

The transmission of Chinese idealist painting to Japan: notes on the early phase (1661-1799).

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The Transmission of Chinese Idealist Painting to Japan
Notes on the Early Phase (1661-1799)
by
Joan Stanley-Baker

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Preface: A Problem of Terminology

This study concerns the development in Japan of the school of Chinese painting commonly known as literati painting, a translation of the Chinese term *wenrenhua*, which refers to painting done by the amateur of erudition in his spare time "to lodge the exhilaration in his heart" (Bush 1971, 29 ff.). It differs fundamentally in technique from that of professional painting (Bush 1971, *iff.*). Susan Bush has pointed out that the first person to "classify painting in social terms" was Su Shi (1037-1101); the term *shirenhua*, painting by scholar-bureaucrats, referred to the lofty spirit expressed in the painting by these officials rather than to particular modes of making pictures (Bush 1971, *iff.*). In Western studies the term literati painting commonly refers both to painting by Northern Song scholarstatesmen known as *shidaifuhua* and to that by Yuan gentry and their emulators of the Ming and Qing, known collectively as *wenrenhua*. The term *literati*, then, has sought to designate both a homogeneous social class and an identifiable style in painting.

In practice, however, the term presents some basic problems. First, the political and social backgrounds of practitioners underwent radical change in the millennium concerned.

Northern Song progenitors of amateur painting were members

of a politically conservative coterie high up in the central administration, close to the person of the emperor and imperial relatives (Toda 1964). They experimented freely with

various alternatives in composition, subject matter, and medium. A unifying feature was the avoidance of the professional

technique known as gongbi, which requires exact draughtsmanship, fine outline, and color fill. In the Yuan they were

i. Key terms in this study, nanga and bunjinga, and their Chinese

prototype, nanzonghua and wenrenhua, will be reproduced without italics.

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dispossessed scholars virtually at the bottom of a ten-class social structure (Ho and Lee 1968; Chan and de Bary 1982).

In

the Ming they comprised a mixture of scholars and professional painters, often out of office and usually disenchanted

with government. In the Qing they became members of the imperial Hanlin Academy. Clearly, a class-oriented term implying comparable social milieux would be misleading.

Second, as benchmark of visual imagery or style, the term is even less appropriate. As we shall see, radical change marks both the weltanschauung and essential stylistic

features
over successive eras. This study, which has prompted a reassessment of Chinese painting from a Japanese perspective, reveals a gradual shift from a casual, spontaneous, "brushless" inkplay in the late eleventh century, to minutely studied, brushwork-oriented constructs with specific art-historical references by the second half of the millennium. The post-Yuan approach to the art was at odds with the original Song spirit. In this light, the sequence of developments in Chinese painting and the apochryphal nature of Chinese treatises on viewing and reviewing ancient paintings are here reconsidered. Chinese historiography developed under the influence of the art circle around Dong Qichang (1555-1636) has significantly conditioned the content and import of Qianlong collections, with the result that today the aesthetic standards established in eighteenth-century collections most strongly condition public and private collecting around the world. These same Qing wenrenhua standards also continue to distort, to greater or lesser extents, our understanding of Chinese painting history.

Here let us briefly reconsider this painting tradition that, in spite of social and stylistic reversals, has over the centuries retained certain fairly consistent aesthetic criteria, that is, ideals. We shall see that these ideals, and not styles or social referents, provide coherence and unite various phases of the tradition.

Idealist painting from Su Shi to Wang Yuanqi to Wang Jiqian shared certain aesthetic ideals, ideals that eschew or negate what was considered current and undesirable. The ideal of ya, tasteful or elegant understatement, negates su, the common or vulgar. Hanxu, reserve or restraint, negates baolu, the obvious or overexposed. The ideal of zhuo, artlessness,

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negates qiao,2 facility bordering on slickness. Furthermore, guren zhi biyi, brush-spirit of the ancients, negates xinyi, crass (unfounded) newness, and reveres brush-modes and ideals of the ancients (however they may have been understood at the time). Lost in the shuffle since Yuan, there was on the suprapersonal or macrocosmic plane the ideal of haoran zhi qi, cosmic energy or universal consciousness; above all, following the Yuan there was on the microcosmic plane xieyi, the rendering of personal spiritual dimensions. Landscapes adhering to these ideals were produced in China by the more inspired artists, professional and nonprofessional alike, who championed diverse compositional formulae and brush-modes. They comprise most of the masters assigned to the "Southern" School by Dong Qichang in his arbitrary, divisionist theory, nanbeizonglun, "Theories of the Northern-and-Southern Schools" (Bush 1971). Their social backgrounds or financial transactions were by no means confined to those of the scholar or amateur-painter class. Their common ideals, however, can and did encompass the millennium from Song to the present. For the Chinese side, therefore, the term idealist seems most appropriate. On the Japanese side the problem is compounded. The term wenrenhua, in Japanese bunjinga, was first imported from the Chinese by Kuwayama Gyokushui (1746-99) and applied to the new painting movement inspired by Chinese idealist painting. Japanese

and Western scholars have continued to perpetuate this usage, bunjinga, and its English equivalent, literati painting or even scholar painting, for the Japanese movement. This usage however tends to cloud some fundamental issues underlying developments on each side. Although it may be irritating to some, I consider Gyokushf's innocent use of this loaded term no longer appropriate in light of what we know today about the complex and subtle issues underlying this transfer of painting ideals and techniques, and I have declined to follow suit. For the Japanese term I use nanga ("southern painting").

2. The desideratum qiao or dexterous had been a positive quality in the Tang dynasty, in a world that prized verisimilitude and high-level craftsmanship. But in the Song, among the scholar-statesmen especially, it became associated with artifice and superficiality, and, in time, the notion was degraded to mean vulgar.

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A basic fallacy lies in the fact that Japan had neither a scholar-statesmen shidaifu class nor a scholar-gentry wenren class.³ In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there had been a small group of erudite monks comprising a sort of "class" sometimes rebuked as bunjinso (literati monks); their influence, aside from a brief period in early Muromachi, was never that of the scholar-bureaucrats in China. This group of men of

cultivation
never attained the social status of the Chinese gentry class.
Nor did
they practice painting with the same set of ideals conceived
in China
(see below).
At the time of the introduction to Japan of late Ming and
early Qing wenrenhua in the late seventeenth and
eighteenth
centuries, there had been no social experience of a literati or
bunjin
class in Japan. Artists espousing the new mode came from
various
walks of life; they included Confucian scholars, professional
painters, soldiers, physicians, monks, bankers, brewers, and
merchants,
an admixture inconceivable in China. Certain ideals, rather
than
social homogeneity, linked their endeavor, ideals aspiring to
distant
Chinese values (historical or perceived). It would be
inappropriate
to impute common class origin or, indeed, any social
homogeneity
to Tokugawa-period artists practicing Chinese literati
painting.
Moreover, early nanga encompassed styles as well as genres
that in
China had long been mutually exclusive, as we shall see.
Thus on
stylistic grounds as well, the term literati would be
misleading.
I have proposed the term idealist for both sides of the
China Sea (J. Stanley-Baker 1980, 10). It refers to aspiration,
and
to new brush-modes, but not to social class. In both
shidaifuhua and wenrenhua, Chinese idealist painting was
spurred
by ideals stressing spiritual and intellectual values over the
decorative and even the descriptive. Its introduction to
Japan
came in the wake of Ieyasu's promulgation of Confucianism
and Chinese studies, which engendered a new wave of
specific. As an indication of transformation of foreign
stimuli, and to underscore

the caution with which we must examine Chinese terms in their Japanese contexts, consider a political example: the Chinese character shi for scholar-bureaucrat, with its distinctive overtone of cultivation, erudition, and moral loftiness, was in Japan made to read samurai. From the rich admixture of ingredients that make up the Chinese shi, the Japanese selected only one of the multitudinous associations of the term: "in service to the ruler." It will be seen that similar dynamics affect selectivity in painting.

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cally China-oriented ideals. Overall, the term idealist seems more appropriate and will be used for both the Chinese and Japanese experience throughout this book.

From a wider perspective, ideals aside, we will see that Chinese artists were largely concerned with manners of brushwielding, yongbi, while their Japanese counterparts were

more interested in evoking emotional expression. Let us compare representative eighteenth-century painter-theorists from

China and Japan to highlight this difference:

In making a painting one needs only to consider the energy dynamics and general formation (qishi lunge) and does not need to seek a fine scenery or copy an old model... In brushwielding (yongbi) avoid the slippery (hua), the flabby (ruan), the stiff (ying), the weighty but stagnant (zhong er chi), the straightforward but messy (shuai er hun), the lucid but boring (mingjing er ni), and the mixed but confused (chongza er luan). Nor should one purposely apply fine brushwork.

-Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), "Ten Rules of Painting" in

Yuchuang manbi (Random Jottings by a Rain-Spattered Window) n.d., in YSCB, vol. 14, no. 114. (See 32).

The principles of brushwielding [*italics mine-J. S-B.*] reside in control by the heart/mind of the wrist movements. There must be suppleness within firmness. One must be able to release and withdraw [energy in the brushstrokes] and not be

ruled by the brush. Brushwork must be centered, zhongfeng.

By zhongfeng I do not mean holding the brush upright.

Feng

is the tip of the brush: if [mostly] the tip is used [in a centered

manner], then touching the [paper] surface, the resulting brushwork will be lively, rounded, and mixed, yuanhun, and not dead, wooden, ban. On the other hand, using only the belly of the brush, [with the brush held aslant], the resulting brushwork will be either sharp like carving, or flat. To achieve a powerful expression merely by means of slanted brushwielding will result in [undesirable] angles and corners.

-Tangdai (b. 1673; pupil of Wang Yuanqi), in Huishi fawei (Suggestions on Painting), 1716, in YSCB, vol. 14, no. 117.

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In my opinion, the Southern Tradition, nanshu, of our land is

based on antique elegance that does not seek an easy beauty but tries instead to harmonize sentiment and plainly rendered

forms [*italics mine-J. S-B.*].... Although the flowers and grasses that S6tatsu painted are richly colored, they retain a spirit of antiquity. His works done in the boneless technique are quite elegant. All this has been achieved through the careful investigation of nature and with the graceful

atmosphere that pervades his painting. Kōrin holds it as his principle to produce paintings of people and flowers and grasses in an antique and simple way, avoiding the excesses (i.e., in technical virtuosity) of recent painters. His flowers and grasses in ink (34), although given strange shapes, suggest every detail of plants that welcome the breeze and embrace the dew. One might well call the inkplay (bamboo) of Prince Konoe (Iehiro) and Shōkadō, as well as the painting of Sotatsu and Kōrin, our country's southern style. When looking at their screen painting or unrolling their handscrolls or albums, one is suddenly transported, as it were, to those scenes. The viewer's emotional empathy [*italics mine-J. SB.*], *kōsei*, is aroused. This must be considered rather remarkable... As for the *ippin* (sublime, untrammelled painting) of our land, there is only Ikeno Taiga. -Kuwayama Gyokushū in *Kaiji higen* (Modest Chats on Painting), 1799, in Sakazaki Tan, comp., *Nihon garon taika*. (See 31).

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Acknowledgments

This volume results from the integration of three separate studies in early *nanga*, delivered at different symposia in 1979 and 1980 (see bibliography). On the whole I have followed the path paved by James Cahill, who was not only the first scholar to introduce *nanga* to the West, but who first set the direction

for identifying Chinese affiliations in nanga works. His detailed discussion of Sakaki Hyakusen's stylistic sources (see bibliography) has not only opened a new dimension in nanga studies for Japanese and Western students alike, but has thrown much light on problems in late Ming painting. During the course of my investigations Professor Cahill has been most generous with guidance as well as introductions to Japanese scholars. In many ways this study would not have been possible without his leadership. The study of transmission of painting techniques is based on analyses of brush-motifs, cunfa, and of brushwielding, yongbi, which are here regarded as the foundation of Chinese painting. Here I have been fortunate to undertake long-term study with Master C. C. Wang of New York City,¹ which made clear that traditional connoisseurship resides in the judgment of brushwork. It became clear, too, that brush-modes serve as leitmotifs by which school affiliations are identified. As this was a crucial factor in Chinese wenrenhua, I sought to follow its diffusion to Japan, and here present some preliminary findings.

1. The NEH-sponsored project of oral history interviews was entitled Definition of Brushwork-Oriented Criteria in Chinese Literati Aesthetics and took place between 1971 and 1978. The project sought answers to vexing questions on quality and authenticity that had rarely been addressed or asked in either historical connoisseurship or contemporary scholarship. Chinese translations by Wang Meiqi have appeared under the title

Huayulu (Discourses on Painting), serialized in the National Palace Museum Monthly of Art, Taipei (1984-85). This was subsequently serialized as Gagoroku in Shuppan Daijiesho (1988-89).

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xx Acknowledgments

Work began in 1976 in conjunction with an exhibition of early nanga together with Chinese paintings from eighteenth-century Japanese collections then being planned for the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. In 1977 I spent three months in Japan and spent many weeks in Manpukuji Monastery in Uji studying Obakurelated paintings and aspects of their japanization.² I am most grateful to the Metropolitan Foundation of Kyoto for a generous grant to make that study possible. Although the exhibition did not take place, a modest international symposium covering critical aspects of the period circa 1600-1800 took place at the University of Victoria in 1979, on the effects on Japanese thought, institutions, art, and literature engendered by Tokugawa policies on statecraft, trade, and travel. The subjects of papers included Neo-Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan, Tokugawa foreign trade, Chinese music in

Japan, Chinese literary motifs in ukiyo-e, conditions in the
China
maritime at the fall of Ming, and problems of japanization of
wenrenhua.
For aspects of Manpukuji history, I am deeply grateful to Mr.
Otsuki Mikio of Obakusan whose lifelong study of Obaku
culture
has yielded a wealth of information. During my stay at the
monastery he graciously offered his time and energy to
extract
innumerable works from the Bunkaden storage, to provide
biographical data, and to photograph with meticulous care
an enormous number of works in both the main monastery
of Manpukuji
and its subtemples around the country.
Throughout these years, on the rare but invaluable
occasions
of our meeting, Professor Shimada Shfijir⁶ has consistently
provided guidance and encouragement. His expectation
that the study
proceed regardless of adversities, and that it lead to new and
meaningful insights, has been through the years my
principal
source of inspiration and strength. Gratitude to such a
teacher
cannot adequately find expression in words.
I am indebted to Richard Stanley-Baker for his personal
exegesis, his dissertation on Muromachi ink painting, and
other
materials. His readings in the Sakuteiki (Records of Heian
Garden
Constructions) have revealed documentation for the cloud-
islet
2. By japanization is meant that process of assimilation by
which imported
cultural stimuli are so transformed and integrated into the
native cultural fabric as to lose all semblance of being alien,
and to be perceived
as Japanese by native and foreign observers alike.

construction so central to subsequent Japanese imagery. A significant end result of our discussions is the strong probability that the process of japanization reveals parallels between the Muromachi and Edo periods, and that the patterns revealed in one period seem to be identifiable in the other.

Finally, I wish to express deep gratitude to Professors Timothy Wixted, Chou Ju-hsi, and Laurel Rodd of Arizona State

University, as well as their associates whose detailed and constructive reading of the three original papers guided their synthesis into its present form. What errors in judgment or facts and presentation persist, of course, are solely mine.

Final editing was done over the winter of 1989 and in 1990 at Trinity College while the Inaugural Foundation Fellowship provided much needed time. I would like to express profound gratitude to the Trinity Foundation, whose generous support have made my stay there a very productive one.

Joan Stanley-Baker
National Tsing Hua University
Hsinchu 300 Taiwan, 1992

Introduction

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Introduction

Chinese and Japanese Perspectives on Idealist Painting

In the study of nanga or Japanese painting in idealist modes, several questions demand reconsideration from a Chinese perspective. How was wenrenhua understood and practiced in China during its long evolution? Which aspects of

these traditions were assimilated by Japan in the eighteenth century? In what manner were they transformed or adapted for

Japanese contexts? Much influence on Tokugawa artists has been attributed to woodblock-printed painting manuals and

art treatises imported from early Qing China. How was such influence manifest in representative nanga?

The Chinese Huangbo (Obaku) Zen temple Manpukuji (branch of the mother temple in Fuzhou) and its Chinese cultural sphere have been accorded major significance in the

rise of the nanga movement. In which ways did this Chinese community affect Japanese painters? Finally, the arrival in Nagasaki of eighteenth-century Chinese merchant-painters has also been cited as a major stimulus in the formation of early

nanga. How precisely can this be demonstrated?

I have bracketed this initial phase of nanga between the founding of the Chinese Huangbo monastery of Manpukuji on Japanese soil in 1661 (marking the beginning of

import from China of a host of features salient to wenren painting), and the death in 1799 of Kuwayama Gyokushui, who

was the first to transform Chinese idealist theories into Japanese contexts. The founding of Manpukuji provided the venue

for exposure to new types of Chinese artworks, and several major pioneers, Gion Nankai (1676-1751), Yanagisawa Kien (1704-58), and the great Ikeno Taiga (1723-76) in turn became

close associates of the community. Furthermore, as we shall

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see, certain late-Ming works imported by founding patriarchs acquired formative significance in the development of

Taiga's new pointillism. The terminal date of 1799 marks the death of Kuwayama Gyokushf, Taiga's close follower and associate and unquestionably the most acute theorist on Chinese and Japanese idealist painting. Gyokushi's writings document the japanization of Chinese idealist theories and sum up the initial phase of nanga, that is, the assimilation of

Chinese concepts and techniques into Japan's cultural sphere,

and their transformation into Japanese modes of expression.

In a reconsideration of some common assumptions about Chinese influence on nanga, an analysis is made of representative

examples of Chinese sources whose presence in late seventeenth

and eighteenth century Japan are relatively securely documented.

Based on documented Chinese paintings in Tokugawa collections, the study highlights the multiple processes of rejection (a

heretofore little studied but significant phenomenon), selection,

transformation, and assimilation of foreign elements. Here influence is defined as that which is reflected in the corpus of representative nanga. Isolated examples of direct copies from Chinese

paintings, the typical features of which are not assimilated into

the main fabric of nanga are, therefore, not considered influence

and treated as examples of occasional, if superficial, interest.

On the whole, I have approached the problem as a student

of Chinese painting, investigating wenren processes in terms of their development at home and in terms of their reception and transformation abroad. The study is therefore limited to a mainly Chinese perspective. Problems of Korean idealist painting, which antedates nanga by three centuries and whose influence on nanga is both considerable and little studied, must await future investigations. Interaction with native Rinpa, and the Tokugawa Kano' and Tosa Schools, which had long defined the parameters of subject matter and taste, and had developed various artistic devices and established standards of brushmanship for painters in all genres, has been studied in Japan but remains fertile ground for exploration by Western scholars. What seems most urgent at i. There seems to be some scholarly disagreement on the reading of Kano, which according to one view was in the Muromachi period read with a short final vowel-Kano-but with the growing prestige of the school in later centuries, came to be read Kan6. The short reading will be used throughout.

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this stage is, first, to provide a closer analysis of the shifting values among wenren painters between the Yuan and Qing dynasties; second, to trace their japanization; third, to examine the uneven exposure of wenrenhua prototypes in seventeenth-

and
eighteenth-century Japan; finally and more importantly, to
examine their uneven reception.
In the process of my studies it became clear that, in a
Japanese context, many originally interrelated Chinese
artistic concerns that in post-Yuan wenren painting had
become separate
issues regained, once in Tokugawa Japan, their pre-Yuan
symbiosis. This is true especially in theories on painting.
That is, in a
certain sense, while Chinese painting from the Ming onward
had
diverged from its Northern Song wenren ideals, in Japan
these
ideals were reunited, nurtured, and developed to their full
potential.
From a Japanese perspective, the history of Chinese idealist
painting reveals notable turns in values and in style that
have
remained largely imperceptible when viewed from the
Chinese
perspective alone. For Ming and Qing writers tended largely
to
interpret earlier records and paintings in light of their own
times
and tastes. Similarly, the post-seventeenth-century
perception of
Song and Yuan material has tended to reflect the refracted
view
engendered by the fifteenth-century shift in painting
toward a
humanist view.² Post-Yuan Chinese theorists veered
increasingly
toward a linear aesthetic, which virtually replaced the legacy
of
nonlinear, amorphous "inkplays" and spontaneous
freewheeling
experimentation advocated by Northern Song progenitors of
amateur painting. I find that seeds of this early conception
of idealist
painting, dormant in China for centuries, managed in the
eighteenth century to rehydrate as it were, to sprout and
bloom on
2. Consider the nature of eighteenth-century imperial
collections, in which this

humanist tendency is exacerbated. The collections reflect Dong Qichang's (1555-1636) bias in choice of artists, subject matter, and techniques. This bias has colored our own perception of Song and Yuan painting in a subtle process of anachronistic projection. Early twentieth-century collectors like Pang Yuanji, for instance, still favored paintings in ink on paper, being of Yuan wenren flavor, to the point that he proudly obtained a landscape "by Juran, ink on paper." See his collection Xuzhai minghualu. This represents a post-Dong Qichang view of Chinese painting history, and one that has lost touch with major aspects of pre-Ming painting.

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Japanese soil. In its full flowering, typical Japanese idealist paintings by Ikeno Taiga and others are closer in spirit and in certain inkwash techniques to original Song ideals than to contemporary Chinese exercises in the genre. That is, Song and early Yuan paintings and texts included a host of descriptive and expressive devices that may be seen as "wet and non-linear"⁸ and that had taken hold in Japan since Heian times. Meanwhile Ming and Qing examples of idealist painting had followed the opposite course, becoming increasingly linear and dry. The traditional Chinese perspective is well documented in excellent Western

studies.⁴

Here the objective is twofold:

1. To make a preliminary survey of Chinese paintings that had entered Japan by 1799, including those unrelated to actual wenrenhua modes but that did affect nanga in its formative phase.

2. To formulate a new perspective on the history of Chinese painting by means of its reflection from the Japanese experience, in both the evidence of Chinese paintings in historical Japanese collections and in traditional Japanese responses to such paintings. These responses shed light not only on Japanese artistic preferences but also on Japanese understanding of Chinese painting. And this understanding provides a valid and hitherto undervalued cross-reference to statements on their own values and artistic processes made by the Chinese themselves.

It is important to understand the manner in which Chinese models of the Song and Yuan were understood in Kamakura and

Muromachi Japan. It is during this phase of major assimilation

that foundations in ink painting of various genres were laid in

Japan, and, as we shall see, this foundation would condition the

manner in which Japanese artists would later read and interpret

Ming and Qing models. But in later Chinese development certain

primary features of Song and Yuan painting had been abandoned.

I believe that Tokugawa painters interpreted the late-Ming and

early-Qing models in terms of these earlier, Song-Yuan derived

values. An understanding of early Japanese experience in Chinese art

would clarify the nature and manner of its assimilation in later times.

3. On this subject see J. Stanley-Baker 1990, 1989, 1986a, 1986b, and 1991.

4. See Susan Bush 1971 and 1978; Cahill 1981; many critical entries in Ho and Lee 1969; Ho et al. 1980, in particular Wai-kam Ho's excellent essay, "Aspects of Chinese Painting from 1100 to 1350"; Li 1965 and 1968; and "The Development of Painting in Soochow during the Yuan Dynasty" in pp. 483-525 of International Symposium on Chinese Painting 1970, among others.

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A significant aspect of the earlier phase of idealist painting, shirenhua, is that practitioners were not confined to set topics, nor indeed to identifiable styles or techniques. There was

the baimiao (ink-outline monochrome figure style) of Li Gonglin (1049-circa 1105); the nonoutline "boneless" bamboo style of Su's elder cousin Wen Tong (1019-1079); the reportedly washy landscape style of the Imperial Son-in-Law Wang Shen (active late eleventh century); the inkwash style of Mi Fu (1052-1107) (1a),

which was probably relatively amorphous and nonlinear in approach; and the possibly drier, but probably also nonlinear, style

of Su Shi himself, who is credited with paintings of gnarled and

twisted old trees, rocks, and bamboo (3a). The main thrust of their

movement was manifested in an emphasis on spontaneity, an

interest in technical experimentation, a freewheeling spirit, stylistic diversity, and the pursuit of the subject's essence. A common feature was their collective disregard for the care

and minuteness of professionals in the imperial painting academy, Huayuan, their avoidance of outline-and-fill techniques, and their disdain for physical resemblance. It would appear from records and surviving attributions that these scholars differed mutually in both technique and expression, and that except for their preference for ink and paper over colors and silk, there was at the time no more precisely definable style or image that could be identified as shirenhua.

Painting by Northern Song professionals comprised the fine outline-and-color fill type called gongbi, or professional figure painting, as well as blue-green landscape types. It also saw the rise of works in ink monochrome where the figurative style was called baimiao and where monumental landscape painting reached its zenith with a development of cunfa modeling brushstrokes. On the whole, academy painting was meticulous and complex, with attention to detail. The rise of ink painting documents the triumph in this age of scholar-bureaucrats, of linear interests over the earlier, more painterly, color-wash-oriented styles.⁵ This may indirectly reflect the displacement of courtly aristocrats by the scholar-bureaucrat class as the new elite. A basic skill of Song scholar-bureaucrats was a good hand in calligraphy for the writing of memorials and other documents of state, as well as of poems. In contrast, Japan's experience followed a different path: Heian courtly ministers were replaced by martial figures who left scholarship and the arts to others.

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The new shirenhua scholar-bureaucrat paintings give rise to a radically different approach. Surviving records and attributions indicate relative abbreviation and cursoriness. Of Su Shi, Wen Tong, Mi Fu, father and son, the impression is rather nonlinear. That is, while in ink monochrome, there seemed to be little use of the academicians' cunfa or modeling strokes. Instead, greater reliance seems to have been placed on the use of inkwash or dry ink applied in a more painterly manner.⁶ With Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322), however, Chinese idealist painting turns away from Song precepts of freewheeling invention to an exploration of the potentials of dry linear brushwork on paper in a decidedly scholarly manner. Yuan wenren painting of landscapes and flora opens the path toward historicism in painting. Brushwork for the first time begins to take form along the principles of calligraphy. Zhao's influence on later Chinese art

6. Su Shi admired the Tang poet Wang Wei (699-759), over and above the legendary master Wu Daoxuan (Daozi), whom he considered merely an artisan. Wang Wei was credited with inventing the use of "broken ink" pomo, where the ink-charged brush tip is dipped into water in order to dilute the brushstroke, turning it into inkwash. For a distant reflection of a possible view of Su Shi's painting, which included landscapes, crabs, figures, flowers, bamboo, and old trees, among other genres, refer to Twisted Bare Tree (3a). For Wen Tong, refer to the comment by his younger contemporary Bi Zhongyou (1047-1121), who, when describing Wen's painting of a withered tree, wrote, "I see no brush traces, only pale inkwash" (Bi 1120, 18: 283). For this compare the inkwash bamboo on silk signed Xu Xi in the Shanghai Museum

(Cahill 1982, 30-31), and note its primary reliance on graded "pale inkwash" and its quality of leaving "no brushtraces." (Our concern is with artistic processes and with techniques and not schools here.) For Mi Fu, refer to (1a). Whether this large painting on silk was from the hand of Mi Fu himself remains to be determined. But close study at the Freer Gallery has confirmed that the mass of Mi dots covering the misty mountains and applied in a harsh, hesitant manner, as well as the oversized trees and protruding mansions, are later additions and retouching conforming to mid-Ming perception of the master. A more probable perception of Mi Fu's style may be gleaned from the original painting beneath all the retouching: gently swelling hills, relative lack of linear (or linear-oriented dotting) brushwork, and above all, primary reliance on graded inkwash for volumetric modeling. We may also consider a survival of the Mi tradition, Wang Tingyun (1152-1202), head of the Jin Academy under Tartar rule. An attribution to his hand, Secluded Bamboo and Withered Tree (3b), confirms the tendency toward a wet, nonlinear technique. On the subject of retouching, see my discussion of Wu Zhen's Twin Junipers in *Old Masters Repainted*, the Chunshan du shu tu ascribed to Wang Meng in J. Stanley-Baker 1990, and a shorter but focused discussion of this aspect of traditional practice in J. Stanley-Baker 1991b. See in particular my discussion of Guo Xi's *Early Spring* in J. Stanley-Baker 1992.

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was such that the seventeenth-century painters and theorists like Dong Qichang understood the history of Chinese painting largely in terms of Zhao Mengfu's values. And the capture of cosmic energy in terms of life-filled representations of nature had long become a thing of the past.

Except for Yuan ink flora by Chan monks, none of this long and complex development was transmitted concurrently to Japan. On the whole, it was not until after the death of Dong Qichang-when the dry, linear style had become the hallmark of

the elite-that Japan first became aware of China's idealist movement, particularly in its developments in landscape painting, and first sought to found its own such movement, nanshuga (Southern School painting).

This represents a time lag of four centuries. By the late sixteenth century, Japanese artists had mastered the art and techniques of extremely finely graded inkwash that extends over

the entire painting surface (see Kaiho Yfsh6 and Hasegawa T6haku among others), a technique developed from centuries of practice in late Southern Song styles, styles prized for their expansive, evocative, atmospheric mists and emotive potential.

Four Categories of Wenrenhua

Considered from a Tokugawa perspective, it may be convenient to divide wenrenhua into four categories.

Whereas in

China they evolved uninterrupted, in Japan their assimilation

and adjustment to national tastes reveal significant differences.

Potential models that reached Tokugawa Japan comprise colored-poetic landscapes, ink-philosophical landscapes, inkplay

(flora), and yipin, the sublime or untrammelled category. In tracing their japanization we must ask, which aspects of

documented
Chinese works in Tokugawa collections can be shown to have exerted influence on nanga, and if so, how? In what ways were the models transformed? Likewise we must ask, if certain new Chinese elements or artistic devices did not exert significant influence, why not?
Colored-poetic landscapes. This genre has a long history in Japan which parallels that in China, with common roots in the painting of the Tang period (J. Stanley-Baker 1981a; 120).
Entering

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Japan after the Sui and Tang dynasties, colored-poetic landscape types suited aristocratic Japanese tastes in their evocative, poetic expression. Technically, the application of these opaque color pigments (mixed in a heated, dissolved bone glue) on prepared wood panels or on silk required lateral movement of the brush, a gradual spreading of the pigment for a shading effect of shifting tonality.
By the Song period, Japanese blue-and-green landscapes had evolved their own characteristics, forming a new national style, Yamato-e. A representative example can be found in the Byōdōin, Uji, among the wall paintings of the Phoenix Hall, dating to 1053 (2). Native preferences are illustrated in the poetic

vistas charged with an intimate and personal emotive flavor,
and
in the strong reliance on tonal gradations, instead of the
linear
brushwork modeling then favored in China. Tiled Chinese
residences are here thatched huts; angularity is replaced by
gently
rounded forms as Tang colored style adapted to native
tastes by
the late tenth century. In the Byodoin murals, soaring,
craggy
Chinese peaks (see the Shōin biwa plectrums dated before
756)
are replaced by the gently rolling hills of Yamato, and human
interest becomes pervasive. Heian handscrolls, including
meishō (scenes of famous sites), shiki-e (scenes of the four
seasons), and
landscape portions of narrative handscrolls, illustrate
widespread
assimilation and transformation of this mode.
With this long history of evocative colored landscape
painting, Japan was able to greet the next major wave of the
Chinese colored landscape (that of the late-Ming Wu
School) with
understanding and acceptance. Taiga's rapid absorption of
the
mode was preconditioned by centuries of internal
development
within Japan. Although late-Ming works differed from the
Tang and Song in appearance, content, style, and technique,
their expressive and evocative potential immediately struck
a
responsive chord among Japanese painters.
Ink-philosophical landscapes. Ink landscapes are here
termed philosophical, in contrast to colored landscapes,
which
are more poetic and emotive in character. In Northern Song
ink
landscapes, shi (nature's force) dwarfs human figures, and
the
internal dynamics of natural phenomena, the coursing of
ener

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gies through the longmo (dragon-pulse) of mountains and rivers dominates the scene as subject. In expression, this genre tends to be philosophical, more contemplative of natural, universal principles than evocative of poetic allusions. In technique, it replaces color gradations with a new linear development called *cunfa*, brushstrokes that engendered a host of modeling styles (based on brushwielding techniques) to describe various types of terrain. The ink-philosophical landscape was developed during a period of reduced contact with Japan, which may account for the dearth of Northern Song landscape types in historical Japanese collections. When ink-philosophical landscapes of the *wenren mode* finally reached Japan at the end of the seventeenth century, they did not enjoy the warm reception given to the poetic-colored styles. Two possible factors, technique and expression, may here be considered. In technique, the colored style did not stress linear brushwork. Its main focus lay in the application of colors in planes, both in flat layers as in the early examples, and, more importantly, in graded tonalities, which became dominant in Heian painting. It is my position that the application of pigments and (from the Muromachi period onward) inkwash in a graded fashion has in Japan been perceived in terms of lateral motion, where the pigment is spread out parallel to the painting surface. Masses

and space are viewed in terms of clearly discernable forms, laid out side by side, while the texturing is viewed not as a densely interwoven mass but as limpid, transparent layers (as for example in 31, detail from a landscape by Gyokushui). In contrast, Chinese brushwork of the *cunfa* type, featuring modeling strokes developed since the tenth century, produces masses of brushstrokes that are piled up and interwoven perpendicular to—as if to penetrate—the picture plane, where they assume substantive, volumetric values (as for example in 32, detail of a landscape by Wang Yuanqi). Herein lies the quintessential difference between Chinese and Japanese perception, expression, and technique. I believe these to be the basic, synchronic preferences of the two cultures. The lateral spreading of graded colors or inkwash becomes in Japanese painting a vehicle for emotive expression since Heian times. Diffused wash, pigment, or metallic dust sprinkled on paper in borderless free-forms began to appear,

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resembling amorphous clouds that pulsate discreetly in the background. These forms serve as emotive indicators, and I have termed them emotive clouds (J. Stanley-Baker 1984, 78-80).

