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Phases and Modes in the Transmission of Ming-Ch'ing Painting Styles to Edo Period Japan

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Introduction

The interlocked problems of how Japanese Nanga school artists of the Edo period became acquainted with Chinese Ming-Ch'ing painting styles, and which styles they knew, and whether they were influenced by those contacts in their own works, have occupied Nanga specialists in Japan for some decades, and are now beginning to interest foreign scholars as well. A series of excellent studies by the Japanese specialists have clarified this interesting episode in Sino-Japanese cultural relations, identifying the historical channels through which the knowledge and influence flowed. These studies have tended to depend most heavily on documentary sources—writings by the Nanga artists themselves and their contemporaries—which have seemed to most investigators the safest kind of evidence. But there are limits to this approach; the literary sources are extremely scanty for the early period of Nanga, through the late eighteenth century; they do not tell us, for example, what Ming-Ch'ing paintings were in Japan, to be seen and imitated by artists there. When we turn from documents to the paintings themselves, on the other hand, the evidence is fuller: early Nanga paintings that can clearly be traced to particular Chinese models, either from the artists' inscriptions or from the subjects, compositions, and styles, are relatively numerous. The paintings, properly authenticated and interpreted, offer in fact the best evidence we have for approaching a problem that is essentially one of relationships between works of art; documents can only indicate the *possibility* of artistic influence, while in paintings we can observe it actually taking place.

The complexity of this set of problems warns us against any over-neat formulations. It seems nonetheless worthwhile to attempt, at this stage in our understanding, an outline account of the modes of transmission of these styles and the phases to be marked in their acceptance by Japanese artists, even though that account will doubtless be proved faulty by future research. I should add that the

ground-breaking exhibition titled "Literati Paintings from Japan," shown here in 1974 with a catalog by Mayching Kao, and the symposium on "I-min Painters of the Ming" that was held here in the following year, make this a suitable place and occasion to attempt such an account.[1]

I. Modes of Transmission

The modes of transmission can be listed under several categories, according to media, sources, and channels of importation.

A. *Woodblock-printed books (hampon).* This is perhaps the most thoroughly studied and documented mode. Both documentary evidence and extant paintings attest that such early Nanga masters as Mochizuki Gyokusen (1673-1755), Gion Nankai (1676-1751), and Yanagisawa Kien (1704-1758) were familiar with a number of imported Chinese picture-books. These included the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting (Chieh-tzū-yüan hua-chuan*; Part I, landscape, 1679; Parts II and III, Bamboo, Flowers, etc., 1701), which is known to have been in Japan by the early eighteenth century; the series of eight picture books known to the Japanese as *Hasshū gafu* (original Chinese editions 1621-28, Japanese reprints 1672 and 1710); the *T'u-hui tsung-i* (Japanese *Zukai sōi*, Chinese ed. 1607, Japanese reprint 1702); and the *T'ai-p'ing shan-shui*, a set of landscape woodcuts by the Anhui master Hsiao Yün-ts'ung, published in 1648. In the second generation of Nanga, Ikeno Taiga (1723-1776), under the guidance of both Nankai and Kien, depended often on the same sources; he is said to have adapted designs from the *Hasshū gafu* to painting fans in his early years.[2] Other masters in the early period of Nanga, such as Sakaki Hyakusen (1697-1752), Nakayama Kōyō (1717-1780), and Yosa Buson (1716-1783), seem by contrast to have been relatively unaffected by the woodblock-printed books. Some of the implications of this distinction have been suggested in my articles on Hyakusen.[3]

The importance of these *hampon* sources has often been stressed—perhaps overstressed. The woodblock-printed pictures provided a fund of subjects, motifs, and compositions to the Japanese artists, to be sure; what they could not transmit, because of the limitations of the medium, were the refinements of style-brushwork, ink tonality, etc.—on which the value of Ming-Ch'ing literati painting largely depended. It was as if (to re-use an analogy I offered once before) the symphonies of Beethoven were to be conveyed in piano reductions to composers of another culture, there

to be re-translated into derivative orchestral compositions; a great deal that was essential to the quality of the originals would be lost in the process. In any case, these books were used by Nanga artists from the earliest period to the latest (the work of Tomioka Tessai, who died in 1924). The texts of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* and the *T'u-hui tsung-i* were also sources for the theoretical writings of Nanga; but that is a subject outside our present concern.

B. *Ming-Ch'ing Paintings in Japan in the Edo Period.* This category can immediately be subdivided into two: paintings that were imported commercially and passed into the hands of various Japanese collectors; and paintings imported in connection with the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism, which were kept, at least at first, in Ōbaku temples, notably the Mampukuji.

1. *Commercially Imported Paintings.* The Ming-Ch'ing paintings imported commercially are, I believe, the most important and least studied vehicle of Chinese influence on Nanga – least studied because of the scarcity of documentary evidence by which we can identify them. Records surviving in Nagasaki leave no doubt that they came in quantity, brought to Nagasaki by Chinese merchants as trade goods. Two Japanese *kara-e mekiki* or "Chinese painting connoisseurs" were placed there to set a base value on each painting imported; the paintings, like other objects of trade, were then auctioned to the group of Japanese merchants, known as *kabu-nakama*, who held the right to participate in these auctions, with the profit above the base price going to the Nagasaki kaishō (Trade Bureau?). Objects consigned on order to a specific buyer, not auctioned, were sold at a price 50% higher than the base price.[4]

We know, then, that Chinese paintings were imported; there was even reportedly a ban imposed on their importation at some time in the Edo period.[5] But we have no information from the Nagasaki records, and may never have much, on *what* paintings were imported.[6] A few scattered clues to what kinds of Ming-Ch'ing paintings the early Nanga artists could see are found among their writings, and we are told that Gyokusen and Taiga saw and studied Ming paintings, including works ascribed to T'ang Yin.[7] But for the most part, we can identify them, for this early period, only through the copies and close imitations of them made by the early Nanga artists. (See my study of Hyakusen for some identifications of this

kind.) From the later phases of Nanga, we have more information on collections that the artists saw and exhibitions they organized; some tentative observations about the kinds of Ming-Ch'ing painting to be seen in Japan by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on these sources, will be offered later in this paper.

