of Nanjing to farmland. It was not until the collapse of Tang Dynasty, after which China returned to a relative divided period, that Nanjing was rebuilt. Thus, the city and the broken site was a popular inspiration during Tang when poetry was highly developed. For the role of Nanjing in ancient Chinese poetic tradition, see Stephen Owen, "Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (December 1990): 417-457.

[37] See Catherine Stuer, "Dimensions of Place: Map, Itinerary, and Trace in Images of Nanjing" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 15-16.

fact, the symbolism of the Committee compound as the gate of Nanjing (and political China) does not only exist in *Nanjing*. In the *"Impression of Nanjing"* pamphlet, the collage treatment of the cover features a vermillion arched shape similar to the entrance of the city gate that frames the main hall of the compound behind the central archway. The significance of the architecture as the indicator of the entrance of the city is made only more explicit here.

This sense of a failing government (and its attempt to achieve modernity) is suggested by the broken electric posts as well. While the combination of an iconographic mountain with electric posts could effectively suggest the success of the integration of the nation's traditional myths and modern development,[38] this dilapidated view in *Nanjing*, in contrast, recalls Richard Okada's claim of a landscape that "ties to violence…in the shadow of military."[39] This view also visually negates the ability of the Nationalist government to bring about a regeneration of China "in a manner that delivered modernity's promises without leading the nation to debauchery and chaos" or as "a new world of science, technology, and industrial productivity."[40]

Yet again, it should be noticed that by visually featuring the present government of the Nationalist Party as a failure, the narrative in *Nanjing* is depicted in consistency with Japan's Pan-Asianism. It attempted to lead China out from the exploitation from the West. By making this notion a legitimate ground for Japan's imperialism and war, the Nationalist government is

[38] This combination of a traditional national symbol with the visual cues of (Western) modernity and technology is not unfamiliar in East Asian art at all. In this Meiji period woodblock *nishiki-e* (錦絵) print by Kobayashi Kiyochika (小林清親, 1847-1915, **Fig. 12**), Mount Fuji is integrated with the impressive electric posts and cords. While the mountain itself could suggest the collectiveness of Japan as a country, this modern technology of communication and transmission further emphasizes the connectivity of the different localities within the nation, that both the past and the present (or even the future) of the nation is effectively and harmoniously brought together. See Ikeda, *The Politics of Painting,* 10-15.
[39] See Richard Okada, "'Landscape' and the Nation-State: A Reading of *Nihon fūkei ron*," in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, Vol. 6 of *Brill's Japanese Studies Library*, ed. by H. Bolitho and K.W. Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 107.
[40] See Maggie Clinton, *Revolutionary Nativism: Fascism and Culture in China 1925-1937* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 45-46.

considered as a representative of the West, or a pro-Western government, which should be replaced by a new government by Japan's aid.[41] Actually, an official announcement was quickly made by the Japanese government in January 1938, right after Nanjing fell, claiming its denial of the Nationalist government as Japan's legal diplomatic counterpart.[42]

Nanjing also gives a panoramic view of the city entry ceremony, reinforcing the landscape's status as the visual protagonist of the painting. Therefore, the painting in its entirety becomes an (inter)active documentation of the historical incident. Granted, the use of panorama, diorama, or bird's-eye view was common in wartime art in the late-1930s and early-1940s (Fig. 13).[43] For example, large-size panoramic replicas of the battlefield were set up in stadiums in Japan during war exhibitions as visual entertainments and spectacles (Fig. 14).[44] However, as Kari Shepherdson-Scott argues, while these panoramas, like *Nanjing*, feature "remarkable study in realistic detail" along with "selective omission," they only modify human figures, be they Japanese or Chinese.[45] Furthermore, the landscapes in these panoramas, as well as in most wartime record paintings, are anonymous. That is, lacking legible landmarks, they often feature

[41] Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*, 154.
[42] This official pronouncement made by Konoe, 国民政府を相手とせず ("no longer to deal with the Kuomintang government"), was originally made in order to intimidate the Kuomintang into suing for peace, so that Japan could reach a truce as it had discovered the quagmire of engaging war with a China much more resilient than it imagined. On the other hand, however, the pronouncement was also a typical manifestation of Japan's expectation of its international image and position. As it envisaged itself not appear to be weak to the rest of the world, especially to China, the pronouncement, again, fit with its Pan-Asianism concept, which imagined the role of Japan more like a taking up a moral responsibility, and that any retreat or exhibition of weakness shall not be tolerated because what Japan was doing for the whole East Asia was morally and legally correct. See Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*, 160-164.
[43] While bird's-eye view conducted in, for example, Yoshida Hatsusaburō's signature style was banned during wartime, Japanese wartime art witnesses the popularity of airplane view that gives a similar, elevated vista of the ground, which often shows occupied cities, such as Hong Kong, Pearl Harbor, and Nanjing.
[44] For a specific examination of domestic setups of war theme panorama as a kind of entertainment as well as propaganda, see the discussion on the panoramic replication of the battle of Wuhan, and its manipulation in its soldier figures as well as the landscape by Shepherdson-Scott, "Entertaining War," 81-84.
[45] Shepherdson-Scott, "Entertaining War," 88-89.

farmlands, mountains, and countryside that can be anywhere and do not possess sufficient visual power and ideological implication on their own.

The panoramic landscape in *Nanjing*, on the contrary, is far from anonymous; instead, it itself is highly distinguished and ideological. The landscape's power is further emphasized in *Nanjing* in that, first, the painting is not an entertainment piece, and second, that the landscape in *Nanjing* enjoys absolute centrality instead of only serving as a context for the soldiers. This centrality becomes clear with a brief discussion on photographic records of the city entry. The city entry ceremony in the early afternoon of December 17th, 1937, itself was well documented in writings, photography, and even in films.[46] Since Nanjing fell on the 13th, newspapers had been informing their readers that a "grand and unprecedented city entry ceremony, with a special remote tribute to the direction of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo" shall be held sometime around the 17th and 18th.[47] After the ceremony, reports and photographs reached back to Japan very quickly and occupied the covers of most major domestic newspapers and magazines on the next day (December 18th, 1937). Although photographs taken by different news agencies varied, they all had a similar composition, featuring General Matsui coming from the east towards the camera (Fig. 7). The very same composition is thus borrowed and transposed by Kanokogi to his renderings in *Nanjing*. This photographic view of the city entry ceremony was extremely familiar to domestic Japanese society, and it became an iconographic symbol for the event itself, as well

[46] For some of the reports in major newspapers in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya, see Xi Peng et al., trans. *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji shangce* (Photocopies of Japanese newspaper reports on Japanese invasions in the Nanjing massacre (volume I)), vol. 28, *Nanjing datusha shi yanjiu yu wenxian xilie congshu* [Series of books on the studies and documents of Nanjing massacre], ed. Chengshan Zhu (Nanjing, China: Nanjing Chubanshe, 2011), 123, 291.
[47] Peng, *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji shangce*, 123, 126. Photocopies of *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun,* December 14th, 1937.

as a representation of the bravery and glory of the courageous Japanese troops that took over the capital of China.[48]

It is then natural to hypothesize that, for the lower part of the painting, Kanokogi bases his "realistic" depiction very much on the photographs. When he was in Nanjing during the spring of 1938, Kanokogi did not witness the city entry ceremony, neither did he see General Matsui or the Prince Yasuhiko in person.[49] So, while he observed the landscape in detail, what he did for the human figures in *Nanjing* is probably a close study of and copy from the photographs due to Kanokogi's not witnessing the event and the painting's similar composition to photographs. This copy does not lower the artistic merit or significance of the painting in any sense. Instead, Kanokogi makes a clever choice in borrowing a photographic iconography and integrating it successfully with the surrounding yet powerful landscape. When the viewer sees the generals, commanders, and soldiers delineated in sophisticated details just like in the photographs, an immediate illusion occurs and migrates, or transfers, the viewer's belief in the painting's realism from the foreground of the painting to the background.[50] And since the viewer

[48] For an example of the familiarity of this iconographic view, see Jacqueline M. Atkins, "Wearing Novelty," in *The Brittle Decade: Visualizing Japan in the 1930s*, ed. John W. Dower, Anne N. Morse, Jacqueline M. Atkins, and Frederic A. Sharf (Boston: MFA Publications, 2012), 136-139. In this section, a piece of *omiyamairi* clothes (お宮参り, **Fig. 15**) has a design featuring General Matsui marching pass the city gate of Nanjing. The composition is clearly inspired by the photographs showing the city entry ceremony. *Omiyamairi* is a kind of *kimono* for a baby's (in this case a boy) first visit to a shrine on his one-month-old celebration. Fabric designs oftentimes show, therefore, the wish of the parents, and in this case, the parents of this new-born baby obviously wanted the son to grow up to be a brave and patriotic man just like the general.