The brushwork-oriented idealist painting of post-Yuan China focuses its life and energy within the sinewy stroke and

builds up a tapestry of brushwork in a framework that is more philosophical and physiological than it is emotional or lyrical.

That is, it speaks to the psychic energy concentrated in the generation of the strokes, and less to the emotive barometer of the composition. The vitality of the brushstroke—its mass, speed, direction, volume, and tensile strength: to the Chinese viewer all signal aspects of life force, shi or qi—have since the tenth century effectively replaced the colorful and lyrical graded hues of Tang.

One may draw parallels between the courtly and the bureaucratic natures that distinguished tastemakers of Heian and Song, but a more precise understanding of causative factors of this divergence must await a more specialized investigation. Ink-philosophical landscapes are relatively abstract or contemplative, and minimize narrative, incidental, or emotive factors. The cunfabased philosophical ink landscape lacked contemporaneous development in Japan in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It had virtually no exposure in Japan during the fourteenth century as Yuan masters developed their various hallmark brushmodes from the then-perceived legacies of Dong Yuan, Juran, and Guo Xi, transforming idealist painting into a brushwork-oriented linear genre. The absence of parallel developments in Japan is a significant factor in the formulation of a rather different type of idealist painting in eighteenth-century Japan.

Inkplay or ink-flora. The category of inkplay, on the other hand, did enjoy in fourteenth-century Japan a brief spate of development contemporaneous with the continent. Even this, however, was not without basic misunderstanding. Yuan literati painting had been generated by the desire to be

distinguished
from Southern Song academic practices. Late Southern
Song and
early Yuan amateur artists focused their ideals of taste and
reserve entirely onto the manner of wielding the brush.⁷
Thus a set

7. See in particular my forthcoming book on C.C. Wang,
which contains the eighty-year dialogue between Mr. Wang
and myself on matters of taste and ideals. The
Chinese translation has been serialized in *Gugong wenwu
yuekan* (J. Stanley Baker 1984-85).

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of brush-modes was developed by Zhao Mengfu, which, in
terms
of style, was based almost entirely on brushwielding or
yongbi
(4a).⁸ This internal aspect of Chinese painting, the focus on
brushwork as calligraphy, was never transferred to Japan, or
understood precisely in the Chinese terms. However, the
category of
ink-flora saw virtually parallel development in China and
Japan,
thanks to the Chan/Zen community, which dominated
international contacts at the time in a fashion not dissimilar
to international conglomerates of today. In the fourteenth
century, traffic
and commerce between Japanese Zen monks and members
of the
Chinese intelligentsia, many of whom had taken refuge in
Chan
monasteries, were regular and the contacts intimate. Many
works
by the Chinese monk Xuechuang Puming (fl. mid-
fourteenth century)⁹ (4b) found their way to Japan during
the Muromachi period. Exchange was bilateral, as monks of

one country became
abbots of communities in the other. Japanese students of
the great
Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben (1265-1323) were exposed
to the
influence of his devoted disciple Zhao Mengfu. Zhao's
calligraphy style exerted considerable influence in
fourteenth-century
Japan, as it did in China among the intelligentsia. Zen
monks
returning to Japan after studying Chan-related arts like tea,
ink
orchid, or bamboo painting, transmitted the latest
developments.

However, in Japan dominant expression resided largely in
the
nature of the composition, while in China it had begun to
focus on
brushwork as the primary driving force.

At this time many works attributed to Zhao found their
way into Japanese collections. These include a willow
landscape,
several ink bamboo, ink epidendra and rocks, and several
horse
paintings.¹⁰ It is tempting to suggest that foundations for
idealist

8. Brushwielding is discussed at some length in J. Stanley-
Baker 1977.

9. Native of Jiangsu, Xuechuang Puming first served as
abbot of the Huqiu
Yunyaisi in 1338, then as abbot of Chengtian Nengrensi in
1344. Retiring briefly
for illness, he resumed the abbotship of Chengtiansi in 1348.

Famed for his ink
orchid paintings, Xuechang's works of epidendra, bamboo,
and rock survive in
many versions and copies and reflect the sensitivity to ink
tones prevalent in
the Yuan, and the calligraphic approach espoused among
the wenren elite
around Zhao Mengfu. For a full biography see Shimada 1935.

10. The Kundaikan sayu chdki, for example, under Yuan
masters, places Zhao
Mengfu in its Upper-Bottom category, that is, fifth of six
possible ranks, gejo,

as painter of landscapes, figures, horses, and flowers and birds. In the same category were ranked Zhao Yong, son of Mengfu, Li Kan the bamboo master, and among monk painters Xuechuang Puming. These works, not necessarily genuine, probably entered Japan in groups, via associates of Zhao Mengfu's Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben.

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painting laid by Zhao Mengfu, which indeed took root in Yuan

China, were also laid, simultaneously, in Japan. In the early part of the fourteenth century it looked as if the Zen sector would

develop into a class of highly erudite literati or bunjin. They developed a school of ink-flora painting related to that in China.

Literati activities among Japanese monks flourished to the extent

that they were attacked as bunjins⁵ (humanist or literati monks)

for overindulgence in pursuits outside the Path. Inkplays of exceptional quality were produced by Zen masters like Tesshf

Tokusai (active ca. 1342-66) (4c) and Ch6'un Reih6 (fl. mid-fourteenth century), among others. Paintings by Gyoku'en Bonp6

(1348-1420) (4d) mark the first departures in Japan from Zhaorelated inkplay styles toward increasingly japanized expression.

The monk Mokuan Rei'en (fl. 1323-45) achieved exalted standards

in his Zen figure painting and was greatly admired in China."

Later, the Ashikaga curator, Soami, was to achieve thorough mastery of the Jiangnan tradition of Muqi.¹² During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Japanese painting might have enjoyed parallel development with Chinese literati painting in its post-Zhao development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but subsequent curtailment of foreign travel on both sides played a large role in steering the course of Japanese painting toward a more isolated development.

Yipin and heterodox techniques. This category finds earliest mention in Tang texts such as the *Shu houpin* (Classification of Calligraphers, Continued, ca. 690) by Li Sizhen (d. 696), who defines it as "transcendental, nontransmittable... without successors." In Shimada Shfijir6's extensive study, "Concerning the I-p'in Style of Painting,"¹³ this category is interpreted as a "superlative, innate talent which could not be contained... the transcendental i-p'in, transcending ordinary classification" (translated by James Cahill). Half a century later Zhu Jingxuan consid¹¹. For details on the monk and his art in China see Shimizu 1974.

12. For the Muromachi period, see Shimizu 1976 and R. Stanley-Baker 1979 and 1981.

13. The standard-setting study by Shimada Shfijir6 (1951) was translated by James Cahill (1961-4). Subsequently, Susan Nelson (1979) demonstrated that by the seventeenth century certain types of wenren or xieyi painting had become synonymous with yipin. In particular, she cites Yun Shouping's description of Ni Zan, in which notions of "scholarly" and yipin coincide. In China, yipin originally referred to both a wild and free, and at times coarse and heterodox,

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ered it "outside... standards,... not confined to ordinary techniques." It was, in short, heterodox. Shimada provides a closely

observed description of yipin as follows:

In the light of the so-called Six Laws, it disregarded the law of "bone method in the use of the brush" [Law II: gufa yongbi]. Its forms had no distinct boundaries and were profoundly transfigured and abbreviated from the shapes of nature. (Cahill 1961, 70)

The Northern Song critic Huang Xiufu in Yizhou minghualu (Record of Famous Painters of Sichuan, ca. 1006) 14

stressed the supremacy of inspired and untrammelled expression

as above those of the Divine Class shenpin; Mi Fu in Huashi (History of Painting, ca. 1103) signified concurrence by according

the yige (untrammelled category) to artists he most admired, 15 and

raised the status of yige and yipin to the top of the order of values. Nevertheless, supremacy of line becomes firmly established

manner of painting, and to a transcendental and sublime quality in its expression. From the fourteenth century onward, yipin became more a qualifier for wenrenhua considered most lofty and, as Nelson shows, "least imitable." Later

criticism cites Mi Fu and Ni Zan (1301-74) in tandem: one a wet, amorphous

style, the other an articulated but dry linear style.

I should add here that to the Chinese, the concept of busu (not vulgar) is

the hallmark of ya or tasteful. Mi and Ni most loudly protested their

loftiness and tastefulness by declaring their abhorrence of su, the common or

vulgar. It should be noted that while the Song master's paintings were probably innovative, heterodox, brushless and relatively wet, relegating linearity to

minor significance and making of painting something different from calligraphy, the Yuan master's works clearly aimed at opposite goals. Later criticism rejected brushlessness and narrowed the definition of gaoya, lofty and tasteful, to linear, brushwork-oriented examples. That is, criticism of painting came to resemble criticism of calligraphy in the assumption that brushstrokes became the working premise. This crucial shift in emphasis was not clear to eighteenth-century Japanese theorists. To them brushlessness, wetness, and coarse abbreviation were not only permissible but habitual and, as we shall see, historically admired.

Nelson argues that Mi and Ni were both entirely original, without stylistic precedent. This is open to debate, however, as Mi Fu developed his style from the inkwash-based, misty aspect of the Dong-Ju legacy, while Ni Zan simply reduced the L-shaped modeling cun idiom of the tradition he took to be of Jing Hao and Guan Tong.

14. "Introduction to the Classification." See also Bush and Shih 1985, 101.

15. In his *Shushi* (History of Calligraphy), Mi declares that Wang Xianzhi surpassed his father Xizhi, and described him as "natural, unaffected, transcendent and untrammelled, tianzhen, chaoyi" (YSCB vol. 2, no. 6, 11).

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in the fourteenth century, and experiments in nonlinear, more washy modes came increasingly to be considered heterodox. The

seeds for linear supremacy were laid by Confucianists in the Tang, such as when critic Zhang Yanyuan, writing in his famous

Lidai minghuaji (Record of Famous Paintings of the Ages, 847),

set the stage by rejecting without qualification all works produced by means other than the brush. He criticizes the chuiyun,

blown-cloud method:

This is a brilliant idea, but since the traces of the brush are not visible, it cannot be called painting. In landscape painting there is also the so-called "spattered ink" type; but that cannot be called painting either. (Cahill 1961, 68)

Spattered ink, like broken ink, was elevated in the minds of Tokugawa theorists and, of course, artists. In spite of Zhang's

strictures, it should come as no surprise that freer, more intuitive

or heterodox approaches held considerable appeal for early Song

shiren painters, as they opened avenues to more direct expression,

and bypassed demanding prerequisites of painting.

Exploring

new ways toward spontaneity and truth while remaining highly

critical, Mi Fu was said to have experimented with lotus pods,

squeezed sugar cane, or paper twists as implements (Zhao Xihu

1190, 272). Shimada argues for the intimate relationship between

early xieyi (self-expression) and yipin (sublime or untrammelled

style painting):

[Meticulous or detailed] representation is belittled and despised. That is the basic attitude behind the yipin style. Abbreviated drawing, dependent on the rough brushwork which is freed from the restrictions of both the faithful depiction of natural shapes and the formal beauty of fine line, becomes the means for a simple and direct expression of individual nature. Therefore, the yipin style must be regarded as having prepared the way for literati painting.... If we envision the development of Chinese painting as a complex spiral movement,

we might speak of the orthodox mode as a fixed perpendicular, an axis around which everything revolves and returns, the focus of a centripetal force which manifests the fundamental characteristics of Chinese painting. The yipin works, by contrast, are products of a centrifugal force, the result of Chinese painting having engendered within its own development elements that sought to be

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emancipated from itself and to oppose itself, and thereby enriching that development. (Cahill 1964, 23, 26)

This crucial observation is often overlooked by students of wenrenhua and nanga alike. But it was an understanding of

yipin, close to Shimada's definition based on the original, Northern Song meaning, that held sway among Tokugawa painters and

theorists. Kuwayama Gyokushu, as we shall see, clearly understood it in the same terms offered two centuries later by Shimada.

Eighteenth-century nanga painters and theorists were confronted

by what appeared to be irreconcilable differences between Chinese theoretical texts of the different periods. They knew that the

concept of yipin had emerged since the Tang period and that by

the Northern Song and Yuan it was implicitly associated with the

idealist, shidaifu or wenren tradition (where Shimada's definition still prevails).

This understanding accords with nonlinear styles of Song and early Yuan origin, which in Japan were associated with Muqi

and Yujian (Rofen) and which developed into a high art

between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. But it differs from what the Chinese meant in seventeenth-century texts, both in intent and in image. In Ming and Qing texts yipin denoted a grade of quality, sublime and inimitable; it had lost specifically technical contexts. Eighteenth-century Japanese observers were not aware of China's new values and faced, on the one hand, the shift of priorities implicit in the newer Chinese texts and, on the other, visual evidence among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese examples that were without precedent in Japan. They had to cope with the concept of a radically new image of complex, dense linear works, with piled up mountains of strokes. These relate ultimately to the Four Wang School,¹⁶ then the ruling painting orthodoxy in China. The resulting contradiction in texts (which suggest to the Japanese spontaneous, washy techniques) and paintings (which provide an image of laborious, largely dry linear works), called for a reassessment of Chinese painting history.

16. Wang Shimin (1592-1680), Wang Jian (1598-1677), Wang Hui (1632-1717), and Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), in consolidating the reformation of Dong Qichang, firmly established the linear styles, dense and sparse, as the undisputed orthodox mode. Needless to say, for virtually the whole century the Four Wang were not recognized in Japan as the giants they were in China, nor was the dense, interwoven nature of their brushwork ethos truly understood until the early nineteenth century.

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From the Chinese perspective, nonlinear styles have remained beyond the pale since the Tang while linear styles assumed increasing development and prestige.¹⁷ It is largely in this

perspective that Chinese (and through them Western) students of

Chinese painting view its history and acquire an understanding

17. The power of orthodoxy was such that movements outside its bounds were

rarely recognized. In the sixteenth-century adherents of the Wen-Shen (Wu)

School were in the ascendant while others were less admired. One of the most

creative individuals, the dramatist and calligrapher Xu Wei (1521-93), who developed the use of spattered ink to a high art, lived and died outside the sphere

of the elite. Through his poetry, drama, and indeed through his paintings, Xu

is seen in twentieth-century scholarship as someone "primarily interested in

the violence and extremes of nature, society, and the self" (Richard John Lynn

in "Alternate Routes to Self-Realization in Ming Theories of Poetry" in Bush

and Murck 1981, 334). Xu never entered officialdom and was thus excluded from

the official routes (to self-esteem), having eight times failed in the provincial

exams. His work as poet, dramatist, calligrapher, and painter was direct and

unadorned, spontaneous, and incisive. He was critical of society: two of his

plays champion women's equality and were doubtless viewed as striking too

close to the bone of tradition. These elements of *dpater la bourgeoisie* occasionally provoked the establishment-

especially the conservative camp of the

Former and Latter Seven Masters of the *fugu* or archaist

movement-but never won him plaudits from scholars other than his own Gong'an School. Virtually no mention of Xu is found in orthodox writing of the late Ming or Qing, whether by Dong Qichang, Wang Yuanqi, or others, indicating the conservative and repressive nature of the establishment in general, and of Ming and Qing society in particular. Creativity and individualism were not admired unless they were couched in traditionally accepted formulations. Among Chinese critics, such artists as Xu Wei, the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou and the Four Monks of the Qing were not admired by the orthodoxy-that is, the elite. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that orthodox masters like Wang Jiqian (C. C. Wang) were exposed to a broader perspective and came to appreciate art previously considered unworthy, including that of Zheng Xie (Banqiao), Xu Wei, Wu Wei, and the Four Monks. Even as late as the 1930s, orthodox painters of the Dong Qichang /Four Wang /Dai Xi /Wu Hufan/Wang Jiqian lineage did not consider acceptable the Four Monk tradition then practiced by the Shanghai School, which included artists like Zhang Daiqian (1900-83). For example, except for praises from fellow Gong'an School members and later creative artists also considered eccentric, *guai*, like Zheng Xie, little of the written responses to Xu Wei's painting is positive. The Mongol *wenren* adherent Song Nian related painters' calibers to their personal character and in *Yiyuan lunhua* (Pref. 1897), when comparing Xu Wei and Bada shanren, observed, "Xu Tianchi was arrogant because of his talents; he was rude and overbearing; his basic nature was narrow and petty, harboring grudges and harming people." There are two interesting exceptions with contrasting social receptions.

First is the eighteenth-century phenomenon of the so-called "wild and heterodox" school of more creative painters who managed to gain patronage by the not-too-respectable but wealthy Yangzhou salt merchants. Second, the recent enfant terrible of Chinese painting, Zhang Daiqian, master of spattered-ink techniques he had reimported from Japan, in his last years rose to preeminence

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notably different from that of Japanese students of Chinese painting history.

In light of yipin's role in the formulation of nanga, however, we must attempt to reconstruct at least the broad outlines of

eleventh-century shidaifuhua. Mi Fu, as noted, was viewed as

having occasionally used implements other than the brush. Behind the large Misty Landscape (la) associated with his style¹⁸ lies

the basis for a very wet, washy manner of painting that relies on virtually no linear brushwork (although it is painted with a brush). The motifs are rendered in a highly abbreviated manner.¹⁹

by being dubbed Master of the Nation, guoshi, and his nonlinear spattered-ink

pomo styles were accorded pride of place if not orthodoxy in official Chinese art circles.

18. Mi described his own painting as largely on paper and rarely extending

beyond three feet. In contrast, the Freer image is nearly five feet in height (150.0

x 78.8 cm) and on silk. However, in view of the dearth of images associated with

the Mi style, the Freer painting has been considered by Shimada Shuiji⁶ to be the closest approximation (verbal communication). My own perception of it is as a panel of an original set of possibly six to eight panels, forming what may resemble a horizontal panorama, corresponding in appearance if not in function to a Heian-style fusuma-e. It accords well in treatment and in technique, albeit here in monochrome, with the groups of background hills in the late eleventh-century Japanese screen landscape, *Senzui* by *byōbu*, now in the Jingji Collection, Kyoto (33, detail of background hills in *Senzui byōbu*).

19. Mi's original style was confused, perhaps compromised or changed in the many post-Yuan interpretations (signed Mi Fu or in the manner of Mi Fu).

These usually exhibit the same implied linearity in conception by their ubiquitous application of so-called Mi-dots along axes that parallel the Dong-Ju style in brushwork deployment, that is, long strokes plied in the same direction, where the "stroke" becomes a line of parallel horizontal "dots." Surviving attributions to the son, Mi Youren, are on the whole filled with series of dots applied like phalanxes of soldiers on a snowy slope, tense and insistent. I believe that this linearization of the Mi image originated in the fifteenth century (early Ming), and I have discussed the problem at length in J. Stanley Baker 1990 and 1991a.

The "original Mi image" I propose in this study is quite different from the now standard one of Ming perception. It is gentle of contour, inkwash based, lacking in linear demarcations, and done in the same borderless manner used in flower painting called *mogu* (boneless or buried bone). Mi had repeatedly proclaimed the superiority of unassertiveness, or *pingdan*, citing technical observations to support this critical and aesthetic

judgment-which is, in fact,
a rather aristocratic one consonant with the contemporary
Japanese courtier's
preference for understatement. Mi admired Li Cheng's pine
trees for their use
of light, pale inkwash, and, for knot-holes, no linear circle
but graded ink for
concavity. Mi's love of Juran's unassertive works is well
known. Wai-kam Ho's
entry on the Cleveland Museum's Juran landscape painting
(Ho et al. 1980, 18)
tells us that Juran's works were described by Shen Gua
(1031-95) as innovative
in their "use of pale ink and light mist." Mi and Shen
admired a plain but
predominant use of inkwash, as distinct from the linear
cunfa then current.

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The extant versions of Twisted Bare Tree by Recumbent
Rock (3a)
associated with Su Shi suggest a rough, abbreviated
approach.
The volumetric modeling is decidedly nonlinear.²⁰
Paintings by
Dong Yuan and Juran have been praised as unassertive or
pingdan
by Mi Fu, and Shen Gua described them as cursory and
abbreviated, resembling nothing when seen up close but
revealing shimmering imagery when viewed from a distance.
Probing beyond
Mi Fu, Su Shi stressed invisible, inner qualities over visible
manifestations, comparing the appreciation of painting to
the
connoisseurship of horses (where it is a matter of inner
spirit, not

color, gender, or size). In the minds of these men, xieyi (self-expressive painting) was seen as the pursuit of zhen (natural reality) or li (natural principles), where ends justified all means, including the heterodox.

When an amateur painting movement was resurrected in the Yuan, its original Song ideals of freewheeling, nonlinear brushplay were largely exchanged for painstakingly intellectual and art-historical exercises. The leader of the movement, Zhao Mengfu, reduced complex ancient brush-modes of Northern Song professional masters like Dong Yuan, Juran, and Guo Xi to clear, linear, and graceful brushwork-oriented exercises (4a). Zhao promoted ink-flora, ink landscapes, and revivals of Tang colored-poetic landscapes, but avoided heterodox practices, eschewing altogether the amorphous washy Mi family style and yipin techniques. This is significant in a Japanese context where understanding of Chinese painting history had been fragmentary at best. Indeed, Japanese development of Chinese-style painting had taken the opposite course, which, by Tokugawa times, radically affected the perception and japanization of nanga. Post-Zhao wenrenhua became increasingly texture-conscious, resulting by the seventeenth century in two streams of the dense and

20. The two curious attributions to Su Shi, both of gnarled and twisted leafless trees contorted over a low rock amongst dwarf reeds or bamboo, are informative if they are later copies or interpolations. Su's repeated comments stressing the importance of capturing that elusive but greater reality of nature's principles, li, as opposed to the infantile ideal of verisimilitude, needs no elaboration here. The painting reproduced in Siren is from a photo of unknown provenance, and the one in the Shanghai Museum appears in Sullivan 1977, pl.

179. Huang Tingjian ascribes the untrammelled vigor in Su's inkplay of old stumps, dwarf bamboo, and cut-off hills in mist as

something "first formed in his breast" (Bush 1978, 71, quote #131).

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the sparse dry linear styles.²¹ Later Chinese critics confined the term *yipin* to the qualitative sense: idealist painting of the highest order. Yun Shouping (1633-90), for example, declared Ni Zan *yipin*. This must be seen in light of the current supremacy of the Four Wang linear style. However, in eighteenth-century Japan, although *yipin* (J. *ippin*) was associated with idealist painting, the image evoked by the term *ippin* was hardly linear. It was rough, abbreviated, and wet, an inspired rendering that was linked, through Chinese texts, to the Tang masters Wang Xia (or Wang Mo of "spattered ink" fame) and Wang Wei, progenitor of *pomo* (broken ink or inkwash) styles, and "Dong Yuan... Mi Fu father and son..., as the writings of Kuwayama Gyokushf repeatedly confirm. The growing prestige of Yujian (Rofen)-style abbreviated inkwash style in sixteenth-century Japan is evidence for a predisposition toward a brushless, moist, and abbreviated image long associated

21. For a discussion of the dry linear style, or *kebi goule*, which flourished among early Qing idealist or *wenren* painters, see Fu Shen (1976, 579-617). Fu discusses the rise of the style as one that "captured and expressed many *yimin* (leftover

people, loyal to the previous, vanquished dynasty) sentiments," even though its tradition and theory stem from distant scholar painters such as Li Gonglin, Zhao Mengfu, and Wang Meng. Technically, the brushwork features dry ink and a rubbed effect and is usually linear in its make-up; in mid-seventeenth-century criticism this seems to bring up "a certain mood and feeling of desolation and melancholy." Fu remarks that painters who mastered the technique were considered "more than half competent. Besides that, dry brushwork had several technical advantages for the amateur painters: it was easier to control than wet, it required less time in completing a painting, and it made a painter's style look older and more mature." The linear style was, according to Fu, close to "simplified" or "eliminated" brushwork (jianbi), and employed the goule type of contouring, although the purpose was to "convey certain ideas and feelings." Fourteenth-century prototypes are provided by Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), says Fu, pointing to the massive numbers of Ni/Huang re-creations in the seventeenth century. Here in a Japanese nanga context, we may take note of two different offshoots of these Yuan progenitors. Ni may be considered the sparse, dry, linear style, while Huang's seventeenth-century image is clearly a dense, dry linear style. Fu's examples by Hongren (1610-64), Fang Yizhi (ca. 1607-71), Dai Benxiao (1612-91), Xiao Yuncong (1596-1673), Zha Shibiao (1615-98), Mei Qing (1623-97), and Zhu Da (1626-1705), as well as Daoji, all follow Ni's sparse example. In a Japanese context, however, the Four Wangs must be viewed as having embellished and intensified the potential for layering and complexity inherent in Huang prototypes. In this light it will be seen that Yi Hai's Ni Zan/Zha Shibiao-derived sparse linear style and his Huang

Gongwang/Wang Hui-derived dense linear style meet with radically different fates in Japanese hands.

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with ippin, which, as Shimada points out, "disregarded the law of

'bone method' ... and whose forms had no distinct boundaries."

Yipin, in short, became associated in China increasingly with dry, linear works while in Japan it remained associated with

wet, amorphous, nonlinear works of the Muqi and Yujian styles,

and with Rinpa, which is the antithesis of linearity. In this light

it is appropriate to compare the respective perceptions of inkwash

in China and Japan. The word mo (ink) does not appear in Xie

He's Six Laws (ca. 490).²² And although Jing Hao promoted ink as

one of the Six Essentials in his Bifaji (ca. 920),²³ he did not elaborate on potentially reasonable concepts such as mofa, or

shuimofa (ink or inkwash method). These terms virtually do not

occur in Chinese critical or technical literature, whereas the term

bifa (brush method) has been ubiquitous in wenren literature.

Inkwash is represented in the terms ran, as in xuanran (inkwash

used to enhance a form already defined by bifa). However, works

22. It may be argued that Xie He's treatise, which stresses bi

(brush) but not mo (ink), is aimed at figure painting. The painters treated in his classification according to excellence all seem to work on figures, dragons, insects, and birds. Xie He's low evaluation of Zong Bing (375-443), who is noted for his treatise on landscape painting, does not mention this fact, but castigates the artist for his poor brushwork and insufficient attainment of the Six Laws. Xie's appraisal of painters is based on his assessment of their attainment of sufficient qi (vital energy) within the lines. Often the revealing term bili (brush-force) is used and reflects criteria long used in calligraphy.

23. Jing Hao (fl. ca. 900-50), writing in Bifaji (Art of the Brush), according to Munakata Kiyohiko, first introduces the term mo (ink) into critical literature on painting:

The essential role of inkwash, according to the author, is to delineate concave and convex forms of objects through its gradation of tone. In addition, inkwash assumes the function of covering the linear quality of brushwork so that the painting does not look like that done by brush. As far as the visual effect of painting is concerned, the author is an advocate of naturalistic representation. In order to satisfy this requirement, brushwork must not appear as independent calligraphic strokes.

(Munakata 1974, 7)

Jing Hao's approach to painting was based on delineation, defining forms using lines, where inkwash served to ameliorate the linear appearance by hiding the goule outlines, as well as defining volume and convexities by means of tone gradations. Jing Hao did not promote the idea of ink as form, nor forms of spattered ink, nor the mogu (boneless) approach to painting. It is safe to say that most late-tenth-century writers advocated the new linear cunfa

mode and conceived form to require some sort of outline, even or modulated.

But Jing Hao advocates a nonlinear appearance, perhaps in a move to preserve the smoother, more painterly look of Tang painting.

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relying mainly on an adroit use of ink are called wubi (lacking in brush), as said of the Tang master Xiang Rong; or jianbi (reduced and/or abbreviated brushwork or strokes) as when Huang Xiufu defines yige (sublime class) or cubi (coarse brush) or fangbi ru caoshu (unleashed brushlike cursive script) as in Tang Hou's description of drapery lines (Huaji, ca. 1170). Tang terms such as pomo (spattered or broken ink) are usually associated with undesirable personal traits like qi (unusual), guai (bizarre), or often kuang (demented) or feng (mad). Although Song literati described their own efforts as ximo (inkplay), later followers inevitably emulated their biyi (brush-spirit), but never their moyi (ink-spirit). This testifies to a built-in discrimination in China that upholds what was to calligrapher-writers the more familiar discipline of linear expression, or bi, as against the less often studied techniques of controlling inkwash, or shuimo. Techniques developed by late-Ming painters introducing freer uses of inkwash, such as Xu Wei who added glue to ink for controlled

seepage, or Daoji (1641-ca. 1710) who stroked ink or color across

water-wetted paper, were not dignified with names in China.

Indeed, these painters were hardly accepted and were considered

as heretics in their own times.²⁴

In Japan, however, wash-based, nonlinear methods were appreciated, developed, and identified. Techniques acquired

names such as tarashikomi (the pooling of dense ink or color onto

a still-wet surface of lighter wash), bokashi (shading from dark to

light), and katabokashi (half charging the watered brush with ink

for a bitonal effect of light and dark in a single stroke).

Japanese

painting is replete with misty spaces that rather than enhance a

mountain's height or the depth of a farther plane as in Chinese

painting, tend to serve as conveyors of poetic emotions.

Moods

and poetic sensibilities include pathos engendered by signs of

autumn or the impermanence of things, signs of lovers' parting or

fleeting encounters, etc., where clouds, like shadows cast over

rippling waters, suggest both a quickening of the life-pulse and

the presence of indefinable, unutterable, and yet unbounded

feelings. By the eleventh century there evolved in Yamato-e painting the inconstant and poetic cloud-form, or

kumogata, which is

24. For discussions of nonorthodox exercises among Chinese painters and their

social implications, see Cahill 1978b, 164 ff., and his discussion of Zhang Hong

in the Norton Lectures series (Harvard, 1983) and Chou Ju-hsi's dissertation on

Daoji (Chou 1970).

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imbued with powerful, welling emotional content and which I have termed emotive cloud.²⁵ It appears as background motifs for decorated calligraphy papers, in wet pools or sprinkled pigment in Yamato-e, Rinpa, and Tosa traditions. A favorite feature in Heian gardens, the kasumigata mist-formed island, comprised cloudlike islands placed as if floating in the man-made skyreflecting ponds, built up entirely of white sands (Tachibana 1094, 793b).²⁶ The role of ink, and of wet inkwash in particular, is in Japanese perception intimately related to such free-form, emotive-expansive imagery and expression. Conversely, the relatively peripheral significance of such forms in Chinese perception may account for China's comparatively underdeveloped wash-related "brushless" traditions. This difference is reflected in contemporary scholarship in the West where the counterpart to the term brushwork, i.e., "inkwork," does not exist.²⁷ In Japa²⁵. "Emotionality is the quintessence of Japanese painting," according to Shimada Shiujiro (personal communication, Princeton, 1972). In my Japanese Art (1984), I have defined this artistic device, for lack of a better expression, as "mood cloud" or "emotive cloud." This free-form cloud/island functions in painting as a device to breathe life into what otherwise appears as a flat, static landscape. It is never outlined with goule contour lines but is sprinkled with

pigment or metallic dust, and later, in ink paintings, it is washed without any definable edges. Absence of the boundary lines that often deaden the emotive effect is of crucial importance in this device. Unbounded, the amorphous forms free the imagination to roam and dream. This suits poetic sensibilities that resist the constraints of definition. So central to Japanese aesthetics was this mist-form that Heian aristocrats built little islands of white sand resembling clouds into their pond gardens called kasumigata-yo, or mist-form (isles) style, some resembling parting clouds made of separate white sand islands. The evocative implications of the parting-clouds motif, perennially mobile and changing in form and mutual relationship, could not have been more perfectly suited to Japanese sensibilities. From Heian calligraphy paper decoration to works by the great Momoyama painter Sōtatsu, the cloud/island image has served the same function: to quicken emotive sensibilities. Throughout Japanese art history, the emotive cloud has functioned as a barometer of an otherwise often subdued or low-keyed depiction. In twentieth-century Japanese style painting, Nihonga, this device continues to function in the same manner.