2. *Paintings Imported Through Ōbaku Zen.* The Ōbaku channel of importation has begun to receive some attention recently outside Japan.[8] Simultaneously, studies of late Ming painting have defined the distinctive character of local schools, especially, for our present purpose, that located in Fukien province, the source of Huang-po (Ōbaku) Zen. These two lines of investigation, together, have begun to reveal the central importance of the Fukienese styles in Ōbaku painting. Religious pictures by Fukienese artists brought to Japan for use in Ōbaku temples include a recently-discovered large painting by Wu Pin (active ca. 1580-1625) representing the Death of the Buddha (Parinirvana), dated 1610 and kept in the Shōfukuji, an Ōbaku temple in Nagasaki; [9] and a number of paintings of arhats, Kuan-yin, and Huang-po patriarchs by the figure master Ch'en Hsien (fl. 1635-1655).[10] A handscroll represneting arhats crossing the sea attributed to the Yüan dynasty master Wang Chen-p'eng but probably (judging from the style) by some sixteenth century minor master of Fukien is still kept in the Mampukuji, and is said to have been the inspiration for Ikeno Taiga's finger-painted *fusuma* compositions in that temple.[11]

   In addition to these religious works, landscapes and other paintings were brought by the Huang-po priests who emigrated to Japan, or were sent to them. Paintings ascribed to T'ang Yin and Tung Ch'i-chang are mentioned in the poetry collections of Ōbaku monks.[12] An unpublished inventory of possessions of the founder of Ōbaku in Japan, the priest Yin-yüan, includes a horse painting ascribed to Chao Meng-fu and two paintings ascribed to the 16th century Soochow master Lu Chih.[13] A handscroll by the late Ming landscapist Lan Ying inscribed in Japan in 1660 by Tu-li Hsing-i (Dokuryū Shōeki, 1596-1672) will be discussed later in this paper. Two albums of fan paintings, chiefly by minor late Ming artists, were until recent times kept in the Mampukuji.[14] Finally, it is believed, although firm evidence is lacking, that paintings by two leading landscapists of the Fukien school in the late Ming, Chang Jui-t'u and Wang Chien-chang, were brought to Japan through Ōbaku

channels in the seventeenth century.[15] The possible importance of Wang Chien-chang to Nanga, again, will be noted below.

Because Ōbaku channels of importation can be documented in some detail, they are (like the *hampon*) in danger of occupying a disproportionately large segment of our view when we consider Chinese sources of Nanga. In fact, the penetration of the Ōbaku-related styles into Edo painting appears to have been quite limited. A few Japanese figure specialists, who are peripheral to Nanga, imitated Ch'en Hsien; the works of amateurish priest-painters of the sect provided models for some paintings of the "ink-play" type by Nanga artists. But the mainstream of Nanga seems to have remained relatively unaffected.

C. *Chinese Painters in Japan in the Edo Period.*

Some of the Ōbaku priests were themselves amateur artists, prolific practitioners of the Chinese scholar-painters' specialties such as bamboo, orchids, blossoming plum, pine trees, etc., all done in bold brushwork in ink monochrome, as a kind of semi-pictorial extension of calligraphy. These are, on the whole, not works of very high quality, and (as noted by Joan Stanley-Baker) played no major role in the development of Nanga.

Other Chinese painters who visited Japan or were active there during the Edo period include the businessman-artist I Hai (Japanese, I Fukyū), who visited Nagasaki a number of times from 1720 on, and whose dry, highly conventionalized landscapes were appreciated by the Japanese *faute de mieux* as representing, even though usually on a low qualitative level, the authentic "Southern school" tradition; Shen Ch'üan, a painter of animal and bird-and-flower subjects in an academic manner who was in Nagasaki from 1731 to 1733 and whose Japanese followers constitute in large part the so-called Nagasaki school, another that was decidedly peripheral to Nanga; and a series of later, still lesser masters, who are of interest today chiefly because of their historical position with respect to Nanga, and who otherwise exemplify only the sharp decline of Chinese painting in their time.[16]

Two other channels for Chinese influence on Nanga should be mentioned briefly. One is through the intermediary of Korean painting; it is presently under investigation by Mr. Chozo Yamanouchi, and we must await his promised publication for clarification of it. The other is through Okinawa; a painter named Yamaguchi Sōki (1672-1742), a

native of Okinawa, studied in Fukien for four years from 1703 with the Chinese artist Sun I 孫億 (1638-after 1712) and later had some influence on the development of realistic bird-and-flower painting in Japan[17] — once more, a category of painting that perhaps should not be classed with Nanga proper.

II. Phases of Transmission

The question remains of how the Chinese influences coming through these diverse channels interlock with the history of Nanga. The closest interlocking is, as we might expect, with the most powerfully influential of the modes, that of actual Chinese paintings imported to Japan.

The dependence of Nanga painters on Chinese *hampon* or woodblock-printed picture books is strongest in the early period; afterwards, they are occasionally used for compositions, motifs, or iconography—as guides to the "correct" representation of Chinese historical, literary, legendary, and other subjects—but no longer served as prime sources of Ming-Ch'ing painting *styles.* The works of Chinese artists in Japan exert their limited influences on Nanga throughout its whole period, and not discernibly in any clear succession of phases. After giving due attention to these as factors in the development of Nanga, we are brought back to an irreducible fact: the only way, in the end, that good artists can usefully learn about foreign painting styles is from good paintings in those styles. And neither *hampon* nor artists of the caliber of I Hai could supply those. The core problem in understanding Chinese influences on Nanga reduces itself, then, to this: what Chinese Ming-Ch'ing paintings were to be seen in the successive periods of Nanga, and how were they understood and used by the Nanga masters? And the absence of full documentary evidence cannot, any longer, hinder us from acknowledging and addressing this problem.

A. *The Early Period.*

For the early periods of Nanga, (i.e. the first two generations – the death of Buson in 1783 can be taken as a convenient dividing point), the commercially imported paintings seem to have come from such a diversity of schools and masters that it is difficult to perceive, at first, any pattern. The range of Chinese models suggested by the imitative works of a single early Nanga master, Sakaki Hyakusen, is wide enough to suggest either a catholic taste or none at all,[18] and when that range is further extended by the addition of the models revealed in other artists' derivative works, we are left wondering what principles or tastes can possibly underlie the

selection. But perhaps that is putting the question in the wrong way. For one thing, the Japanese collectors and artists of the time were not yet familiar enough with Ming-Ch'ing painting to exercise much discrimination; like Europeans and Americans, who much more recently have arrived at some comprehension of this ingrown and often recherché art only after decades of neglecting and misunderstanding it, the Japanese collected and admired before they understood. More importantly, the taste of the Japanese was not really the controlling factor. (period) Yoshiho Yonezawa describes the situation perceptively, pointing out that while Chinese merchants could come to Nagasaki to trade, the Japanese were prohibited from crossing to China. "Thus," he continues, "there developed a trade in which the choice of goods to be sold was left up to the Chinese. In a word, the Japanese were forced to select from whatever paintings and other works of art the Chinese merchants thought suitable for sale in Japan. It goes without saying that these traders chose paintings that would satisfy the tastes of the Japanese, and we may suppose that they were knowledgeable about Ming and Ch'ing literati painting. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that they were not of such good character as to search out only genuine paintings and offer them to the Japanese, who had never seen the real thing. Moreover, as for the Japanese themselves, it is no exaggeration to say that as long as the paintings were Chinese they lost no time in buying even forgeries and copies."[19]