[49] Both of them were summoned back to Japan by the emperor in February 1938. The role Matsui Iwane played throughout the Nanjing incident remains controversial. Due to malaria and fever from December 5th to 12th, General Matsui remained in Shanghai and Suzhou during the fight in Nanjing and could not effectively command the Nanjing battle. Thus, most of the commands were conducted by Prince Yasuhiko, who was with the army in Nanjing personally. Many believe that it was he who carried out the order to exterminate the POWs and commoners. General Matsui was recorded to arrive in Nanjing only before the city entry ceremony, and he returned to Shanghai on December 22nd, 1937. See Hayasaka, *Matsui Iwane*, 142-143, 186-187.

[50] For the paradigm of how the illusion works in art, as well as its production of mental anticipation and logical confirmation or negation, see E.H. Gombrich, "Illusion and Art," in *Illusion in Nature and Art*, ed. R.L. Gregory and E.H. Gombrich (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 193-243.

might well believe in photography's capacity in capturing the "unbiased truth" of reality,[51] the inclusion of a familiar view in the photograph in the painting would let the viewer naturally believe that what is behind the figures is also true, intensifying the painting's so-called realism.

Yet *Nanjing* differs from those photographs significantly because even news photographs were unable to provide such a complete vista of the event. For example, in this photo (Fig. 16), the cameraman was only able to focus on the troops while leaving the background out completely. If the cameraman intended to show background details, he must then sacrifice the size, as demonstrated by this photograph (Fig. 17). On the contrary, the vantage point and the view *Nanjing* provides for the audience closely echo the textual accounts made by eye-witnesses to the city entry on December 17th, 1937. For instance, the cover of *The Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* (東京朝日新聞) published on December 18th features an iconic photograph of the city entry ceremony, which was "directly sent back to Fukuoka by the aircraft 'The Gust of Good Luck (幸風)' in only three hours" after the ceremony.[52] *The Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (大阪朝日新聞) on the same day includes more details, such as "the brave troops marching under the gaze of the perpetual Mausoleum of Sun Yat-sen in the Purple Mountain," with the "*hinomaru* (日の丸, the

[51] For a discussion of photography and its capability to represent the truth of vision or that of the world, see Joel Snyder, "Picturing Vision," *Critical Inquiry* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1980): 502, 504-518. For this thesis, I am not delving into the validity of photography's capability of presenting a full and unbiased view that equates with the vision of human eyes. However, the sense that photographs do keep a better actuality of certain events or figures did prevail in the 1930s and 40s in the period of Japanese wartime record painting. Many artists tended to depict great portions of their art in resemblance to photographic record and representation of battlefields and combats. Nonetheless, it should be noted that they were also aware of the different effects of photographic views and painted scenes. Thus, a pure copy of photographs without any modifications would neither be considered as a great wartime record art. See, for an example, a discussion of a mundane painting that sticks to photographic "truth" of the Japanese soldiers without elevating them to the level of the ideal physical bodies in Kawata's "The Japanese Physique and the 'Proper Body,'" 146-147.

[52] Both the *Asahi Shinbun* in Tokyo and Osaka reported on the swiftness the information of the city entry ceremony reached back to Japan (the city of Fukuoka, as it was the closest to the China mainland). See Peng, *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji shangce*, 139, 480. Photocopies of *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* and *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, both published on December 18th, 1937.

circle of the sun) flag fluttering in the bleak winter wind as if it was praising the glorious achievement of our fellow soldiers."[53] With this wide-screen representation of landscape, Kanokogi visualizes a panoramic scene that existed only in text previously. Descriptions such as the "cloudless blue sky," the "peaceful land," and "the old city wall" are visually reconstructed in *Nanjing* in a way that, first, the landscape is claimed as completely exact and truthful, and, second, that the landscape further adds on to the political significance and grandeur of this particular moment due to the Japan-China comparison it evokes.

It is with these two crucial functions that the landscape in *Nanjing* differs from those in other wartime art and becomes the visual protagonist, a background that is both visually and mentally foregrounded. As the landscape bears such a strong visual power and ideological implication, *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing* is a painting with an agency that poses and mobilizes the viewer of the canvas as an active participant in the historical event. In other words, the viewer does not have to be at the site to witness the city entry ceremony. The painting, as well as its audience, both conveys and (re)generates a broader, nationalistic, and Pan-Asian narrative through this participation or (co)construction. Nonetheless, this active mobilization of the audience is not viable through the photographs because they cannot provide a complete and interactive view of the event. Similarly, the landscape in *Nanjing* alone cannot accomplish this complicated visual-mental task either. Thus, the interaction between the compositional background and the foreground—which are actually the visual protagonist and its context (i.e., the human figures)—must be considered to discuss the visual effect and deeper ideological intimation of the painting in its entirety. I will now turn my focus from the landscape's

[53] Peng, *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji,* 471, 484. Photocopies of *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, published on December 17th and 18th, 1937.

protagonism to its collaboration with human figures as well as the potential viewing experience of *Nanjing*.

***

The Agential Visuality: (Dis)embodiment and "Overcoming Modernity"

As a functional and ideological visual tool exhibited in the Yasukuni Shrine, *Nanjing* best exerts its visual impression and political power to its audience through effective cooperation and interaction between different kinds of visual and pictorial components, specifically the landscape and the human figures in the foreground. In other words, while the human bodies in *Nanjing* are the context of the landscape, framing the landscape's political and ideological significance under a particular visual moment, the landscape also nominates a visual context for the human bodies and thus completes a full view of the event that was unavailable to the audience through other kinds of media. It is in this mutuality that *Nanjing* has its full capacity in terms of mental and ideological implications.

In order to discuss the power of the painting as a whole, however, there are some other issues worth considering. Although many are not directly depicted in the painting, there are important historical, personal, and political factors that form the making and viewing of *Nanjing* as an action that seamlessly fits with the ideological and historical transitions in early-1940s Japan. Best represented by the 1942-conference titled "Overcoming Modernity (近代の超克)" slightly later than the making of *Nanjing,*[54] these transitions were eager to find a way to

[54] The notion of "Overcoming Modernity" was the title of a 1942-symposium that took place at the beginning of the Pacific War. In this debate, Japan's future was considered, and the participants argued about the drawbacks and problems of Japan's modernization in the past decades from the Meiji period. These problems, they contended, were unavoidably embedded in Western traditions and capitalism. Thus, Japan should have returned to its traditional ideology and lifestyles in order to preserve Japan's cultural essence as well as its national body. For a detailed discussion of the symposium, see Richard F. Calichman, *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1-41. Also, see Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton and

transcend the Western modernity with an emphasis on the Pan-Asian ideal of a communal East Asia, which has its own universal culture and awaits its liberation by Japan. Meanwhile, they needed to constantly confirm the validity of such a transcendence as well as its embodiment, particularly within the consideration of this thesis, in art representation.

It is crucial to note that Kanokogi also modifies the human figures to draw *Nanjing* closer to a typical wartime record painting. In the final work, the landscape has yet a stronger visual impact than the figures, although Kanokogi spent a lot of time on the human figures and their rendering. Kanokogi's modification of the human figures in *Nanjing* is most obvious in his consideration of the sizes and physique of the commanders and the soldiers. The three leading figures marching on the street—General Matsui Iwane, General Yanagawa Heisuke (柳川平助, 1879-1945), and Prince Yasuhiko—are depicted physically larger with a particularly light tone so that their facial appearances are more discernible than those of the anonymous soldiers. These three figures also have individual shadows, reflecting the clear contours of their images, whereas the rest of the figures' bodies (and their shadows) are very much intertwined and overlapped.