26. I am grateful to Richard Stanley-Baker, whose readings in the Sakuteiki (Records of Heian Garden Constructions) have revealed documentation for the misty-islet construction.

27. In China the term ximo, playing with ink, was invariably transformed into biyi, brush-spirit, when emulated by an admirer. The term hanmo is another

nese art history, a whole category of medieval painting (of the Muromachi period) is known as suibokuga (inkwash painting). form of bimo, brush and ink. Finally the Chinese term shuimo, water and ink or inkwash, remains in Song texts subservient in function to linear brushwork. It is used to wash and shade the forms that are produced with brushstrokes, bifa, and cunfa. Even Jing Hao, who more than others stressed the role of ink, did not consider giving his treatise the title of Mofaji or The Art of Ink.

Chinese Materia in Early Tokugawa Japan

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Chapter 1

Chinese Materia In Early Tokugawa Japan

The Obaku Community

It is standard practice for art historians first to identify influences and then to proceed to search for probable models. In the case of Muromachi studies, progress is enhanced by catalogs of shogunal collections and records of monks, and often by the large number of reliable Kano copies and reduced sketches. The last is a

visual, dated archive of the Chinese works then available. In the case of idealist painting, the unofficial status of nanga painters and the scarcity of official records have rendered the study of stylistic transmission more difficult to document. For this reason a reverse approach is taken in the instance of the Chinese community of Huangbo monks who, through imperial invitation and shogunal patronage, established a copy of their original Chan monastery, Wanfusi (Manpukuji) of Fuzhou, in Uji in 1661.²⁸

28. It is commonly thought that Manpukuji comprised a group of Chinese refugee clerics who fled to Japan from unsettled conditions at home.

Actually, the founding fathers were invited Chan masters, who were at first reluctant to leave China. They were persuaded by the Chinese residents of Nagasaki who had erected several Buddhist temples and Mazu shrines (dedicated to the goddess and protector of seafarers, revered along the southern coasts) during the Tokugawas' anti-Christian persecutions. The Chinese community in Nagasaki was becoming steadily more vital since Japanese traders were banned from foreign travels and trade with China had to be conducted by Dutch and Chinese merchants. Increasing numbers of Chinese vessels and traders called at Nagasaki, and the Chinese community there grew accordingly. There developed by then a true and urgent need for several qualified Chinese abbots to head the Chinese temples in Nagasaki and to underscore their non-Christian affiliations. The great Huangbo master Yinyuan Longqi's mission to Japan was precipitated by the death of his disciple Yelan Xinggui (J. Yaran Shokei), who had been dispatched to head the S6fukuji in Nagasaki but who

drowned at sea in
1651. Thereupon the aged prelate decided to make the
treacherous crossing

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In 1977 I spent a month at the monastery to ascertain the nature and scope of artistic stimuli that would have been accessible to artists like Kien and Taiga, the community's associates, and to determine the nature and extent of its influence upon their representative oeuvre. This survey is by no means comprehensive, the best examples mostly having been sold by the impoverished monastery since withdrawal of shogunal patronage in the Meiji era. Some of the most notable works associated with early patriarchs have found their way into public and private collections in Japan and the West.²⁹ Rather than catalog all Obaku-related works, my aim is to analyze their general artistic scope and quality, in particular to identify technical innovations through idealist brush-idioms or *cunfa*, chief among which was the hallmark of *wenrenhua*, the so-called unraveled hemp-fiber stroke or *pimacun*, then being newly introduced to Japan. Further, I have tried to identify Chinese regional characteristics introduced through Manpukuji and to assess the nature of transformation of those elements selected by Japanese artists. Artistic rejection emerged as a significant factor and resulted in a fundamental revision in my understanding. In

himself and arrived in Japan in 1654, intending to return after three years' tour of duty. Yinyuan's founding of a Buddhist temple on Japan's main island, Honshu, was as unexpected as it was unprecedented. It developed as a result of Yinyuan's enormous prestige and fame, which had spread to Kyoto during his years in Nagasaki. This coincided with growing interests in sinological studies and a reformist spirit deeply concerned over the moral decay prevalent in wealthy Kyoto Zen monasteries. Through the untiring efforts of Japanese clerics who sought intercession from the retired emperor Gomizuno-o and Prince Konoe Iehiro, the shogun Ietsuna invited the aged patriarch to found the Manpukuji in Uji, in 1661. For a wealth of details on Manpukuji, see Otsuki 1977.

29. I had originally planned an investigative exhibition called Ink Flowers of Mount Obaku for the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, in conjunction with the symposium on Sino-Japanese cultural conditions in early Tokugawa Japan organized for the University of Victoria. The exhibition failed to come off, but a circulating exhibition of Obaku works in North American collections was mounted by Stephen Addiss for the University of Kansas in 1978, called Obaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy, complete with catalog (see Addiss 1978).

contrast to commonly held notions of massive and indiscriminate copying by hapless Japanese artists subjected to low-quality, imported model paintings by "unscrupulous Chinese merchants" (Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974, 145-46), we shall see here that many of the techniques and styles accessible to artists interested in new Chinese idioms were actually rejected. Of the numerous new artistic devices, Japanese artists selected only a limited number of techniques and styles, and these were swiftly and radically transformed before being incorporated into representative nanga. It is important to note that examples of close copying do not automatically constitute "influence." Styles, sometimes specific works, were occasionally imitated or copied, such as the ink bamboo of Chinese prelate Dapeng Zhengkun (J. Taih6 Sh6kon, 1691-1774), eighteenth abbot of Manpukuji and friend of Ikeno Taiga, or the dense (as distinct from the sparse) linear landscape style of the horse merchant Yi Hai (hao Xinye, Huichuan, and Fujiu, J. I Fukyu), a native of Jiangsu who visited Japan often between 1726 and 1744, copied by Taiga, Kan Tenjuf, and others. But these dense manners do not emerge as integral parts of representative nanga-and therefore did not affect, or influence, the genre, demonstrating that even closely studied and copied Chinese styles may actually have been rejected. Taiga, for example, as we will see below, rejected Yi Hai's dense linear style, and radically transformed his sparse linear mode before incorporating it into his own typical ink-landscape style. The Manpukuji survey has revealed that selectivity assumes a far greater role in the process of assimilation and transformation than heretofore suspected. This section presents some observations from the

preliminary
survey undertaken in the spring of 1977.3~
30. During the weeks I stayed at Manpukuji and visited its
subtemples, I saw
what was left of its once considerable collection, imported
as well as
created, by the patriarchs. Exigencies of Meiji tax policies
toward Buddhist monasteries, and consequent financial
hardships, have forced them
to sell treasured holdings, many of the best of which have
since been
dispersed into public and private collections in Japan and
abroad.

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The founding in 1661 of Manpukuji on Mount Obaku in
Uji southwest of Kyoto marks the first time in Japanese
history
that a Chinese monastery headed by a Chinese monk was
founded on Japanese soil. In architecture, ceremony, liturgy,
vestments, and customs, Manpukuji was almost completely
Chinese. Most of the materials were imported. For the
next century, a succession of abbots from China ensured
the
preservation of a totally Chinese institution, one that
attracted
growing numbers of sinophiles. From Manpukuji, Chinese
culture radiated throughout Japanese society from the
highest to
the most plebeian levels. That is, emperors and imperial
relatives discussed Chinese culture with Huangbo abbots,
clan
scions invited Obaku monks to found family shrines in their
regional domains, shogunal spirit tablets were kept in the
home temple at Uji, many other Buddhist monasteries were
presented with copies of the Tripitaka carved and printed at

Manpukuji, and common people all over the land benefitted from a miracle herbal compound "transmitted to an Obaku monk in a dream."

But in spite of Manpukuji's immense prestige and allure, in spite of the impact made by Obaku monks on virtually all social strata, most of the temple's cultural influence remained temporary, received with interest but not incorporated

into the fabric of Japanese life. What provided a notable cultural impact of lasting value was their peculiar late-Ming cursive and semicursive styles of writing, which exerted considerable influence on Japanese calligraphy, particularly in Chinese

style semicursive xingshu (J. gyosho); here a notable increase

in mass, weight, and ponderousness can be seen in representative Japanese works, among both the clergy and the laity. The

complex role of Manpukuji during the rise and development of

idealist painting in Japan, however, reveals characteristic Japanese responses to the assimilation of foreign stimuli, and will

be traced in some detail below.

The monastery was a singular example of foreign cultural presence in Japan during the Tokugawas' isolationist rule. Due to shogunal patronage the monastery enjoyed unique

privileges tantamount to extraterritoriality and functioned as

a foreign community within Japan's cultural sphere. From the

headquarters in Uji the monks at Manpukuji issued purchase

orders for raw and cultural materials from China and Southeast Asia. Aside from raw materials, Manpukuji sent to China for its huge monastic staff. This included not only monks but carpenters, sculptors, painters, tailors, shoemakers, and, by no means least, physicians and cooks.

Under the Tokugawa proscription of foreign travel, trading patterns with China saw a reversal of traditional practice. Japanese buyers to China were replaced by Chinese merchants entering Japan via Nagasaki; that is, Chinese traders rather than Japanese monks now selected Chinese merchandise for import to Japan, and these did not always match Japanese tastes. Indeed, the Manpukuji is a case in point. Built with imported materials on Chinese design, its highly visible Chinese choices, from architectural schema to clerical dress and shoes, not to mention food items and cooking methods, remained to a remarkable degree exotic curiosities without significant impact on Japanese culture.

In painting, five genres of new imports may be distinguished. Contemporary paintings by the Obaku monks themselves consist of inkplays, informal figure painting, a distinctive and formal portraiture called gazo in Obaku nomenclature, and, much fewer in number, ink landscapes. The fifth genre comprises Fujian style imports, old paintings that accompanied the founders, paintings that cover diverse styles. A

brief overview of each genre follows.

a. Inkplays by Obaku monks. The numerous extant works of inkplay by Obaku monks are mostly late-Ming in style and amateur in configuration, lacking the causative ingredient high-quality brushwork—that had inspired Chinese scholarofficials to produce and collect inkplays. Ink orchid, prunus, withered shrubs, and rocks had already been introduced to fourteenth-century Japan by Zen monks, returning from extensive travels to China, who included some remarkable painters in their own right. Although paintings and calligraphies by Obaku monks are treated with

reverence in modern studies, they do not appear to have exerted appreciable influence on inkplay works in Japan. They tend in fact to be amateurish works of little artistic merit,

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executed by monks trained neither in painting, nor in calligraphy.³¹ Art lovers of high cultivation were clearly unimpressed

by the aesthetic caliber of Obaku works, in spite of the extensive proliferation, for cult purposes, of Obaku-originated icons,

including Buddha images, Fugen and Kannon images, Buddhist triptychs, and, by iconic extension, gatha autographs

from the hand of the patriarchs. Ink paintings of pine and bamboo by the early patriarchs failed to affect the genre in representative nanga paintings, in spite of their prestige among Japanese collectors. This prestige was spurred in particular by the Obaku-introduced sencha cult (steeped tea) for

which, in association with the Obaku Way of Tea, it became fashionable to display Obaku works in the tokonoma. Many works by Huangbo monks-ink chrysanthemum, flowers of the

four seasons, peonies, etc.-were popular at the time but failed

to find stylistic echoes among thematic counterparts in Japanese painting. The case of Dapeng Zhengkun illustrates the point.

Dapeng, twice abbot of Manpukuji and a friend of the great Ikeno Taiga, arrived in Japan in 1722 and presided over the monastery between 1745-48, and again between 1758 -62. He was famed for his ink bamboo (5a), often depicted in

snow, characterized by massiveness and vigor. The strength of his painting lies more in density and boldness than in brush quality or grace. Painted often in criss-cross fashion like basket weave, his paintings exemplify what was considered deplorable in Ming painting. In the Bazhong huapu (Eight Kinds of Painting Manual) of 1621, reprinted in Japanese as Hasshu gafu in 1672 and 1710, the chapter on ink bamboo specifically states

31. In keeping with customary Chan practice, Obaku patriarchs wrote daily gatha in thick black ink, forming bold, heavy semicursive calligraphy reflecting late-Ming vogues. While later Japanese sencha tea circles treasured calligraphy by the founding patriarchs Yinyuan, Muan, and Jifei (called the Three Brush Masters of Obaku), the physician Duli Xingyi (J. Dokuryf Shoeki, 1596-1672) was by far the most accomplished calligrapher. His Japanese pupils included K6 Ten'i (1639-1722), Kitajima Sessan (1637 -98), and the great Confucianist Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728). Unlike typical patriarchal works that have been associated with an "Obaku Style," Duli's calligraphy follows the style of Mo Shilong (d. 1587). His semicursive script reveals easy grace with firm control of sinewy strokes and relative reserve in gesture and brushtip exposure. Japanese aficionados of calligraphy recognized his talents and sought his tuition.

that bamboo must be painted with a sense of airiness and "must never be dense." In the section on "Twenty-Four Ills" in bamboo painting, Dapeng's leaf method represents ill number seven, "basket weave" (5b), and number thirteen, "confused" (5c). Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835) was to say of Dapeng in his Sanchujin josetsu (Idle Talk on Cultural Matters, Pref. 1834),

Painters and calligraphers who came after Obakusan Ingen [Yinyuan Longqi 1592-1673] and Sokuhi [Jifei Ruyi, 1616-71] appeared in each generation without break, until Taiho, whose ink bamboo and crab were most famous.... He was from Fujian and preferred [to paint on] sized paper; his brushwielding was untrammelled and generous. It is to be regretted that his expression was not clear or lucid. (Sakazaki 1927, 250)

Here Chikuden explains that while Taih⁶ was a celebrity as an artist-abbot, something not so common among Japanese prelates, Taih⁶'s particular style was less than admirable, lacking in clarity and lucidity. Here Chikuden speaks for Tokugawa painters in general.

However much current Chinese styles may have been fashionable (even as curiosity or conversation topic) to Japanese artists, older prevailing values of clarity and lucidity, primary requirements since Heian times, remained unchanged.

These factors are ethnic traits that hold a constant value in discussions of Japanese culture, especially in the present comparative analyses. Dapeng's bamboo style did not establish anything approaching a new vogue in Japan. Very occasionally, members of the Obaku School have been known to make respectful references to it.³² However, there is little indication in representative nanga of real influence from the dense, dark, and turgid type of ink bamboo represented by Dapeng, as we shall see.

32. For example, the Chinese monk Dacheng Zhaohan (J. Taij6 Shokan, 1709 -84), an accomplished artist in his own right, has left some bamboo painting in the Dapeng manner, with characteristic washing of the sky portion in dark inkwash, and jagged saw-tooth marks around the leaves. Exceptional examples of "influence" appear not among nanga masters but, if at all, among Obaku-related Japanese monks, such as the eighteenth-century monks Raih6 and Mih6, who did paint Dapeng (Taiho)-style ink bamboo and even rhymed their own names after that of the Chinese painter abbot. Taij6's dates are from Otsuki 1988, 204.

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By and large Tokugawa bamboo painters retained their preference for the more familiar early-Ming models and Yuan-based images (4a-b) transmitted through Muromachi versions (4c-d). Gion Nankai painted elegant, attenuated bamboo (6b) in reference to Yuan prototypes (6a),³³ and, in spite of connections with the monastery, his paintings do not reflect Obaku influence. K6 Fuy6 (1722-84), a close friend of Ikeno Taiga and his wife Gyokuran (1728-84), likewise refers in his works to Yuan idealist bamboo painting, albeit through later interpretations. In a small painting dedicated to Gyokuran, he paints a dwarf bamboo (6d) using few lines for twigs; the leaves, in clusters of three or four in light and dark ink, suggest spatial extension.

The dry brush playing on fibrous paper is typical of Chinese idealist feibai manner seen in the Zhao Mengfu example (4a), in contrast to current Obaku frontal renditions in jet black ink. Yanagisawa Kien, a Manpukuji regular since childhood and a fervent advocate of direct study of Chinese works, eschewed the Dapeng bamboo manner abundantly accessible to him. Kien excelled in ink bamboo (6c), but even in fingerpainted versions he avoids the crowding of Dapeng's style in favor of a sparse, lyrical, and atmospheric treatment.

Dapeng's bamboo stem involves a splayed brush that creates a vertical white streak in the course of its descent, suggestive of rough skin to one side. Another Dapeng device is the use of wet accents at either side of the joint lines to suggest a deepening of color. Kien avoids both techniques and leaves the stems light on top and dark at the bottom, fading quickly halfway up the segment.³⁴ While using a similar S-shaped "dragonfly stroke"

33. While no actual examples from Tokugawa collections have survived, this example of the style of Guan Daosheng, wife of Zhao Mengfu, in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, illustrates the delicacy and airiness, as well as the spatial illusion, of the Yuan models distinctly preferred by Tokugawa painters.

34. Shifting ink tone from dark to light in the course of a single water-charged stroke in the drawing of a stem or a leaf is a technique of earlier, more descriptive Chinese painting. This is seen in Japan since the Yuan/Muromachi period. Diminishing tonal intensity toward the center of the segment, or toward the edge or tip of the leaf, suggests the living process of growth. This wetter and more painterly method lost favor among Ming

dynasty (1368-1644) painters, who preferred using in bamboo painting a single-tone, jet-black stroke to emphasize its now calligraphic nature. Examples of the Yuan technique may be found in the surviving example by Wu Zhen (1280-1354), famed for this genre, *Bamboo and Rock* dated to 1347, in ink on paper at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, published in Cahill 1976, pl.23, and in National Palace Museum 1975, pl. 208; also in the

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for the joint line, Kien's work is neither mechanical nor repetitious, varying as it does the direction, width, and even the shape of this stroke from joint to joint. The skillful use of wash and gradation gives his bamboo a sense of distance and atmosphere. This technique reflects more of Japan's own Chinese bamboo tradition of the Muromachi period, where preference for an ink-charged brush tipped in water for a transparent and graded tonality in the strokes can be seen in the ink orchid paintings produced by Zen monks Tesshu Tokusai (active ca. 1342-66) and Cho'un Reiho (active mid-fourteenth century); by followers of the Chinese Chan painter Xuechuang Puming³⁵ (active mid-fourteenth century); and by the younger Gyoku'en Bonp⁶ (1348-after 1420), among others.³⁶ In this light it becomes

clear that the bamboo paintings by Kien and other Edo artists reflect their own traditions more than they do Dapeng's works, which are of late-Ming vintage. Elsewhere I have described the Muromachi/Song-Yuan tradition as physiographic and the radically altered Ming-Qing tradition as ideographic.³⁷ The aversion to work ascribed to Li Kan in the Imperial Household Agency Collection (published as JM5-019 on p. 177 in Suzuki 1982-83); the Withered Tree, Bamboo and Rock by Zhao Mengfu (with a colophon by Ni Zan dated to 1365), now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, published as pl. 146 in National Palace Museum 1959, among others. The Yuan Chan master Xuechuang Puming (who became abbot of Chengtiansi in Suzhou in 1344) was quoted by contemporary Kong Kezhai on specific methods of brush deployment to achieve the lifelike gradations in the stem and bitonal effects in the stem and leaf. I have discussed this problem in J. Stanley Baker 1991a.

35. See page 11, note 9.

36. For illustrations see Shimizu and Wheelwright 1976, 224-51.

37. See J. Stanley-Baker 1991a, especially section II, which discusses the change in *weltanschauung* that occurred with the onset of the Ming (1368), moving from a physiographic to an ideographic approach. Song-Yuan focus had been on the three-dimensional world (including bamboo), with attention to nature's life-processes, as we see both in texts and the few genuine images of the time. Ming artists focused largely on the painted style-image of old masters whose brush-modes came to be used much as brushwork models in the way calligraphy was studied and

absorbed through copybooks. In this way painting took on a new life that was created from a pre-existing notion of painting and developed on paper, growing increasingly complex and at the same time more abstract: the focus was the artist's mental, ideational world; the correlation with the three-dimensional world of living things became largely irrelevant. This vital difference is interesting to observe in the context of Japanese ink painting, where often during the Ming phase of Muromachi painting we find Ming-derived, ideographic composition models treated in a physiographic manner, in which the landscapes, Ming in motifs, are imbued with the sense of deep space, misty atmosphere, and quiescence that are Yuan in mood.

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the late-Ming Taih6/Dapeng style may be better understood when we consider Japan's own history in wenren-style bamboo painting and the basic preference for clarity and lucidity in Japanese art as a whole.

Ikeno Taiga was a close friend of Dapeng, who, as abbot, had asked him to paint the sliding-door fusuma panels of the abbot's Eastern Residence (Higashi hojo) in Manpukuji (see below). In bamboo painting, Taiga followed his own inclinations: the short, broad leaves stroked onto paper or silk with a half-watery brush are indicative of no one else. Taiga painted bamboo on mica, paper, and silk, often achieving spectacular

results with the Rinpa tarashikomi technique of dropping dark ink onto a still-wet watery patch of ink or color wash. In his Ink Bamboo in Wind (6e) and in the Bamboo by his wife, Gyokuran (6f), their style is clearly unrelated to Dapeng. There are virtually no examples of representative ink bamboo painting by Taiga, Gyokuran, or other major nanga masters that reflect the dense and cluttered manner of the Obaku monks. Gyokuran works carefully with her husband's ideas, codifying them into methods and types. Distantly related to Yuan and earlier Ming idealist bamboo painting,³⁸ Japanese ink bamboo of this period display an airiness and lyricism distinct from the heaviness and massiveness of Dapeng's examples. Virtually no genuine works by Taiga, Gyokuran, or their associates commit the errors of "basket-weave" or "confusion" (both being aspects of a dense application of strokes). In sum, Japanese inkplay, here represented by the category of ink bamboo, indicates outright rejection of contemporary Chinese manifestations and a decided preference for historical models, in particular those related to Muromachi Zen painting developed from Yuan models. This tradition took root on Japanese soil and now repelled the intrusion of late-Ming styles.

38. The problem of Yuan and Ming inkplay works in Japanese collections and later Chinese and Japanese recensions of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century models in Japan belongs to the highly developed field of Muromachi ink painting. For an excellent and in-depth introduction for Western readers, see Shimizu and Wheelwright 1976 and R. Stanley-Baker 1979.

In painting pine trees, traditionally a symbol of longevity, now a sign of anti-Manchu resistance, early patriarchs favored a bold, hoary tree with massive trunk and defiant branches. The upper portion of the trunk is outlined in thick ink while the bottom portion is defined by rows of horizontal moss dots and wiggly short circular lines suggesting crusty, scaly bark. Radiating lines in two tones, washed in grey ink, form the needles. Frontal texture is revealed in a series of circles and connected spirals. Although the stout, truncated, and defiant tree appears throughout China at the fall of Ming, this manner of rendering the bark in strong contrasts of light and dark areas may be peculiar to Fujian, and perhaps more specifically to Huangbo monks. We may recall the Three Scenes of Pines and Rocks by the Ming loyalist and resistance painter Huang Daozhou (1585-1646), now in the Osaka Municipal Museum.³⁹ Examples by the second abbot Muan Xingtao (1611-84) in the Yabumoto Collection (7a) and by the calligrapher monk Jifei Ruyi in the Nakanishi Collection (7b) demonstrate this highly visible Chinese genre, which found no following in Japan. Taiga's transformation of this type reduces the tight, "harmonic" (that is, densely interwoven) modeling strokes on the bark to patterns of "melodic" (loose, laterally plied, lucid) strokes (8). This process will be further discussed below.

b. Informal figure painting. In this genre certain Obaku artists and their styles did manage to find favor in Japan. Provincial versions of late-Ming tendencies in figure painting would appear to have been of particular interest to Tokugawa artists. Members of Yinyuan's artistic entourage in Japan include the Fujian sculptor Fan Daosheng, who came to

Japan in 1660, and the painters Yiran Xingrong from Hangzhou and Duzhan Xingying from Fujian. The professional painter of Buddhist subjects, Chen Xian, whose works served as models for painters associated with Manpukuji, was also from Fujian, but it is not clear whether he actually sailed to Japan or not. Most evidence suggests that he did not.

39. Part of a handscroll in ink on paper (27.5 cm in height). Published in Cahill 1971, 130. For a biography of Huang, see Hummel 1943, 345-46.

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This curious figure painting style often includes exaggerated foreshortening and disproportionate scale between major and minor figures.⁴⁰ The areas above and under the eyes are often tinted, in shades ranging from orange to red to lavender.

Works by Duzhan, Yiran, and Chen Xian share certain stylistic attributes, generally ovoid facial contours, the coloring around the eyes, and traces of Western realism in the modeling.⁴¹ Chen Xian painted a large number of Guanyin in female form (fig. 17), often attended by dwarflike believers, as well as portraits of the patriarchs of the Linji School of Chan. Chen Xian, active between 1635 and 1675, was from Fujian (Lippe 1963). A scroll of Eighteen Arhats in the Freer Gallery of

Art is dated to 1643, and the album of Eighteen Guanyin belonging to Manpukuji is dated to 1636. An album of Thirtysix Patriarchs, Liezutu, (J. Ress5zu) is signed "1654, Spring, painted at Shanyan Fuchansi" and inscribed by the founder, Yinyuan Longqi, that same year, most likely prior to his departure for Japan. It is the last known dated work by Chen Xian in the Manpukuji Collection, thereby supporting the view that the artist never came to Japan.

Chen Xian is not known to have painted official portraits (C. huaxiang, J. gazo), as did fellow Fujian artists Yang Daozhen⁴² and Zhang Qi. Instead, he seems to have

40. Traditional Chinese figure paintings since antiquity feature relative scale as an index of social (political or spiritual) elevation. The practice seems to disappear from major streams in the late Southern Song and Yuan, even among Chan circles. Its reemergence in connection with the Obaku School may point to survival in certain spheres of Chinese provincial or folk painting, or a direct transference from more orthodox iconographical Buddhist art.

41. Western engravings depicting cityscapes, figures, and interiors were circulated in sixteenth-century Suzhou and Hangzhou. By the seventeenth century, Chinese woodblock prints for New Year felicitations began to show a marked Western influence in composition and perspective rendering, not to mention shading. Many of these Suzhou prints found their way into eighteenth-century Japan and contributed to the development not only of the woodblock prints of the "Floating World," Ukiyo-e, but to aspects of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century painting in Kyoto. See in particular Sasaki 1980b.

42. The Fujian Buddhist painter Yang Daozhen is said to have come over to Japan with Yinyuan, but no confirmation has yet been

found. However, in a handscroll in the Nanban Museum of Kobe City, Yang Daozhen depicts an

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specialized in less formal figure paintings that allowed for freedom in anecdotal embroidery such as seen in his

Guanyin

paintings. He used free-flowing lines that become thick and thin, often in a descriptive manner thickening around curves,

and soft flesh tones with a peculiar feminine charm. Such Guanyin portraits (9a) are often tinted in pinks and soft ochres.

In the Album of Thirty-Six Patriarchs, brought over by Yinyuan in 1654 in the Manpukuji Collection, Chen Xian uses a slanted brush in more angular delineation. To reserve rounded strokes for female figures and square or oblique strokes

for male figures indicates a conscious, professional choice.

Most of his female Guanyin figures exhibit soft rounded brushwork in the contour lines, while most of the patriarchs are done

in angular brushwork.

Two of the patriarchs, Funayeben zunzhe and Maming Dashi (9b),⁴³ illustrate this technique. In the tradition of arhat

painting, Chen Xian provides his subjects with distinctive physiognomy. On the right the eleventh patriarch, Funayeben

zunzhe, is shown in old age, wrinkled of face and garment, slight and bony of frame, with tooth protruding and an array of

phrenological accents indicative of unusual mental faculties.

The twelfth patriarch, Maming Dashi to the left, is seated on a

rock, with a water dispenser nearby. He is not wearing the Buddhist mantle with a clasp but is portrayed as a young scholar of pleasant disposition in a secular context. The face, as in many late-Ming Fujian figure paintings, is often shaded in imaginary scene where Yinyuan is seated on the shore (of Japan) welcoming the arrival of Jifei Ruyi from China. It is inscribed "Respectfully painted by the disciple Yang Daozhen (on his way) toward the country of Japan, in the spring of [1657]." There follows a colophon by Jifei, dated the second month of 1657, the time he was sailing to Nagasaki from Fuzhou. In all likelihood therefore, Yang Daozhen did arrive in Nagasaki, but in 1657 with Jifei and not in 1654 with Yinyuan. It is not known whether Yang stayed on in Nagasaki or returned home. Later works indicate that he became attached to Jifei, who later went to Kyushu rather than return to the main monastery in Uji.

43. The nomenclature for patriarchs here differs from orthodox Huangbo usage, in which the eleventh patriarch is Wuzu Fayan (d. 1104) and the twelfth Yuanwu Keqing (1068-1135). Lineages branching off from the Linji (Rinzai) School are numerous, and proper identification of names is difficult without specialized expertise. It may be that dharma titles used in the Chen Xian series are alternative titles to Wuzu and Yuanwu.

ochre for realism. The oblique, angular lines of the garment are probably done in two strokes, overlapping at the joint for a thickening and weighty effect, like the "sitting," or *dun* effect in formal *kaishu* script with the brush resting on its belly for "cornering," or to accent a stroke at the beginning of its course.

A compelling portrait of Bodhidharma (*loa*) utilizes the oblique brushstroke to great effect. In this inspired work, Chen Xian imbues his figure with powerful presence. It is in such works that the eighteenth-century individualist painter and Obaku friend, Itō Jakuchi (1716-1800), appears to have found the formula for his own portrayal of the twenty-third abbot of Manpukuji, Japan-born Hōan Jōei, sitting in Japanese robes and holding a sword (*lob*). Jakuchi's brushwork follows the oblique, angular manner of Chen Xian. Hoan's face, too, is carefully shaded, adding strong realism to the simple depiction of the elder and thoughtful patriarch. The accented, dark angular strokes in the cushion reeds of both portraits appear also as needles of Huangbo School pine trees (7a-b). The monk-painter Yiran Xingrong (J. Itsunen Shōyi, 1601-68),⁴⁴ arrived from Hangzhou in 1644. He had been among the advocates calling for Wanfusi in Fuzhou to provide abbots for Chinese communities in Japan. A large number of works from his hand remain, which largely follow the informal colored style of Chen Xian in detailed observation and in individualization. The angular drapery folds done in oblique brushstrokes follow the masculine mode of Chen Xian. The Chen Xian-Yiran figure style may be considered the Obaku style of this period and was much in evidence in Tokugawa Japan. Echoes of the Obaku figure style may be found in very specific instances among early *nanga* painters, especially Kien, Jakuchū, and Taiga. One of the greatest artists of the period, the brilliant

and versatile Kano Tan'yu (1602-74), seems to have spent time

44. The dates 1601-68 for Yiran (Itsunen) were provided by Otsuki Mikio

(1977, 141), and the terminal date 1668 is confirmed in Miyata (1975, 192).

Stephen Addiss (1978) gives "Obaku Itsunen" the dates 1592-1688. For

major and minor personages connected with the Manpukuji community,

see Otsuki, Kat6, and Hayashi, eds. 1988.

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producing for the Chinese monastery a large number of informal colored figure paintings, Buddha triptychs, and assorted

patriarchal portraits, all duplicates of Yiran models. It was customary for major monasteries to distribute iconic images to

other temples, and it would appear that the demand for the new images was great. Tan'yu's Manpukuji paintings are often

stroke-for-stroke copies, doubtless for distribution to subtemples in Nagasaki and affiliated institutions on Honshu.

Tan'yu's work is professional; the copies for liturgical purposes are correct and identical. But as a genius copying works

of a minor provincial hack, albeit from China, his paintings are

imbued with a vitality usually seen only in originals and here

far surpass the Yiran models, a point that invites consideration

in other contexts.