With this account I would disagree only so far as to suggest that neither the Chinese merchants' knowledge of Ming-Ch'ing literati painting nor their desire to satisfy Japanese tastes was necessarily a crucial factor in the selection. If we ignore for the moment both factors, and ask only: what would exporters of Chinese paintings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most likely have bought, in China, that was cheap, easily available, and reasonably attractive—we will arrive, I think, at something closer to the truth. Approaching the question purely from this practical standpoint and from the Chinese end, we would answer: paintings of academic schools in the Ming, such as the Che school and the Nanking masters, Tu Chin and his followers, which by this time were out of fashion and critically disparaged in China; works by followers of T'ang Yin and Ch'iu Ying, whether done as forgeries of those masters or honestly signed by the later imitators; copies and forgeries of such still-prestigious masters as Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming; works by the late Ming masters of Soochow, the major center for the commercial production of paintings in that period; and works by some seventeenth century masters, such as

Lan Ying and his followers, or Kung Hsien, who were prolific enough for their paintings to be relatively low in price. And when we then turn to the evidence on the Japanese side, whether pictorial or documentary, for what Chinese paintings actually *were* imported, we find that the pattern corresponds closely to that one: these are indeed the kinds of Ming-Ch'ing painting that were mentioned and sometimes imitated in the early period of Nanga.

The heavy dependence of Hyakusen on works by late Ming Soochow masters such as Li Shih-ta and Sheng Mao-yeh, and the derivation of one great current in Nanga painting (best represented by Yosa Buson) on their mode of depicting landscape and figures-in-landscape subjects, was a major theme in my study of Hyakusen, and need not be repeated here;[20] much additional evidence could be offered from inscriptions on paintings by Buson and others. The presence of paintings purportedly by such earlier and greater Soochow masters as Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming, and Lu Chih can be attested by Nankai's account in his *Sōkai ishu* of viewing paintings by all three in 1711 in Edo; by surviving *fumpon* (study sketches) by Nakayama Kōyō preserved in the Kōchi City Library, which include copies of a snow landscape by Shen and a handscroll by Wen;[21] and by other evidence. That paintings ascribed to T'ang Yin were to be seen in some numbers is indicated by the report of Gyokusen's and Taiga's reputations as connoisseurs of Chinese paintings, especially the works of T'ang Yin, as well as by quite of a few Nanga copies after his pictures, identified as such in inscriptions; and the presence of paintings ascribed to Ch'iu Ying is similarly attested by copies. Buson's copies of figure paintings by such Che school masters of the Ming period as Liu Chün and Chang Lu testify to the availability of works of that school as models, as do other bits of evidence. For the presence in Japan in this period of paintings by seventeenth century Chinese artists of other schools, we have less firm evidence and fewer clues; some works of Hyakusen, Kōyō, and others suggest in their styles the influence of early Ch'ing paintings, but it is usually hard to identify. We will return to this question later.[22]

B. *The Later Period.*

From the late period, the end of the eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth, our information on Ming-Ch'ing paintings in Japan is far more ample. We have lists of the contents of exhibitions organized by the artists and their friends, and records of what they saw in private collections or owned themselves.[23] A comprehensive analysis

of these records has still to be undertaken. Provisionally, we can note the presence of these categories of paintings:

a. Works by or ascribed to the major, and some minor, sixteenth century masters: Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming, T'ang Yin and Ch'iu Ying, Hsieh Shin-ch'en, Lu Chih, Wen Cheng-ming's son Wen Chia and nephew Wen Po-jen, along with his followers Sun Chih, Ch'ien Ku, and Ch'ien Kung. Among the 126 paintings copied by Nakabayashi Chikutō in Kyoto for a friend in Nagoya were six ascribed to Wen Cheng-ming and four ascribed to Shen Chou.[24]

b. Works by academic and Che-school masters of the Ming, such as Lin Liang, Wang Shih-ch'ang and Ch'en Tzŭ-ho. But mentions of these are few; and works of many other Che school masters, although they were certainly to be seen in Japan, were not included in the exhibitions or mentioned by the Kansai Nanga artists. Presumably, the Japanese artists were clearly aware by this time that paintings of this kind were judged unsuitable for appreciation and imitation by the Chinese literati. They seem to have been copied and imitated more often by masters of the Edo (or Kantō) branch of Nanga, notably Tani Bunchō.[25]

c. Works by scholar-artists of the late Ming. These, by contrast, are noted with pride: among the paintings copied by Chikutō (see above) were three ascribed to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and four ascribed to Mi Wan-chung. Besides these two, other late Ming scholar-artists who appear in these lists include Li Liu-fang, Ch'eng Chia-sui, Shao Mi, Chao Tso, Yang Wen-ts'ung, Fang I-chih, Hu Tsung-jen, and Yün Hsiang.

d. Works by Soochow and other professional masters of the late Ming, notably Chang Hung, Sheng Mao-yeh, and Lan Ying, each represented by several pictures.

e. Works by the Fukien province landscapists Chang Jui-t'u and Wang Chien-chang, and by Ho Lung, who was, like Chang and Wang, a native of the port city of Ch'üan-chou. These are likely, as noted above, to have come to Japan earlier through Obaku channels.

f. Works by three of the Orthodox school masters of the early Ch'ing: Wang Hui, Wang Yüan-ch'i and Yün Shou-p'ing.

g. Works by three Anhui school masters of the early Ch'ing: Hsiao Yün-ts'ung (whose woodblock-printed *T'ai-ping shan-shui* pictures had, as noted above, been known to Nankai and others in the early period of Nanga), Cha Shih-piao and Sun I (the last not to be confused with the later Fukienese bird-and-flower master Sun I — different character for given name — who was, as noted above, a teacher of Yamaguchi Sōki.)

h. Works by Yangchow and other artists active in the first half of the eighteenth century such as Shang-Guan Chou, Huang Shen, Hua Yen, and Kao Ch'i-p'ei.

The much fuller range of artists and schools that this roster indicates is partly due, of course, to the relative fullness of the evidence; we cannot say positively that paintings by the many additional artists attested for the late period could not have been in Japan in the early period as well. But the tentative listings, based on what evidence we have, suggest a great difference between what was available to early Nanga painters and what the later ones could see. Very little on the early list belongs to the categories that the Chinese themselves considered high-class "literary" or "refined"; quite a lot on the later list does. The early list consists mostly of professional masters, while the late one contains quite a few of the amateurs, including most of those prominent in the late Ming. And the later list includes also many painters from the Ch'ing dynasty.