Kanokogi worked hard to depict General Matsui Iwane in optimized realistic form. Before he started painting the final work, he made several sketches. One was exhibited at the first Holy War Art Exhibition (聖戦美術展) in 1939 (Fig. 18). In this exercise, only two feet of the horse are on the ground. This was changed in the final work, which has only the horse's right front leg lift. This change obviously corrects a very unrealistic foot position for a horse and indirectly proves that the artist did not witness the city entry ceremony in person. In addition, it gives stronger visual stability of the human figure who sits on the back of the horse and thus

Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 34-47. Kawata Akihisa also mentions the representation of the emperor in art of this period. See Kawata, "The Japanese Physique and the 'Proper Body,'" 150-152.

enhances the overall sense of composure and confidence. It is necessary to note, however, that the general tone is darkened from Kanokogi's exercise to the final *Nanjing*. The chaotic, overexposed white zones on the horse body as well as the General's boots are reduced. The General's facial tone is also darkened into a brownish color. This treatment fits with the generals' and soldiers' hardship during battles, recorded by some newspapers, for example, as "faces dirtied by dust and tanned by sunlight."[55]

I have discussed earlier that, with a resemblance to photograph, the human figures depicted at the front lead the spectator to believe in the landscape's equivalent realism and ignore Kanokogi's modification of the landscape and landmarks. However, at the same time, they are also in constant contrast against this withered and undeveloped Chinese landscape. Therefore, this contrast justifies and strengthens Japan's full domination and centrality over a Chinese "locality." To highlight the orderliness and upstanding of the physique of the soldiers, Kanokogi also makes amendment in their representation. The soldiers standing at either side of the street form sharp, diagonal lines that lead the vision to the pictorial space's vanishing point that actually locates outside the canvas. In photographs, these soldiers have various heights and sizes. The distances between every two bodies also vary more or less slightly. In *Nanjing*, on the contrary, all the figures are shown aligned in the same height, same body build, and the same distance. The folded backpacks and pointing bayonets form perfectly parallel diagonal and vertical lines that convey a sense of mass-produced objects instead of actual human bodies.[56]

---

[55] Peng, *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji,* 132. Photocopy of *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, published on December 16th, 1937.

[56] In this representation, I found highly similar rendering of human figures in almost geometrical order in totalitarian art in both Germany and the Soviet Union (**Fig. 19-20**). For a discussion on the language, mythification, and function of such figural representation, see Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China,* trans., Robert Chandler (New York, London: Overlook Duckworth, 2011), 169-215.

Their individual facial expressions, meanwhile, fail to evoke their personal identities; Kanokogi possibly only includes them to strengthen the overwhelming visual statuses of the war leaders and royalties. These soldiers are represented beholding their commanders in immense sizes, which shrink immediately when it comes to the third row of lower-rank commanders. Thus, Kanokogi transfers the human figures in *Nanjing* into visual ideological catalyst—of the realism of the landscape and the ideal bodies of military commanders—instead of something that "capture[s] the mundane reality of a situation" photographically and is "of no use as [effective] propaganda art for a wartime regime."[57]

Through this modification, Kanokogi consolidates the representation of the human figures and the ideological implications of the landscape into a single representational entity. This entity is clearly different from conventional wartime paintings as well as fascist *nihonga* (日本画) paintings in the 1930s and 1940s because they focus exclusively on either the (dis)embodiment of the human figures (Fig. 21)[58] or the embodiment of landscape (in this case mainly Japanese, such as Mt. Fuji).[59] Yet *Nanjing* combines these two and creates a distinct embodiment of the notion of a collective Japan (and its territory) using a Western painting medium, with the human figures present yet deemphasized. At the front, the figures of the soldiers and the commanders represent the ideal form of the masculine body that also accords

[57] Kawata, "The Japanese Physique and the 'Proper Body,'" 147.
[58] See Winther-Tamaki, "Embodiment/Disembodiment," 160, 165-166.
[59] The symbolism of the notion of *kokutai* is more conspicuous in *nihonga* paintings, which are done in traditional Japanese medium and brushstrokes as an opposite genre to *yōga*. The *nihonga* painter Yokoyama Taikan (横山大観, 1868-1958) was famous for his depictions of Mt. Fuji (**Fig. 22**) and their spiritual link to the metaphysical presence of *kokutai*. While many of Yokoyama's paintings of the holy mountain, like Kanokogi's *Nanjing*, were inspired probably by photographs, some purely transcend the actuality of the mountain and become the visualization of the "collective, national body mediated by the emperor." This special *kokutai*, particularly in the early-1940s, became the essence of Japan and even East Asia that needed to be protected from the West by Japanese fascism, thus connecting itself with the notion of Pan-Asianism. See Asato Ikeda, "Yokoyama Taikan's Paintings of Mount Fuji," in *The Politics of Painting*, 25-47.

with the notion of a powerful communal body of *kokutai* (国体, the national body), which further implicates the Japanese collectiveness centering around the presence of the emperor and in conformism to the war effort.[60] Meanwhile, in the back is the meandering mountain with all the ancient and modern monuments it holds. The Purple Mountain of Nanjing is never a random hill; rather, it recalls what Julia Adeney Thomas categorizes as a "mystified"[61] landscape that "constitute[s] the imagined, *closed* community."[62] Interestingly, Thomas argues that such landscapes, such as mountains, are often "associated with national pride and prowess" such that painting or photographing them can function as "acts of patriotic celebration."[63] In *Nanjing*, nevertheless, the mountain might suggest two completely different and opposite nationalisms, one of which clearly suppressed by the Pan-Asian ideal of Japan but is not difficult to implicate.

Yet the conventions of either *yōga* or wartime record paintings still dominate within *Nanjing*'s creative combination of an identifiable landscape and a physical ideal of the Japanese collective body. This domination not only strictly categorizes *Nanjing* under the genre of wartime record oil painting but also demonstrates Kanokogi's intention of recognizing and adhering to an artistic convention, which further indicates, in this case, a solid vision of the traditions of Japanese history and ideology. As an artist, Kanokogi was a strong proponent of both Japanese nationalism and French academicism throughout his life. With his art education mainly based on the styles of the early half of the 19th century, he was against expressionism that

---

[60] For the representation of individual bodies and their relationship with the collective, national body, see Winther-Tamaki, "Embodiment/Disembodiment," 147, 162-163.

[61] Again, a comparison between Kanokogi's rendering of the Purple Mountain and Yohoyama Taikan's representation of Mt. Fuji as a native landscape suggesting the powerful *kokutai* confirms the "ferocious enchantment" brought about by "particular landscape tradition[s]" and the connection between symbolic landmarks and a mental image of the "homeland" as well as its integrity. See Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 15.

[62] See Julia Adeney Thomas, "Landscape's Meditation between History and Memory: A Revisualization of Japan's (Wartime) Past," in *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960,* ed. Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa McDonald, and Ming Tiampo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 367-383.

[63] Thomas, "Landscape's Meditation between History and Memory," 378.

promotes artists' individual emotions; instead, he was strongly in favor of the making of a conservative and solid system and institution of the nation, which also embodies his pursuit of the idealism of aestheticism and beauty.[64]

Nanjing, as well as his *Triumphal Entry into Hōten*, thus exemplifies a general artistic trend in Japan from the 1920s of producing Japan's own historical paintings, which shall function as either mythological condensation of current events (such as *Nanjing*), or depictions of past events as an allegory for the present (such as *Hōten*).[65] By the 1930s and 1940s, however, these historical paintings were more closely related to the more ambitious version of Japanese Pan-Asianism. This soon developed into ideologies such as "overcoming modernity" and the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏)."[66] While both notions share the earlier Pan-Asianism view of a flawed and hegemonic current (Western) modernity, the conception of "overcoming modernity" underlines more specifically the primacy of Japanese tradition and the past of Japan's ancient spirits, rituals, and even the godlike image of the emperor.

Albeit earlier chronologically, Kanokogi's rendering in *Nanjing* witnesses a transfer from a relatively milder Pan-Asianism (i.e., the New East Asian Order) to a more out-spoken return to Japan's past as a tool to surpass Western modernity in both ideology and technology, and to lead

[64] See Harada Hiraku, "Suisaiga ronsō to Kanokogi Takeshirō (The dispute over watercolor and Kanokogi Takeshirō)," in Toru Arayashiki, et al., ed. *Botsugo gojyū nen: Kanokogi Takeshirō ten* [Takeshiro KANOKOGUI 1874-1941] (Tsu, Mie, Japan: Mie Prefectural Art Museum, 1990). Exhibition catalog.