For Tan'yu, participation in the monastery's icon

distribution project could not have been undertaken as a menial task in the way duplication was for monastic artisans. It must have been more an encounter with new materia, a working out of foreign idioms, a task undertaken as creative process, involving selection, rejection, and transformation to suit, within the boundaries of iconographical strictures, his own aesthetic preferences. One of the many Shakyamuni Triptychs copied from a set painted by Yiran in the Manpukuji Collection illustrates the point and highlights the ease with which a highly accomplished master comprehends the model without effort and, while copying, surpasses it. Clearly Tan'yf is the more gifted and better trained of the artists. Tan'yfi's experience in Chinese painting has been with the best works in Japanese collections ranging from Southern Song monastic and academic traditions through to Yuan and Ming works in shogunal collections. But Yiran, a provincial Fujian painter attached to Wanfusi,⁴⁵ worked in provincial styles. Samantabhadra (C. Puxian, J. Fugen) as a youthful deity is poised reading atop a recumbent elephant (na-b). Founder Yinyuan's inscriptions

45. Monasteries in Ming China did not enjoy the same prestige Buddhist institutions enjoyed throughout Japan's imperial history until the Meiji restoration in 1868.

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on both⁴⁶ reveal that the Yiran work (lia) was painted in or before 1665. Both painters were now in their early sixties. Tan'yfi's modifications (lib) are significant. Eschewing

features alien to his experience such as eyelashes for the elephant, the angular and often doubled drapery lines, and red shading around the eyes and upper left shoulder of the bodhisattva, he uses single, fluid, curvilinear drapery lines and a pure white face and shoulder, in general reducing the complexity of the model to a more limpid and transparent representation. The penchant for reduction and simplification occurs in all three figures of the triptych. While post-Ming figure painting abounded in details such as eyelashes, Japanese painters avoided them. Tan'yui transforms Yiran's colorfully modeled visage with its slight double chin into a more familiar Japanese face, white and more youthful. The eyes become more slender, the curve in the upper lid simplified, the pupils are simply dark without Yiran's fine delineation of outline or pupil. The mouth is firmly closed. The sweep of hair is less fine or dense but extends beyond the capulet in front, whereas Yiran's falls short of it to highlight its thick, weighty, undulating, and shaded contour lines. Tan'yfi eschews the angular brushwielding of Yiran, avoiding sharp corners in favor of rounded curves, even for decidedly V-shaped turns in the drapery, but more particularly in the outer contours of the figure's left shoulder and sleeve, and in the folds of the scarf in front.

46. Multiple copies of icons were made at the behest of the prelate in response to great demand. The founder's autograph was in great demand even in his lifetime by the myriad temples and subtemples across Japan. Later, aficionados of steeped tea, *sencha*, took to decorating their *tokonoma* with ink traces by the "Three Calligraphers of Mount Obaku," Yinyuan (Yingen), Muan (Mokuan), and Jifei (Sokuhi). Forgeries of their hand proliferated throughout the land and have since entered collections even outside Japan. It must be noted, however, that the

substitute inscription
above canonical Buddhist paintings, made for distribution
to sister temples,
was perfectly acceptable. Calligraphers who had won fame
and whose
autographs were in demand employed substitute
calligraphers in order to
yield them precious time. This was common practice
among emperors
(even empresses known for brush skills like the Tang Wu
Zetian or the
recent Cixi taihou), and artists like Shen Zhou and Dong
Qichang found
this a convenient device to save time and maintain friendly
contacts.

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The difference in the graded wash in and around the
halo, however, is due to differences in materials, silk and
paper respectively. We may note in passing that Tan'yu, by
far
the more accomplished painter, did not hesitate to correct
an
oversight in the original: the bottom of the long sash
extending
down behind the elephant's right shoulder is poorly
rendered
by Yiran as an isolated strip. Tan'yi justified this piece by
restoring its upper extension, which should have appeared
behind the inward curve of the shoulder. He also left out the
wash next to the elephant's body to give it correct fullness.
Major drapery lines that Yiran executed in twin strokes are
drawn by Tan'yf in a fully confident hand in single strokes.
Samantabhadra has long been revered by the Japanese as
Fugen
and endowed since the Kamakura period with a youthful

masculine beauty derived from Southern Song models. This beauty became canonical over the ages. Tan'yd did not hesitate to replace the late-Ming provincial face of his model with a Japanese one drawn from experience of earlier models. That Tan'yf was a far superior artist does not mean, as some observers may deduce from the above, that he provided the original that Yiran copied. Yiran brought over a typical Fujian-based model, done with characteristic articulation of the lines and complete with facial shading and eyelashes on the elephant. These icons in themselves are a product of incessant duplication, and the artisan Yiran was not free from making mistakes in copying. Tan'yf's response was to simplify the articulation of the line as well as the facial shading and details of body hair. This comparison (which in this triptych pertains to the Buddha and Kannon figures as well) not only demonstrates how in certain instances copies can surpass their original models, thereby challenging the common assumption that, in a stroke-for-stroke pair, the higher-quality version is invariably the original; it also demonstrates the exercise of native and artistic preferences in Japan's process of assimilation, even in the act of making direct, close copies. One of the most interesting painters on Mount Obaku was the calligrapher monk Duzhan Xingying (J. Dokutan Sh6ei, 1628-1706), who had followed Yinyuan from Fujian to Japan in 1654. Duzhan produced numerous works varying from formal and informal portraits to iconographic images and calligraphy.

Combining dark ink strokes with a deft use of light, often wet strokes for rocks and trees, he used double lines in two tones for drapery, etc., in a characteristic and unique manner.⁴⁷ A famous Japanese pupil of Duzhan, as well as of the latter's disciple Hualin, was Baisa-6 (1675-1763) from Hizen. After Hualin died, he came into Kyoto and sold tea for a living, earning fame as "Old Tea Peddler." Taiga painted a portrait of him as an old man sometime after 1754, on which Baisa-o inscribed a quatrain and impressed his seal "Eighty-year-old man"-a seal he is said to have used throughout his ninth decade (Kurimoto 1960, 68).

The work of Duzhan has a dynamism rare in Obaku works. His windblown figures with ovoid faces may have been studied by the venerable master Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768), who most thoroughly japanized the teaching and practice of Chan. Hakuin is best known as the founder in 1758 of the great Zen monastery Ryftakuji in Mishima, but as a younger man he had been abbot of Kyoto's Myoshinji Monastery in 1717. It had been from Myoshinji that the original invitation to Yinyuan Longqi had been issued.⁴⁸ Here a Taiga connection is documented in a gatha the young artist wrote in 1751 in offering to the great master during a Zen meeting in Kyoto when Hakuin passed through (Kurimoto 1960, 65).

Like Duzhan, Hakuin deployed dark ink and wet grey ink in overlapping outlines for figures; his faces have similar oval contours, the eyes when downcast are bracketed with hemispheres above and below, and the upper lid is composed of a double S-curve. While Duzhan's faces are of all types, Hakuin tended to paint the same face (perhaps a self portrait?), with large staring eyes. Both painter-monks combine dark and

light strokes for contour and drapery lines, a notable feature
47. For illustrations of Duzhan's style see Otsuki 1977.
48. It was at the instigation of the priest Ryukei Sosen of
Myoshinji that
Yinyuan received the invitation to enter the main island of
Japan proper
and for the first five years Yinyuan stayed at Ryuikei's
Fumonji, together
with disciples Duzhan and Yiran among others. For
Hakuin's figure style,
especially the use of double outline in the drapery, see his
Shussan Shaka
(Shakyamuni Emerging from the Mountains), in the Sh6inji,
Shizuoka,
published in Tsuji 1979, pls. 84-85. For his use of facial
shading in the
portrait of famous Zen master, Unmon in Jokoji, Aichi
Prefecture, see plate
71. See also Addiss 1989, figs. 60, 62, 63, and the larger color
plate fig. 69.

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that is rare in works by other painters. It is highly probable
that Hakuin saw Duzhan's works made during the latter's
stay
at My6shinji.

c. Gaz6: Formal Obaku Portraiture. The formal pose in
Obaku portraiture is highly particularized. It shows the
subject seated frontally, holding a staff in the right hand and
a fly
whisk in the left. The robes often consist of a white
undergarment, a blue inner coat with exposed lapel and
sleeves, and a
maroon outer robe over which the crimson Buddhist mantle
is
draped across the shoulder and secured above the heart

with a gold buckle and a jade loop. The face, studied with extreme care and fidelity, makes use of only very fine lines, and shading is confined to volumetric rendering. Portraits of abbots and high-ranking members of the Zen community were updated regularly over the years, either with the subject actually sitting for the portrait or, when produced for mass distribution, copied from the latest official version. A series of their portraits reveals the gradual aging of the patriarchs with startling reality. Formal portraiture allows no room for self-expression, and Chinese and Japanese artists alike conform to canonical formulae, giving fullest attention to the appearance and spirit of the subject. Typical of this phenomenon are portraits of abbots in formal pose, such as that of Feiyin Tongrong (1593-1661) (12a), abbot of Wanfusi in Fuzhou and younger friend of Yinyuan. Here he is painted by the Fujianese Zhang Qi sometime prior to 1654. The portrait of Yinyuan Longqi (12b) was painted in Japan after 1654 by the Japanese artist Kita Sōun, in the same manner. The portraits conform strictly to regulation and are nearly indistinguishable in manner of execution except for the relative stiffness of line and tension of overall expression in the Japanese work. The Zhang Qi portrait of Feiyin shows the patriarch seated in the heavy, wooden, high backed chair, his feet resting on a wooden footstool. In spite of efforts at spatial perspective with lines converging toward the back, the lack of corresponding treatment of vertical elements causes the chair to appear flat. The drapery lines are sure and crisp, undulating at the corners in gentle, slanted brushwielding, giving them an angular appearance. The abbot's face is portrayed with sympathetic

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care and fidelity; even the smallpox scars are recorded. The expression reveals a highly intelligent and kind master who is not without humor. Facial details are usually minutely described: Feiyin's lips droop at the corners but his mouth maintains a half smile. His inscription, dated to 1642, was written on a separate piece of paper and mounted above the portrait.⁴⁹ This portrait may be one of the earliest prototypes to enter Japan, where gazo based on the same formula number in the hundreds. Their function is liturgical and rarely extends to secular idealist painting. While realism in facial depiction had long been a feature of Japanese portraiture, use of shading for the face may be attributed to the Fujianese Obaku School. An example of this is Ikeno Taiga's portrait of Shin6 S6shin (1410 -91) (10c). While in comparison Taiga's coloration is subdued and the use of wash free, Obaku touches are seen in the shaded face, in the thick angular brushstrokes close to the end of the sleeves, and on the garment folds, recalling Chen Xian's informal portraiture.

d. Ink landscapes in the idealist mode. The fourth genre is that of ink landscapes by members of the monastic community. Landscapes comprise by far the smallest group in their collective output but are significant in the transmission of new idealist methods of landscape painting, for, interestingly, they are idealist in manner and comprise some of the earliest

genuine and documentable idealist painting in Tokugawa Japan.

Not only a painter of gazo formal portraits, Zhang Qi also painted landscapes, such as one in the Manpukuji Collection (13a). It is a provincial version of orthodox idealist landscapes in the Huang Gongwang mode; the inscription refers to

Dong Yuan's famous long-lost fragment known as the "half painting." Here the foreground boulders are not foursquare, or

49. Part of the massive distribution process, it may well have been required

of abbots to inscribe thousands of portraits and, when time precluded, to

write ready-made inscriptions on separate sheets of paper to supply potential future demand.

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marked with Huang's Y-shaped lines; the tree grouping departs from closer interpretations of the original mode.

However, hallmark features remain: receding background mountains in soft, rounded forms, modeled with ropey pimacon

hemp-fiber strokes and topped with closely grouped trees, unlined water, and the uninhabited pavilions all refer directly

to Huang's idealist mode. The artist inscribed above:

Yun Daosheng (Xiang, uncle of Shouping) had heard from Dong Wenming (Qichang) that [Dong] Beiyuan [Yuan]'s surviving work consists of only half [a landscape] and that all the

[other attributions] are spurious. His brushwielding is generous and heroic, without weakness or hesitation in the wrist,

truly imbued with the energy of Creation. In the summer of 1645, visiting Jingling I happen to emulate [his] ideas.

Another Fujianese painter represented in Japan was one Wang Lan, whose landscape (13b) was entered into the monastic log by the ninth abbot, Yunyuan Haimo, who led the community in the years 1716-17. Painted in ink and slight colors on paper in 1655 (or 1715) "in the brush method of Mei Daoren (Wu Zhen)," the reference is however to Huang Gongwang. Unlike Wu Zhen, whose works are more moist and washy in descriptive shading, Huang's representative oeuvre celebrates linear exhilaration of brushwork. His earlier compositions include precipices constructed in dryish ink outlines, often in foursquare, angular formation, where smaller squarish boulders represent "the three sides of their faces" by means of a Yshaped surface division. His best known work, Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains of 1347-50 (National Palace Museum, Taipei), features rounded hillocks along the water where highly tactile, often very dry and crumbly hemp-fiber strokes cascade in graceful profusion. In the Wang Lan painting, we see a provincial artist with no exposure to either Yuan master's original works, but who has acquired the Huang manner through recent local interpretations, Huang being the mode par excellence of his day. Here the foursquare boulders appear by the foreground water and in the middle distance halfway up the mountain. The soaring peaks reflect a convoluted, restless quality

flanking a waterfall that plunges forward through several radical twists and turns.⁵⁰

One of the "Three Great Calligraphers of Mount Obaku," Jifei Ruyi, painted in a discreet, conservative, idealist-oriented

style. Extant works include informal figures, inkplay, many calligraphy works, and a few rare examples of ink landscapes, including one in the Nakama Collection (13c). A series of piledup mountains gently recedes backward and upward into space

in echelons of contour lines until a suggestion of solidity is achieved. Features of Fujian style include notable contrast between light and dark, slender twisting and upward-reaching

trees with clear outlines, and foliage highlighted against floating bands of mist. Billowing clouds indicate separation of

planes. It is a solitary landscape of receding rocks lined upward along a single axis, with a minimum of modeling techniques: straight and curving pimaun and dots densely and

sparsely grouped that indicate moss and rocky bushes.

Jifei inscribed a quatrain in heptameter and signed it "Jifei of Mount Shou" or Kojufsan. This establishes a date between 1655, when he founded Fukujuji there, and 1671, when he

died. The painting is therefore one of the earliest idealist mode

landscapes to be painted in Japan since the Muromachi period.⁵¹ In a seventeenth-century context it is interesting to note

that while S6ami's landscape derives from the late Southern 50. In the nineteenth century, this version of the Huang legacy proliferated

in Japan, via the Lan Ying (1585-ca. 1664) mode in numerous interpretations,

particularly in the works of Nakabayashi Chikut6 and Yamamoto Baiitsu.

These younger nanga masters were part of the reactionary group favoring

closer imitation of Chinese works. On the one hand, this was doubtless in

reaction to the brilliant but freewheeling creations by the

great masters
Taiga, Buson, Gyokudo, and Beisanjin. On the other hand,
with increased
exposure to actual Chinese idealist painting, the younger
generation acquired an understanding of the style that was
more accurate in both
composition and brush-modes.

51. S6ami's large set of Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang (lb)
for the

Daisen-in constitutes an example of idealist landscape in
the Mi Fu/Muqi

mode for this early period. See R. Stanley-Baker 1979. An
intriguing problem that remains to be clarified in this
regard is the relationship between

Mi Fu and Muqi's uses of inkwash. The morphology and
motifs of the Daisen-in landscape do not relate directly to
either the large or small sets

surviving as Eight Views ascribed to Muqi. Rather, the
relationship is more

in the general approach but less in specifics of either
compositional features or brushwork. In this respect,
identification of a Mi-style prototype

in the mysterious Gao Ranhui is discussed in R. Stanley-
Baker 1979, 171ff.

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Song style of Muqi-a Mi Fu-inspired interpretation of the
Dong-Ju tradition in a wet, washy derivative-Jifei's
landscape reflects a provincial but contemporary dry, linear
perception of the same Dong-Ju tradition, but developed by
the

Four Wang, and refers to Yuan masters like Huang
Gongwang
and Wang Meng.⁵²

Curiously, these works have not significantly affected
artists of nanga's early phase. Although they are closest to

actual idealist prototypes in late seventeenth-century Japan, and assuming that they were accessible to Manpukuji associates like Nankai, Kien, and Taiga, then they must be understood to have been rejected outright, at least for the first century and a half. Why should this be so?

Comparison of these works with accepted models of the colorist, evocative Suzhou landscape type suggests that their compositional format seemed at the time too unfamiliar,

too abstract. That is, they lacked poetic, evocative incidents and color, and their relationship to the formulae illustrated in

printed manuals was not clear. Furthermore, the dry expression of such works was irrelevant to Japanese artistic needs

based, as they were, on principles of gaogu, a perception of loftiness derived from ancient (Chinese brush) traditions, and

pingdan, unassertiveness in form and, certainly, in emotional content.

e. Fujian style imports. The fifth genre comprises diverse, already antique works imported, but not necessarily painted, by the immigrant Huangbo monks. These range from

provincial Fujianese works to examples of mainstream idealist

paintings (see below). Evidently indistinguishable to Japanese

viewers, the works reflect, from a Chinese perspective, distinctive regional characteristics that are mutually exclusive. These

include Suzhou-based works of the late-Ming Wu School, Songjiang-based works of the Dong Qichang (including Four 52. For the Chinese art historian, cross-reference to Japan clarifies the picture

of developments within China, developments that tend to be obscured by

later Chinese writings, and by later interpolations that tend to impose upon

works of Song and Yuan date images derived largely from late-Ming and

Qing perception.

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Wang) School, Hangzhou-based works of Lan Ying, and, lastly, Fujianese works by Wu Bin, Wang Jianzhang, Zhang Ruitu, and Huangbo-related painters like Zhang Qi, Cai Hui, etc. Examples of these contrasting styles came into late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Japan via Manpukuji collections.⁵³ Japanese reception of the imports was by no means even. It was marked by significant differences in enthusiasm ranging from total rejection to absorption (though not without basic transformation) into mainstream nanga. Japanese artists also responded to innovations by visiting Qing artists, notably Shen Quan (hao Nanping, J. Chin Nanpin) and Yi Hai, whose influence on Japanese nanga painters is dealt with in the next section. This section deals with the varied potential sources imported by the Manpukuji community and with the varied responses to these sources among Japanese artists. In this respect the question may arise as to how many aspiring artists actually had access to the imported paintings at close range.⁵⁴ But first let us look at the range of then-ancient works imported by the founder of Manpukuji, Yinyuan Longqi.

53. The entry or auction aboard trading vessels of works by Zhang Ruitu, Wang Jianzhang, and Huang Daozhou in Nagasaki has not yet been documented, but their prestige in mid-seventeenth-century Japan is well established in

tea and collection records. Anti-Manchu Ming loyalists included a large number of Fujianese, and the arrival in Tokugawa Japan of Zhu Shunshui to seek shogunal support for the loyalist cause moved the hearts of many Japanese observers. It is difficult to conceive of loyalist activities in Japan bypassing that great bastion of Fujianese culture, Manpukuji. However, at present the only documented works collected here are those associated with the monastery.

54. Manpukuji, like most monasteries, maintains areas closed to the public.

Not everything belonging to its collection therefore was automatically

accessible to aspiring painters. It is well known that Nankai, Kien, and

Taiga had close ties with the community, the first two due to conversions

in the family, and Taiga due to having been a child prodigy brought to

Obakusan at the age of seven. He astounded the abbot, Gaotang Yuanchang

(J. Kodo Gen'ei, 1663-1733), with his calligraphy, and the delighted monk

promptly wrote a gatha for the young artist. From then on, the Obaku

fathers took a keen interest in Taiga's artistic development, and in this

context it is safe to assume that they probably showed him whatever they

felt would be of value for his study of Chinese painting and calligraphy.

Later in Taiga's life, the artist spent a good deal of time painting some

twenty-nine sliding-door panels for the abbot's Eastern Residence (see

below), and more than likely had ample opportunity to peruse more works

in the monastic treasury.

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An unpublished inventory of articles connected with Yinyuan was inscribed two months after his death in the fourth

month of 1673. It is now kept in the monastery's Bunkaden storehouse-gallery, and includes some interesting entries:

* Screen painting, Pine Tree, by Chen Hao (seventeenth century Fujianese painter).

* One handscroll of calligraphy, Eight Verses, by Zhu Yunming (1460-1526).55

* One handscroll, Felicitations for Yinyuan's Sixtieth Birthday, produced in Fuzhou by various well-wishers in 1651.

* One album, Thirty-Six Patriarchs, by Chen Xian.

* One album, Sixteen Guanyin (artist unnamed, possibly Chen Xian?).

* Hanging scroll, Ancient Pine, by Lu Zhi.56

* Hanging scroll (very large), Flowers and Birds, by Lu Zhi (1496-1576).57

* Hanging scroll, Horse(s?), by Zhao Mengfu.58

* Forty-two hanging scrolls, Linji Patriarchs, by Yiran Xingrong.

* Hanging scroll, Sparrow(s?) and Prunus, from Beijing.

* Shakyamuni Triptych (with Samantabhadra and Marijusri as flanking paintings), by Yiran.

* Large hanging scroll, Nirvana, by Yiran.

* One set, Sixteen Arhats, by Yiran.

- cited from an untitled monastic log entry of 1673 in the Bunkaden

The list goes on to include many gifts of paintings and calligraphy by the retired emperor Gomizuno-o and quite a 55. Authorship of the Zhu Yunming calligraphy handscroll is unclear. The

calligraphy is nervous, filled with self-conscious and superfluous linking

strokes that exhibit uncharacteristic up-and-down wrist motion and unreserved gesticulation, traits not associated

with better-known examples ascribed to the master.

56. The Lu Zhi Ancient Pine survives today in the Bunkaden. Very imposing in photographs, it is, on close examination, virtually entirely retouched, leaving nothing of the graceful brush handling associated with this artist.

57. The flower-and-bird painting is evidently no longer extant.

58. An extant Zhao Mengfu hanging scroll of horses, a very poor work, is wooden, like most later horse paintings attached to Zhao's name.

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few sets of Buddhist figure paintings copied by Kano Tan'yū and Kano Yasunobu.⁵⁹

An important omission from the list is a handscroll some thirteen meters in length, of Five Hundred Arhats, attributed to the fourteenth-century painter Wang Zhenpeng, which

Yinyuan had secured in China and brought to Japan.⁶⁰ The work is of poor quality, unsure linework, and provincial modeling. However, it is done in the baimiao (ink monochrome

outline) manner and appears to be a careful copy of what must

have been an accomplished and interesting fourteenth-century model.

The importance of this work today is its role as model for eight of Taiga's famous fusuma (sliding-door panel) paintings for the abbot's Eastern Residence, Higashi hojo. The relationship holds true, however, only as far as iconographic motifs are concerned. The scroll documents

Taiga's creative handling of new models, for the fusuma-e are replete with instances of rejection, matched only by the radical transformation in which selected elements reemerge. These paintings will be discussed in detail below.

The second abbot, Muan Xingtao, continued to record the monastery's possessions and new acquisitions in the untitled log. He also left a private inventory of his own art 59. Tanaka Kisaku lists from subsequent Obaku collections the following:

eighteen Lohan by Xuean, a landscape handscroll by Tang Yin, and one by Dong Qichang, among others. He also mentions a handscroll of ink bamboo by Wu Zhen in the collection of the bamboo painter and abbot, Dapeng, in his discussion of Obaku and early nanga painters (Tanaka 1972, 24).

60. According to the account at the beginning of the scroll inscribed by Yinyuan in 1661, a certain Mr. Zhang had obtained the painting at the beginning of the Ming period from a private family in exchange for a little grain. During the confusion at the end of the Ming the scroll fell into rebel soldiers' hands but fortunately came at last into Yinyuan's possession.

This painting was among the founder's prized treasures and should have been listed in the inventory. However, on the first day of the fourth month of 1673, two days before his death, Yinyuan wrote a gatha for Shogun Ietsuna and presented it to him together with the scroll. Ietsuna was evidently pleased and kept the scroll for a few months but returned it to the monastery for safekeeping by the ninth month. The inventory of Yinyuan's possessions was taken in the fifth month, shortly after the scroll had been dispatched to Edo, hence its absence from the inventory. Later, the second abbot, Muan Xingtao, entered the handscroll in

the monastic log of possessions, an untitled ledger begun by Yinyuan, that held the inventory from generation to generation.

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treasures brought to Manpukuji, entitled *Yiye chuanfang* (Beautiful Leaves Transmitting Fragrance), to which he wrote a preface (undated). In the autumn of 1675 Muan retired to the subtemple Manjfin where he died in 1684. Muan's inventory lists a pair of landscape screen paintings by one Chen Huang, and two albums of calligraphies and paintings entitled *Shuhua chanceye* (Chan Album Leaves of Painting and Calligraphy). While the screens have not survived, the Manjuin Collection today retains a pair of albums with paintings and calligraphies in fan format. It is safe to assume that these once belonged to Muan. Their Suzhou orientation and their clear influence on Taiga's basic painting style will be discussed in the next section.

The Wang Lan landscape (13b) was entered into the monastic log between the years 1716-17. The Zhang Qi landscape (13a) was never recorded in the log, and the precise date and route of its entry into Japan has not been determined. However, Zhang Qi produced the iconographical portraits peculiar to the Huangbo School called *huaxiang* (J. gazo). Circumstantial evidence provided by Zhang Qi's portrait of Feiyin Tongrong, the Wanfusi home-temple superior of Manpukuji's founder Yinyuan, supports Zhang's connection with the

Huangbo community. There seems little doubt that the landscape entered Japan together with portraits of patriarchs. It is suggested here that it entered Japan during the first century of Manpukuji's founding.

The handscroll of birthday felicitations brought over by Yinyuan consists of a landscape by Cai Hui (14a), of whom virtually nothing is known. The signature reveals him to be a native of Jinjiang, Fujian. The style echoes the writhing movement shaking late-Ming landscape painting in general.⁶¹ In

particular, certain features recall works by men active in Fujian

and Nanjing, such as Gong Xian, Mi Wanzhong, Wu Bin, Wang

Jianzhang, and Zhang Ruitu.

Two scholars, who have trod the earthen path entering at the right where now attendants follow, are rendered in abbreviated manner as they begin their ascent. The path disappears behind a large foreground rock, crosses the stream over

61. See Cahill 1971 for a discussion of the late-Ming "restless landscape" syndrome.

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a covered bridge, and leads to the monastic compound up on the rocks to the left, presumably their destination. Of note are the crumbling and gloomy grandeur and the bizarre rock formations. To the left, tall, sharp peaks in the middle and far

distance are imaginary stone pillars pointing to heaven.

They

are convoluted in staggered outcroppings, miniature elongated

versions of the large central rocks.

The pine trees recall those by fellow Fujianese monk

Jifei (13c): slender, relatively upright trunks with clear, dark contour lines, discreet knotholes, and diligently drawn pine needles. Soft, thick bands of mist flow laterally across the picture, clarifying planes among tree groups and between peaks. Considerable contrast in light and dark areas not only defines concavities but also serves as abstract accent.

Darknesses

are intensified where moss dots are grouped in exaggerated density and drawn in darker ink tones.

It is understandable that works by Fujian artists and those in other resistance centers were imported to Japan in large quantities by Chinese fleeing the Manchu invasion.

The

distinctive features associated with Fujian and other resistance

centers were transmitted to nanga. These peculiar features include rising rocky precipices that knuckle up at the top like

fists, dramatic concentrations of modeling strokes or dots forming high contrasts of light and dark, and the dense mists suggesting unusual agitation. Some or all of these features find their

way into representative nanga.

Zhang Ruitu (1576-1641) of Fujian was admired in Japan, and his works were collected⁶² in the late seventeenth century

by men of lofty erudition such as Konoe Iehiro (1667-1736), better known by his Buddhist name Yorakuin, who was also a

patron of the Obaku fathers. Zhang's calligraphy is individualistic, with bold, foursquare characters in dark ink and an exaggerated disproportion between various elements that achieves

62. According to Tanomura Chikuden in *Sanchujin josetsu* (Idle Talk on

Cultural Matters, pref. 1834), Zhang Ruitu had been close to the Chinese

monk Yueshan Daozong (1629-1709), who eventually became seventh abbot

of Manpukuji and who had brought many Zhang works with him to Japan

(Tanomura 1834, 543). A notation in the Iwanami edition claims that Yueshan

died in the sixth year of H6reki (1756), which would have made him one

hundred and twenty-seven years old. I have used the terminal date of 1709

given by Otsuki (1977, 107), which is the sixth year of H6ei.

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a new overall balance. The brush is held consistently aslant so that strokes resemble knife-cuts. Paintings by Zhang Ruitu

were treasured as well. A spurious landscape bearing his name

is still in the Manpukuji Collection. Mountains and Misty Forest (1633) in the Brandon Collection (Cahill 1971, 53) reveals

correlations with the Cai Hui handscroll. Convoluted, craggy rock formations (here with rounded contours) also feature bands of densely grouped texture strokes that provide high contrast with blank areas, forming near-surrealist strata of light and dark.

Another Zhang Ruitu landscape, Towering Peaks and Cascading Falls (14b), reveals a more angular mode, with craggy

formations modeled in oblique axe strokes. White mists below

silhouette the trees and separate the planes while eerie pointed

spikes, much like the Cai Hui ones, rise from undefined space.

It shares many compositional features with the left-hand section of the Cai Hui work, where principal peaks twist inward like knuckled fists and are accompanied by slender

spikes; they are skirted by slender-trunked deciduous trees and floating bands of mist. No attempt is made to define the space from which these elements issue. Both compositions feature elongated twisting and contorted granite forms that like projectiles soar skyward from an undefined groundplane. A sense of monumental instability pervades the scene in both works, and the message is unmistakable. Peculiar features include wafting, restless bands of mist, markedly slender trees, and dramatic, uneven concentrations of cun modeling strokes that produce exaggerated contrasts in dark and light. What Zhang Ruitu did in a coarse, free, and amateur manner was also being done at court by fellow townsman Wu Bin (ca. 1568-1626), some years his senior.⁶³ Apparent structural inconsistencies in Wu Bin's work are not the result of awkwardness but indicate rather artistic choice. Wu Bin's name was known in Japan, where an excellent and very large 63. Unlike Zhang, Wu openly denounced the corrupt eunuch Wei Zhongxian and was incarcerated. Some years later, tribulations befell Zhang for his pro-Wei sentiments. Political views aside, as painters both men echo not only seventeenth-century landscape convolution in general, but Fujian idiosyncrasies in particular. Wu Bin's works, however, are professional and scrupulously executed to the last detail and thus lack the wild emotionality of Zhang's impetuous ink works.

(400.2 cm x 208.4 cm) Nirvana painting (Miyata 1975, plate 1),

dated 1610, has been a proud treasure of S6fukuji in Nagasaki, presumably since 1635.⁶⁴

A little-known friend of Zhang Ruitu, Wang Jianzhang (active 1628-44), was from Jinjiang, home town of Cai Hui. Wang Jianzhang's paintings are likewise largely unknown in China but treasured in Japan. His repertoire was varied, and he

evidently handled diverse genres with ease, producing landscapes in several modes, impromptu inkwash sketches, and

Buddhist figures seated among twisted trees. A contorted rocky

mountain landscape, Searching for a Poem in the Mountain Shade (14c), features rising clenched-fist mountains, a vague

and turbulent ground plane, and concentrations of modeling

strokes in high contrast with white areas. The parts cohere no

more than in previous examples. While foreground trees rise from a rocky spit, the rock group is in imminent danger of being engulfed by raging waves. Consistency is not the message: every element marks the dissolution of order, mirroring

that in China's political and military spheres.

The Confucian scholar Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759), a famous disciple of Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728), was an advocate of

ancient learning, a poet, and, in his own way, a dabbler in painting. He was renowned for his ink bamboo and ink landscapes, but upon his death in 1759 all traces of his brushwork

were removed from his studio for safekeeping and reverencing

by his pupils (J. Stanley-Baker 1980, 14-18). An ink landscape (15a) is a rare example of the genre from his hand.

Nankaku's

use of ink monochrome refers more clearly to Muromachi landscapes of the Shfbun-Sesshf tradition, and to Ming academy

painting than to any Southern Tradition or wenrenhua.⁶⁵ Its

64. S6fukuji was founded by the Fujianese monk Chaoran Wai (1567-1644), who arrived in Nagasaki in 1629 and received permission to build the monastery in 1632, which was inaugurated in 1635 (Miyata 1975,12). Here the Wu Bin Nirvana may well have been a central monument.