Just how these differences affected the Nanga painting of the respective periods is a larger problem that must be dealt with artist by artist, with observable relationships established between the Chinese and Japanese materials, as I have attempted to do for Hyakusen. Tanomura Chikuden will prove to be an especially fascinating case: he is said to have based his styles chiefly on paintings of the K'ang-hsi era (1662-1723) and later; Yün Shou-p'ing (1633-1690) was his principal model for flower paintings, and he himself owned a landscape handscroll by the early Ch'ing Anhui school master Sun I, which he praised highly and imitated in his own work.[26] Whether the striking resemblance between his cautious, fastidious style and that of certain Chinese masters who were contemporary with him, notably Ch'ien Tu (1763-1844), should be understood as due to Chikuden's knowledge of such contemporary painting — and a virtually unprecedented erasure of the usual time-lag between Chinese original and Japanese derivation—or to a common origin in some conservative kinds of eighteenth century Yangchow school painting is another question that can be posed but must be left unanswered here. I am inclined, at this point, to favor the former, the hypothesis of a near-contemporaneity in some of Chikuden's models.

C. *The Phenomenon of Lag in the Acceptance of Chinese Styles*

The listing above (section IIA) of Chinese artists and schools probably represented in Japan during the early period of Nanga does not correspond neatly with what we can observe in the early Nanga masters' works, as anyone familiar with them will recognize immediately; certain potential models seem scarcely to have been utilized, if at all. The diversity of available Ming-Ch'ing styles was, of course, too great for any artist (even the polymorphous Hyakusen) to quite encompass; painters whose artistic developments were more inner-directed, moreover, such as Taiga and Buson (especially in their mature periods), can be expected to have exercised more selectivity in their adoption of elements of Chinese style. Similar cross-cultural episodes elsewhere in the history of art—the impact of European prints and paintings on seventeenth century China, for instance, or of Japanese prints on nineteenth century France—suggest strongly that we should not begin with the assumption that the foreign styles were somehow imposed on the receiving tradition, and thus had a determinative and ultimately restrictive effect, but rather that they opened new possibilities among which the receiving artists could choose, perhaps reinforcing and validating inclinations already present. We should regard them, then, primarily as a liberating and enriching factor, which could be accepted or rejected as the artists chose.

Among the potential models not utilized by the early Nanga masters are the styles of such seventeenth century landscapists as Lan Ying, Kung Hsien, and the Fukienese masters Chang Jui-t'u and Wang Chien-chang, which seem to have exerted no visible effect on early Nanga, with the possible exception of some traces of the Lan Ying manner to be discerned in a few works by Hyakusen (as discussed in the third part of my study of him.) That Lan Ying's painting was known in Japan by 1660 can be documented through an inscription dated to that year by the Obaku monk-calligrapher Tu-li Hsing-i (Dokuryū Shōeki, 1596-1672) on a handscroll that Lan painted in 1623 portraying Nan-p'ing Shan or South Screen Mountain on the West Lake at Hangchow (fig. 1). Tu-li, himself a native of Hangchow, had come to Japan (as he says in his colophon) seven years earlier, in 1653; he writes of Lan Ying as his "old friend." The painting (fig. 2) is an attractive, easy-going performance in the manner of Wang Meng, besides being, no doubt, for Chinese viewers, an evocative portrayal of the place. It must have struck the Japanese who saw it, painters or others, as excessively loose in brushwork; the dissolution of form to be seen here was not the atmospheric blurring they were accustomed to in the *haboku* style of ink monochrome, but a scumbled surface less descriptive of natural appearances than the Chinese styles they knew. The

repetition of shapes in the boulders making up the hillocks and hillsides similarly worked against naturalistic ends. For the artistic tradition that produced Sōtatsu and Kōrin, of course, naturalism was not a requisite; but readable images were, and these must have been difficult to read.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, varieties of painting in which brushwork and surface pattern tended to dissolve or disperse the images had come to be well accepted in Japan and were practiced by Uragami Gyokudō and others. Overt imitations of the painting of Lan Ying can be seen in this period in works by Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776-1853), Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783-1856), and others. Chikutō's inscription on his "Autumn Landscape" of 1808 (fig. 3) names Lan Ying as his model, praising Lan's landscapes in the manner of Huang Kung-wang; comparison with a Lan Ying painting of 1643 in the Huang Kung-wang manner (fig. 4) reveals the fidelity of Chikutō's imitation. Here, the flattening, un-naturalistic pattern of Lan Ying's style, with identical boulders aligned like barrels, is exactly what Chikutō finds pleasing. In 1829, however, when he painted his "Rocky Landscape with Seated Figure" (fig. 5), Chikutō credited only Huang Kung-wang as the source of the style, although Lan Ying is still the real model; perhaps Chikutō, who seems to have worried about the soundness of his "Southern school" credentials, had discovered by then that Lan Ying belonged, in the Chinese literati critics' view, to the wrong camp. And by 1838, the date of his "Spring Mountains" (fig. 6), Chikutō had assimilated this distinctive repertory of forms into his own style, and into the Japanese decorative tradition. Baiitsu, similarly, copied a composition by Lan Ying depicting a man seated under trees on a river bank below a steep cliff[27] and then produced a freer version, undated but presumably later, (fig. 7), on which the inscription no longer acknowledges any debt to the Ming master. The Lan Ying painting that may have served as model for both, a work inscribed as "in the manner of Li Cheng." is in a Japanese private collection (fig. 8).

An even more interesting case of delayed influence concerns a "Landscape with Rainstorm" by Wang Chien-chang dated 1627 (fig. 9). The painting has been neglected in modern studies both of late Ming painting and of the sources of Nanga. It is in the Seikado, Tokyo, and may well have reached Japan originally through Obaku channels—the presence in the Seikado (the former Iwasaki collection) of other Obaku-related paintings, such as an album, reportedly once owned by I-jan (Itsunen, 1601-1668), of pictures of arhats ascribed to the Yüan period monk P'u-kuang 溥光 but apparently by some Fukienese master of the late Ming[28] – as well as of notable landscapes by Chang Jui-t'u and Wang Chien-chang–supports that possibility.[29] But how-