[65] For a discussion of the making of and ideologies behind Japan's modern history paintings, as well as the role images of China play in this artistic and mental development, see John Clark, "Artists and the State: The Image of China," in *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, ed. Elise K. Tipton (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 63-89. Also, Clark is one of the few Western scholars who mentions Kanokogi's *Nanjing* in his essay, although in it he mistakenly identifies the architecture in the painting as the Central Museum. See Clark, "Artists and the State," 61.

[66] For the discussion on the ideological development and political campaigns during the period of "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," see Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1941-1945*, 199-224.

the liberation of East Asia. But, Japan's fascist Pan-Asian ideology did not abandon modern science and technology. Instead, it utilized them as tools to overcome modernity.[67] Kanokogi also employs the Western medium and artistic style of *yōga* in *Nanjing.* Nevertheless, the Western medium is overcome by the artist because it is only used to depict ideologies and political assertions that are purely and unambiguously Japanese,[68] even though the physical and visual violence in this process is only indirect or simply unmentioned in the painting. Even the (Western) technology of photography is overcome in *Nanjing,* in that while photography was blamed on deceiving the viewer, who was unable to "grasp the inexpressible aura of the artwork," *Nanjing* uses the photographic record of the event, but surpasses it and recreates the experience of the event through representation.[69]

Finally, the power of the landscape, the human figures, and the intense ideological investment in *Nanjing* have to be effectively transmitted to its audience, most of whom were unaware of the actual violence in the city before and after the city entry ceremony. In this transmission, *Nanjing*—again, with its landscape—as well as Kanokogi as its painter, is what Jonathan Bordo argues as an *arbiter* of the city entry ceremony that took place in 1937.[70] Neither the painter nor the painting was present at the site during the entry ceremony. Yet as an *arbiter,*

---

[67] Ikeda, *The Politics of Painting*, 12.

[68] When Kanokogi was young, he was deeply influenced by Sugiura Jyūgō (杉浦重剛, 1855-1924), a thinker and educator during Meiji and Taisho periods and was famous for his advance of Japonisme and Japan's nationalism. Such influence stayed in Kanokogi even in his late years and was often reflected by his choice of subject matters, which either represent nationalistic events, like *Nanjing*, or native landscapes that rigorously evoke patriotism. See Kagesato Tetsurō, "Kanokogi Takeshirō to Nihon Kindai [Kankogi Takeshirō and Modern Japan]," in Toru Arayashiki, et al., ed. *Botsugo gojyū nen: Kanokogi Takeshirō ten* [Takeshiro KANOKOGUI 1874-1941] (Tsu, Mie, Japan: Mie Prefectural Art Museum, 1990). Exhibition catalog.

[69] See Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity,* 74.

[70] The artwork itself as an active witness of a certain event is closely analyzed in Western art history discipline. See Jonathan Bordo, "Picture and Witness at the Site of the Wilderness," in *Landscape and Power,* ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 291-316. Bordo borrows Émile Benveniste's definition of two kinds of testimonies. A witness (*testis*) has to be present to bear witness, whereas an arbiter (*arbiter*) does not.

the painting can still "arbitrate" this historical event without being present. Meanwhile, through the viewing process, the painting invites more *arbiter*s (i.e., its spectators) who do not need to be present to witness or testify the event. The participation of these *arbiter*s thus intensifies what Richard Okada claims as "an imagined community of like-minded citizens,"[71] and they become an indispensable constitutive element of Japan's wartime notion of a communal body (共同体). This communal body, according to Harry Harootunian, mobilizes the mass, valorizes national myths, and creates a self-worshipping obsession within the community.[72] Although not necessarily, it can easily imply and lead to racism and extremity,[73] the violence of which is ironically implied in *Nanjing.*

In this interaction with the painting and the actual historical event, the audience become active participants in the event, turning the depicted figures in the artwork into their own gazes. Through this transformation, the audience and the artwork (co)construct the meaning of the representation, invoking the unrepresented emotions as well as the potential violence that is only alluded to.[74] Meanwhile, in a military sense, the interactive characteristic of *Nanjing* is also an "evocative means" to provide the audience a more "intimate contact" with the war and its heroic reward, thus mobilizing the citizenry of the whole nation for the total war both physically and mentally.[75]

Through placing the painting back into this historical, artistic, and ideological context of wartime Japan, Kanokogi's careful artistic modification in *Nanjing* makes the indirect

---

[71] See Okada, "'Landscape' and the Nation-State," 103.
[72] See Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity,* 294, 300.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Frank Möller also discusses a similar transformation of the audience into active participants, particularly in events that involve physical violence, in contemporary visual and photographic art in "The Participant Witness," in *Visual Peace: Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 36-55.
[75] Shepherdson-Scott, "Entertaining War," 84.

implications of Japan's wartime Pan-Asianism and colonialism easy to perceive. That is, the Chinese landscape and landmarks are transferred into visual evidence for the validity of Japanese Pan-Asianism, nationalism, and its notion of a communal body. The mechanism of this implicit visual-to-mental process is well-managed in terms of the artist's renderings and treatments of the landscape and the figures. In addition, the link between the two guarantees the painting's ideological and political coherence. It is in such a visual and ideological reconstruction and emphasis that *Nanjing* becomes an expression of power dynamics, a witness, and a narrative that transcends a normal "record" of a war happening.

***

Conclusion

1940 was a special year for the Empire of Japan. It marked the 2,600th anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor Jimmu (神武天皇), a legendary figure who is believed to be the very first in an unbroken lineage of Japanese emperors beginning in 660 BCE.[76] It was also a big year for the Yasukuni Shrine. Earlier in June 1940, the shrine, and its war museum, Yūshūkan (遊就館), which was constructed at the side of the shrine's main hall, welcomed the Emperor Pu Yi (溥儀, 1906-1967) of Manchū-koku (満州国), the puppet administration Japan set up in northeast China.[77] On December 20th, 1940, another special guest paid a visit to Yūshūkan, just one day after Kanokogi Takeshirō's *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing* entered the shrine and was placed in the museum on the 19th. A photograph included in the 1940 yearbook of Yūshūkan (Fig. 23) captures this tremendously significant moment. The distinguished visitor, Prince

[76] For a discussion about the Jimmu myth and its participation in wartime Japan, see, for an example, Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 97-103.
[77] Yūshūkan, *Shōwa jūgo nendo yūshūkan nenpō* [Yearbook of yūshūkan, the 15th year of Shōwa] (Tokyo: Yūshūkan, 1941), 5.

Yasuhiko Asaka, is shown looking at Kanokogi's documentary-like realistic depiction of the grand city entry ceremony of Nanjing, of which he himself was a part. For the first time, he, as well as the entire audience, was able to re-experience the ceremony in its whole—with the surrounding sky, mountain, and the landscape. The painted scene is both similar and significantly different from the news photos' record of the event.

This photograph might arguably be the only to show the painting "functioning" within a context during imperial Japan. In the photograph, the Prince looks directly at the painting, which unfortunately does not show itself clearly in its full scale. Moreover, due to the photograph's limited quality (and that the yearbook then photocopied the photograph), nothing in the painting is visible but a section of complete darkness. Nonetheless, we can still make out the overwhelming size of the artwork that was hung in a height even taller than the door next to it.

In addition, unlike the ways in which artworks are exhibited in art museums today, *Nanjing* in Yūshūkan was hung in a slant that strengthens and enlarges the landscape's prominence and visual dominance when compared to the figural representations below it. So, any viewer, including the Prince, would need to lift their vision to see this visual record, with its massive depiction of the landscape projecting imposingly upon the viewer's eyes. In other words, in this moment the physical witness and the pictorial witness encounter each other. The photograph which records this moment speaks as yet another witness of the Empire's glory proven by the heroic presence of the wonderful commander(s) who created such glory.

What this thesis intends to accomplish is to demonstrate how deceptive and incomplete "realism" is when examining wartime paintings that are conducted in seemingly conventional styles. Therefore, it tries to avoid labeling *Nanjing* simply as a realistic painting that lacks artistic depth and consideration that are more frequently, and easily, found in wartime art of, for

instance, Fujita Tsuguharu (藤田嗣治, 1886-1968, Fig. 24). Instead, *Nanjing*, albeit categorized as a wartime record painting, overcomes the prescription framed by objectivity and truthful recording. Moreover, it actively witnesses the historical event and initiates an interaction with its audience, the collectivity of whom defines Japan's notion of the communal body. The formation of this communal body, however, is visually guaranteed by the artist's re-appropriation of both the Chinese landscape and the Japanese figures, with which the ideology of Japan's wartime Pan-Asianism is unequivocally anchored.