65. I refer in particular to the jet-black dots-and-dashes mode of modeling the surface, from the contours inward, covering the upper portions of large rocky boulders, and which can be seen in the Nankaku work's rock modeling in the foreground boulder. The evolution of this curious dots-anddashes mode in China is seen in mid-Ming academy painting, in which brush-modes are distilled from modeling techniques in Northern Song monumental painting where jagged rocks with foursquare protrusions had been modeled with inverted L-shaped "contour lines" and downward hack

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most modern aspects may be found in the peculiar features of Fujian painting: concentrations of black dots and strokes, brooding contrast of light and dark, and the curious, swelling rock. Features especially prominent in the Cai Hui landscape appear in the Nankaku work: combination of slanted, angular, jagged contour strokes with a thick peppering of round dots, both within the rock form and outside to suggest vegetation, where the dots are highlighted against a blank background for high contrast.⁶⁶ This indicates swift apprehension in Edo of

news entering from Kyushu. As may be expected, these features also appear in nanga paintings from Kyoto, such as Gion Nankai's Autumn Landscape (15b), an ink landscape on silk by Takebe Ryōtai (1719-74) in the Hutchinson Collection (15c), Yosa Buson's Summer Landscape (15d), and even in an isolated example by Ikeno Taiga (the seventh of his Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang [Kurimoto 1960, plate 761-7]). In Taiga's Fishing Boat in Autumn Stream (15e), a clear reference to Wang Jianzhang's gentler treatment appears in the overextended, slender foreground trees craning up toward receding layered peaks modeled with dense hemp-fiber strokes and dotted in clusters of dark ink. ing axe-strokes, and covered over with inkwash. A clear example of this transformation of erstwhile descriptive brush-methods into expressive or merely pictorial brush-modes can be seen in the landscape handscroll ascribed to Li Zai et al., *Guīqūlaicǐ tújuān*, in the Liaoning Provincial Museum collection (see Fong 1984, figs. 125 and 125a. Li Zai served as Renzhidian Hall *daizhao* in the period 1426-35 together with Dai Jin, Xie Huan, Shi Rui, Zhou Wenjin, etc.). The Li Zai-type dots-and-dashes technique represents the stylistic evolution born of a misunderstanding of Song renditions. While it is unlikely that Li Zai was still active during Sesshu's visit to China 1464-67, it is quite probable that Sesshu had studied works featuring this peculiar late-fifteenth-century brush-idiom. I believe that while no reliable example of Sesshu's work in this manner survives, its appearance in the work of Nankaku, an admirer and follower of Sesshu and of his school, should indicate that this particular brush-idiom might have

been transmitted to Japan after the late fifteenth century and had proliferated among Kano painters long enough for the young Edo scholar to admire and adopt it into his own repertoire.

66. The energetic modeling deplored in Chinese terms as "too exposed,"

baolu, is typical of the work of Zhang Ruitu and Wang Jianzhang.

67. For the reading of Takebe instead of Tatebe, I am indebted to Japanese colleagues, including Otsuki Mikio of Obakusan in Uji. Apologies to Laurence

Roberts, whose Dictionary of Japanese Artists (Roberts 1976, 132) lists only the

Tatebe reading. P.G. O'Neill in Japanese Names (O'Neill 1972) lists both readings, Takebe (314) and Tatebe (318).

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Later nanga masters were to echo these ideas in diluted form: brooding gives way to playfulness in light and dark tones, and dots become more evenly dispersed in graceful, lyrical patterns. Examples include Okada Hank6 (1782-1846) and Nagamachi Chikuseki (1747-1806), whose Moon Gazing from the Bridge (15f) was painted in his last year. The list is by

no means exhaustive but serves to illustrate the proliferation

in Japan of features peculiar to late-Ming Fujian painting and

to certain painters associated with anti-Manchu resistance. For

Fujianese features, Cai Hui's landscape offers secure evidence

of their entry into Japan by 1654.

Works from Suzhou and Hangzhou: Shuhua chanceye and others. This section examines documented imports of idealist painting that had originated from Jiangnan, chiefly

Suzhou

and Hangzhou. The second abbot of Manpukuji, Muan Xingtao

(1611-84), arrived in Japan in 1655, a year after the founder Yinyuan. In the private inventory of his collection, *Yiye chuanfang*, a simple entry lists two albums of paintings and calligraphy, *Shuhua chanceye* (Chan Album Leaves of Painting

and Calligraphy). Two albums by this same name survive in Manpukuji's subtemple, Manjfin, to which Muan retired in the

autumn of 1675. The albums are now in the Kyoto National Museum.⁶⁸

The albums contain forty-four fan paintings and calligraphies ascribed to artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, including well-known masters Wen Zhengming, Wen

Boren, Dong Qichang, and also, interestingly, Zhang Ruitu.

While from a Chinese perspective they are minor in quality (including some of dubious authenticity), in the context of Japanese *nanga* they may be examined in terms of their potential as available models. To artists with the visual acuity of

Taiga, they presented new approaches ripe for exploitation in

68. The two albums are surmounted with gold paper, fan-shaped paintings,

and calligraphies. Many of the works are dedicated to one Chen Zhenwei.

The albums came into the possession of Muan before coming to Japan. In

1921 the *Bukkyō Bijutsuin* published thirty-nine (of forty-four) leaves,

including an extraneous leaf from a separate source, under the title *Bunka*

juho. The two albums bear the title *Shuhua chanceye* and are considered to

be the set of the same title in Muan's inventory, *Yiye chuanfang*, bearing

Muan's preface (n.d.).

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poetic and colorist modes. Combinations of modeling strokes

new to Japan that could be "blown up" to cover screens and sliding doors were not lost on artists searching for new alternatives.

Scholars remarking on the often wooden quality in early nanga attribute it to the dearth of actual paintings on the one

hand and, on the other, to the influence of woodblock-printed

painting manuals (which do not illustrate the finer points of brushwork). In fact, however, actual paintings were abundantly available in these Manpukuji albums and many other

paintings and scrolls.⁶⁹ It must be noted that the Manjuin fan

paintings are faced with gold foil. This makes the surface slippery and unabsorbent (but resembling Japanese gold screen

surfaces), on which it is difficult to pile up brushwork. The gold foil has caused the brushwork in these fan landscapes to be

deployed in a lateral fashion, side by side, with less of the typical emphasis on interwoven linear brushwork tapestry espoused by the orthodox Songjiang School.

The issue of the authenticity of these imports is irrelevant in this study, which focuses on an assessment of their role in

the development of nanga. Of interest is the variety of techniques new to Japan, and their selection and transformation.

Ikeno Taiga's responses are discussed in chapter 2.

Many of the paintings and calligraphies from Manpukuji became dispersed during the Meiji era when monasteries lost

official patronage and began to sell their treasures. Large numbers of high-quality works are now found in public and private

collections in Japan and overseas. Which Chinese art works

were owned or imported by the abbots during the two centuries between 1661-1868 (i.e., between the founding of the Monastery and the Meiji Restoration) remains to be reconstructed by a thorough collation of all monastic documents. Such a project would greatly enhance and clarify the nature and quality of potential models. These include not only works by mainland Chinese masters imported by clerics, but also those produced in Japan by Chinese members of the community. On the

69. The art-historian's treasured "picture archives" of the Tokugawa period includes collections of close, reduced copies of paintings made by members of the Kano family for reference. The many collections of Kano shukuzu reveal a considerable number of late-Ming and Qing paintings, up to and including the Four Wang, thus documenting the existence of these Chinese sources in Tokugawa Japan.

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other hand a vast number of forgeries, with signatures of early Manpukuji patriarchs famed for their brush art, had been meanwhile created for the exploding sencha (steeped-tea cult) market. Many of the forgeries were made by Japanese artists. The present task, however, is to identify the "old paintings" brought into Japan by early patriarchs, or subsequently imported by means of trade ships. We must rely on customs records of the Nagasaki Bugyō, on random jottings or zuihitsu by collectors,

and on monks' diaries, etc., noting their titles (or artists) and first dates of entry. Ming and Qing paintings bearing Huangbo inscriptions, now dispersed in collections around the world, may eventually be collated. A catalog of paintings in Japan during this phase can then be reconstructed. For the moment, we may examine two high-quality Obaku imports, paintings now in the Ching Yuan Chai Collection, which present certain problems. In spite of notable quality, their immediate impact was negligible. Why should this be so?

The first, *Nanping on the Lake* (Hushang Nanping), is a handscroll depicting scenic beauty of Nanping Near West Lake (16). It was painted by Lan Ying (1585-ca. 1664) in 1627, and bears the title and inscription by the Obaku monk Duli Xingyi (J. Dokuryu Shōeki, 1596-1672). Duli came to Japan from China in 1653, and the inscription is dated 1660, seven years after. The nostalgic text recalls the ambiance of his homeland and refers to Lan Ying as his "old friend." A Ming loyalist, Duli arrived in Japan under the name of Dai Li, a physician, calligrapher, and seal carver from Hangzhou. When Yinyuan arrived the following year, Dai Li joined the monastic community and took the Buddhist name Duli Xingyi, reflecting his affiliation with the Obaku School (through the prefix Xing in the second nominal compound). As physician-monk traveling throughout Japan dispensing medicines and treating the sick, Duli won influential admirers, among them the great aesthete Prince Konoe Iehiro (Yorakuin) and the japanized Chinese scholar Ko Ten'i, both renowned calligraphers. Of all Obaku members in Japan, Duli alone is cited in Chinese sources for excelling in brushwork. His calligraphy stands notably above that of his fellow immigrants, including the abbots Yinyuan

and Muan and the prelate Jifei, dubbed the Three Obaku Masters by the Japanese. Later, K6 Ten'i published Duli's collected

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works and wrote his epitaph. It is safe to assume that the Lan Ying handscroll Duli so cherished was appreciated at close range by some of the most distinguished Japanese calligraphers and art lovers of the day. The problem is that in the century and a half following the appearance in Japan of this documented Lan Ying work, it appears to have inspired no following. A dedicated following of Lan Ying was not to emerge for another century before Nakabayashi Chikut6 (1776-1853) and his friend Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783-1856). But his influence is not seen in nanga paintings by early Obaku associates Nankai, Kien, and Taiga. As they were active only after Duli's death in 1672, could it be that the handscroll was never seen by them? Or that it was seen and for some reason not emulated? In theme and expression the Lan Ying scroll fits well within the coloredpoetic tradition and could not have been rejected on grounds of quality. It is a painting of greater artistic caliber than the works discussed so far. If it had received close viewing in Japan, its lack of reception certainly bears investigation. It was painted in 1627, in the artist's early forties, and in technique is close to

the hanging scroll *View of Mount Song* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), another early work painted the following year (Cahill 1971, plate 62). Lyrical and colored in gentle light blues and greens (that is, more poetic than the angular and more harshly colored works of Lan Ying's mature period), the painting's formal structure is however not readily discernible in terms of clearly articulated contour lines. Buried under vigorous moss dots, the rocks' contour lines are difficult to read and are sometimes even replaced by dot clusters. The complexity of texturing and the lack of linear articulation may have posed problems for painters unfamiliar with the tactile history of this style.

Landscapes by early *nanga* painters usually favored linear articulation in their Chinese models, since a linear definition of forms is more easily understood and followed. Lan Ying's familiar image in Japan derives chiefly from later works that feature his hallmark manner; here Chikuto reduced Lan's foursquare rock contours and his plane-dividing Y-shaped configuration to a series of crystalline accents, and Baiitsu adopted Lan's dark, dry cross-hatching brush-mode to inform his works

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with characteristic if somewhat raw vitality (J. Stanley-Baker 1980, 108-16).

The second *Obaku* import, the almost surrealistic

Moon Viewing (17), by a painter from Shanxi named Chen Quan of whom little is known (Cahill 1971, 135, plate 71), depicts a moon-viewing party with some twenty figures in a barren landscape, where several groups admire tiny moons in individual watery reflections dispersed across the groundplane.

The coloring is flat throughout, in shades of ochre, brown, and pink, with red and malachite accents in the foliage. A chilly mist wafts in the background, hovering close to the earth. This magical, eerie, and at the same time appealing work seems to have suffered a fate similar to that of Lan Ying's youthful landscape painting. Its existence in Japan is documented, but its following was negligible.

A lengthy inscription originally mounted above the painting is dated to 1734, the last year in the life of Yuefeng Daozhang (J. Eppo Dosho, 1655-1734), eighth abbot of Manpukuji. Yuefeng arrived in Japan in 1686, became the fifth abbot of the Nagasaki Kōfukuji in 1691, later serving as abbot of Manpukuji from 1707 to 1716. Upon retirement from Manpukuji, he moved at the behest of the Yanagisawa clan to their domain in Kaishū (present-day Yamanashi Prefecture) to found their clan temple, Ryūkan Eikeiji in Iwakubo. There began his association with Yanagisawa Kien, then a child of fifteen, but already an accomplished painter. In 1718, soon after moving to Kaishū, Yuefeng asked the youth to paint portraits of Fifteen Zen Patriarchs and Sixteen Arhats for the temple. The former group still survives and bears inscriptions by Yuefeng (Yamamoto n.d., 108). The problem arises as to whether Yuefeng was already in possession of the Chen Quan landscape by 1718.

There is little doubt that he would have shown it to Kien. In

Hitorine (Living Alone), Kien's youthful treatise of 1724, the artist mentions the prelate Yuefeng but not paintings by Chen

Quan. In the same treatise Kien stresses the importance of painting in Chinese styles by direct and close studies of originals, but he does not mention Moon Viewing.

On the other hand, Kien also stresses the importance of printed books such as the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting (Jieziyuan huazhuan, discussed below). He writes of

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studying with the Nagasaki Chinese immigrant painter Ying Yuanzhang (J. Ei Gensho), a pupil of Obaku icon painter Yiran

Xingrong. A colorful and evocative landscape of such striking quality as the Chen Quan work would very likely have elicited

some comment from the young and impressionable Kien, whose

enthusiasm for exotica enlivens every page of his memoirs.

Yuefeng's encomium on the Chen Quan landscape was inscribed a decade after the publication of Kien's book and suggests that the date of the painting's entry into his possession

was sometime between 1724 and 1734.

Kien's surviving works are primarily figures in the style of Yiran. Kien's work demonstrates the effect of informal figure painting of the Obaku style, which was transmitted from

Yiran to Ying Yuanzhang⁷⁰ and to Kien. On the other hand, it

came to be understood in retrospect that Kien's figure style could

not be described as nanga. Of Kien's landscapes, no direct model-variation relationship can be established with the

Chen

Quan work, and we may conclude that the intelligent and highly inquisitive young Japanese painter could not have seen

it.

Of the works originally brought over by patriarchs that today remain in the Manpukuji Collection, some of which are

housed in museums, subtemples, or elsewhere, those of relatively high quality include: Ancient Pine, ascribed to Lu Zhi;

Five Hundred Arhats, a handscroll ascribed to the Yuan figure

painter Wang Zhenpeng; a handscroll Landscape by the unknown Fujian painter Cai Hui; the two albums Yiye chanceye

by late-Ming artists largely from Jiangsu Province; the landscape scroll by Lan Ying; and the colored landscape by Chen

Quan.⁷¹ The list is by no means comprehensive but serves to

indicate the nature, variety, and quality of actual paintings accessible to the Manpukuji community at the time of Kien's

and Taiga's association with its members. When more works of

Obaku provenance are identified, and when more Tokugawa documents citing Ming paintings are collected, a more detailed

profile of Chinese sources up to 1776 (the year of Taiga's death)

70. Ying Yuanzhang later adopted the Japanese name Yoshida Shuisetsu.

71. The other works in Yinyuan's original 1654 inventory are either lost or of

inferior quality, such as those ascribed to Zhao Mengfu and Zhu Yunming.

will facilitate a more exacting and detailed account of the situation during this particular wave of Chinese cultural imports.

In a reversal of common practice in nanga-related studies, a sinological perspective is here applied to a corpus of Chinese works to determine which aspects of their form or content were rejected in Japan, which aspects were adopted, and in what manner they were transformed for absorption into

the nanga mainstream. From the modest number of paintings

identified so far, a pattern has emerged that indicates rather varied reception of the diverse categories. We have seen that works by Chinese monks in Japan were almost entirely rejected. In the section on eighteenth-century response we shall

examine more closely how some of the imported, more historical paintings did manage to impart new modeling techniques

or cunfa basic to the new language of idealist painting.

Other New Materials in Tokugawa Japan

Between 1639 and 1853 Tokugawa foreign policy resolutely shut out of its sphere any European, especially Roman Catholic, influence. Japanese citizens were forbidden to travel

overseas; foreign ships were limited to Dutch, Chinese, and Korean vessels; and the only ports of call were Nagasaki and its

offshore island of Deshima. The nanga movement was thus deprived from the outset of intimate or direct association with

China. Japanese painters could not study there. Their study of

new Chinese styles thus came to depend on the importation of

actual painting scrolls of varied quality and content, and on printed painting manuals. However, a most important teaching aid was the contact, albeit limited, with living Chinese

practitioners of various new techniques.

Manpukuji was not the sole repository and dispenser of Chinese culture. Imports from China continued apace and

were recorded in various annals. Art-related items such as books, inkstones, paper, brushes, and, most important, paintings, calligraphies, and antiques were ordered from the "provinces of Nanjing (Tokugawa term for Jiangsu) and Fujian" but not from Zhejiang (Kimiya 1955, 686-87). Under Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716-45), orders were placed for the 106-volume imperial encyclopedia, *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Synthesis of Books

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and Illustrations Ancient and Modern) in 10,040 juan. The books did not arrive until 1760. Contemporary Chinese publications were sought after by the aristocracy, chiefly by the courtier Konoe Iehiro, by daimyo like Maeda Tsunenori, and by wealthy merchants like Kimura Kenkad6 (Oba 1967, 195-98). By 1716 the bakufu had established a sinology center in Edo, where ancient texts from China were read and discussed in Chinese instead of the Japanese combination of *onyomi* and *kunyomi* that had been standard practice. Ogya Sorai, the great Confucian sinologist of the Yanagisawa clan, went there to study and further promoted spoken Chinese. Popular novels such as *Shuihuzhuan* (The Water Margin), *Honglouloumeng* (Dream of the Red Chamber), and the notorious *Jinpingmei* (Golden Lotus) were quite in demand (Kimiya 1955, 712). Chinese practices

in medicine, steeped tea, cuisine, as well as seal carving, calligraphy, and painting, were becoming widely fashionable. While early Manpukuji patriarchs, especially Duli, the renowned physician, calligrapher, and seal-carver, were responsible for propagating Chinese culture in these forms, many other Chinese settlers were subsequently invited by the bakufu to help in the national campaign to promote Chinese learning.⁷²

Many immigrants were called on to serve in Edo as physicians, translators, and teachers for the various han schools; many became naturalized and adopted Japanese names.⁷³

The Ming loyalist scholar Zhu Shunshui (1600-82), who had made several attempts to elicit Japanese help against the

72. For example, the Caodong (J. S6t6) School of Chan was represented in

Japan by the prelate Xinyue Xingchou (J. Shin'etsu K6cho, 1642-96), invited

by Tokugawa Mitsukuni to found the Gionji monastery in Mito in 1677. In

a memorable opening ceremony he was installed as founding abbot before

a group of 17,000 people. Xinyue left influential art works and calligraphies

and was instrumental in the revival of Chinese qin music as well. See also Addiss

1978, 1989.

73. The choice of Japanese surnames may seem to us sometimes curious. For

example, some families surnamed Liu (willow), took on in Japan the related name of Yanagiya (willow house). But others with the homophone

Liu (where the character is written with a right-hand knife radical) abandoned it in Japan in favor of a two-character surname, which would be

pronounced Pengcheng in Chinese and was usually pronounced Sakaki in

Japanese (as for the painter Sakaki Hyakusen), but which in the case of

these newly naturalized Chinese immigrants was for some reason pronounced Ibaraki (Kimiya 1955, 712 ff.).

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Manchus, finally settled in Japan as Confucian master of the Mito han and became the most renowned Chinese scholar to directly influence Japanese Confucianism. But he was one among hundreds of Chinese immigrants who contributed to the Tokugawa transcultural effort. A broad and concise overview of these various cultural stimuli is outlined in Yeung Kao May-ching's exhibition catalog for the Institute of Chinese Studies (1974). In the following section we shall examine some of the major painting manuals and assess their actual impact on nanga.

Painting manuals.⁷⁴ A painting manual of broad appeal in Japan was *Tuhui zongyi* (J. *Zu'e shu'i*, preface 1607) compiled by Yang Erzeng, which was reprinted in an annotated Kyoto edition in 1702. Divided into seven sections, the manual treats figures in landscapes; prunus blossoms; birds among flowers and grasses; bamboo; epidendra; and animals, insects, and fish.⁷⁵ The histories record a Yang Erzeng, who is known as an historian of the Eastern and Western Jin but not as a painter.⁷⁶ Theoretical treatises in *Tuhui zongyi* are lifted from Tang and Song sources, but without citing the authors. Published some time before the North-South schism was for⁷⁴. In this study, the subject of printed manuals devoted to figural compositions, a theme not central to wenrenhua in its Chinese context, is not treated. See the enlightening study of the japanization of

the genre in eighteenth-century Japanese painting manuals by Kobayashi 1987.

75. Tuhui zongyi (1607) consists of seven juan: 1. Figures in Landscape; 2.

Prunus Blossoms; 3. Birds among Flowers and Grasses; 4. Bamboo; 5.

Epidendra; 6. Animals, Insects, and Fish; and 7. Landscape. The first six

juan begin with brief discussions of techniques, illustrated in fine-line

renditions as finished compositions. Sections on flowers feature examples

of blooms in various stages of growth, facing various directions. It is not a

step-by-step manual but a collection of ready-made fenben (J. funpon or

tehon) models to be copied. The seventh and last juan introduces texts on

landscape painting, with excerpts from Zhang Yanyuan's Lidai

minghuaqi, Guo Roxu's Tuhua jianwenzhi, and Guo Xi's Linquan gaozhiji.

This section also includes excerpts from later (Yuan) texts such as Huang

Gongwang's Xie shanshui jue-all without citing the authors. While some

of these texts had already been known in Japan, a compilation in this

format provides a valuable anthology of some influential Chinese texts on

landscape painting and its techniques. Its first Japanese publication was in

1702, by the Chinese book specialist dealer T6honya Chikizaemon in Kyoto.

76. There may have been at this time two men by this name.

mulated, the Tuhui zongyi does not touch on the dichotomy

between academy and literati persuasions.⁷⁷

The artist for the manual was Cai Ruzuo of Xinan in Anhui Province, who would illustrate the three groups of Tang

poems in Bazhong huapu (Eight Kinds of Painting Manual, J.

Hasshu gafu). While bamboo and epidendra are depicted in a

series of "how-to" steps, animals, birds, and flowers are presented fully finished in a variety of compositional schemata.

The illustrations provide a glimpse of late-Ming academic styles, but hardly of wenrenhua. The text refers to professional

painters Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, and Liang Kai and cites nearly the

entire text of academic master Guo Xi at the end, as well as excerpts from Yuan idealist master Huang Gongwang, presenting a catholic, or pre-Dong Qichang, outlook. An idealist slant

was not widely broadcast in Japan until Jieziyuan huazhuan,

which proclaims the North-South schism in no uncertain terms

(see below).

Surely the painting manual most widely owned in Japan was Bazhong huapu (Eight Kinds of Painting Manual), compiled by Huang Fengchi around 1621, also representing a preDong Qichang view. It was published in a Japanese edition,

Hasshiu gafu, in 1672, and again in 1710. Its wide appeal deserves close scrutiny. Not so much a technical manual for painters, it is a collection of poetry, calligraphy, and painting for passive delectation. The preface relates how compiler Huang

Fengchi had collected groups of fifty Tang poems of five-, sixand seven-character meters and sought out "famous worthies"

to inscribe them and "well-known hands" to illustrate them. Illustrated poems comprise the first three of eight manuals.

The fourth manual is a quartet of manuals on prunus,

bamboo,
and epidendra (by Sun Hanlin, hao Jixian), and
chrysanthemum (ascribed to the far better known Chen
Shun, 1483-1544).

Only the bamboo section treats technical pitfalls. The others
are basically illustrated verses with occasional reference to
famous artists of the past.

77. According to Susan Bush, statements concerning the
North-South theory,
or nanbeizong hualun, first appeared in print in 1615.

Controversy over the
authorship of the North-South School treatise was resolved
conclusively
by Shen Fu in 1970. For a discussion of the first publications
of the theory,
as well as contemporary controversies, see Bush 1971, 159 n.
13.

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The fifth and sixth manuals, "Flowers and Birds in
Trees," and "Flowers and Birds among Grasses," feature
verses
and prose commentary, all by Huang Fengchi. Each ends
with
a description by Wang Chang of Xinan of the flora and trees.
The seventh manual is ascribed to Tang Yin (1470-1523), and
is certainly spurious.⁷⁸ It comprises a collection of fifty
compositions ascribed to various artists, with appropriate
poetic
inscriptions on facing pages. The illustrations are peopled
with ox-herds, children fishing, scholars playing music
under
pines or gazing at lotus, even a lonely beauty sitting
expectantly in a scholar's den. Though printed in ink
monochrome,
their potential for evocative treatment could not have

escaped
seasoned Japanese eyes.

The last manual, ascribed to Zhang Chenglong (hao Baiyun, fl. 1573-1630), consists of fifty paintings fitted into a folding fan format and accompanied again with versification.

A doleful beauty seated on a formal rush mat, holding a qin and framed by banana leaves beneath a sinking moon, is crowned with a verse ascribed to Cao Yu, a late fifteenthcentury scholar-official:

Passion is like an endless illnessEntire days are spent dazed,
too lazy to ascend the
pavilion;

Only hugging the crimson strings [of the qin, she] sits
beneath the banana.

How can Spring breezes relieve her sorrow?
(Huang ca. 1621, 246)

A scholar crossing a bridge set in a landscape
(misrepresented as a Juran type, where the trailing hemp-
fiber,

pimacun, strokes have been fused into short cuts
resembling

chisel marks) bears an evocation of rusticity by one Li
Changmin:

The mountain monk has long lived above Changjiang
(Yangzi River)

78. It is not related to the remarks on painting published
under the name

Tang Yin huapu, also a book of dubious authenticity. The
Tang Yin huapu

included in the Bazhong huapu is a collection of decorative
pictures,

landscapes, flowers and birds, and beauties by famous
painting masters,

where each painting is faced with an inscription by a well-
known or obscure

author. Some of the illustrations are attributed to artists
born after Tang

Yin's time (see below).

And is accustomed to the boating songs of fishermen.

(Huang ca. 1621, 286)

In effect, however, the Eight Kinds of Painting Manual is hardly the collection of first caliber work in poetry, calligraphy, or painting it purports to be. The verses are plebeian,

often featuring the same ditties with different endings. The love poem quoted above also appears in the so-called Tang Yin

manual, where a young lady and her attendant peer from behind a screen at two copulating cats. The verse, here attributed to Jin Shujie, is inscribed in clerical script. The last two

lines have been changed to read:

The wutong has lost all its leaves and yet

The crazed pair do not know [it is already] Autumn.

(Huang ca. 1621, 180-81)

In the Tang Yin manual we also find a rendition of Withered Tree, Rock, and Bamboo (27) ascribed to the lateMing painter Song Xu (1525-1605) who was born after Tang

Yin's death in 1523. It bears the familiar refrain by Su Shi, slightly altered and now ascribed to Zhao Huan:

Trees [may be] frozen but [remain] elegant,

Bamboo [may be] thin [but are] long lived,

Rocks [may be] distinctive but [are] ugly;

These are the three beneficial friends.

(Huang ca. 1621, 168-69)

In its Japanese printing, the Hasshu gafu suffered distortions made during the carving, where knife marks produce

angles and edges to the lines and render them considerably harsher than in the original Bazhong huapu. Its primary contribution to interested Japanese painters was topical, providing

ideas for compositions and themes from Chinese poetry.

But its

quotidian quality did not impress astute Japanese critics.

Reflecting mixed affiliations and by no means pristine wenren

idealist values, the first illustration is entitled "after the

brushidea of [academician] Xia Gui." The second is after the Southern Song court painter, Ma Hozhi, and the poem, "Spring Night," ascribed to Tang poet and calligrapher Yu Shinan (558-638), is allegedly inscribed by Chen Jiru (1558-1639), close friend and associate of Dong Qichang and one of the instigators of the North-South schism.

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The last manual, paintings compiled by Zhang Chenglong, is prefaced by Chen Jiru, a prominent member of the Songjiang group of literati theorists around Dong Qichang.

In

1615, Chen was associated with the publication of the discourse

on the North-South theory of painting.⁷⁹In 1621, Chen wrote the

preface to Bazhong huapu, mentioning Dong Qichang but not

the now-celebrated treatise:

Whenever I talked with Dong Taishi (Qichang) of all the famous men under heaven from past to present who had left ink traces (calligraphy or painting) that either were destroyed or fell into the hands of [undeserving] country bumpkins, I mourned the many works worthy of scholar-officials (shidaifu), which had thus become lost. Xuanzhai (Dong Qichang) replied, "We must establish them all in one place, so that you and I can enjoy them night and day, roaming [amidst the landscapes] while reclining. Won't that be a great joy in our lives?" So saying we both laughed. (Huang ca.

1621, preface)

Chen then describes Zhang's fan paintings, implying

that in their publication the ancient idealist dream of Dong Qichang's is at last being fulfilled.

The second most influential and widely distributed manual was the Jieziyuan huazhuan (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), which was issued in its Japanese edition as Kaishien gaden some seventy-six years after the Hasshu gafu in 1748. Originally published by Li Yu and compiled by Wang Gai (hao Luchai, fl. 1679-1705), it was intended

as a step-by-step painting manual, with at least theoretical loyalties to the Southern camp. The inspiration came from an

album of forty-three leaves painted in the manner of ancient masters ascribed to Li Liufang (1575-1629), which had been passed down in Li Yu's family for generations.⁸ It was now 79. Professional painting was likened to the plodding, gradual enlightenment of the Northern School of Chan Buddhism, while amateur idealist painting was compared to the sudden enlightenment of the Southern School.

For more on the Northern and Southern Schools, see Bush 1971, 158 ff.

80. The Li Liufang attribution is made by Li Yu. As it is no longer extant, the attribution cannot be substantiated. Suffice it to say that in style, execution, and content, the imprint of Wang Gai rather than Li Liufang predominates.

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enlarged with one hundred and thirteen illustrations by Wang

Gai, together with an exegesis on dos and don'ts and indications of stylistic origins.

With regard to accuracy in the identification of sources for particular brush-idioms, the presentation is replete with stylistic errors. It is nevertheless a systematic exposition of

various brush-techniques in Chinese landscape painting-
regardless of the inaccuracies in attribution. In his preface,
Li Yu
lamented the lack of manuals on landscape painting in the
face
of the plethora of manuals on figure, flower, and bird
painting.
His aim was to correct the imbalance. In his manual,
paintings
do not serve as illustrations to poetry but constitute the
principal subject. Ancillary inscriptions relate to the method
and
history of the particular brush-modes under discussion.
The first volume, published in 1679, contained five juan.⁸¹
The editions of 1701 and thereafter included additional
manuals on the four friends⁸² (prunus, epidendra, bamboo,
and
chrysanthemum) but extended as well to flowers-and-
insects
and flowers-and-birds.⁸³ The opening section of the first
juan,
devoted entirely to theory, history, and technique, is a
compact
if partisan dissertation on Chinese painting, businesslike
and
to the point. It has been suggested that this manual was
imported to

81. For the different versions of Jieziyuan huazhuan that
entered Tokugawa
Japan see Hiratsuka (n.d.). A recently discovered edition of
the manual is
discussed in Hashimoto 1979.

82. The first idealist painters of Northern Song, especially Su
Shi, had established the ideals of painting for pleasure (the
basis of later idealist painting) by devoting leisure time to
the painting in ink monochrome of "lofty"
subjects such as bamboo; pine; old, gnarled, and withered
trees; blossoming prunus; and epidendra. Already in
predynastic China certain plants
had come to be associated with gentlemanly, lofty virtues:
the bamboo
"bending but not breaking," the pine "frost-defying and
long-lived," the
prunus "blossoming in the coldest snows," the orchid
whose "pure fragrance permeates unpeopled valleys," etc. In

time, groupings such as "three (or four) friends of winter" and "six gentlemen" grew in popularity, and eventually the membership expanded to include chrysanthemum.

83. A spurious volume on figure painting eventually appeared in 1818. Another painting manual, among those with the best color reproductions and now treasured as such, is the Shizhuzhai huapu (Painting Manual of the Ten Bamboo Studio), primarily concerned with flower-and-bird painting.

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Japan as early as the Genroku era (1688-1704).⁸⁴ Gion Nankai mentions it in a letter of thanks for a gift of spring epidendra.