ever it came to Japan, Wang Chien-chang's painting is likely to be the same "Wind and Rain" picture 風雨圖 that Rai Sanyō (1780-1832) mentions having seen in the collection of a certain Kawamura Soshichi(河村莊) of Otsu.[30] That reference places the picture in the right circles to have been seen also by Uragami Gyokudō; and the importance of the painting to Nanga studies lies in the fact that it provides, more than any other extant Chinese painting known to have been in Japan at that time, a source for motifs and features of style that are fundamental to Gyokudō's stylistic development.[31] Wang Chien-chang's landscape is unusually loose and agitated in its brush-work, among his works; this quality is partly explainable by the wind-and-rain theme and partly by the fact that it is painted on gold-surfaced paper, which allows none of the kinds of stabilizing brushstrokes that seem to "dig into" the painting surface. Gyokudō, among Nanga masters, seems to have been particularly sensitive to the expressive capacities of Chinese brush-work, and the first to understand and exploit its special blending of dry and wet strokes. From this painting, or others like it,[32] he may have learned how to achieve a vibrant, exciting surface with repeated slanting brushstrokes. The painting seems to provide a probable source as well for some typical elements of Gyokudō's compositions: the arched bridge at the bottom with a figure on it, the ovoid mass in lower left, the thin-trunked trees with branches and leafage rendered in diagonal strokes of ink (Detail, fig. 10), the whole design of the tall, narrow space. Most strikingly of all, the mountains that occupy the upper part: steep cones with rounded tops, they are depicted with strong light and shade; rows of transverse brushstrokes run up their sides, and mysterious round or oval white shapes appear on their surfaces or protrude from them (Detail, fig. 11). For anyone familiar with the landscapes of Gyokudō, it will be unnecessary to point out how pervasive these same features are in his typical works; two examples, a landscape in the Kyoto National Museum (fig. 12) and another in a private collection (fig. 13) will serve to illustrate some of them. The latter picture seems almost a loosened sketch-version of Wang Chien-chang's composition. I suggested previously (*Scholar-painters of Japan: the Nanga School*, p. 76) that the landscapes of Kung Hsien may have affected Gyokudō's style, and that is still a possibility to be investigated seriously; but it is now overshadowed in importance by this strikingly Gyokudō-esque work of Wang Chien-chang.

Conclusion

Like all receivers of cultural influences, the Japanese Nanga painters were both passive and active agents. Their responses to the stimuli of foreign styles were partly determined by what was accessible to them (a factor over which they

had little control) and partly by their own inclinations and selectivity, what they expected of the Chinese styles and how they chose to use them. Our research into the problem of Chinese sources of Nanga must be correspondingly two-fold: determining what was available for the Nanga masters to see and study is a matter of investigation; determining what use they made of these materials, a matter of interpretation. But the latter contributes to the former; if we can establish that a Nanga artist used a particular Chinese style, we have established also the presence in Japan, in his time, of some object of that style that can have served him as model.

In the early period of Nanga, what the Japanese masters admired and imitated in Chinese paintings seems to have been *Chinese-looking images*. These images were not necessarily more beautiful, or truer, or even more aesthetically pleasing than those that existed already in Japanese painting; what mattered, chiefly, is that they looked Chinese, and, more specifically, were associated with the Chinese literati-artist ideal. They included such subjects as ink-bamboo and ink-plum, as well as the figural and landscape themes. In addition to looking Chinese, the images had to be clearly readable. (One is reminded of the Chinese imagery entering Europe through chinoiserie in this same period; the phenomena are very different in some respects but alike in this requirement: recognizable images of trees, rocks, houses, etc., had to be also *Chinese-looking* images of those things.) The Chinese paintings that were chosen as models were, on the whole, of a kind that could supply such images; those rejected were, on the whole, those that could not—and in particular, kinds of painting in which image was subordinated to brushwork and other aspects of style. The *hampon* or woodblock-printed books were of some use in this pursuit of images; actual paintings allowed more, the recapturing of some elements of Chinese literati painting style; but even when the Japanese adopted these elements of style, within the limits of their understanding, they did so usually to enhance the authenticity of the images. Even Hyakusen, who could sometimes recreate in his own paintings the nuances of execution and expressiveness of brushwork and forms that he perceived in the Chinese originals, uses his deeper understanding and greater technical facility chiefly in the same way, to impart a suitably sinicized substance to images that belonged to an ideal China: scholars gazing at waterfalls, Su Tung-p'o and his friends boating past the Red Cliff. The pursuit of Chineseness is in fact the key to most of Hyakusen's painting.

The second-generation masters, notably Taiga and Buson, seem impelled by the same aim in the early part of their careers. Buson's individual pursuit of Chineseness carries him from his early study of Chinese poetry through a brief and unsatisfying involvement with the Unkoku school, an older Japanese tradition of Kanga or "Chinese-style painting" that had Ming antecedents, and finally to his more rewarding and decisive adoption of late Ming Soochow school style, in which he followed

the lead of Hyakusen, and which contributed heavily to his full maturation as an artist. In their maturity, however, these artists come to be less concerned with the Chineseness of their images; they continue to paint Chinese subjects, but treat them in a style that has become Japanized; or they depict purely Japanese subjects in styles that can sometimes still be traced, through the ingenuity of art historians, to Chinese sources, but which are essentially independent of those sources. In this they are followed by Gyokushū, Shukuya, and others.

In the late period of Nanga, some masters, such as Gyokudō and Mokubei, continue this independently Japanese branch of the school; for Gyokudō, identifiable Chinese sources such as the painting of Kung Hsien or Wang Chien-chang are no more than springboards to launch him on his brilliantly innovative flights. But other master—Rai Sanyō, Chikuden in much of his work, Chikutō and Hankō and Baiitsu—inaugurate a new phase of sinicization, based on a fuller understanding of a wider range of Chinese models. The object now is less the creation of Chinese-looking images than the recapturing of refinements of Chinese literati *style*. Nuances of brushwork, elaborate systems of forms, the actual fabric and texture of *wen-jen hua*, are now the desiderata. Models disregarded before prove useful, and new models are adopted, including more from the late Ming scholar-amateurs, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and his contemporaries, as well as his early Ch'ing Orthodox-school followers—paintings which, because they were less strong as images than earlier and other Ming painting, had been less attractive to early Nanga masters.

Looking back over earlier centuries with this insight, we can observe that Japanese appreciations of Chinese painting had always, in fact, emphasized the image over the style—style, that is, in the sense in which Chinese connoisseurs had defined it and been obsessed with it. And, since the critical attention of the Chinese in the later centuries (the Yüan dynasty and after) had gone in the opposite direction, esteeming stylistic refinements over strength of image or pictorial values (i.e. the painting seen as a *picture*), the well-recognized divergence between Japanese and Chinese tastes in Chinese painting had inescapably set in: the Japanese were looking at the paintings with different eyes than those they were painted for. The Japanese version of Yüan painting had left out the Four Great Masters and the trend they represented; their version of Ming painting had omitted Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming, and their school. The early Nanga masters' version of Ming-Ch'ing painting was, in this sense, a continuation of established Japanese practice. The shift in later Nanga from that to a more Chinese way of seeing and painting is thus a crucial development not only in the history of Nanga proper but also in Japanese appreciation of Chinese painting more generally; it opens the way for modern Japanese scholarship on the subject, which has tried to escape from the limitations and biases of the traditional approach.