Rather than truthfully recording a historical event, it might be more proper to say that in *Nanjing*, Kanokogi Takeshirō records a moment at which Pan-Asianism was metamorphosing into its ultimate embodiment in wartime Japan. This transformation is tellingly embedded by the artist within the symbolism created by the re-appropriated landscape in the painting. The human figures, in contrast, fortify the viewers' impression that the painting is conducted in absolute realism. The orderliness of these human bodies further entails Japan's racial fascism that underscores the absolute superiority of Japan (and its physique) over the Chinese.

This commingling with the Pan-Asian ideal, invested in the landscape, to unite and liberate East Asia from Western exploitation thus complicates the ideological picture of *Nanjing.* Yet such ambiguity, also witnessed in other wartime paintings and other wartime visual art, represents the contradiction of Japan's Pan-Asianism, consisting of both East Asian universalism and violent cruelty. Unlike *Nanjing,* which effectively overcomes its source and artistic medium, Japan's Pan-Asianism eventually failed to overcome Western modernity. But, sarcastically, the ambition of imperial Japan and its Pan-Asian conception of East Asia—including China represented in this painting by its capital—shall be, in part, perpetually *recorded* in and embodied by, but never limited to, the landscape in *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing.*

Table of Figures

Fig. 1. Kanokogi Takeshirō. *Triumphal Entry into Nanjing*. Oil on canvas. 205.0 x 495.0 cm. 1940. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 2. A view on East Zhong-shan Road, looking east. Photo by author.

Fig. 3. Bird's-eye view taken close to the Central Supervisory Committee Compound. A: Zhong-shan Gate; B: The main hall of the Nanjing Museum; C: The Committee Compound; D: Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum. Ming city wall indicated in dashed lines. Grand Metropark Hotel Nanjing, Nanjing, China, http://www.grandmetroparknanjing.com/grandmetroparknanjing_tupian.

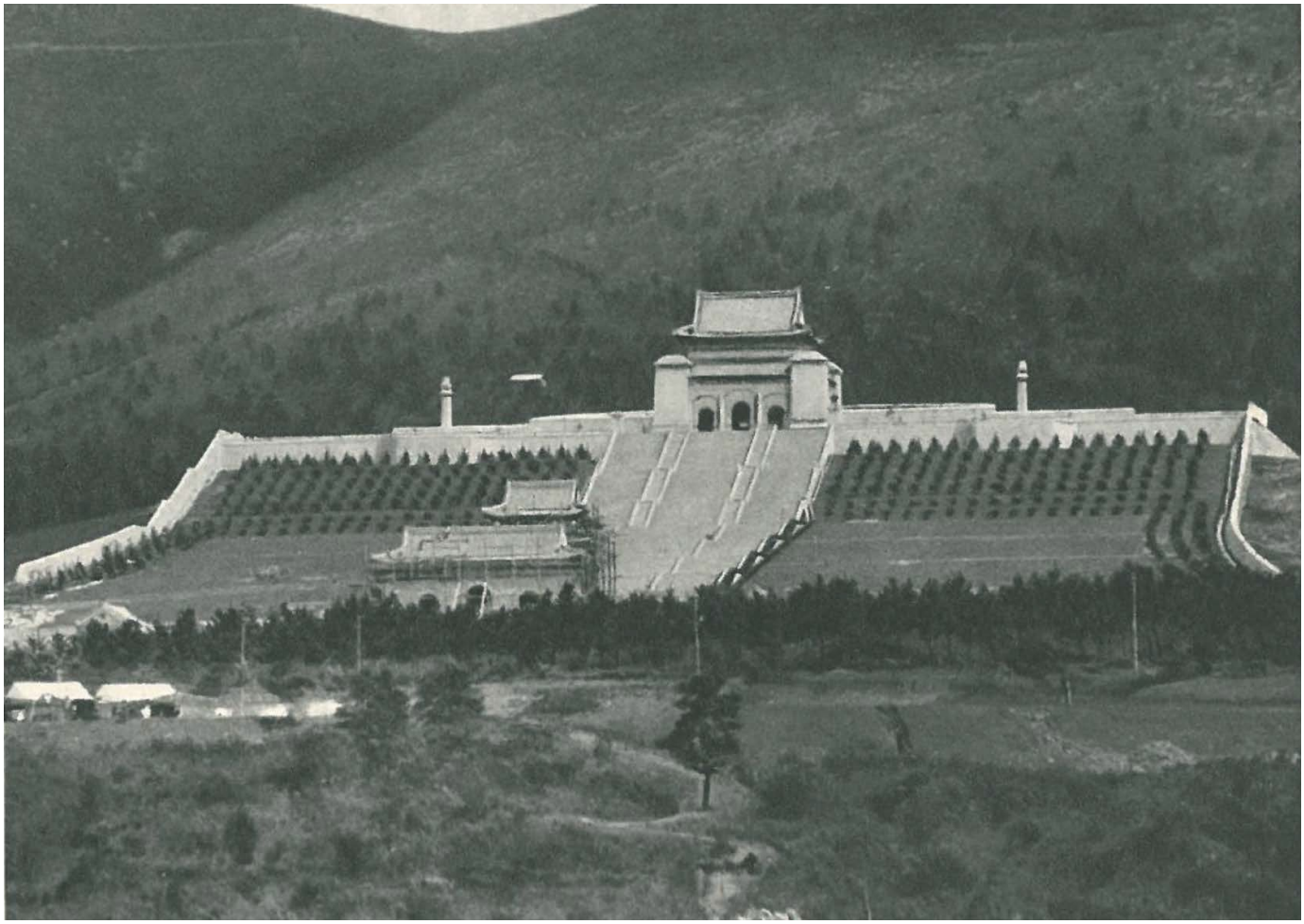

Fig. 4. "Mausoleum of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" 中山陵墓, in K.W. Kwok 郭錫麒, *The Splendours of Historic Nanking* 南京景集, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1933, plate no.48. China Heritage Annual 2017, http://chinaheritage.net/annual/2017/republic/tombs-and-palaces/the-chungshan-mausoleum/.