Through long association with the Hasshu gafu he had come to think of the Four Friends in the order of prunus, bamboo, epidendra, and chrysanthemum, but now the new Jieziyuan huazhuan gives their order as epidendra, bamboo, chrysanthemum, and prunus, causing some confusion according to Nankai (Umezawa 1919, 71). This documents the degree of conceptual influence that the Hasshu gafu was able to exert on the elder scholars on the point of certain Chinese wenren practices. The Jieziyuan's effect on art theory, however, and on a closer understanding of the development of Chinese painting, was not to be felt until the end of the century. The Jieziyuan manual opens with Dong Qichang's theoretical treatise, Huashuo (Talks on Painting), followed by an

exegesis on specific painting techniques. In these two dozen pages major theories on painting from the early sixth to the seventeenth century are introduced, presenting the orthodox, seventeenth-century idealist view of Chinese painting history.

Its inclusion in the manual provides a firm date for the appearance under Japanese covers of the North-South theory. Although here it is only a truncated version of item eleven in

Dong's full text, it nevertheless makes the dichotomy clear, and names both sides:

Chan Buddhism comprises the Northern and Southern Schools, which were first divided in Tang times. Similarly, painters comprise Northern and Southern Schools, which, too, were first divided in Tang times. Actually the painters do not come from north or south. The Northern School

84. "During the Genroku period the Confucianist Ogyu Sorai obtained the

Jieziyuan huazhuan by Li Yu of the Qing dynasty. He was astonished by it

and presented it to the official library. Then others searched for and found

the painting manuals of the Shizhuzhai and the Peiwenzhai. Thus people

were able to see the styles of painters from the four great masters of the

Yuan dynasty down to the Qing. Sakaki Hyakusen and Gion Nankai were

the first to extol these works. Yosa Buson and Ikeno So of our past discovered the difference between the Northern and Southern Schools. By the

time of Nagamachi Chikuseki, Hamada Kyōdo, Noro Kaiseki, Kushiro

Unsen, Nakabayashi Chikutō, Uragami Shunkin, Oda Kaisen, and their

groups, Southern School painting had been disseminated throughout the land" (Shirai 1831). See also Yeung 1974, 9, 38.

includes Li Sixun, father and son whose tradition of fine outline and color-washed landscapes was passed down to Zhao Gan, Zhao Boju, and Zhao Bosi, to Ma Yuan and Xia Yanzi (Gui). The Southern School includes Wang Mojie (Wei), who first used light inkwash, transforming [the Northern school's] technique of outline and [color-]fill. His legacy was passed down to Zhang Zao, Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Guo Zhongshu, Dong Yuan, Juran, the Mi father and son [Fu and Youren], down to the Four Masters of the Yuan. In the same way [the Chan Masters] Maju [Mazu] and Yunmen followed after the Sixth Patriarch (Huineng).⁸⁵ The passage suggests that the basic issue dividing the Schools was the use of color and outline (used by Tang professionals) versus monochrome inkwash (preferred in Northern Song). The many implications could not have been understood in Japan. A tantalizing question is why does there seem to be no mention of the North-South theory in Japanese texts until Kuwayama Gyokushfi's first work, *Gashu* of 1790, forty-two years after the Japanese publication of the *Kaishien gaden*? Earlier Japanese texts merely distinguish between idealist painting (*bunjinga* from C. *wenrenhua*) and professional painting (by *eshi* or professional painters). One of the first to use the terms *nanshu* and *hokushui* (Southern and Northern Schools) was Kuwayama Gyokushfi, whose source, significantly, was not the Mustard Seed manual but Dong Qichang's *Rongtaiji*.⁸⁶ It should be noted that the *Kaishien gaden* was not once mentioned by Gyokushfi in his three treatises on *nanga*. Not all manuals were mediocre, however. In 1756 the Japanese edition of a bamboo manual by the Yuan master Li Kan, *Zhupu xianglu* (Detailed Manual on Bamboo Painting) was published as *Chikufu shoroku*. Li Kan, a master of both professional and idealist manifestations of the genre, modeled his ink bamboo style after the Northern Song idealist progenitor, Wen Tong, as well as on Wang Manqing, son of

Wang

Tingyun, follower of Mi Fu and Mi Youren. The Japanese edition is faithful to the Chinese: the impressions are clear both in

85. Translation modified from Mai-Mai Sze's *Tao of Painting* (1952) in phrasing, and in the use of pinyin spelling.

86. Rongtaiji was already known, some eighty-odd years previously, to

Yanagisawa Kien, according to his 1724 treatise, *Hitorine*.

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the goule (outline) type of rendering and in the monochrome

ink method. Li Kan's text is a concise exegesis on the nature of

the plant, the nomenclature of its parts, and the dos and don'ts

in painting. The manual may have been published as a result

of the success enjoyed by the publication in 1751 of a spurious

treatise attributed to Wu Zhen (1280-1354), *Mei Daoren mozhupu*

(*J. Baidōjin bokuchikufu*) by the firm Naniwa Shōbō.

A "particularly beautiful example of color printing and in its first edition one of the rarest of all Japanese color-print books" (Roberts 1976, 154), *Minchō seiken* (Masterpieces of Ming Painting), was published in 1746 by Ooka Shunboku (1680 -1763). Featuring late-Ming Wen Zhengming or Wu School examples, the book made a deep impression on Gyokushō, who

remarked in his *Gashū*,

Some years ago I saw the painting manual *Minchō seiken* in which he had selected painting methods by Wen Zhengming and Chen Daofu (Shun) among others for publication. From this I know that Shunboku's

point of view is basically the same as ours. (Sakazaki 1927, 122).

Wen school attributions and reproductions were present in numbers and popular. It should be noted that Ooka Shunboku

began his profession as a Kano painter and is said to have studied "Ming and Yuan" paintings. He eventually authored no less than twelve influential treatises on painting, including

a history of the Kano School, Gako senran (Deep Probes into the

Skills of Painting, 1740), in which he charted lineages and illustrated techniques. Various methods for doing drapery, horses,

flowers and birds, and landscapes are ascribed to handscrolls

by Kano Tan'yū, who had died some seventy years before.

The

section on connoisseurship, with facsimiles of artists' seals and a treatise on forgeries, reflects the range and depth of this

eighteenth-century art historian.

Taiping shanshui tuhua (1648), a set of woodcuts after

forty-three landscape paintings ascribed to Xiao Yuncong

(1596 -87. I have placed in serious doubt the authenticity of any bamboo manual

ascribed to Wu Zhen, whose posthumous popularity and rising market

created a host of inferior productions. See J. Stanley-Baker 1991a.

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1673), was once presented to Ikeno Taiga, who may also have had access to the Huasou (Collection of Paintings, 1597) by Zhou Lujing.⁸⁸ Taiga's oeuvre often reveals isolated examples

that can be traced back to one or the other of the manuals. This is especially true of his very early works. Their debt to Chinese models is rarely more than in motif-configuration or iconography, but almost never in morphology, and certainly never in brushwork. When working in Chinese modes, Taiga did not replicate their spatial relationship (of details to the whole). As we shall see, Taiga's artistic will was usually in the foreground. In basic matters of deployment of ink and of brushwielding-elements that mark the work's fundamental character-Taiga freely integrates Chinese and Japanese traditions with his personal preferences. Taiga produced several handscrolls featuring new Chinese painting techniques. On closer examination, they are more creative than they are examples of exacting pedagogy. A handscroll of 1762 entitled Soaring Woods (28) displays Chinese modeling techniques. The scroll demonstrates modeling styles or brush-idioms associated with ancient Chinese masters, but with little concern for art-historical accuracy. Taiga attributes the Guo Xi type juanyuncun (rolling-cloud stroke) to Guan Tong, and Juran's famed fantou (alum-head) motif (inappropriately squared off where they should have been rounded) to Guo Xi, etc. While the Chinese manuals themselves contain mistakes in brush-mode lineage, they are not so farfetched as these. Taiga's frequent and nearly always inaccurate references to Chinese masters may reveal confidence on his part visa-vis his debtors, perhaps even a jovial, cocky attitude. In a study of transmission such as the present one, the issue of correct identification of Chinese art lineages is of little importance. Evidently Taiga was of the same opinion. It is significant to note, however, that the basic brushmodes of idealist painting eventually all found their way into nanga. The process seemed to have been both conscious and accidental, but in the end it managed to establish a new vocabulary for Japanese idealist painting that was not

lacking in
the basic Chinese ingredients. These include brush-
techniques

88. The book comprises the painting section in the
encyclopedia on the
arts, Yimen guangdu.

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of the hemp-fiber, rolling cloud, Mi-dot, lotus leaf vein, and
the moss dots. These represent the various zhongfeng
(centered-brush) modes promoted by idealist painters and
that

contrast with the cefeng (oblique-brush) and broad axe
strokes

characteristic of professional painting both in the Chinese
academies and in the Kano School.

Gion Nankai had once presented Taiga with a copy of
Taiping shanshui tuhua (1648), which at the time had not
been

reprinted in Japan. The importance of this gift in the latter's
development has been tacitly assumed in modern
scholarship.

This importance is subject to question, however, when we
consider that the woodblock illustrations do not offer clear
indications of the cunfa brush techniques cited above.

Their

specific effect on Taiga's oeuvre remains to be satisfactorily
demonstrated. Taiga's light-hearted references to Chinese
masters in his own paintings and "teaching scrolls" have
created

the impression of a studious follower of painting manuals.

This impression is in need of modification.

Finger painting. In the course of a brushwork-oriented
idealist dominance in the seventeenth-century Chinese

painting, the sudden resurgence of finger painting-a practice in direct opposition to the brush-supreme ethos of Chinese wenren-was due in no small measure to the founding emperor, Shizu (r. 1644-62). And while Qing idealist painting was in no way affected by the heterodox intrusion, in the Japanese context "the development of nanga is something that must be considered in its relation to the transmission of finger painting" (Tanaka 1972, 27). The young Manchu ruler abdicated at age twenty-six, presumably to devote time to loftier pursuits, among them finger painting.⁸⁹ This Manchu challenge to Chi⁸⁹. The Emperor Shizu is recorded to have painted "peaceful, attractive streams and valleys, mysterious and deep mists and clouds. Those who obtained his pictures treasured them more than real pearls. Once he amused himself by painting with his finger a buffalo wading a stream, which was so natural that it seemed alive. His ministers Wang Shilu and Wang Shichang wrote poems to commemorate this wonderful picture. After him there were many artists specializing in finger paintings, like Gao Qipei, (his nephew) Zhu Lunhan, (and more distant nephew) Li Shizho. Curiously, almost no one seems to know that this kind of painting was started by the Emperor." This encomium was attributed to the Qing critic Zhang Geng by Osvald Siren (1958, v. 5, 88). However, I have not been able to find the original in texts ascribed to Zhang Geng.

nese aesthetic values came at a time when idealist painting was focusing increasingly on brushwork excellence, with diminishing regard for compositional or technical innovation. Orthodox painting seemed never to tire of variations on the Four Yuan masters. The emperor's example in finger painting gave rise to a new vogue in the genre, which launched in the next century a host of painters who must remain, from a brushwork-oriented idealist viewpoint, and in spite of the finger painters' own estimate, exponents of a heterodox practice.⁹⁰ Among them were Gao Qipei (1672-1734),⁹¹ his nephew Zhu Lunhan (1688 -1760), and his grandnephew Gao Bing, author of the treatise on finger painting, *Zhitou huashuo* (1771). There were also Gao Fenghan (1683-1747) from Shandong and the lesser known Ma Fang (fl. 1662-1735). Interestingly, during the period of its boom in China, finger painting found first expression in Japan. Moreover, special features associated with finger painting, features

90. Not a single writer of the Dong Qichang/Wang Yuanqi/Tangdai lineage, that is, the Chinese painting orthodoxy, was known ever to have practiced finger painting or to have mentioned it in his writings. In this context, Zhang Yanyuan's refusal in the ninth century to consider nonbrush works as "paintings," thus actively discouraging experiments, was a first official blow to freewheeling exploration of the painting media and a major factor in bringing Chinese painting to a more strictly brush-based ethos. In contrast to earlier admiration for free, untrammelled methods of

painting that tolerated the use of nonbrush implements, later aesthetics focused on brush-made paintings and demanded that their calligraphic quality be increasingly scholarly and refined. Painters like Muqi had been decried since the Yuan for the "coarse" appearance of their brushwork. The manipulation of the brush in the hand for achieving certain stroke effects became central to an appreciation of Chinese painting and calligraphy. But when a barbarian emperor indulged in finger painting in the Qing, there was little that scholar-painting followers could do. Their disapproval could only be signified by not practicing finger painting and by not writing about it.

91. Gao Qipei (1672-1734), zi Weizhi, hao Qieyuan and Nancun, was a man from Mukden, Manchuria, who, while never an actual member of the imperial painting academy, was a court favorite during the Kangxi and Yongzheng reigns (1662-1736). Gao considered himself primarily an official and in his brilliant career reached the position of vice-president of the Board of Justice. In his leisure time, Gao painted for enjoyment and developed considerable skills in painting with both the brush and his fingers.

Unlike orthodox literati painters who confined themselves to ever increasing subtleties and complexities of brushplay, Gao sought new freedom in highly colorful and original compositions and received much acclaim even in his own lifetime. Finger painting was not condemned as heterodox by Chinese writers out of fearful respect for members of the Manchu court.

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not found in Chinese works of the strictly brushwork-oriented painting, are early incorporated into representative works of Japanese nanga painters, particularly those of Taiga and Buson, nationalizers of the mode. It would be appropriate, therefore, to examine briefly the phenomenon of finger painting, both in its Chinese idealist time-frame and context, and as it was received in Japan.

The narrow, brush-supreme view of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese idealists was expressed by a pupil of Wang Yuanqi, Tangdai (b. 1673),⁹² the Manchu court artist-theorist quoted at the beginning of this study. In China the quality of brushwork had assumed primary importance while subject matter, and human or poetic feelings, were of lesser concern. From standard Four Wang repertoires it is clear that for Qing idealist painters the Four Yuan Masters virtually monopolized all inspiration. For Tokugawa newcomers, a major hurdle was the critical distinction between Yuan idealist painting itself and that by Qing idealist painters, which had made of Yuan brush-modes little more than stereotypical brushstroke models. These brush-idioms functioned for Qing artists in the way calligraphy copybooks functioned for novices in calligraphy. Qing idealist exercises however had multiplied the density of brushstrokes for any given area, making of limpid Yuan expressions thickly plied brushwork tapestries of intense historical academicism. It is this latter, highly studied, galvanized and formalized brush-image of Yuan painting

that was at the apogee of wenren painting during the early Qing. But it arrived in Tokugawa Japan through its less-than-inspired practitioner, Yi Hai. For all intents and purposes, therefore, it was through a refractory Qing lens that nanga artists "studied the brush-method of Yuan masters." It was less than the whole story when Tokugawa writers were made to believe from nanga artists' inscriptions (such as "In Imitation of Zhao Songxue [Mengfu]" on their horse paintings, or "After Huang Dachi [Gongwang]" on landscape paintings) that eighteenth-century Japanese artists truly apprehended fourteenth-century Chinese artists' "brush-spirit."

92. On Tangdai, a Manchurian of the White Banner Zhengbaiqi clan, see Goepper 1956 and Chou 1988, 132-40.

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But it is true that nanga artists were greatly inspired by Qing artists' reverence for Yuan painting. How much Yuan painting differed from that of the Qing, and from that of Japanese painting since the Muromachi, does not seem to have concerned Tokugawa theorists or modern scholars. The fact remains, however, that these are critical issues: we face here China's own changing perceptions as well as the impact of a telescoped Chinese art history in the context of Tokugawa painting experiences and cultural preferences. Even by 1814 when a young Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841) copied a Chinese Landscape and inscribed on it "Tiesou Ying (Lan Ying) imitating Huang Dachi (Gongwang)'s brush-method in his

Tianchi

chibitu (Heavenly Stone Pond)," he did not realise the full visual or art historical ramifications of the statement, "I have made a copy of a study of the late-Ming master Lan Ying's interpretation of the style of the Yuan master Huang Gongwang."

In Japan, as we see in Gyokushu's remarks at the beginning of this study (p. xviii), narrative interest and poetic association were of prime importance, while brushwork references to past masters remained largely irrelevant.

In the Tangdai statement (p. xvii), on the other hand, essentials of good brushwork are spelled out: suppleness within firmness, and the natural, that is, unforced, release and withdrawal of energy in stroke entrances and exits.

Brushwork

must "use the tip of the brush, zhongfeng, and yet not necessarily be upright." What Tangdai meant by a

zhongfeng yongbi

(centered brush-wielding) that did not involve an "iron wire"

or even a seal-script-like line is balanced and centred brushwork, brushwork that may be achieved with the brush held

aslant: only the brush tip must remain in the center of the stroke and thus contain the center of gravity within it, to create

brushwork of substance and inner balance. When the belly of

the brush is used in lieu of the tip, Tangdai points out, flatness

and harshness result; the brushwork appears wooden and loses

the quality of roundness and vitality, yuanyun. Tangdai identifies the brush qualities in which his teacher Wang Yuanqi

excelled and to which orthodox painting aspired.

Significantly,

neither writer discusses compositional variety, fresh uses of color and inkwash, new subjects or motifs, or emotionality.

In

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this sense they represent the inbred wenren view that had been constricting the development of Chinese painting since the Yuan period.⁹³

Gao Qipei's finger painting provided a new approach to theme, composition, and technique. When using fingers and fingernails, however, the effects demanded by Tangdai, which only the soft, pliant, and absorbent fur-tipped brush can create, must necessarily be forfeited. The fingernail is hard as a stylus; the effects of split nails are decidedly hard and flat. However, Gao's aims are not concerned with brushwork or inkplay but with pictorial values and expressive freshness, as is evident from surviving works. The pervading influence of an idealist ethos in China is demonstrated by Gao's text, which speaks in terms of xieyi, a term then holding lofty, spiritual as well as intellectual connotations. It disregards the fact that implements other than the brush had been tacitly but nevertheless firmly taboo since Yuan wenren critics Tang Hou, Xia Wenyan, and their successors. On the other hand, Gao's finger painting failed to achieve true liberation from the brush.

In reality his works are basically conceived in terms of lines (i.e., substitute brushstrokes), not areas or planes (i.e., color or inkwash). That is, his finger paintings were designed to reproduce effects of the brush, only without using the brush.

So deeply rooted was China's brush-fixation that all attempts at alternatives ended as short-lived experiments, usually

viewed as aberrations (see note 17). In the case of Gao Qipei and his biographer Gao Bing, the brush-supreme ethos was so ingrained and inescapable that it forms the basis from which they attempt to make their departures, in painting and writing alike, without, however, truly getting off the ground. The effect of finger painting in Japan, on the other hand, saw a markedly different development. It was not understood that Wang Yuanqi and Gao Qipei represented ideologically incompatible approaches.⁹⁴ On the contrary, Ikeno Taiga, the

93. For a fuller discussion on idealist brushwork values and techniques, see my forthcoming book on Wang Jiqian.

94. The implicit supremacy of brushwork, that is, top-notch brushwork, was at the heart of statements on excellence by idealist painters. It was too basic to have demanded verbalizing. Tangdai, a Manchu who had gained access to the inner sanctum of idealist painting secrets, was among the first to reveal these principles on brushwielding (quoted on page xvii). To Wang Yuanqi, the quintessential wenren with the most admired achievement in

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major creative force in nationalizing the new wenren mode, enthusiastically incorporated finger painting and many of its effects into his own works. Gyokushii's definition of nanshufga emphasizes emotive qualities and the importance of being

transported to distant scenes, stressing expressive rendering and thematic content. In this respect Chinese finger-paintings struck a responsive chord in Japan, as they rarely referred to the Four Yuan Masters but tended to focus on poetic themes like flowers and birds, figures and boats, as Gao's charming albums⁹⁵ amply demonstrate. Moreover, certain features avoided in Chinese idealist painting but often encountered in finger painting, frequently appear in representative nanga. These include rough, scratchy effects made with dry ink, blunted lines, split stroke-ends, and the inundated effect of palm-washed surfaces. In nanga they often incorporate the pooling of additional ink or pigment derived from Rinpa's tarashikomi device.⁹⁶ Finger painting continued to be practiced sporadically into the next century by artists such as Tani Buncho (1763-1840), who discusses finger painting in his *Buncho gadan* (1811), Nakamura H6chii (fl. late eighteenth to early nineteenth century), whose finger paintings are still extant, and Nakagawa Rosetsu (1793-1852) (Tanaka 1972, 82).⁹⁷ But it never became a brushwork of his age, the idea of smearing on paper with inky, split fingernails must have been contemptible and repugnant. This surmise is voiced also by such contemporary Japanese scholars as Tanaka Kisaku, who observes that "In our country this practice never developed beyond its infancy, as most examples of finger painting were done only with the finger tip and without the nails.... It seems that our countrymen with their fetish for cleanliness were satisfied with this extent of the experiment [and content to go no further]" (Tanaka 1972, 83). Under a Manchu Court, with Manchu finger painters in the social limelight, there was little a

Chinese could, or did, say. A good deal of insight into this ethos is

recorded in J. Stanley-Baker *Huayulu*, op cit.

95. For illustration of the delightful landscape album in Holland, see *Treasures from the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam* 1985, 157. For Gao's flower-andbird style, see the album in the Osaka Municipal Museum, published in *Siren* 1958, v. 6, and Suzuki 1982, under various collections.

96. Taiga often used the wet, pooled effect, both in brush-painted works like the *Twelve Views of Mount Fuji* and in finger paintings like *Grapes* (20c).

97. For Rosetsu's finger painting, see a drunken rendition of the Tang poet Li

Bo *Gazing at the Cart*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 131 x 55.5 cm in the

Iwamoto Takamori (Toshi) Collection, Hyogo. Tanaka cites a two-panel

screen painting by Rosetsu with figures, collection of the Sodoji in Kinan

(Tanaka 1972, 82).

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major activity, remaining rather as a curiosity. Gao Bing's treatise on finger painting was issued in a Japanese edition as

late as the 1850s, testifying to continued, if perhaps more theoretical, interest in the genre. While not actually engaged in

finger painting, and certainly not in the complex methods described in the text, the visual effects of finger painting that

allude to spontaneity and emotive expressiveness did not escape nanga artists and were readily incorporated even into brush-made paintings. They are seen in particular in many works of Buson, who was not known ever to have used his

fingers for painting.⁹⁸

Significant influence on mainstream nanga from the expressive and technical innovations of Chinese heterodox painting is indisputable. Transmission to Japan of late-Ming Suzhou idealist painting has been demonstrated by James Cahill

in his pioneering study in a Western language. It thus remains

to investigate the formative role of heterodox styles in nanga,

and finger painting will be examined as a factor in the formulation of Taiga's wet monochrome style.

The author of the *Zhitou huashuo* (1771),⁹⁹ Gao Bing (hao Zegong, fl. 1750s-1770s), was the grandson of Gao Qipei's

brother. Writing nearly thirty years after the artist's death, Bing projects a familiarity with his methods indicative of firsthand knowledge and, we may note, a pseudo-orthodox stance.

Citing a colophon his father had inscribed on a Gao Qipei screen, Bing writes:

Using his fingers he was able to dispense with the brush. The essence of what the brush failed to convey, his finger was able to transmit; but what the finger

⁹⁸. Buson's celebrated *Gabi rochdzu* (Top of Mt Emei), handscroll, ink and

colors on paper, height 28.9 cm, ex Mayuyama Collection, Tokyo, published in Cahill 1972, pi. 28, was not finger

painted but brush painted,

probably with drunken abandon. Although painted with a brush, this work

has all the wild effects of smearing with a wet palm and fingers (Cahill

1972, 64-67). The rough, withered effects in wintry trees or distant mountains, which in Gao Qipei paintings are done with a split nail (used like a

traditional Western nib), can be seen in Buson's uses of a dry brush and

parched ink, which create the spindly, brittle lines that we see in his many

wintry tree branches or distant mountain contour lines.

⁹⁹. For a translation of the entire text, see the catalog of the forthcoming

exhibition on finger painting organized by Dr. Klaas Ruitenbeck of the

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could achieve, the brush (of others) failed to match. The brush excels primarily in fine workmanship whereas fingers express the spirit (xieyi). (Gao 1771, 37-38)

The author reverses traditional orthodox views in associating the brush with artisans, while fingers are assigned to inspired artists. The mode of production, however, soon reveals a methodical if not mechanistic approach: He ground ink on the previous day and did everything between the ninth hour in the morning and seventh in the evening. Two sessions a month thus yielded a hundred works, a thousand in one year. From his youth to his seventies [he created] at least fifty to sixty thousand works. None of the ancients could match this. His paintings spread over all the empire. Thus there was no one who did not know and respect his name. When inspired, he might paint three or five fans, one or two scrolls, an album (either complete or only three to five leaves), all this aside from large works. The sum total [of his production] cannot be estimated. (Gao 1771, 39)

From a strictly idealist point of view, it was not necessarily an admirable trait to be either speedy or so prolific in one's work. One is reminded of the traditional admiration for the artist who was said to require "ten days to paint a stream, five for a rock." ¹⁰⁰ More deserving of praise, perhaps, is Gao's innovative spirit, which indeed captured the imagination of Japanese collectors and painters. Here, doubtless, lies the artist's real merit:

Painters since the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming all used the lower portion of the painting as host and the upper as guest, with the host for near-distance and the guest for far-distance. They painted rocks, trees, loo. The great Tang poet Du Fu (712-70) presented the painter Wang Zai (eighth-ninth century) with a poem of admiration that has since become a standard: Taking ten days to paint a stream and five days to paint a rock, / and only when he can work without being hurried, / will Wang Zai be willing to leave an original trace [of his work]. (Modified from Bush and Shih: 69, 180. See also ZGHLLB 1957, 590.)

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and houses in the foreground at the bottom and sandy beaches or distant peaks in the upper background. Great and famous artists or not, no one escaped this formula.... But among great-uncle's ten thousand finger and brush paintings there is not a single one that follows this (stereotypical) formula. For everything he painted came from personal experience [of roaming] among real mountains and streams, hence no two of his paintings are alike.... And yet there are some painters who tell others, "Master Gao is my teacher." What sort of person do they imagine is [so easily] fooled? (Gao 1771, 40-41)

Citing Gao Qipei's broad range and virtues, the author ascribes to Gao the historical weight of past masters, then considered of both orthodox and nonorthodox lineages:

There are those who value simplicity and lightness for colors in painting like Youcheng [Wang Wei] and Yunlin [Ni Zan]. There are those who value the intricate and

seductive such as the elder and younger Generals Li, and Shizhou [Qiu Ying]. Those who emphasize weightiness [and grandeur] include Jing [Hao] and Guan [Tong], Dong [Yuan], Ju[-ran], Zhonggui [Wu Zhen], and Ziji [Huang Gongwang]. Those who loved the bizarre include Bada shanren. [But] the paintings by great-uncle encompass [all these attributes, including] sparse clarity, exotic freshness, rich sumptuous coloring, and light pale hues. There is no style or expression he did not command, and yet his spiritual essence resides beyond [mere] ink and finger. (Gao 1771, 44)

Gao Bing's filial piety speaks louder than reason here. For specific advice on various aspects of finger painting we find the following:

On the deployment of the various fingers. When painting small human figures, flowers, and birds, use the little finger and the fourth finger in conjunction. When painting a large work, use both together as one. Some painters use a single finger for large pictures but can never achieve any semblance even if they wear out the inkstone. When painting flowing clouds and water,

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use three fingers (in parallel); then, even though the beginning [of the wash-strokes] may appear untidy, the effect will be clear, without the fault of stagnancy, and save one from the bother of minute decoration. I have a small album (by Qipei) where the thumb is used in an outward brushing motion. It is marvellous indeed. (Gao 1771, 41)

Or:

Fingernails should not be too long for then they hinder the finger. Nor should they be too bald, when they are useless to the finger. Great-uncle used his fingernail when rendering things with fine details such as

smaller human figures, flowers, and birds. After a few paintings the nail becomes dull. Then, when painting splashed-ink landscapes, screens, large figures, dragons, and tigers, he would utilize the nail just as it was about to become dull but not yet too blunt, for dotting the eyes. Then the fleshy part became the eyes and the nail the socket. Or, with the fleshy part for the eyeball, the nail became the eyelashes. When both eyes were done, the fullness of [lifelike] spirit emerged complete. (Gao 1771, 43)

And:

When painting large willows, use two fingers [jointly], sweeping briskly, following [the willow's] natural principle in heavy or light [wrist pressure], dark or pale [inktones], but without adding or subtracting one hair [from proper balance]. But for small, new, or withered willow, use only the fingernail, for its speed is like the wind and its fineness like hair; its firmness is like steel and its sharpness a needle.... Such qualities cannot be achieved with a brush. This is all the more true of orchid painting. That is why it is easier to do it on fine-silked album leaves, but these are very rare. These days I see finger-painted drooping willow by others where the entire paper is filled with [ugly] long lines that are truly frightening. This is what is meant by "the ancients lacked the courage of the moderns." (Gao 1771, 49)

And:

Moss dots are done with the fourth and little finger. This will supply an abundance of flavor for [contrasting] live and wilted branches. Use three or even five

fingers together! Why be constrained? When doing a large mossy and scrubby patch, use three fingers together, even rubbing with the knuckles. Then dark and light,

thick and pale will mix naturally. (Gao 1771, 50)

Gao recommends unsized paper, whose delicate nature precludes overlaying of strokes. Thus shading-strokes in ink or

pigments must be strong and definitive. Modeling strokes of fine lines are difficult to draw and should be confined to "hemp-fiber, lotus leaf, large and small axe strokes." Note the mixing of wenren and professional brush-modes.

Brushwork aesthetics had become so entrenched by the eighteenth century as to have become second nature.

People

had forgotten that cunfa terminology described particular effects achieved by specific brushwielding maneuvers related to

properties unique to the pliant but firm fur-tipped brush.

On

the other hand, for sized surfaces as found in albums, fans, or

silk paintings it is possible, and advantageous, to use light colors and pale ink; and then, of course, no stroke is too difficult. Thus, Gao claims that "what can be done with the finger

can hardly be matched by any brush" (Gao 1772, 42).

It is clear from the above that this potential liberation from wenrenhua supremacy was in effect entirely conditioned

and dominated by brushwork aesthetics, and action on the painting surface was perceived as linear movement.

Significantly, Gao's advice focuses on "brush method," which was

achieved by various finger and fingernail combinations. He did not discard brush-method in favor of entirely new handmethods or finger-methods and open artistic processes to hitherto untried avenues of expression. There

is no discussion of

spattered-ink techniques, of smearing colors with the hands,

or other more radical alternatives that eliminate linework altogether. Gao Qipei's inkwash method, the author

says, was largely inspired by Wu Zhen, an artist

immortalized for his firm and remarkably weighted brushwork, one

that was highly supple but decidedly linear.

There is, however brief, one interesting entry on ink.

And this is entirely in keeping with Shimada's definition of

the
yipin manner. Here Gao enunciates values that conflict with
the linear brushwork aesthetic being promulgated so far:

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Ink must be used in its five hues, and its deployment must show no traces (i.e., there must be no distinct boundaries; outline and modeling must be fused in a painterly manner) [*italics mine-J.S-B*]. This is a wonderful skill. Finger(-painted) ink (wash) shows no traces because it is generated entirely by nature, and therefore surpasses the brush. (Gao 1771, 43)

The italicized sentence is of Tang vintage. It was standard practice to legitimize ideas by prefacing them with revered quotes from the ancients. From extant works ascribed to Gao, however, most exhibit linear movements, and few examples "show no traces" of the implement. Gao's imagery was

confined throughout to the brush-generated, linear vocabulary

of flowers and landscapes done with bounded brushwork: dots

and strokes. He did not put a wet palm down and discover the

wet misty landscapes seen commonly in late twentieth-century

Chinese painting with pooled inkwash, where lines play little

or no role. I wish to stress the profoundly restrictive effect that

the wenrenhua aesthetic had exerted on Chinese painting since Zhao Mengfu, when free inkplay associated with Tang experiments and with Mi Fu and Su Shi (amorphous and relatively free of linear brushwork) had been tacitly eschewed in

favor of studious, gentlemanly calligrapher's brushwork. The

type of wet inkwash painting associated with the late Ming artist Xu Wei or with the twentieth-century master Zhang Daiqian could not have stirred even in Gao's dreams. In contrast to China, however, the situation in Japan had been on the

whole one of wet, nonlinear and painterly processes, processes

that had been current since the Song (Heian).