Viewed according to its degree of sinicization, then, the history of Nanga takes on a dumbbell shape, large and heavy at the ends, thin in the middle. And yet the Japanized middle contains most of the triumphs of Nanga. Artists of the type represented by Noro Kaiseki and Chikutō, looking back on the age of Taiga and Buson from their more sinicized standpoint, wanted to cleanse Nanga of tendencies that were un-Chinese, un-literati-like, and therefore somewhat "vulgar"; to the degree that they were successful, they sapped Nanga of its strength. Again, the choice and use of Chinese models coincides with the artists' underlying intent: more knowledge of the real character of Ming-Ch'ing literati styles gained through study of actual works allowed the late Nanga masters to pursue refinements unreachable before; and they refined the vitality out of their own tradition. The Bakumatsu-Meiji phase of Nanga testifies, generally bleakly, to that melancholy fact. After the Meiji Restoration, Japanese artists could again visit China, and Chinese came to Japan in greater numbers; these closer contacts, opening the possibility of a closer imitativeness, may have served to eradicate, finally, any originality surviving in Nanga. The painting of Tomioka Tessai, which boisterously rejects the fastidiousness of the "Southern school" strictures and reasserts the power of imagery, represents a last outburst of vigor in Nanga, and still another remarkable cross-cultural convergence, this time based on Tessai's perception of congruities and harmonies between what seemed worth retaining or reviving from the Nanga tradition, some new tendencies in contemporary Chinese painting with which he was in touch, and what he absorbed, consciously or not, from Western painting. But his extraordinary fusion, which could have led to a rejuvenation of Nanga and a successful emergence of the Japanese painting tradition into the twentieth century, happened at the wrong time; neither Japanese painting nor Japan more generally was in a state or mood to follow up the way Tessai pointed, and the long-delayed end of Nanga came with his death in 1924.

The above account is of course over-simplified, inadequate at some points (it does not take into account, for instance, the Edo extension of Nanga, the styles of Bunchō, Kazan etc.) and flawed at many others. It is offered as a set of preliminary observations and hypotheses, to be refined, amplified, and corrected as our studies proceed.

NOTES

[1] *Literati Paintings from Japan*. Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974. Principal text by Mayching Kao. *Symposium on Painting and Calligraphy by Ming I-min*, the same, 1975. *Proceedings* pub. 1976, as vol. VIII no. 2 of *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies.*

[2] For a useful summary of this importation and use of the woodblock books, see Yoshizawa Chū and Yonezawa Yoshiho, *Bunjinga* (Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1966; English translation: *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style* Tokyo, 1974), chapter VIII. Joan Stanley-Baker, in her paper for this conference, expresses skepticism of the story about Taiga, on the grounds that no fan paintings by him can be clearly associated with any *Hasshū Gafu* designs.

[3] "Sakaki Hyakusen no kaiga yōshiki" (The styles of Sakaki Hyakusen), Part I, *Bijutsushi* no. 93-96, 1976, pp. 1-31, Part II, *ibid.* no. 105, 1978, pp. 1-17; and Part III, *ibid.* no. 107, 1977, pp. 36-53.

[4] Information received orally from Professor Osamu Ōba during the conference.

[5] Mananobu Hosono, *Yo fu hanga* (Nihon no Bijutsu series no. 36, Tokyo, Shibundo, 1969); English translation: *Nagasaki Prints and Early Copperplates*, Tokyo, 1978, p. 29.

[6] Professor Ōba suggests that a search of ship's cargo lists, of the kind he himself carried out in his study of the importation of Chinese books (*Edo Jidai ni okeru Karafune mochiwatashi-sho no Kenkyū*, Osaka, 1967), should turn up some mentions of specific artist and paintings; such information may well modify some of the tentative conclusions put forth in this paper. He has brought to my attention an account (quoted from a book titled *Nagasaki kiji* 長崎紀事 in *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽, 1853, ch. 227; reprint, Tokyo 1912, vol. 33, pp. 20-21) recording the importation in 1725 of "Ming and earlier paintings, works of ten to fifteen artists, seventy or eighty to a hundred paintings in all, some large hanging scrolls, some album leaves, five or six works for each artist . . . . . landscapes, figures, birds-and-flowers, plants-and-insects . . . . . about 70% or 80% in color, the rest in ink monochrome . . . . . " Another account (*ibid.* p. 20) records the importation by I Hai in 1720 of a group of copies of Ming and earlier paintings.

Professor Shujiro Shimada has suggested that the reduced-size copies (*shukuzu*) made by Kano Tanyū and other Kano school masters, which survive in great numbers, can also be used as evidence for determining what Chinese paintings, including "Southern School" works, were in Japan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This is a valuable suggestion that I mean to follow up.

[7] Cahill, "Hyakusen," Part I, p. 6; English text, p. 6.

[8] See *Ōbaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1978, with text by Stephen Addiss; also his "Ōbaku: the Art of Chinese Huang-po Monks in Japan," *Oriental Art* n.s. vol. XXIV no. 4, Winter 1978-1979, pp. 420-432.

I am indebted to Joan Stanley-Baker for allowing me to read in advance her paper for this symposium, the most thorough study of the Ōbaku-Nanga relationship so far attempted.

[9] Mr. Hiroshi Sofukawa of the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyujo in Kyoto kindly supplied me

with color slides of this painting. It is reproduced in Miyata Yasushi 宮田安, *Nagasaki Sōfukuji ronkō* 長崎宗福寺論考, Nagasaki, Bunkensha, 1975.

[10] See Aschwin Lippe, "Ch'en Hsien, a Painter of Lohans," *Arts Orientalis* vol. V, 1963, pp. 255-258.

[11] A section of the Chinese handscroll is reproduced in *Ōbaku bunka* (Uji, Mampukuji, 1972) no. 167. For Taiga's paintings, see *Ikeno Taiga sakuhin-shū* (Tokyo, 1960), no. 513. Joan Stanley-Baker (Symposium paper) points out that Taiga's pictures in fact correspond at no point to the handscroll, except in subject and (loosely) style; they are not, that is, copies of the composition.

[12] Tanaka Kisaka, "Nihon nansōga no genryū" (On the Sources of Japanese Southern School Painting), *Bijutsu Kenkyū* no. 12, 1942; reprinted in *Shoki Nanga no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1972, p. 24.

[13] Joan Stanley-Baker, symposium paper.

[14] The albums are presently kept in the Kyoto National Museum. Titled *Yün-yen yang-su* 雲煙養素, they have been published in the volume *Bunka Shūhō* 文華聚芳 (Kyoto, Bukkyō Geijutsu-in, 1921.) The albums are discussed by Joan Stanley-Baker in her paper for this symposium.