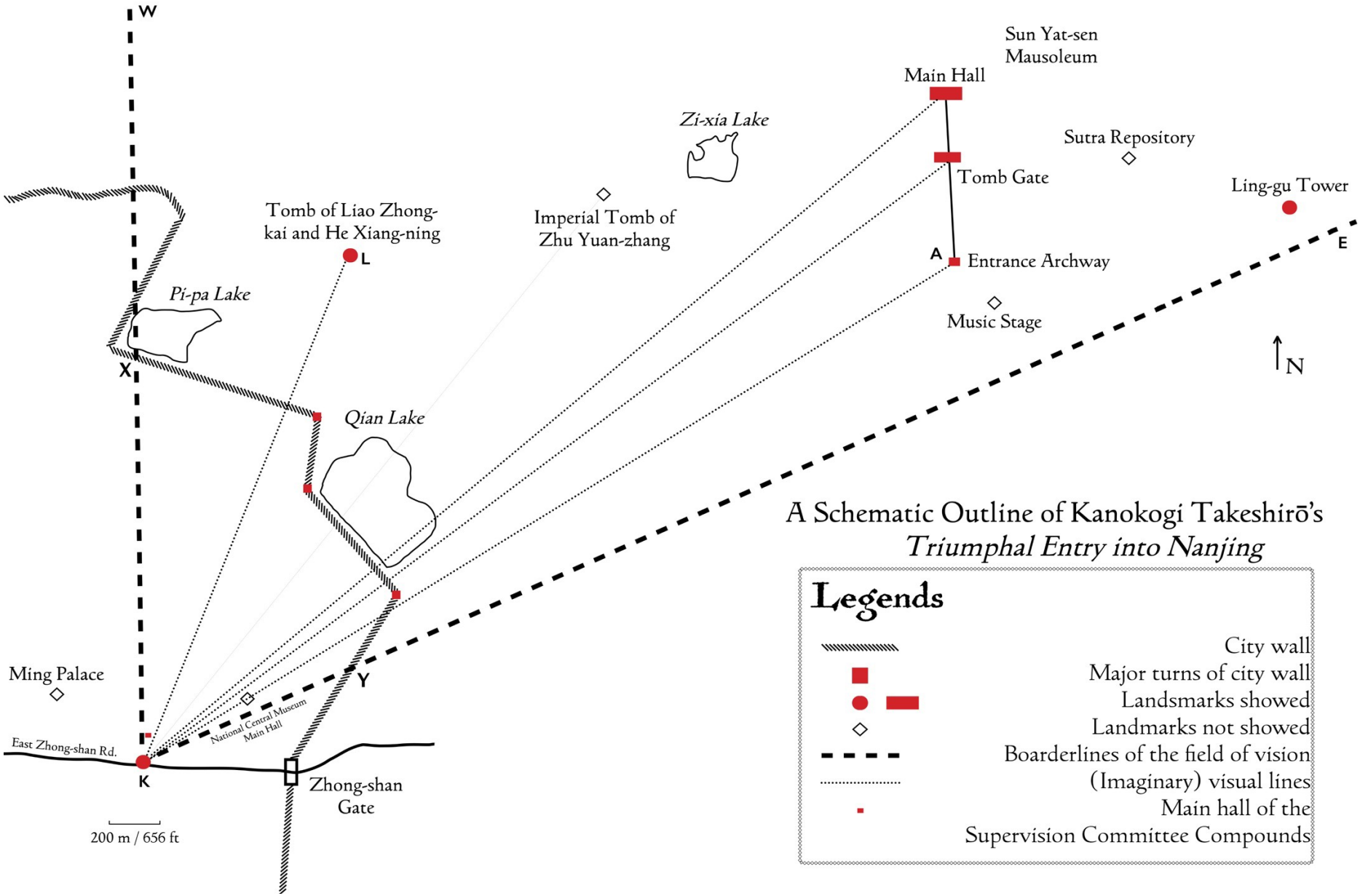

Fig. 5. A Schematic Outline of Nanjing. Map by author.

Fig. 6. The National Central Museum under construction, ca. 1937. Nanjing Museum, Nanjing, China, http://www.njmuseum.com/html/News_content@NewsID@ae4f7a96-58ff-4784-941e-903457927844.html.

Fig. 7. Fall of Nanking. NANKING, CHINA - DECEMBER 17: (CHINA OUT, SOUTH KOREA OUT) Imperial Japanese Army General Iwane Matsui enters Nanking during the Sino-Japanese war on December 17th, 1937 in Nanking, China. (Photo by The Asahi Shimbun via Getty Images).

Fig. 8. Yoshida Hatsusaburō. *Looking at the Purple Mountain from the Inner City of Nanjing* (南京城内より紫金山を望む). https://thenankingmassacre.org/2015/07/05/gallery-nanking-in-japanese-military- postcards/#jp-carousel-343.

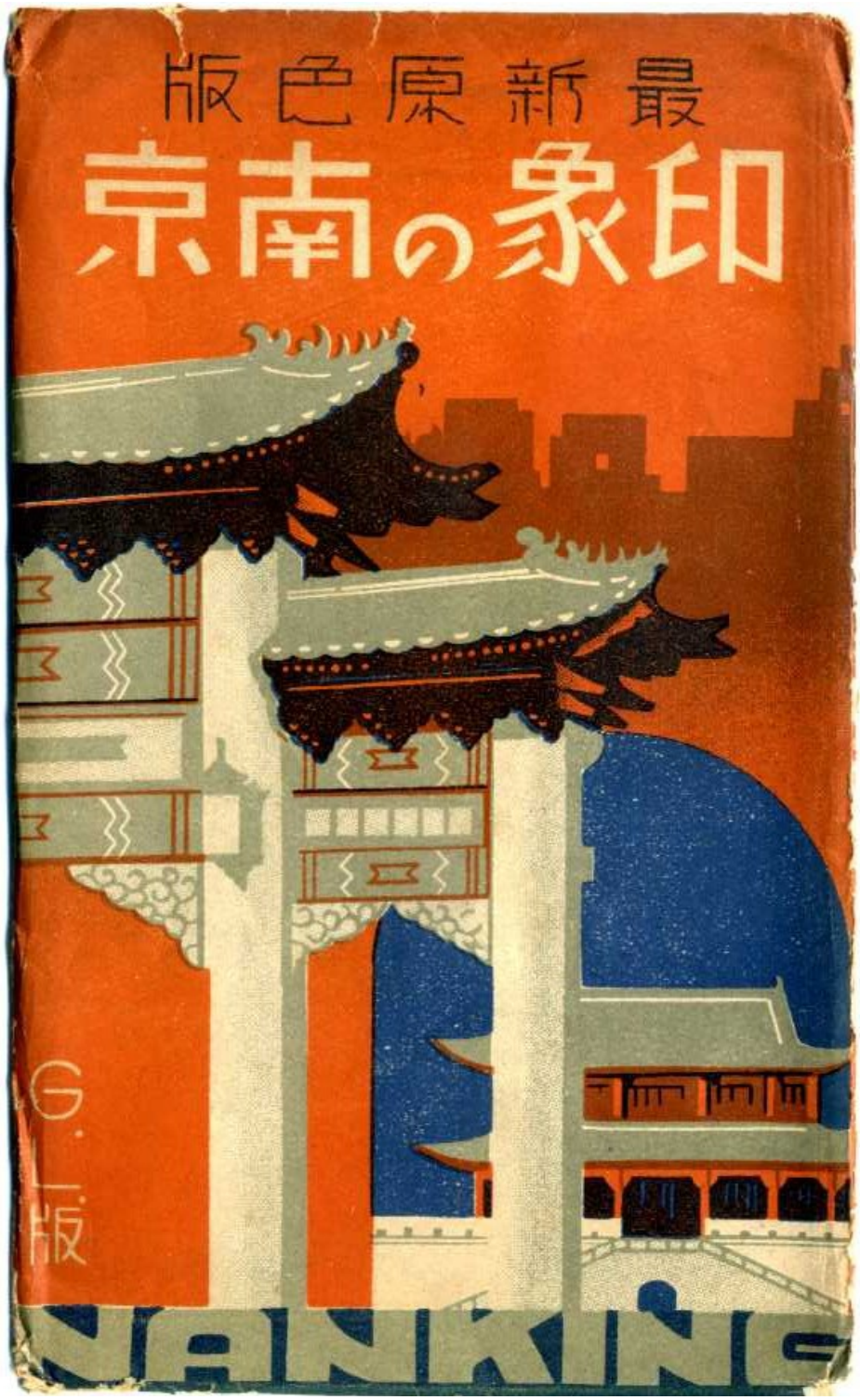

Fig. 9. Cover of *The New Impression of Nanking in True Color*. http://mochi1209.web.fc2.com/chichi-a-fumibako.html.

Fig. 10. Kanokogi Takeshirō, *Triumphal Entry into Hōten*. Mural. 1926. Meiji Memorial Picture Gallery, Tokyo.

Fig. 11. Hanaoka Manshū, *The Troop of Nakajima-ke Entering Wuxi.* Oil on canvas. 73.1 x 90.8 cm. ca. 1938. Aizu Museum, Waseda Universoty, Tokyo.

Fig. 12. Kobayashi Kiyochika, *Distant View of Mount Fuji from the Mountains of Hakone* (Hakone sanchû yori Fugaku chôbô), 1877. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper. 23 × 33.5 cm (9 1/16 × 13 3/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 13. Tanabe Itaru (田辺至, 1886-1968). *Air Raid on Nanjing*. Oil on canvas. 145.5 x 194.5 cm. 1940. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 14. Great "Capture of Wuhan" Panorama, 1939, detail showing the Tri-Cities section, with the words to "Father, How Strong You Were" visible in the background, from Asahi Shinbunsha, Dai Tōa kensetsu hakurankai taikan, Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940, 20 (photograph provided by the National Diet Library, Tokyo). Kari Shepherdson-Scott, "Entertaining War: Spectacle and the Great 'Capture of Wuhan' Battle Panorama of 1939," *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 4 (December 2018), 82, fig. 1.

Fig. 15. *Omiyamairi* with design of General Matsui Iwane in Nanjing, 1937-38. Yūzen-dyed, painted, and embroidered silk. 103.73 x 86.02 cm (41 x 34 in.). Collection of Norman Brosterman.

Fig. 16. (upper left) Japanese General Iwane Matsui, enters Nanjing, China, December 17th, 1937. Photo by Universal History Archive/UIG via Getty Images.

Fig. 17. (lower right) China: Second Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945. Japanese troops entering Nanking (Nanjing), 1937. Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images.