While most of the techniques recorded in Zhitou huashuo were undoubtedly transmitted to Japan, the transmission evidently took place thirty-odd years before Gao's manual was

first published. This merits some enquiry. Heterodox brush practices in general and finger painting in particular are considered here in terms of their study by Taiga, founder of the

japanized idealist genre. Aside from seventeenth-century heterodox practices, Taiga was familiar with the Rinpa tradition

and with older forms of Chinese yipin (heterodox practices), which in Japan had undergone considerable development by

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the sixteenth century. These and Japan's own Rinpa tradition

may be regarded as major sources in the formation of Taiga's

distinctive and widely emulated ink monochrome style.

Among early Japanese followers of finger painting were Yanagisawa Kien (or Ryfi Riky6), Ikeno Taiga, and a shortlived Nagasaki painter Kurokawa Kigyoku (1732-56), from whom

few works survive. While the precise origin of finger painting in Japan remains an enigma, Tanaka Kisaku raises the possibility of direct transmission via visiting Chinese

painters in his enlightening investigations of early nanga (Tanaka 1972, 66 - 85).

Among the earliest Japanese records of finger painting is a kanshi (Chinese-style poem) written by Yanada Zeigan (1652-1757), Confucianist friend of Yanagisawa Kien, called On Viewing Koriyama Yanagi K6bi (Kien) Finger Painting Bamboo:

Using his fingers like a brush, he works at ink bamboo.
Like lightning, his hand flips back and forth,
With index and third fingers flying like shuttles.
In an instant [he has] created splendid bamboo. (6c)
(Tanaka 1972, 81)

The collected writings of Yanada Zeigan were published sometime between 1741 and 1750 (Tanaka 1972, 81). In 1750, the

Confucian scholar-painter Gion Nankai (1676-1751) published his writings, in which he referred to Taiga's finger painting as follows:

I had long heard of Taiga's name and wished to meet him. This year he came from Kyoto and visited me... The minute I saw him I knew he was not [an artist] of the common [order]. When I watched him do finger painting I was doubly astonished. [In such paintings] he does not use the brush but dips his fingertips into ink and dribbles [across the paper] this way and that, following his inspiration. Flowers, grasses and birds, human figures, bamboo, and trees are all created in one sweep with great faithfulness and elegance. Such indeed is the accomplishment of an age. (Tanaka 1972, 79)

forth "like a brush," the younger Taiga "dribbled" in a wet, brushless manner, representing a freer interpretation of the mode. As Taiga had studied painting with Kien in his teens, from 1738 to 1741, it is highly likely that he also learned finger

painting from Kien. Shirai Kayō (fl. 1830-60), among others, recounts a more theoretical aspect of Kien's tuition in Gajo yoryaku (Important Points on Painting, 1831):

When Kien went into Kyoto and saw Ike Kashō's painting, he said, "[He has] still not penetrated the essence of the ancients," and thereupon produced model copybooks (tehon) of paintings by Yuan and Ming masters for his instruction, from which time Kashō's skills greatly improved. (Sakazaki 1927, 1509)

But it is also reasonable to assume that Kien made actual demonstrations of techniques in finger painting. The earliest

of Taiga's extant finger paintings dates from his twenties, that

is, the late 1740s. Gao Qipei died in 1734, by which time his popularity at court had inspired many followers. This is supported by the fact that his nephew Zhu Lunhan and another

northerner, Gao Fenghan from Shandong Province, also emerged as finger painters, and that the finger painting manual

was published more than thirty years after Qipei's death, in 1771. There can be no doubt of the brief and intense if unorthodox interest in finger painting in China and Japan during the

eighteenth century, and it seems reasonable to suppose that one or more Chinese painters conversant with the art had visited Japan in the 1730s to early 1740s. It would otherwise be

most difficult to explain the rapid rise of finger painting in Japan, thirty years prior to the manual's publication in China

and about a century before its Japanese edition. Meanwhile, not one of the eighteenth-century Chinese followers of the orthodox school of the Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun is known to

have practiced finger painting. This should underscore the orthodoxy's tacit contempt for this nonbrush upstart of a painting technique.

Finger painting cannot be learned merely by looking at

finished examples. It is even difficult to do with textbook in hand. For the fastidious Japanese to arrive at the mastery

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of this craft the most logical avenue would have been that of direct and live transmission from a Chinese practitioner in Japan. Yanagisawa Kien had vehemently denounced current decadence in Kano painting, and in his notorious *Hitorine* (written at age twenty-one) he had advocated Chinese learning. Finger painting is not mentioned in the book, providing evidence that the techniques were not yet known in 1724, when *Hitorine* was first published. Yanada Zeigan's record of Kien's finger painting twenty years later provides secure evidence of what must surely have been in Japan one of the first exercises of its kind (Tanaka 1972, 79-81). The transmission may thus be placed between 1724 and 1741. Now let us examine a Chinese finger painting by a man who was recorded to have taught Chinese painting in Nagasaki between 1731 and 1733. A painting of no small interest, *Prunus in Moonlight* (20a), from the Yabumoto Collection, provides a unique example by a Zhe School artist in Nagasaki, Shen Quan (hao Nanping, J. Chin Nanpin),¹⁰¹ whose paintings are densely colorful scenes of animals and flowers done in the manner of professional painting. Nearly three feet in height, the painting is on silk, a medium conducive to fine fingernail work, accord¹⁰¹. There would seem to be virtually no mention of Shen Quan in Chinese sources. A rare contemporary account preserved in a preface on painting in Shen Deqianji is quoted in Tani Bunchō's *Buncho gadan* (Talks on

Painting, A Miscellany on Art). The entry entitled "Chin Nanpin" contains Shen Deqian's eulogy "presented to our family's Nanping," which may be translated as follows:
Old Man Nanping of our family does life-sketching, attaining the strange and marvellous,
Soaring and plunging, capturing the soul of animal or plant life.
Whenever he sits at ease in a loosened garment, he [flourishes his brush,] leaping and prancing with inspiration,
master of his heart. There is no one who can approach him [in excellence].
Wherever the brush reaches, the spirit has already arrived; just as the brush is about to be flung down the picture is already finished.
You express the hoary spirit of heaven, moving the roomful of viewers to change their expression and cry "This is man's work in imitation of Heaven's Creation."
Your name fills China, overflowing to islands in the oceans. To the land of Japan, which is east of east, you are dispatched,
being conversant with the currencies and writing.

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ing to Gao Bing. Much of the painting surface is discreetly washed in light blue ink, allowing the moon, in reserved silk, to appear the brighter. The earth, tree trunk, and branches appear to have been lightly washed over, and certain areas are covered with repeated layers of ink, from a very wet, light grey to a dry, thick black. In the two lower branches grey wash
Your fairy boat breaks the waves as if flying in the sky.
You establish a painting school amid a panoply of

ceremonials,

As the red sun hangs on a branch of the Fusang (Japan) tree.
Painting the bleak wilderness beyond China's realm, you've
dreamt for three years of returning home.

[As you prepare to return from] ten thousand li as if riding
a white phoenix, [they bring] sharkskin treasures and
[serve] vegetarian feasts (? huozhai) filling the platter.

Wearing cotton garments [they] bow and bid farewell in
droves.

On the return trip you meet an eccentric, a worrisome one
bearing pain, his gold all spent-from whence had he
come?

Like [the Han emissary] Lu Jia who endured the emptiness
in

his heart till reunited with wife and children, when all
would be happy;

When as of old, [there were, awaiting him,] the rush-mat
door,

the humble water weeds and turnips in the yard.

For old man Nanping, many moons have passed. But while
painting, you fear no frosting of your locks.

The year before last you gave me a hanging scroll, Nine
Lions, and the handscroll, Deer Among the Cedar, [for
which] I offer in return this hymn of praise.

Long practiced in intoning poetry, I share your old age and
am of one weary heart with you.

Transporting the tranquil spirit that you hold in your breast,
like a guest I follow you onto the boat to the ocean.

Watching you spatter ink to paint the image of the sea is like
listening to waves of qin music. (Buncho gadan: 262-63)

According to Nagasaki Jitsuroku, the "Actual Records" of
that port city,

Shen arrived in Nagasaki on the third day of the twelfth
month of 1731 on

vessel number thirty-seven, and he left Japan on the
eighteenth day of the

ninth month of 1733. This information is also cited in
Buncho gadan.

During the international symposium on Sino-Japanese
cultural interchange

held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in December
of 1979, I was

fortunate to meet Professor Oba Osamu of Kansai University
and Matsu'ura

Akira of the East-West Research Center, specialists in the

area who have been focusing on problems of trade and on the Nagasaki bugyō (magistrate) annals in their numerous studies (see bibliography). I was also fortunate to have access to Kimiya Yasuhiko's monumental opus, which has proven an invaluable basic reference.

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strokes are applied with fingers, the dark layer with the fingernail. The petals, facing in different directions and showing different stages of bloom, are outlined with the fingernail and left blank in the center. The effect is rather wet, emphasizing graded wash for misty effects. Shen's characteristic surface-adhering dots, ranged often in parallel rows, here ridge both the earth and the tree trunk. The relative complexity in layering and dotting are typical of Shen Quan who, like Gao Qipei, deployed "strokes" (with brush or fingernail) so as to be densely superimposed and mixed. This is in contrast to Japanese painters who proceed in a lateral fashion, laying down brush traces in a side-by-side manner in uncluttered imagery, preferring the clarity of one, at most two layers of ink wash or strokes. Shen's followers in Japan, including Buson, who had made close copies of Shen Quan's paintings, never reached (or sought) this stage of tapestrylike "brushwork" complexity. Shen Quan was in Nagasaki between late 1731 and 1733, and he exerted considerable influence on artistic circles there. The so-called Nagasaki School of flower-and-bird painting, a

colorful style with relatively fluid lines and dense dotting, originally evolved from Shen's style and later spread to many parts of Japan. Although it is not widely recorded that Shen Quan practiced finger painting, the Yabumoto painting is an important document. The inscription compares well with his better-known regular script (20d). Here the writing is more semicursive, but the angle and pressure of typical strokes, as well as the general configuration of the characters, are identical.¹⁰²

Prunus in Moonlight demonstrates finger techniques by a highly influential Chinese artist who taught painting in Nagasaki during the years 1731-33. While this particular painting

102. Involuntary habits of the writer that are identical in both paintings include the following: the intercharacter spacing; the slight upward tilt of horizontal axes; the predilection for contrasting wrist movement (up-and-down of the brushtip, creating greater contrasts in stroke-widths); the elongated water-radical; the squared-off last stroke of the surname Shen; the reduced, floating metal-radical of name Quan (with heavy final horizontal strokes in both elements); and the heavy top for the character xie, among many other traits.

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is not dated and may not have been done during these two years or even in Japan, it does prove that Shen Quan was a competent finger painter, and it is probable that he would not have refrained from exhibiting this extraordinary skill when instructing Japanese painters hungry for new techniques.

Shen Quan's activities in Japan provide us with a fairly secure locus during which direct, personal transmission of finger painting may have taken place between Shen and Nagasaki painters. At the time (1731-33), however, Nagasaki finger painter Kurokawa Kigyoku was just born; Kien was nearly thirty years old but a decade away from his own finger painting; Taiga, nearly ten, was not to use his fingers in painting for another ten years or so. The ten-year gap separating Shen Quan's visit and Kien's and Taiga's first finger paintings is difficult to explain without further evidence. We may suppose, perhaps, that there may have been either a student of Shen Quan, or another contemporary artist from among the many Chinese visitors arriving later at Nagasaki, who eventually instructed Kien in the techniques of finger painting.

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Chapter 2

Japanese Responses in the Eighteenth Century

Absorption and Transformation of Techniques

Japanese records abound with references to raihaku Shinjin (Qing people who came over by boat). No less than 121

Chinese

merchants known for painting had visited Nagasaki,

according to
Zoku Nagasaki gajin den (Addendum to Biographies of
Nagasaki
Painters). Here, however, brief studies are made only of the
two
most prominent visitors, Shen Quan and Yi Hai. With
brush-mode
and brushwielding as criteria, we may investigate the extent
and
nature of transformation by nanga artists of characteristic
Chinese
brush methods, or bifa.
Shen Quan and Buson. Shen Quan's colorful works survive
in great numbers; his style derives from late-Zhe School
flower-and-bird painting, tinged with traces of Western
realism. Although
possibly the founder of the popular Nagasaki School, whose
proponents spread all over Japan and established a major
branch in
Edo, his influence on nanga is limited. However, his style
does
play a significant role in the oeuvre of Yosa Buson (1716-83),
the
great haiku poet and painter. Buson's works in the Shen
Quan (or
Nagasaki) style, in their size and decorative character, were
usually commissioned pieces and not nanga even in its
Japanese definition. The following examines Shen Quan's
specific imprint on
Buson's professional style.
Eighteenth-century Japanese observers on the whole varied
in their estimation of "Chin Nanpin." In some quarters his
colorful works are praised as being "moist and fresh." The
Unkoku
School chronicler Sakurai Sekkan compares Shen with the
lateMing flower-and-bird painter Zhou Zhimian (fl. late
sixteenth
century), noting that Shen employed a "crab-claw stroke"
brush

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technique, and that his brushwork contained "the marrow of Yuan masters, being warm and moist."¹⁰³ On the other hand, early writers condemn imitations by his followers as "Island painting," "vulgar Chinese painting," and the like. The arch-conservative Hirazawa Kyokuzan decried even the works of Shen Quan, saying that he, Kyokuzan, had not bothered to look "to the West (China) since the Yuan dynasty" because "[Kano] Motonobu's landscapes never needed to cede to [those of the] Yuan and Ming." He judged Shen Quan's works to be "Island (provincial) painting" that were inferior even to European painting (Sakazaki 1927, 111 ff.).

Kuwayama Gyokushu, on the other hand, defends Shen Quan.¹⁰⁴ He wrote that while the Kano historian Ooka Shunboku may legitimately criticize Japanese followers of Dutch painting (which Shunboku considered mere "life-drawing"), Shen Quan's style derives from the tenth-century "Southern" master Xu Xi, famed for his "boneless" style of flower-and-bird painting. The "boneless" style eschewed the fastidious, fine-outline and fill technique and used the wet brush to create forms in single, broad strokes.

Gyokushui continues:
 [Unfortunately, Shen Quan] did not seek the colors of antiquity and merely sought resplendent opulence [or decorative effect]; therefore his forms lapse into inferior vulgarity. And when our native painters follow his manner, their works become increasingly saccharine and sink

so low into vulgarity that they resemble the manner of the Red Hairs (Dutchmen). (Sakazaki 1927, 121)

In his last and definitive work, *Kaiji higen* (1799), Gyokushf modified this earlier statement by noting, "Among 103. Sakurai Sekkan, *Gasoku* (Principles of Painting), in Sakazaki 1927, 88-89.

"Warm and moist, onjun," a term that in Chinese texts and contexts lacks equal import, is in Japanese texts more heavily weighted toward emotionality. This and other like terms document the development of a native critical vocabulary.

Sekkan's observations that Zhou used the "crab-claw stroke" or that Shen contained "the marrow of Yuan brushwork" are nevertheless uninformed. But given the lack of understanding in Japan of the Li-Guo School "crab claw" examples, and the lack of exposure to genuine Yuan idealist works, such errors in judgment do not reflect adversely on Sekkan's connoisseurship.

104. Gyokushu's association with Taiga influenced his perception in such a way as to enable him to see beyond the surface appearance of Chinese paintings, and to adduce from them notions of quality, particularly that of *yipin* (J. *ippin*), the sublime, as well as an appreciation of the historical development of *yipin* in China. (It will be shown that his reconstruction of *yipin* lineages in China was,

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boat painters, (Shen) Nanping is first class. However, he belongs to the Northern School" (Sakazaki 1927,148). By 1799, Gyokushui had

clearly understood characteristics which Chinese critics considered germane to the Northern and Southern Schools. Let us now touch briefly on Shen Quan and Yosa Buson. In his own lifetime Buson was known as a haiku poet, but he was also an accomplished painter.¹⁰⁵ To what extent his activities were considered part of the *nanga* movement before his death is still unclear. In the *Heian Jinbutsu shi* (Who's Who of Kyoto) of 1768, when Buson was fifty-two, he was considered a master equal in rank to Maruyama Okyō (1733-95) and Takebe Ryōtai (1719-74). Okyō founded the prestigious school of Western-inspired decorative realism; Ryōtai was a haiku poet and a less-inspired painter of the eclectic Edo group (15c). In all his writings Gyokushū mentions Buson's name only once, when listing him among *nanga* painters. By then Buson had already died. The most sublime and thoroughly nationalized works in Buson's idealist style (as distinct from *haiga* or academic works) date from his last decade, that is, toward the end of Taiga's life and thereafter. Compared with Taiga, whose works in academic styles comprise a mere fraction of his oeuvre, Buson's works consist of a notable number of often very large works in the academic manner, in which Shen Quan's input is of fundamental importance. Shen Quan's typical brushwielding is seen in *Wild Horses* (21a). On close examination, the brushwork is notably decorative in function, where texturing dots are deployed in different tonal values, gently stippled in superimposed, contouring layers along the rock's irregular and knobby outcroppings, tapering off toward the middle of the mass for dramatic highlight. The

darkening clusters are not so descriptive as they are decorative and provide a pleasant distribution of tonal contrasts throughout the painting surface. However, they also emerge next to pictorial elements such as animals, clumps of grass, and trees, serving both as texture and to reinforce the outer perimeters. The Shen Quan mode features in paintings of Buson's late forties and early fifties and often comprises wild horses, deer, and other animals in landscape settings. while logical, contrary to actual developments in China where a preference for linear styles virtually replaced the older wetter styles that relied more on wash).

105. For Buson, see Keene 1978, Ebara 1948, Ebara and Shimizu 1957, Zolbrod 1982, and French et al. 1974, among others.

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In a screen painting with a very similar motif (21b), Buson adopted the dense grouping of moss dots, ranging them close to the edges of motifs. He also devoted considerable energy to the fine hairs of animals. Furthermore, he adopted Shen Quan's highlighted (blank) areas in the center of the forms. But there is a notable difference. Buson rejected (as Taiga had with Yi Hai) the interweaving of brushstrokes into tapestrylike textures (where

brushtip activities effectively focus downward, inward, perpendicular to, and with the energy charging through, the surface).

Instead, like most Japanese painters, Buson favored a lateral spreading of brushwork. Each of the several "layers" of activities is perceived as spreading across the painting surface and becomes a separate endeavor: a layer of gray modeling strokes for the rock is overlaid with one of dark moss dots, then washed with a layer of light inkwash, revealing here and there a layer of the bare silk surface. In Buson's work, which is representative of Japanese preferences as a whole, brushstrokes tend not to interweave; each "layer" is applied (and perceived) separately, laterally, and each trace of the brush strives for clarity and pictorial meaning. The thinning out of layers is particularly notable in the treatment of trees and contours. Such an attitude is usually reserved for a single-layer exercise. It is possible to trace Buson's utilization of the Shen Quan brush-manner in many works, and this may have affected opinion among his contemporaries, who saw Buson as a painter of professional, Zhe-style works associated with what eventually became known as the Nagasaki School. This too may explain why his name was not immediately associated with Taiga's. Shen Quan's influence is seen in Buson's professional large screens (usually commissioned by wealthy patrons) but does not emerge in the later works, which became truly idealist nanga in style, with more Wu School influence (see Cahill 1967,1982). Buson's debt to Taiga becomes manifest toward the end of the latter's life, especially in their joint album, Ten Conveniences and Ten Benefits

(Juben jugi). In relation to the four categories of Chinese idealist painting, Buson's nanga works belong largely to the first, the colored-poetic landscapes, and not to the yipin heterodox style. His ink monochrome works belong largely to a uniquely Japanese, abbreviated genre called haiga.¹⁻⁶ He has left few ink plays and few 106. Haiku poetry is noted for capturing a world of meaning in the extreme brevity of seventeen syllables. In haiga paintings of haiku, Buson matches his haiku

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ink-philosophical landscapes in the more abstract (Four Wang) style. Furthermore, Buson was not known to have painted with his fingers, but many of his poetic brush-painted landscapes have either the coarse scrubby effect or the luminous washy effect characteristic of finger painting.¹⁰⁷ The high incidence of brush effects reminiscent of finger painting indicates visual acquaintance with the genre, which is not surprising considering its widespread fame in Kyoto and Edo and its use by one of Buson's chief models, Shen Quan, who himself had been an expert. Taiga's Manpukuji Murals: Iconography Versus Style. The twenty-nine sliding-door fusuma-e panels, which Taiga painted in the Higashi h6j6 (the abbot's Eastern Residence) in Manpukuji sometime between 1770 and 1772,¹⁰⁸ offer an occasion for us to

examine some distinct facets of the assimilation process.

These

include aspects such as format, colors and medium, and compositional or iconographic fidelity, where the content, and in particular the iconographical details as well as the sequence in the narration, are followed in the Japanese version. They also include morphological fidelity where the interrelationships of the various verses with illustrations of equal sketchiness, using a minimum of smooth strokes in cartoonlike ink drawings. They consist usually of a figure or two engaged in some action, with a minimum of contextual referents such as a stool, a basket, or an animal. Haiga paintings are usually in ink monochrome. There is no equivalent for haiga in Chinese painting, nor documentation of a tradition of such brevity or sketchiness.

107. See note 98.

108. Sasaki J6hei argues that since the repairs of the abbot's Eastern Residence in

1772 entailed extensive reconstruction, Taiga must have painted the sliding-door panels by that date, as 1772 was the year of the repair project's completion.

From certain protocol documents dated 1770 that outline the procedure for serving guests in the various rooms of the abbot's residence, it is implied that the

fusuma-e were at the time not yet in place. Sasaki hence provides a strong argument for Taiga's having painted the sliding-door panels sometime between

1770 and 1772. This argument puts the date of execution forward from the

commonly assumed date of 1764 by six to eight years. The original hypothesis for

1764 as the date for Taiga's painting is based on the fact that in the ninth month

of that year his old friend, the bamboo-painting Dapeng, retired as abbot of

Manpukuji. Based on the more recent researches into building records, Sasaki

suggests that instead of forty-two years of age, Taiga was

forty-eight to fifty years old when he created the giant finger painting murals (Sasaki 1980a). The later date is particularly persuasive from the viewpoint of Taiga's artistic development, as the Manpukuji fusuma-e are masterful in composition and lack the air of slight indecision that marks his more youthful works.

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motifs in the model are preserved in the Japanese version. More technical aspects include ways of handling the brushwork that are basic to the model and which may have been incorporated in Japan into new and different images, forming an intrinsic, internal part of a transformed, japanized repertoire. We shall see in this case how Taiga has responded differently to the different aspects. In 1979 I showed that a brush-painted handscroll of Five Hundred Arhats ascribed to fourteenth-century painter Wang Zhenpeng had served as Taiga's model only in subject matter during the latter's work on the abbot's residence (J. Stanley-Baker 1985). Sasaki J6hei's detailed study of the two works has further confirmed my assessment (Sasaki 1980, 103-20). Of a total of 108 figures, Sasaki identified eighty-eight that originate from the Chinese handscroll, which to him demonstrate the handscroll's major impact on Taiga's work. Sasaki also enumerates differences

in composition and execution and identifies the three implements used in the painting: fingers and fingernails, brush, and paper twists, contrasting their rough and irregular quality with the model's fluency of line, and its complex and pliant changes in direction. In Sasaki's reconstruction, eight panels occupy the central or Founder's Room where the two groups of arhats in procession (by land proceeding from the east, and over the sea proceeding from the west) indicate in Taiga's original schema a convergence toward the northern central panels. Here Sasaki posits the existence of six panels (now lost) from the north side, which comprised the center of the panorama, corresponding to the central section of the handscroll, "Revering the Guanyin," in which the bodhisattva receives processions of arhats from east and west. Such a scheme accounts for the two processions of arhats, one facing left, and one facing right, as they converge toward their northern destination, the Guanyin (Kannon). Taiga's figure-grouping along a diagonal progression, in contrast to the Chinese scroll's horizontal progression, Sasaki argues, functions as a dynamic device that is compositionally mandatory in fusuma-e arrangements, where the east and west walls are compositionally linked to the north wall. In this context the following comments seem appropriate. For the study of stylistic selection, assimilation, and transformation, a distinction must be maintained between iconography-that is, motifs or compositional schema that comprise extrinsic fea

tures-and stylistic elements, including brush-idioms, brushwielding, and ink usage, which are intrinsic. The stylistic features, once incorporated, become part of the artist's personal mode; they find expression in compositions that can be unrelated to the model in extrinsic aspects, such as motif or compositional schemata. Extrinsic elements can (and in iconography must) be faithfully reproduced, while intrinsic features affect physiological responses and are not always conducive to imitation. The two issues have often been confused.

In the detail (22b) from the second panel on the west wall, Taiga has shown iconographic fidelity to at least three or four figures in the reproduced section of the original handscroll (22a).

Specifically, they include the monk releasing a heavenly pavilion from a bottle and another monk with flowing sleeves holding a squat round jar behind his head.¹⁰⁹ More radically transformed in configuration is the monk holding a ruyi scepter,¹¹⁰ and the exotic, bearded figure with curly hair tied down with a band.¹¹¹

Other figures in Taiga's group, in particular the three-faced, six-armed celestial messenger riding the wheel, can be found in other sections of the scroll. This example should make abundantly clear, however, that Taiga has remained impervious to any of the model's intrinsic, stylistic features. The fine, tenuous, even limning of the Chinese work-the shading, the dense application of the brushwork, the meticulous attention to detail, and the orderliness of the waves drawn in parallel where lines and void occupy

even widths-are nowhere present in Taiga's version. Instead, Taiga's figures recall his own earlier Arhats (Kurimoto 1960, 231), formerly in the Osuga Collection, where already a strong personal stamp can be seen. Taiga's peculiar manner of rendering frontal views of bulbous noses, emphasizing both the vertical lines and the broad base, is present in both works, as is the exaggerated side view. In spatial organization, the figures in the Manpukuji fusuma-e proceed along a diagonal axis in dense and dynamic groups. The lively groups interrelate in the procession, and move along the log. He dances atop a galloping demon in the scroll and reveals only his head and arms in the screen. no. The monk holding a ruyi scepter is furthest right in the scroll, and lower left in the fusuma-e. ill. In Taiga's work, he holds a long bottle and is seen beckoning to the right, to someone out of range. In the scroll, he wears a mantle with deeply shaded folds and chats with a neighbor to the left.

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picture surface as organic units. This is quite distinct from the cool, sparse grouping seen in the Chinese scroll. The latter lacks by

comparison the element of psychological linkage so intense in the Japanese work. Taiga's drapery fold-lines differ from the handscroll's consistent fine-line baimiao brushwork and exhibit diverse manners, sometimes incorporating the slightly angular entering strokes of the Chen Xian tradition, often doubling up in light and dark strokes, but usually free, lively, and original. The diagonal organization of Taiga's space is typical of his oeuvre. In particular, Taiga's panels on the eastern, "Arhats on Land" portion of the entire panoramic composition recall the construction of his own Lanting screen (Kurimoto 1960, 241-1), where rock and tree groups are ranged along a gentle S-curved stream; here the figures range along a similar horizontal S-curved space. In short, although Taiga reproduced some of the iconological features of the Chinese handscroll, his categorical rejection of the model's motif detail, and especially its internal, stylistic features, is indisputable. Rather than on his own initiative, it is most probable that Taiga produced Five Hundred Arhats on order.¹¹² The handscroll had been a prized possession of the founder, Yinyuan, whose long inscription at the end recounts some of its history.¹¹³ It is not unreasonable to suggest that a work so treasured made a natural choice for the decoration of the Founder's Room in the abbot's residence, not only because of its iconological content but particularly because of its association with the founder, Yinyuan. Working to order with specific instructions, Taiga differed from his Muromachi predecessors in one significant respect. Many

medieval masters were obliged to replicate the Southern Song and Yuan models' not only in extrinsic thematic content (as if it were iconographical), but in the masters' intrinsic stylistic elements as well. They had to adopt the Chinese styles. Thus works of the Eight Views were produced in the brush-manner of the Ma-Xia School as well as in the respective brush-modes of Muqi and Yujian.¹¹⁴ In the 112. Other fusuma-e connected with the same project include Waterfall (four panels), West Lake (eight panels), and Three Laughters at Tiger Stream (eight panels) (Kurimoto 1960, 514-18). 113. See note 60. 114. Considered respectively the regular, running, and draft styles in painting. For a discussion of the proliferation of Muromachi ink landscapes based on Southern Song models, see R. Stanley-Baker 1979.

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eighteenth century Taiga was able to retain stylistic freedom in his Five Hundred Arhats commission, and in so doing he revealed a remarkable degree of independence from his model's essential features.

Taiga and the Manjuin Albums. One may be inclined to suggest that since many of the Chinese works were of inferior quality, they were rejected by Japanese artists. Closer study reveals this not to be the case. The keen eye of Taiga picked

out
interesting facets from the new images no matter how
insipid and,
assaying their technical challenge or potential, worked out
his own
solutions. Here we shall examine some evidence of selection
and
transformation of Chinese features in some of the other
paintings
produced for the abbot's Eastern Residence, where no
specific
model appears to have been decreed. Late-Ming Wu School
features in the Manjiuin albums, Shuhua chanceye, such as
modeling
strokes, cunfa, as well as basic motif configurations, have
been
freely incorporated into Taiga's own, representative oeuvre.
In the second of a four-panel West Lake fusuma-e for the Ue
no Ma (northeastern corner room), the background
mountains are
modeled variously with broad wash-strokes and dark,
densely
plied long dots contrasted with those of a paler hue; in the
center
of the panel an angular hill is modeled with oblique strokes
of dark
wet ink, and to its left two relatively complex groups of peaks
rise
from the mist. These peaks consist of stacked, slightly
angular
"alum heads" sprinkled with dots above the contour lines
and left
reserved in highlight at the top and modeled with wet
strokes
beneath. A distinctive feature is the contour, which has
become a
boldly undulating line. This distinctive feature, as well as the
densely packed, short filler strokes, may be found in the fan
paintings, like the one by Wen Boren (fl. mid-sixteenth
century,
23a) where the angular foreground rocks with repeated,
squared
off contour lines, are filled with both strokes and dots. It is
colorfully reinterpreted in the West Lake fusuma-e (23c).
Taiga's astonishing stylistic achievements include a fresh

and lively pointillism
with moss dots, foliage dots, and strokes of various
configurations
ranged in groups. They are blunt and tense but display a
sensitivity to texture and tonal gradation that is not possible
to transmit in

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printed manuals. The source can be found in the gold-foiled
fan

painting by Wen Boren, among others, of the Manjuin fan
albums

imported by the second abbot, Mu'an.

In his Manpukuji door panels Taiga demonstrates the
colorful effect of this simple technique of dots and strokes
within

geometric forms. The strong contouring of rocks-often
executed

in dark and angular lines that swell and diminish, the rock
texturing done in a combination of small dots, short slashes,
and washamply demonstrates Taiga's selection and
transformation. This is

not illustrated in manuals, and Taiga had to have modified
it from

actual Chinese works like the fan paintings. While Gion
Nankai

and Yanagisawa Kien drew directly from contemporary
Qing, that

is, post-Dong Qichang models, Taiga's colorist dotting
techniques,

like Sakaki Hyakusen's paintings before him,¹¹⁵ are here
traced to

imported late-Ming works by Wen Zhengming's followers,
represented in the fan paintings.

A Technical Note. It may be observed that China's
decorative

tradition in colorful anecdotal landscapes had its genesis in opaque mineral pigments that were applied onto silk surfaces, mixed in heated and dissolved animal bone glue. The colors are applied in opaque layers that are largely flat in tone, with little internal variety except for tonal shifts, which move in a graduated manner from dark to light, from dark greens to light ochers, etc. The brushwork is applied laterally in broad strokes, often brushed on in layers over a prepared white or colored ground, as seen in ancient outline-and-fill floral paintings or in blue-and-green landscapes.

The ink monochrome tradition, on the other hand, is brushwork oriented and executed largely on paper. It features brushwork overlaid in thick densities, with psychic energy or concentration deployed downward, perpendicular to the painting surface.

That is, unlike the blue-and-green style where pigment is broadly applied in a lateral fashion and spread across large areas of the painting surface in a lateral, sweeping motion, ink monochrome brushwork has tended since the Yuan to consist largely of dis

115. See Cahill 1978a, in which he suggests that many of the styles of Sakaki Hyakusen evolved from direct study of late-Ming models.

calligraphy: the momentum, shi, comprises a concentration of psychic

energy, qi, the force of which has been compared to a metal weapon that penetrates the thickness of the table surface, hitting

the ground below. In this light we may say that the dynamics of ink

monochrome paintings stress brushwork whose energy is deployed

perpendicular to the painting surface and penetrates it.