[15] Tanomura Chikuden states that paintings and calligraphy by Chang Jui-t'u were brought by the Ōbaku monk Yüeh-shan; see Mayching Kao, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

[16] For a convenient account of them, see Teisuke Toda's chapter "Chinese Painters in Japan" in Yoshizawa and Yonezawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-169.

[17] See Susumu Hayashi, "On Yamaguchi Sōki, a painter from the Ryūkyū Island," *Yamato Bunka* no. 61, March 1976, pp. 25-48 (in Japanese, with English summary).

[18] See my articles cited above, and especially the section in Part III titled "Other Chinese models", pp. 36-39.

[19] Yoshizawa and Yonezawa, *Bunjunga*, pp. 140-141 (English text pp. 145-146). Professor Ōba suggests that the desires of the Japanese buyers for particular kinds of paintings could have been transmitted to the Chinese merchants in an informal way. He recounts that Tokugawa Yoshimune, the subject of his paper for this symposium, sent a message asking them for Sung-Yüan paintings; the reply was that these were not to be had, but that forgeries of them could be brought. This story gives some clue to the nature and level of the Chinese merchants' sources of supply.

[20] See Part I, pp. 4-9 (English text pp. 4-10): Part II, pp. 7-10 (English text pp. 11-17) and *passim*.

[21] See Hosono Masanobu, *Nakayama Kōyō-ron*, Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Kiyō no. 5, 1969; a list of Kōyō's *fumpon* is appended.

[22] See, again, the section "other Chinese sources" in Part III of my study of Hyakusen, where copies after, or apparent influence from, such seventeenth century artists as Yang Wen-ts'ung, Lan Ying, and Ch'i Chih-chia is suggested. Buson inscribes one of his handscapes painted in 1763 as "after a Ch'ing master" (see Kawahigashi Hekigoto, *Gajin Buson*, Tokyo, 1926, pl. 19).
1926, pl. 19).

[23] Mrs. Yoko Woodson, a doctoral candidate at the University of California, has been compiling an annotated list of "Chinese Paintings Existing in Japan in the 18th and 19th Centuries"; I have depended heavily on this still-unfinished work in the section that follows, which draws on records from the 1790s to around 1850.

[24] See Kanematsu Romon 兼松蘆門, *Chikuto to Baiitsu*, Tokyo, 1910, pp. 80-88.

[25] A catalogue of an exhibition of the Edo branch of Nanga, concentrating on the works of Tani Bunchō (1763-1840) and their Chinese models, has recently been published: see Kanagawa Prefectural Museum, *Edo-ha no kaiga: Tani Bunchō no gagyō o saguru*, Yokohama, 1979. The author of the catalog essay, Nakajima Ryōichi, suggests a number of Sung and Ming academic artists as sources for the styles of Bunchō and Kitayama Kangan (1767-1801); he quotes (p. 6) a passage from the writing of Tanomura Chikuden identifying Bunchō's principal models for landscape as the Southern Sung Academy masters Ma Yüan and Hsia Kuei ("He didn't like the styles of Ni [Tsan] and Huang [Kung-wang]") and quoting Kangan's own list of his models, which include the Ming academic and Che school painters Tai Chin, Lin Liang, Chung Li, and Chang Lu. Bunchō also copied works by Li T'ang, T'ang Yin, Ch'iu Ying, and Ch'en Hung-shou (the last in a figure painting, unpublished, in the collection of Kozo Yabumoto, Amagasaki). All of this suggests a preference for "Northern school" (Hokuga) painters, and such a preference does seem evidenced in much of the output of the Edo or Kantō branch of Nanga, in contrast to the strong leaning toward "Southern school" styles among the Kansai Nanga artists in the same period.

An inventory list of Chinese paintings in the Eisei Bunko (Tokugawa collection), datable to the early 19th century, which is made up in large part of Che school and other Ming academic painting, has recently been published; see *Dairokkai Eisei Bunko-ten* (Sixth Exhibition of the Eisei Library): *Chūgoku no e to sho* (Chinese paintings and calligraphy), Kumamoto Prefectural Museum, 1978, pp. 25-34. The collection was assembled mainly during the period 1811-1823. Many of the works are still in the collection, and some are reproduced in the catalog. Works ascribed to major Sung-Yüan masters, and Che school paintings or the Ming, made up the majority; such paintings, by contrast, seldom appear in the collection and exhibition lists associated with the Rai Sanyō and other Kansai Nanga circles.

[26] The statement about Chikuden's dependence on K'ang-hsi and later sources is by his contemporary Kanai Ushu; see Yoshizawa and Yonezawa, *Bunjinga*, p. 137 (English text p. 142). The Sun I painting is presumably the one of which a section is reproduced in Iijima Takashi, *Bunjinga* (Shibundo, 1966), pp. 90-91; it is judged by Yonezawa (*op. cit.*, p. 141, English text p. 145) to be a copy. I have not seen the original. In any case, it does seem a plausible source for some features of Chikuden's style, as seen e.g. in a landscape of 1827 (Cahill, *Scholar-Painters of Japan: The Nanga School*, New York, 1972, no. 45, p. 96).

[27] Baiitsu's copy after Lan Ying, acknowledged as such in his inscription, is owned by Mr. Mitchell Hutchinson, Chicago, Illinois; unpublished.

[28] See *Kokka*, no. 333.

[29] I am informed by Professor Kozo Sasaki that the presence of Ōbaku-related works in the Iwasaki collection is due principally to the period and circumstances in which the collection was assembled: Iwasaki purchased the paintings from impoverished former *daimyō* and *hatamoto* (retainers) during the Meiji era, and these collections contained many works that had come to Japan through Ōbaku channels.

[30] The painting is mentioned in one of Sanyō's letters; see Kizaki Kōshō 木崎好尚, ed., *Rai Sanyō shohan-shū* 頼山陽書翰集, Tokyo, 1927, p. 356. Sanyō writes of the poem inscribed on the painting as a five-character-line composition, whereas that on the Seikado picture is in six-character lines; this may be simply a lapse of Sanyō's memory.

[31] This statement might be modified when a landscape album by a certain Li Heng 李珩 or Li Ch'u-pai 李楚白, and its relationship to Gyokudō's paintings, has been studied thoroughly. The album, now in the collection of Mr. Yabumoto Kozo, Amagasaki, was owned by Gyokudō, and the leaves bear poetic titles similar to those on his paintings, besides suggesting sources for them in their compositions. The artist has not been identified.

[32] Another landscape painting by Wang Chien-chang that strongly suggests a possible source for elements of Gyokudō's style, a small "Landscape in the Mi Manner" dated 1638, is reproduced in the auction catalog of theYoshikawa Collection, May 1937, no. 2 (see the file of auction catalog pictures arranged by artists in the Bunkazai Kenkyujo, Tokyo, under Wang Chien-chang.)