Fig. 18. Kanokogi Takeshirō. *Exercise for Triumphal Entry into Nanjing: General Matsui.* Oil on canvas. *Seisen Bijutsu* [Art of the holy war] (Tokyo: Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai, 1940), fig. 131.

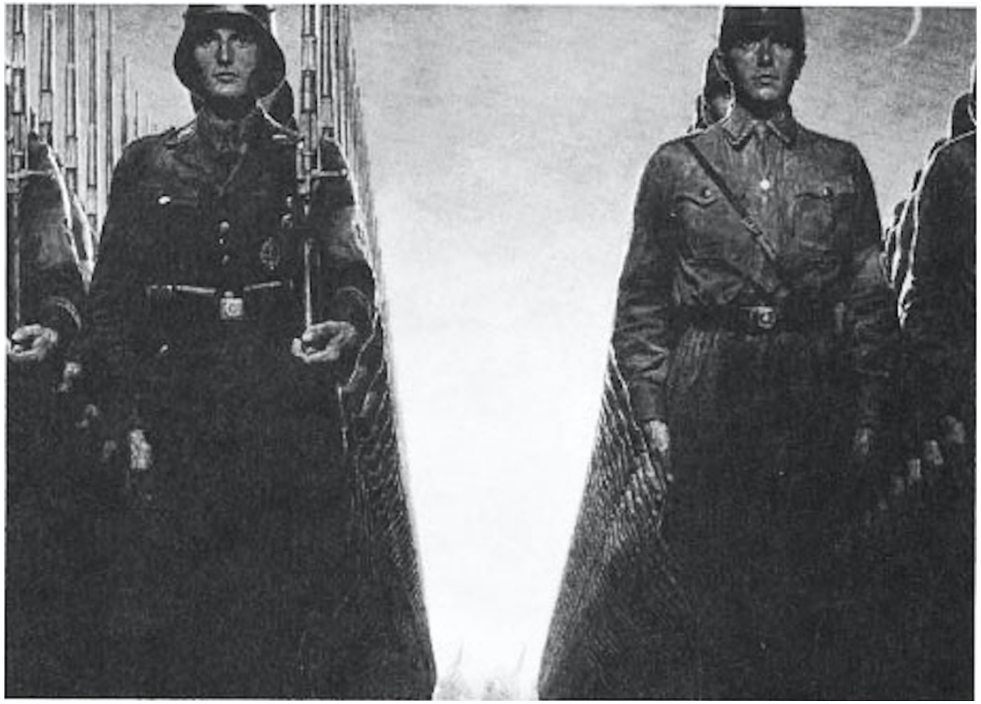

Fig. 19. (upper left) Ferdinand Staeger, *Political Front—Impressions of the Party's Day of Honor, Nuremberg, 1936*. Oil on canvas. n.d. RR. Eric Michaud, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany,* trans., Janet Lloyd (Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1996), *fig*. 101.

Fig. 20. (lower right) Ferdinand Staeger, *SS Troops.* Oil on canvas. Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China,* trans., Robert Chandler (New York, London: Overlook Duckworth, 2011), 207.

Fig. 21. Miyamoto Saburō (宮本三郎, 1905-1974), *The Meeting of General Yamashita and General Percival*, 1942. Oil on canvas. 180.7 x 225.5 cm. National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Fig. 22. Yokoyama Taikan, *Mt. Fuji*, 1940. Adachi Museum of Art.

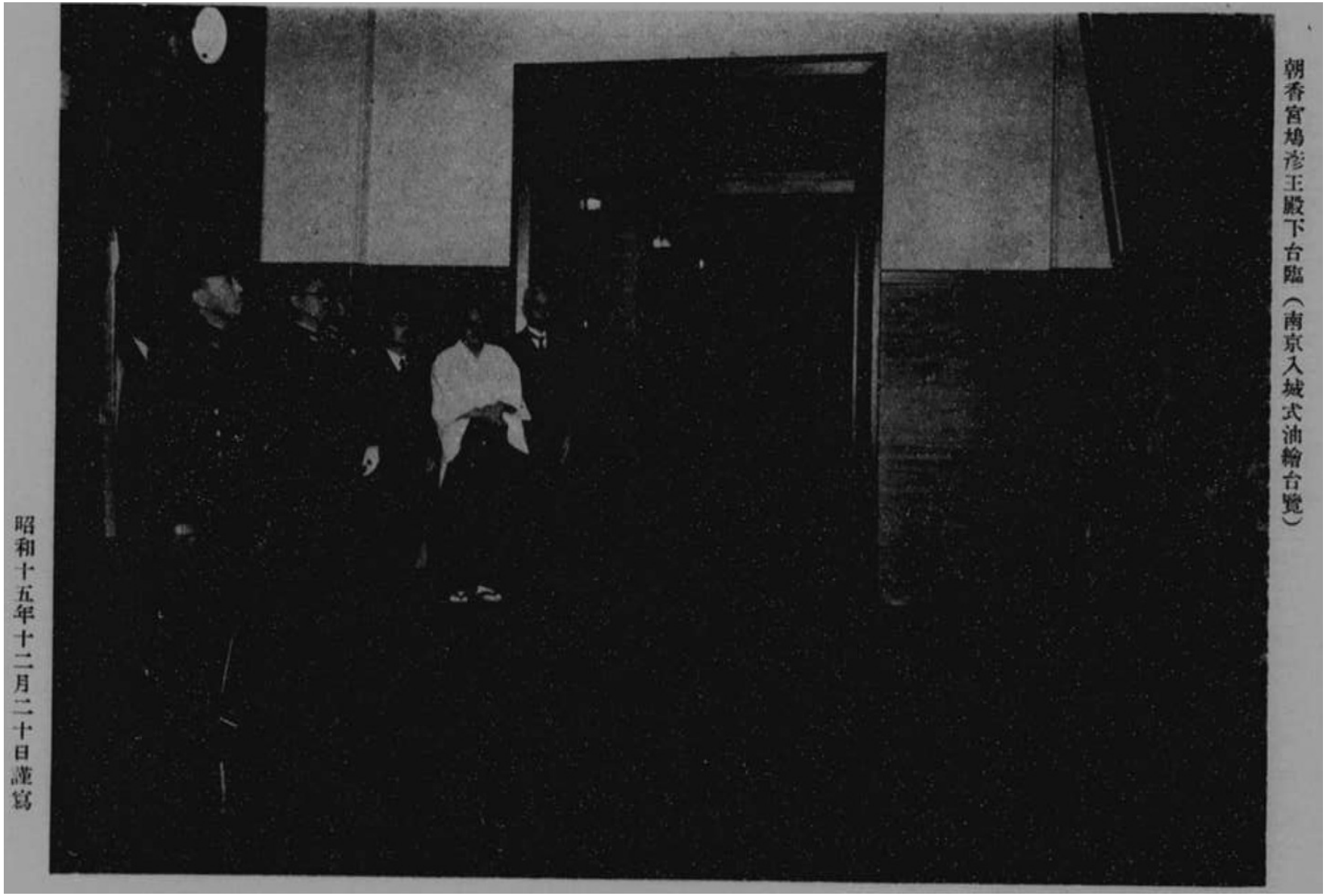

Fig. 23. Prince Yasuhiko Asaka viewing *Nanjing* on December 20th, 1945. Yūshūkan, *Shōwa jūgo nendo yūshūkan nenpō* [Yearbook of yūshūkan, the 15th year of Shōwa] (Tokyo: Yūshūkan, 1941), 5.

Fig. 24. Fujita Tsuguharu. *Final Fighting on Attu.* Oil on canvas. 193.5 x 259.5 cm. 1943. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

Bibliography

Arayashiki, Toru, Nobuo Nakatani, Hikaru Harada, Yasuhiro Shimada, Takaaki Miyamoto, and Katsumi Senō, ed. *Botsugo 50-nen Kanokogi Takeshirō ten* [Takeshiro Kanokogui 1874-1941]. Tsu, Mie, Japan: Mie Prefectural Art Museum, 1990. Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, organized by and presented at the Mie Prefectural Art Museum, The Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, and The Okayama Prefectural Museum of Art, September 29, 1990–May 6, 1991.

Bijutsu Kenkyū Sho. *Nihon Bijutsu Nenkan*, *Shōwa 16 Nen* [The yearbook of art of Japan, the 16th year of *Showa*]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942.