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Fig. 3 Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776-1853): "Autumn Landscape, after Lan Ying." Dated 1808. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk. keigensai Collection, Berkeley.

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Fig. 10 Detail from the same painting as Fig. 9.

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Fig. 12 Uragami Gyokudō (1745-1820): "Idle in the Mountains." Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Kyoto National Museum.

Fig. 13 Uragami Gyokudō (1745-1820): "Towering Peaks and Precipitous Cliffs." Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Private collection, Japan.

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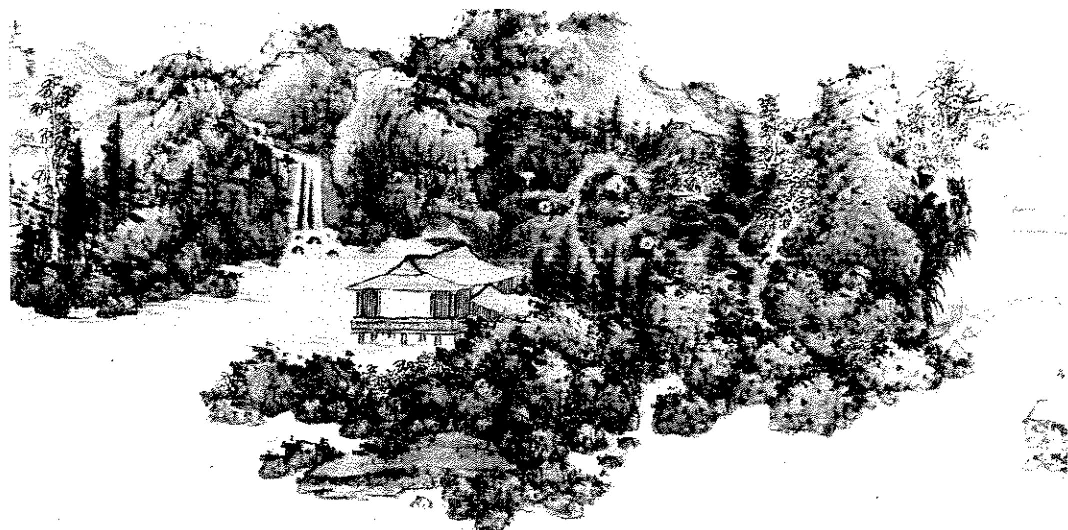

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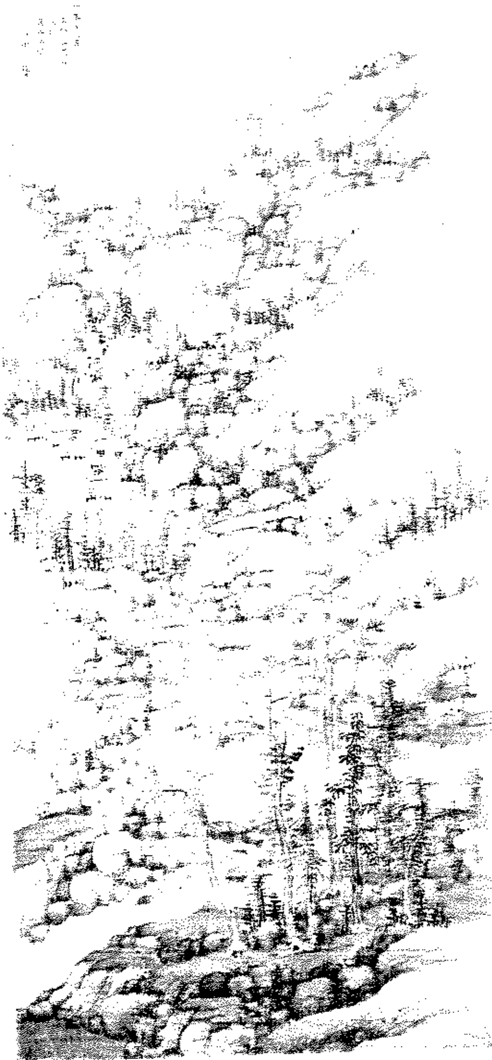

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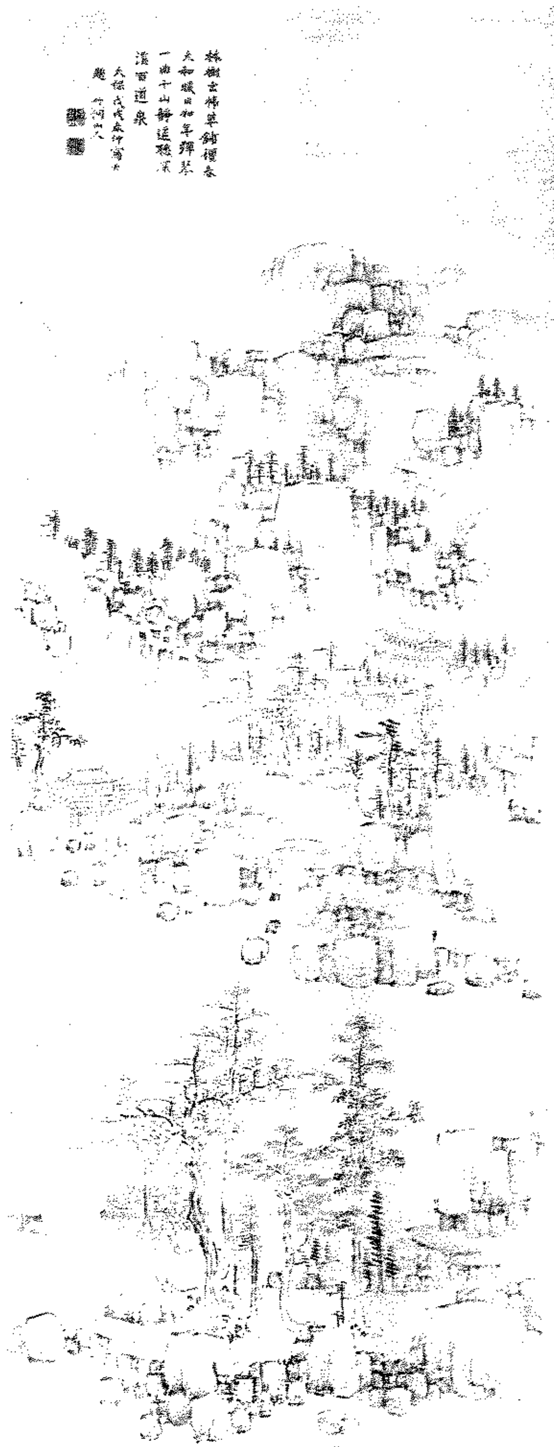

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