Calichman, Richard F., ed. and trans. *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Clinton, Maggie. *Revolutionary Nativism: Fascism and Culture in China 1925-1937*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.

Doak, Kevin Michael. *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Dong, Ti-quan, Zong-ren Yang, ed. *Zhongshanling dang'an shiliao xuanbian* [Selected historical documents of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum]. Nanjing, China: Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe, 1986.

Dower, John W., Anne Nishimura Morse, Jacqueline M. Atkins, Frederic A. Sharf. *The Brittle Decade: Visualizing Japan in the 1930s.* Boston: MFA Publications, 2012.

Duara, Prasenjit. "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism." *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 99-130.

Fogel, Joshua A. *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China: 1862-1945*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Fuchu-shi Bijutsukan, ed. *Kanokogi Takeshirō ten: shi Roransu to no deai* [Kanokogui Takeshiro (1874-1941) Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921)]. Fuchu, Tokyo, Japan: Fuchu-shi Bijutsukan, 2001. Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, organized by and presented at Fuchu Art Museum, April 28–June 17, 2001.

Fumiko, Sugimoto. "Shifting Perspectives on the Shogunate's Last Years: Gountei Sadahide's

Bird's-Eye View Landscape Prints." Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Monumenta Nipponica* 72, no. 1 (2017): 1-30.

Golomstock, Igor. *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China*. Translated by Robert Chandler. New York, London: Overlook Duckworth, 2011.

Gombrich, E.H. "Illusion and Art." In *Illusion in Nature and Art*, edited by R.L. Gregory and E.H. Gombrich, 193-243. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Hariu, Ichirō, Sawaragi Noi, Kuraya Mika, Kawata Akihisa, Hirase Reita, and Ootani Shogo. *Sensō to bijutsu 1937-1945* [Art in wartime Japan 1937-1945]. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2017.

Harootunian, Harry. *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Hayasaka, Takashi. *Matsui Iwane to nankin jiken no shinjitsu* [Matsui Iwane and the fact of the Nanjing incident]. Tokyo: Bungei Shunjun, 2011.

Hotta, Eri. *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Ikeda, Asato. *The Politics of Painting: Fascism and Japanese Art during the Second World War.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.

Ikeda, Asato, Aya Louisa McDonald, Ming Tiampo, ed. *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013.

Kaneko, Maki. "Art in the Service of the State: Artistic Production in Japan during the Asia-Pacific War." PhD diss., University of East Anglia, 2005.

Kaneko, Maki. *Mirroring the Japanese Empire: The Male Figure in* Yōga *Painting 1930-1950.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015.

Kimitada, Miwa. "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japan: Nationalism, Regionalism and Universalism." In *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders,* edited by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, 21-33. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Kojima, Kaoru, ed. *Meiji no yōga: Takeshirō Kanokogi to taiheiyō gakai* [*Yōga* in the Meiji period: Takeshirō Kanokogi and the Pacific Painting Society]. No. 352, *Nihon no bijutsu* [Art of Japan], edited by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo National Museum, Kyoto National Museum, and Nara National Museum. Tokyo: Shibundo, 1995.

Kuraishi, Shino, Tomō Kashiwagi, Yasuhide Shimbata, ed. *Shitsuraku en: fuukei hyogen no*

kindai 1870-1945 [Paradise Lost: The Politics of Landscape 1870-1945]. Tokyo: Taishukan Publishing Co., Ltd., 2004. Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, organized by and presented at the Yokohama Museum of Art, October 9–December 12, 2004.

Luo, Huei-fen. "Rizhi shiqi niaokantu zhi yanjiu—cong riben huishi zhiyan jian Taiwan (A study of the artworks of birds-eye view during the Japanese colonial period: the representation of Taiwan from the viewpoint of Japanese painters)." Master thesis, National Pingtung University, 2011.

Matsumoto, Kenichi. "Okakura Tenshin and the Ideal of Pan-Asianism." In *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, edited by Brij Tankha, 11-21. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009.

Michaud, Eric. *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany.* Translated by Janet Lloyd. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Mitchell, W. J. T., ed. *Landscape and Power*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Möller, Frank. *Visual Peace: Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Nakamura, Kōya. *Shina wo iku* [Going to China]. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1942.

Nakatani Nobuo. "Modern Japanese Paintings (Yoga) and Cultural Interaction Studies: The Artworks of Kanokogi, Yorozu, Maeta, and Painters following the French *Salon de Mai* Group of Artists." *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies* 8 (Spring 2015): 35-56.

Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, "Nankin kanraku Matsui taisho no eppei <tokushū seisen yonen> [General Matsui's military review on the fall of Nanjing <special collection for the four-year anniversary of the Holy War>]." *Nihon nyu-su* [Japan news] no. 56, July 1st, 1941, video. https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/shogenarchives/jpnews/movie.cgi?das_id=D000130044 1_00000&seg_number=006.

Nishii Kazuo, ed. *Fukyoka shashin: Mainichi Shinbun hizō* [Unpermitted photographs: secrets from the Mainichi news]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun Sha, 1998.

Okada, Richard. "'Landscape' and the Nation-State: A Reading of *Nihon fūkei ron.*" In *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan,* edited by Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, 90-107. Vol. 6 of *Brill's Japanese Studies Library,* edited by H. Bolitho and K.W. Radtke. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Owen, Stephen. “Place: Meditation on the Past at Chin-ling.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (December 1990): 417-457.

Peng, Xi et al., trans. *Qinhua rijun nanjing datusha riben baokan yingyinji shangce* [Photocopies of Japanese newspaper reports on Japanese invasions in the Nanjing massacre (volume I)]. Vol. 28, *Nanjing datusha shi yanjiu yu wenxian xilie congshu* [Series of books on the studies and documents of Nanjing massacre], edited by Chengshan Zhu. Nanjing, China: Nanjing Chubanshe, 2011.

Reinders, Eric. “Recycling Icons and Bodies in Chinese Anti-Buddhist Persecutions.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 48 (Autumn 2005): 61-68.

Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai, ed. *Seisen Bijutsu* [Art of the holy war]. Tokyo: Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai, 1940.

Rosenblum, Robert. *1900: Art at the Crossroads*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000.

Ruoff, Kenneth J. *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

Shepherdson-Scott, Kari. “Entertaining War: Spectacle and the Great ‘Capture of Wuhan’ Battle Panorama of 1939.” *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 4 (December 2018): 81-105.

Snyder, Joel. “Picturing Vision.” *Critical Inquiry* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1980): 499-526.

Stuer, Catherine. “Dimensions of Place: Map, Itinerary, and Trace in Images of Nanjing.” PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2012.

Su, Stephanie. “Entangled Modernities: The Representation of China’s Past in Early Twentieth Century Chinese and Japanese Painting.” PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015.

Szpilman, Christopher W. A. “Between Pan-Asianism and Nationalism: Mitsukawa Kametarō and His Campaign to Reform Japan and Liberate China.” In *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders,* edited by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, 85-100. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Takenaka, Akiko. *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015.

Tano, Yasunori and Akihisa Kawata. *Imeji no naka no sensō: nisshin·nichiro kara reisen made* [War in images: from Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars to the Cold War]. Vol. 1, *Iwanami kindai nihon no bijutsu* [Iwanami’s art of modern Japan], edited by Shigeru

Aoki, Tadayasu Sakai, Shuji Takashina, and Yasunori Tano. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996.

Tansman, Alan, ed. *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, ed. *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38: Complicating the Picture.* 2nd ed. New York: Berghahn Books, 2017.

Winther-Tamaki, Bert. "Embodiment/Disembodiment: Japanese Painting During the Fifteen-Year War." *Monumenta Nipponica* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 145-80.

Winther-Tamaki, Bert. *Maximum Embodiment: Yōga, the Western Painting of Japan, 1912-1955*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.

Wong, Aida Yuen. "Landscape of Nandalal Bose (1882-1966): Japanism, Nationalism and Populism in Modern India." In *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, edited by Brij Tankha, 95-110. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009.

Yang, Guo-qing, Zhi-gao Wang. *Nanjing chengqiang zhi* [Gazetteer of the city wall of Nanjing]. Nanjing, China: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 2008.

Yūshūkan, *Shōwa jūgo nendo yūshūkan nenpō* [Yearbook of yūshūkan, the 15th year of Shōwa]. Tokyo: Yūshūkan, 1941.