This process has veered increasingly since the Yuan toward an interest in abstract qualities. Consisting of densely piled-up

brushwork, linear strokes are interwoven in a rich multiplicity of

textural values where light and dark, wet and dry strokes are executed with deliberation or with speed, above, across or through

one another. This penchant for perpendicular deployment of energy and an interest in piled-up, overlaid brushwork for a relatively abstract sense of textural depth represent a particularly

Chinese phenomenon. It has been as firmly entrenched in postYuan painting as it has been alien to Japanese traditions, and it

represents a fundamental divergence of focus between the two cultures.

In order to adopt this texture-depth related process into Japanese painting, radical transformations had first to be made.

These were brought about by Taiga. We must note that while the

twin traditions of blue-green painting and ink monochrome painting had coexisted in China for centuries, only the colored form had

entered Japan during the Sui-Tang centuries, along with Buddhist

painting. The ink monochrome tradition, on the other hand-in its

Northern Song, Yuan, and Ming manifestations-was not to receive major exposure in Japan until the late seventeenth and early

eighteenth centuries. When considering the Japanese reaction to

the ink monochrome wenren style, therefore, a time-gap of nearly four hundred years must be taken into account, during which various Chinese brush-modes had developed. They acquired independence and eventually dominance in Chinese landscape painting. But in Japan, brushwork had up until the Tokugawa period served descriptive and expressive needs and never acquired complete primacy or independence. As we now see, the prime element in assimilation by eighteenth-century nangaartists comprised in essence a change in basic brush handling. That is, a new, ink monochrome,

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stroke-based type of brushwielding, fudezukai (yongbi), was adopted. The new stroke-type, the pimacun or hemp-fiber stroke, is plied with the brush moving in the same direction as the brushstem.¹¹⁶ This basic brushwielding is called zhongfeng or centeredbrush¹¹⁷ in Chinese and represents the most basic of scholar-wenren requirements. But unlike the taut and dry brushwork of the Chinese models, where psychic energy is focused inward and downward, Japanese brushwielding, even in the new hemp-fiber mode, continued to disperse energy outward as if applying wash or pigment in colored painting. Taiga continues to retain as basic to his brushwork a cefeng or oblique brushwielding, even as he performs pimacun hemp-fiber strokes, which in China would normally require the zhongfeng type of brushwielding; he thus spreads the brushtip hairs laterally across the painting

surface.

Furthermore, with the addition of extra water, the knobby dryness

of Chinese brushstrokes became moistened with inkwash.

In light

of Japan's particular history in Muqi and Yujian style painting

since the Muromachi period, and thereafter the brilliant developments in ink monochrome by the Rinpa masters,

Taiga's new moist

and gently slanted approach to the linear wenren mode was not

only a natural outcome, but one which may hence be seen as a

virtually predictable response.

Taiga's Pointillist Style. Some potential models for Taiga's pointillist style also may be found in the Manjuin albums of fan

paintings. The bold, fluctuating rock contour sprinkled with a

spare application of blunt dots that do not always adhere closely to

the contour and the surface scratched in a series of parallel modell¹⁶. In the fupicun or axe-strokes of the Ma-Xia

tradition, favored by the Kano

School since the Muromachi period, the brush moves at right angles to the

alignment of the brush-stem and creates a broad, downward, hacking stroke.

This is called cefeng or oblique brushwielding in Chinese.

117. Zhongfeng is also translated as upright brushwielding, meaning that in the

course of a stroke, the brush-stem is held upright at a ninety degree angle. This,

however, is not the case in Chinese painting, as we see in Tangdai's observation

at the beginning of this study, for at that angle the strokes would result in

bilateral symmetry and would have identical edges. What the wenren treasured

in painting-where the brush is not held perfectly upright but leaning, at a slight

angle, though always along the direction of the brush-stem-is the energy that is

centered within the stroke, giving it the weighted, balanced

appearance of a perfectly centered stroke.

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ing strokes are both devices absent in painting manuals but present in the painting, for example, by Chen Xuan (fl. mid-seventeenth century), friend of the original recipient of the albums (J. Stanley Baker 1985, fig. 26). Though a somewhat coarse and unexciting work, the basic brush techniques may have generated Taiga's rocks of the Three Laughers at Tiger Stream (Kurimoto 1960, 518.2), produced for the southeastern room of the abbot's residence at Manpukuji. Somewhat more refined examples of this brush manner are found in foreground rocks of the fan-painted Landscape attributed to Wen Boren (23a), and those in Xu Zhi's Fisherman (J. Stanley-Baker 1985, fig. 29). Japanese artists since the Heian period have been skilled at enlarging details from small-format models to full-sized screens or sliding-door panels. This is illustrated in details of interior scenes of the time featuring screen-painting, found in narrative scrolls called gachuiga ("paintings within paintings"). In the Muromachi period this practice was applied to Chinese models (often handscrolls or fan paintings), where derivatives transformed images of the Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, Muqi, and Yujian styles into large,

wraparound murals, enclosing various rooms of monastic and secular dwellings. In the Momoyama period, classical Heian motifs were blown up to screens and wall paintings to dazzle all who were exposed to it. On technical grounds alone, therefore, Taiga's enlargement into full-scale fusuma-e of extrinsic Chinese thematic details would not have been remarkable. But worthy of examination are his transformation of new types of intrinsic brushidioms, the late-Ming Suzhou vocabulary, and the manner in which he transformed these elements into viable new patterns, japanizing their morphology as well as their function and expressive quality. Studying Chinese models, Taiga's eye caught new details of brush-mode or bifa, the basic ingredients that set them apart from the more familiar academic works. While Chinese manuals described some of them, in printed reproductions they are woodblock flat. In actual paintings they come to life, for only in actual examples can the interactions of the various modeling strokes become clear, and a gifted painter perceives their expressive potential. Taiga's pointillist manner covers large areas with colorful dots of different shapes grouped into dynamic interrelationships.

are also seen simply as visually exciting patterns. That so much of

Taiga's work is painted on two levels, one decorative and patternistic, the other thematic and expressive, highlights the nature

of his particular selection process: Taiga looked for ingredients

with patternistic, anecdotal, or expressive qualities. This is demonstrated further below regarding his ippin ink monochrome styles.

The intrinsic quality in the model is of less significance than the innovations it offers. We have seen that the expressive

goals of Chinese and Japanese artists have developed along different paths, resulting in different ideas about the nature of excellence. When looking at a work that to Chinese connoisseurs appears insipid, like the Manpukuji landscape by Wang Ji (J. Stanley Baker 1985, fig. 30), for example, a painter of Taiga's genius could

grasp the imagistic potential of the grouping together of the striated modeling strokes of the central rock and foliage dots immediately beneath them, the jie-character-shaped leaves, and the potentially dazzling effect if produced in color.

Using colors or ink tones

of different intensities in an area covering a sixfold screen would

produce a sparkling, exhilarating effect in a patternistic manner. It

would also represent trees by a rock. The effects can be seen in the

lower rocks of the furthest left panel of the West Lake mural and in

other works from Taiga's early forties.¹¹⁸

The Manpukuji albums offer many technical variations new to Tokugawa artists. Appearing as integral parts of actual

paintings, their function is fully demonstrated in a form of direct

visual transmission, which contrasts with the more theoretical

type of tuition offered in the Jieziyuan huazhuan (Mustard Seed

Garden Manual of Painting), where brush-modes of various "ancient masters" (carved into the block by the same Qing artisan) are

illustrated in isolation. Less than inspiring in quality, the fan paintings nevertheless offer concrete examples and, as a group, impart the mood of poetic, evocative late-Ming Suzhou painting.

Their potential development in a Japanese context appears to have been readily understood by Taiga. Compositions based on a massing of small moss dots anticipate (and inspire) Taiga's pointillist works. These include, for example, a work by Xu Zhi (J. Stanley 118. See Kurimoto 1960, 459.2, 534-21 with angular variations in 534.4 (which suggest woodcuts) and 534.12, 561, 575, 582; in sketches like 627, 766, and in a free-flowing rendering of varying density, 781.

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Baker 1985, fig. 29),¹⁹ in which dots of the same size appear as both foreground foliage and distant shrubbery. The effect, when transferred in colors onto paper, is at once decorative and evocative.

Taiga was the first Japanese artist to develop this device to its full potential.

It has been shown that while ceding to the Chinese handscroll's overall extrinsic compositional schemata of Five Hundred Arhats, Taiga in his own version rejected most of its intrinsic features relating to style, to brush-modes, and to brushwielding.

In spite of incorporating iconographical and compositional features, he ignored the model's relaxed and dispersed expressions in the figures' interactions and substituted tight psychological coherence. Above all, he entirely ignored the fine-line

professional mode and substituted a lively, undulating, and expressive brushwork vocabulary, here rendered with the fingers and palm. We may surmise from this that, unlike productions for the Ashikaga shoguns, where the artists were required to reproduce not only the composition type but also the particular brush-mode of given Southern Song masters, Taiga was invited, evidently, to produce his own version of the Five Hundred Arhats ascribed to Wang Zhenpeng and allowed discretion as to the mode of representation. In this way, Taiga was able to select freely the stylistic features that appealed to him from models to which he was not otherwise bound. This is seen also, for example, in the fan painting albums Shuhua chanceye. If Taiga's paintings become so often the focus of examination in this study, that only reflects the magnitude of his role in the japanization of diverse Chinese styles, motifs, and brush-idioms. That is, most Chinese devices that can be traced to his times have been to greater or lesser extents transformed by Taiga and subsequently absorbed into mainstream nanga. On the other hand, those

119. Other brush-techniques or motif variations offered by the Manpukuji fans include the overlapping and cascading rocks done with U-shaped contours and dots practiced by Wei Zhike (1600) from Shangyuan (Jiangsu), the curved grass strokes of Qian Gong (seen also in Hyakusen's screen painting Red Cliff), the cornered Wang Meng-Guo Xi mountain lumps of Wu Zisui, the rough crab-claw stroke used for pine needles by Chen Zun of Suzhou, and the tight, inverted Vshaped rock contour of Shen Zhao. Many Mi-dot variations, and landscapes

composed almost exclusively of small dots of different directions, appear in the fan paintings (J. Stanley-Baker 1985). They represent examples of wenrenhua-oriented original works available at Manpukuji when Taiga was working on the fusuma-e for the abbot's residence.

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devices that were known to him but that are not reflected in his representative works form a catalog of rejection and highlight the intensely selective nature of japanization. This negative evidence challenges the common assertion that eighteenth-century Japanese artists were prone to indiscriminate assimilation of new stimuli without exercising artistic judgment.

Finger Painting in Taiga's Ink-Monochrome Style. Taiga's artistic growth and development is readily gleaned from the anthology edited by Kurimoto Kazuo, in which eight hundred and eleven works, examined by specialists, are authenticated and recorded in a chronological framework. While some may object to the dating or even to the acceptance of certain works, it remains the most comprehensive compilation of works associated with a single nanga artist, even though younger scholars today believe that up to half the works listed are forgeries. Taiga became a professional painter at age fourteen, but the anthology lists only two works

dating to his teens and becomes truly representative only from his twenties onward. Works of his twenties reveal many examples of finger painting that appear to use a remarkable amount of diluted inkwash. Typical is the Plum Blossom with a Bird (20b) in the Kobayashi Collection. Taiga's painting is on paper and about the same size as Shen Nanping's Prunus (on silk, 20a); the background is virtually covered with wash. While lighter areas are left in reserve as in the Shen work (Taiga has lightened the area on the tree trunk where a branch is to emerge), in the darker areas Taiga freely incorporates the tarashikomi pooling effect developed by the Rinpa School, which may be considered brushless¹²⁰ in 120. James Cahill has discussed the general disintegration in the seventeenth century of traditional, disciplined brushwork, which was replaced by what he has termed "brushlessness." In a letter he has cited Zhang Hong, Sheng Maoye, Fa Rozhen, Cheng Sui, and others, whose works often indicate less reliance on brushstrokes and greater use of new alternatives. Cahill has in other sources (1979) also discussed the allure of Western techniques that indicate deviation from the dry linear style. Yet in spite of the increase in heterodox experimentation and innovation, and their obvious acceptance by certain patrons, it was the brushwork-oriented aesthetic that continued to command the highest prestige through its late-Qing lineage of Xi Gang and Dai Xi, down to Wu Hufan and C. C. Wang of the twentieth century. The tuition of all these painters was virtually exclusively based on Dong Qichang and the Four Wang. Major collectors of the early 1930s

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appearance, with "no distinct boundaries," representing an altogether wetter, more painterly style. In finger painting Taiga was equally adept at more clearly articulated linear works, as in *Fishing at a Deep Mountain Ravine* (Kurimoto 1960, illus. 89), in ink and light colors on paper, in a dexterous use of fingers and fingernails. Here the artist is said to be in his thirties. Perhaps Taiga's most remarkable accomplishment in finger painting is the incorporation of Rinpa devices, illustrated by his fan paintings such as *Grapes* (20c) and *Prunus Blossoms* (Kurimoto 1960, illus. 94). Smooth forms imbued with cloudlike tonal shifts, few traces of the brush, and no distinct boundaries are generated with astonishing ease and utter grace. The newly imported Chinese technique of finger painting is effectively nationalized in these pioneer experiments. Taiga's experience in finger painting exerted a formative influence on the mature inkwash style that was to emerge in his thirties. Finger painting formed a basis for his understanding and handling of water and ink, a major factor in the remarkable ease and buoyancy of his later inkwash styles. Needless to say, finger painting was not alone responsible for the wetness of Taiga's development. Two other ingredients-Momoyama traditions in

Chinese-style inkwash painting, and Japan's own Rinpa with its inherent brushlessness-also contributed greatly to the development of Taiga's monochrome style. What was Taiga's view of Muromachi suibokuga ink painting? Significantly, it too was highly selective. Of more than eight hundred works in Ike Taiga sakuhinshui, only two examples are found that emulate the Muromachi suiboku masters Sesshō (1420 -ca. 1506) and Sesson (1504-ca. 1589). Significantly, both are seen in their respective Yujian styles, developed from a "brushless" Chinese brush-mode. How accurately Taiga represented Sesshō (24a) is not so important here as how he perceived the master. Clearly, Sesshō is seen in a wet, abbreviated inkwash style. The sixfold screen after Sesson (24b) is a tour de force showing and 1940s, for example, still considered the Four Monks (Kun Can [1612-74], Shitao [ca. 1642-ca. 1707], Bada [ca. 1624-ca. 1705], and Hongren) beyond the pale. C. C. Wang's biography (in my forthcoming book on Mr. Wang) suggests that time seems to have stood still between Wang Yuanqi and C. C. Wang. Indeed, the Four Wang influence on early twentieth-century Chinese orthodox painting is like that of Beethoven on contemporary music, which, in spite of abandoning the diatonic scale for newer tonal material, is still imprisoned by notions of dynamic climaxes established by Beethoven.

Although both motifs and brush idioms originate from his own vocabulary, they imply a debt to Southern Song inkwash traditions. Although Japan lacked a development comparable to the Wu School, it did by the end of the sixteenth century develop to a peak the most abbreviated, wet, and brushless of Southern Song styles, that of Yujian. For two hundred years, Muromachi painters had struggled with the process that had in China remained in abeyance since the Yuan. In landscapes, beginning with the most articulated (Ma-Xia) style, which was termed the shin or regular mode, Japanese masters proceeded to develop the running gyo mode after Muqi and Mi styles, and the cursive s5 mode after Yujian. In associating three landscape styles of increasing cursoriness with their equivalents in calligraphy, a code was built up in monastic circles that related the paintings to social contexts and assigned them respectively to rooms of varying degrees of solemnity. By the sixteenth century, notable mastery was achieved in the more informal styles. Sesson was among the most inspired and dynamic exponents of the Yujian mode, although the Unkoku and Kano Schools also developed it. Taiga was more likely exposed to Kano modes.¹²¹ In both the Sesshu and Sesson examples, Taiga utilizes brush-idioms, wet as they are, derived from Japanese traditions in which Song models had already been nationalized. He did not directly transform those Chinese brush-idioms, which were by then historical. The problem facing Taiga was not the deployment of inkwash but of dry linear brushwork featured in the new

wenren styles, particularly the dense, linear Yi Hai manner of the Four Wang School. For this usage of the brush and this vision of linear brushwork there had been no precedent in Japan. And for these new techniques Taiga's finger painting experience was crucial. In his twenties it had prepared him for linear work in which he developed a half-watery, half-inked stroke using his finger. This katabokashi type of stroke he was to transfer, with the greatest of ease, to the brush.

121. Sesson's works were not at the time so accessible in Kyoto as were examples of Unkoku and Kano School painting. But Sesson's fame and esteem had been established, and Taiga may have seen close copies. Taiga's study of Japanese paintings belongs to a study that should prove most rewarding.

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Yi Hai and Taiga. Students of Taiga stress the influence of Yi Hai (zi Fujiu), best known in Japanese as I Fukyf. A Chinese horse trader and amateur painter, Yi Hai first visited Nagasaki in 1726, and is said to have made successive visits thereafter over a "twenty-year period" until 1744 (Sakazaki 1927, 383). His work was assessed by the Japanese writer of his own time, Sakurai Sekkan,

as, "although without transformation (bianhua, J. henka), [having grasped] the brush-spirit of Yuan masters, [he achieved a caliber] not attained in common and vulgar painting" (Sakazaki 1927, 89). This assessment represents a distant or outsider's view, formed by lack of experience with China's painting history. Yi Hai's painting was in fact a pale reflection of the contemporary orthodox idealist style that had been dominated by "studies after the Four Yuan Masters."¹²² Practicing Chinese wenren painters of the time would have concurred with Sekkan in deploring the lack of internal transformation and life in Yi Hai's work, but they would also have seen more clearly its Four Wang derivation, that is, something quite removed from the Yuan in spirit and in brushmanship. This is a crucial oversight. But to Japanese theorists familiar with Chinese texts who now came to such Qing painting for the first time, thoughts of "Yuan Masters" would naturally come to mind. On the one hand, for them the Yi Hai style-image was new and without precedent in Japan, different from the familiar ink traditions generated originally by Southern Song models in Muromachi collections. On the other hand, they were led to such conclusions by the obligatory references to Yuan Masters in the Qing inscriptions. As for the Yi Hai influence on Taiga and his followers proposed in twentieth-century scholarship, precisely where and how this is manifested has not been considered in detail. It is not enough to cite Taiga's inscriptions of indebtedness to Yi Hai, or examples of direct copies of Yi Hai paintings.

For in
Taiga's representative works there is no trace of Yi Hai's
intrinsic
brush-manner, which, whether dense or sparse, wet or dry,
is
conceived and produced in highly linear terms, as agitated,
spindly fodder for the building of sparsely articulated
constructs or
dense, ink-fibered harmonies in brushwork. Taiga's
representative ink

122. Huang Gongwang, Wu Zhen, Ni Zan, and Wang Meng.

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landscapes, on the other hand, reveal a deployment of
brushstrokes
as melodic, tonal passages that glisten in their own
minimalist
context as if they were expressing sounds in a haiku poem.
Taiga's pupil, associate, and, in retrospect, most reliable
observer, Kuwayama Gyokushfi, lavished high praise on Yi
Hai. In
his Gashu (Talks on Painting, 1790), Gyokushfi places Yi Hai
foremost among Southern School (nanshu) painters in
Nagasaki. Later
in Kaiji higen (Modest Chats on Painting, 1799), he declares:
The sublime category ippin is classified above the three
classes of Divine, Marvellous, and Competent. What is
meant by this ippin is a category free of the ordinary rules
of painting and imbued with clarity, wonder, mystery,
and marvel (seiki yumyo). In the Tang dynasty it was
Wang Xia, in Song Mi Yuanzhang (Fu) father and son; in
Yuan, Huang Zijiu (Gongwang), Ni Yunlin (Zan), Gao
Yuanjing (Kegong).... As for today, Yi Fujiu (Hai), who
recently came to Nagasaki, must be considered the

untrammelled category (ikaku) among visiting Qing people. As for our own country, there is only Taiga. (Sakazaki 1927, 147-48)

Thus in one breath Gyokushui ranked Yi Hai and Taiga alone in the stratosphere above all painters. What accounts for this adulation? What, specifically, was Yi Hai's influence on Taiga?

Close examination reveals the nature of the Yi Hai connection. It offered Taiga a point of departure in ink monochrome

painting of the linear kind. The resulting image, however, was

Taiga's, bearing little resemblance to Yi Hai. Taiga rejected the

latter's dense brush-mode and eschewed the complex layering of

brushstrokes as structural foundation. Of Yi Hai's dense linear

style, Taiga loosely adopted the compositional format of layered,

pointed peaks and slender trees. But he retained an intrinsically

Japanese manner of brushwielding for their delineation. His brushwork remained free as in finger painting, as well as wet, expressive, moist, and fluid as in Rinpaesque painting.

His strokes washed

over outlines, blending into them in single, duotone sweeps done

with the brush held at a gently oblique angle. This rather unique

manner has since become Taiga's hallmark, half a defining and half

an evoking form.

A remarkable number of Taiga's ink landscapes reflect, as it were, a silhouette of the Yi Hai mode in extrinsic, compositional

features such as the rocky foreground topped with trees of mixed species, juxtaposed across blank water, to peaked mountains that are outlined with repeated strokes applied in series. Intrinsically they reveal a radical adaptation and metamorphosis in brushusage. It is through the basic transformation of Yi Hai's brushmode, and not through imitation of his compositional formulae, that Taiga found fresh stimulus to create a new ink monochrome style in Japanese painting. It is only this new brush-mode that accounts for his indebtedness to the Chinese visitor. A characteristic work of Yi Hai's dense linear style, which gave rise to what was to be the bones of Taiga's vertical landscape format in the nanga mode, is a hanging scroll done in ink and light colors on paper, (n.d., 25b, first panel of a triptych). Yi Hai's art owes more to Wang Hui (25a) than to the other three Wang. Both the Yi Hai and Wang Hui paintings illustrate the orthodox Qing interpretation of the Yuan master Huang Gongwang. This is through their emphasis on the overlaying of strokes, the piling up of brushwork, including dry, wet, long, and short, in a series of long and crumbly hemp-fiber pima² strokes of different tonalities. That is, they illustrate a seventeenth-century understanding, indeed exaggeration, of a fourteenth-century brush-manner. In art historical terms, we see that while the extrinsic silhouette of a Huang Gongwang¹²³ image has remained largely intact, interpretations of the intrinsic features of Huang's brushwork and brushwielding

have undergone considerable development over the centuries. In the synchronic terms of Chinese connoisseurship, comparing the two Qing practitioners of the Huang mode, we see that while Yi Hai followed the extrinsic, topographical features of Wang Hui's imagery, he did not grasp the essential intrinsic features of wenren brushwork aesthetics that focus on the abstract potential of "brush flavor." Yi Hai only "performs" the strokes but does not capture

123. The Wang Hui attribution is dated to 1680 and claims to be in the "manner of Juran." Studies of Chinese painting have shown that perception of the real styleimage of Juran was during the fourteenth century at best rather vague. But a consensus was developed, imaging long hemp-fiber strokes piled densely over rounded forms. By the Qing period, notions of past masters were reduced to sets of brush-mode-oriented styles: here, the tenth-century Juran's image has been telescoped into that associated at the time with the Yuan master Huang Gongwang. That is, distant masters were perceived in terms of styles of recent artists. See J. Stanley-Baker 1991a and J. Stanley-Baker 1990.

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the life energy engendered in pure brushplay. Wang Hui's painting is alive with brushplay, while Yi Hai's appears mechanical in comparison.¹²⁴ To Japanese eyes, the niceties of this

intrinsic feature were all the more difficult to grasp. Yi Hai paintings could not shed light on the quintessence of the Southern style in China. This lesson was not to be learned until the nineteenth century. In his *Landscape after I Fukyut* (26a), Taiga eschews altogether Yi Hai's well-known dense linear style, preferring to play upon his sparse style. Eschewing the model's inherent illusions to deep space, Taiga prefers a more fifteenth-century compositional mode of frontality, and telescoped space where foreground and background appear equally close and are read with equal clarity. This legacy of fifteenth-century Ming painting had acquired through the Muromachi a firm foundation in Japanese painting, and it continued full force in Tokugawa painting. Taiga's trees are larger and more clearly calligraphic in their articulation, but their reference to the Yuan-oriented Yi Hai imagery is not hidden. In terms of the intrinsic features of brushwork, it is one of the rarer instances where Taiga deploys a dry brush (charged with black, dryish "burnt ink") for crumbly, textured strokes. But unlike Chinese painters who mix dry and wet strokes for a "moist and live" effect, he applies them sparsely, laterally, forming areas of like patterns. He reproduces Yi Hai's dark and agitated outlines and, in a sparing manner, accentuates certain areas with light, nervous, wiggly modeling strokes.¹²⁵ Taiga quickly learned this lesson, however, and intuitively developed his own expression. The overlapping of brushstrokes is greatly reduced as Taiga applies them sparingly side by side, achieving transparency and clarity.

124. While Yi Hai attributes generative inspiration to the

Yuan master Huang Gongwang, it is clear from the illustrations here that Yi could not have seen a genuine painting by Huang and had derived an image of Huang from the dense constructions of Wang Hui.

125. Taiga was probably unaware that in his inverted L-shaped strokes (on the farthest central peak) he was evoking another sacred prototype: Ni Zan. Although Tokugawa artists had learned to revere the names of the Four Yuan Masters so admired in Chinese texts, at this early stage in the transmission, the visual realities of their individual styles could not possibly have been understood in Japan. At the time, the idea of individual brush-modes had not been clearly understood in Japan. Contemporary texts that spoke of famous Chinese masters without illustrating paintings from their hands did not impart knowledge of the compositional image, let alone brush-modes of the Four Wangs of the Qing. Readers gleaned even less of the visual image of the Four Masters of the Yuan.

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In *Returning Boat in Mountains and Streams* (26b) Taiga illustrates another aspect of the Yi Hai-Wang Hui-Huang Gongwang mode. The same motifs are here, but differently arranged. Here wash is added, which functions both to accent and highlight the waterfall in the background and relative concavities in the foreground. The old man crossing a plank bridge in Yi Hai's reference to Huang Gongwang (28a, to be discussed below)

appears at the lower right. Yi Hai's wispy, thin tree towers over him from the left, actually dwarfing the returning wanderer. This motif in its full articulation in the Yi Hai triptych (25b, bottom right foreground) is bent over the boat. Stock motifs of the mode include a tree-topped foreground rock, Y-shaped droopy trees, strong contouring often in repeated outlines, longish modeling strokes, moss dots, and simple dwellings with or without supports beneath. The motifs are increasingly simplified and recombined in various proportions.

In the following discussion we will see how in three different works, using these basic motifs, Taiga grows as an artist: his constructs become increasingly simplified, and at the same time more luminous. First Boat Trip to the Red Cliff (1759) (27a), for example, painted at age thirty-six, uses the motifs as a backdrop for the anecdotal main theme, that of Su Shi viewing the Red Cliff, scene of a bloody battle in the third century. Su Shi's boating party takes up the bottom third of the painting and most of the width, making it effectively a separate picture. In this early work the treecrowned repoussoir is placed in the middle ground before the background peaks. For Taiga the spindly, chop suey-like modeling strokes that identify China's wenren painting have little meaning. Instead, he washes with diluted broad strokes the unctuous dark, but dry ink outlines even before the latter are dry, drawing his brush obliquely, twisting and turning, controlling their width and luminosity. In time, complex juxtaposition and superimposition of

motifs give way increasingly to simplified deployment. Both extrinsic composition and intrinsic brushwielding take on the life of Taiga's own vision. The combination of wet and dry strokes begins to fuse into one single stroke of inspired brushmanship—a bamboo leaf or stem, the outline of a figure or a rock—and to develop into a personal style. Taiga faced the twin challenges of Qing dense and sparse linear styles by fusing their extrinsic, formal aspects with the

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intrinsic qualities of wetness and brushlessness germane to finger painting and to Rinpa techniques. From new stimuli, foreign or historical, he consistently identified extrinsic and intrinsic elements that suited his particular needs. He incorporated the approaches of Rinpa and finger painting to reduce and moisten the Yi Hai mode, achieving a new landscape style unprecedented in Japan or China. In ink on paper, the style features multiple peaks in receding contours, a promontory or set of peaks topped by a splay of tree or trees. The void between fore- and background is set off with a pavilion or tree. And it is most probably this development (27b, c, 28b-30) that Gyokushfi was to associate with the sublime and untrammelled ippin. Taiga certainly makes frequent reference to it.

In *Gazing at a Waterfall* (27b), the basic motifs appear as bold, upthrust rocky mountains now rendered in luminous wet and dry broad strokes, with a tree-topped foreground promontory to establish intervening space. The lower rock is brought forward and reduced in scale, but the Yi Hai derivation is unmistakable. A line-copy of a Yi Hai work by Taiga now in the Hutchinson Collection¹²⁶ exhibits these basic features most clearly and may serve as further reference for Taiga's exploration, reduction, and transcendence of this mode.

In *Soaring Mountain with a Waterfall* (27c), the same waterfall image appears, now even more attenuated. Taiga paintings in the Yi Hai manner often feature the same series of mountain contours which recede upward, and the same horizontal dots ranged clearly on one side. In this work, the brushwork is freer and more personal. The trunk of the middle tree rises in a brilliant twist of the brush, producing light and dark effects. Brushstrokes are applied laterally across the picture plane and are rarely superimposed in the Chinese manner. The effect is poetic and lyrical, not philosophical or abstract as in the Chinese prototype. If the previous *Gazing at a Waterfall* (27b) may be considered Taiga's runningscript *gyō* version of the vertical Yi Hai style, this would certainly represent the *sōsho* or cursive version.

126. See the catalog of Chinese and Japanese idealist paintings in the collection of Mr. Mitchell Hutchinson of Chicago, *In the Way of the Master: Chinese and Japanese Paintings and Calligraphy* (Wong and Adams 1981). Students of early *nanga* are much indebted to Hutchinson and Wong for their untiring efforts to seek out evidence of the impact of Chinese painting on Japanese *nanga*.

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In Taiga's interpretation, the Yi Hai model with its vertiginous peak, foreground rocks, and tree clump is steadily abbreviated, simplified, and moistened. Compared to First Boat Trip to Red Cliff, the later Gazing at a Waterfall makes a more taut statement in exaggerating the verticality and drop between the two masses, in freeing the rock contour, and in the well-rounded, frontal pine. The waterfall, defined with more articulation and rendered modestly in low profile in First Boat Trip to the Red Cliff, grows in width and dynamism in Gazing at a Waterfall. A fusion begins to unite water and rock. This process is completed in Soaring Mountain with a Waterfall, where the cascade becomes the mighty central force. The transformation is arrived at through stages. First Taiga broadened the contour lines by drawing them more obliquely, with a brush that was charged with inkwash. The broad strokes may also be done with greater momentum, in the manner associated with the Yujian style, for which see Soaring Mountain with a Waterfall (27c). The characteristic Taiga ink strokes are born of a fusion of various broad wash techniques including finger painting, Rinpa-derived wash, and Yujian-inspired brevity. Applied to a Mi-type composition of rounded misty mountains, Taiga achieved a new synthesis and a unique Japanese identity in the philosophical or linear ink-landscape category. This

achievement completes
the first phase of transformation of Chinese idealist
painting.
For Taiga, the Yi Hai legacy in brushwork may be considered
in terms of a dense and a sparse linear style. It is useful to
consider these brush styles in terms of a vertical and a
horizontal
format respectively, each of which had inspired Taiga to
produce
a separate stream of works. In the section above we have
noted the
reduction in motif and brushwork taking shape in the
vertical
format. Here we consider Yi Hai's horizontal format in
Landscape
in the Style of Huang Gongwang (1745) (28a), where the
mountain
looms over a pavilion in the left foreground. This motif is
reduced
and simplified in Taiga's hand, as we see in the narrow
Landscape
on Small Sliding Doors (28b), and in his subsequent
landscapes of
View of Moonlit Lake (29a) and Autumn Moon on Lake
Dongting
(29b). In Taiga's treatment, Yi Hai's interpretation of the
Huang
Gongwang-derived droopy trees becomes two-stroked
birdshaped Vs, done in katabokashi, broad inkwash strokes
of halfink, half-wash.

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All in all, Taiga made of the inkwash-charged brush a thing
of new possibilities, expressive and evocative, sublimely
Japanese
and free of visual reference to China. A finely tuned

expression of
Taiga's ink brush is the one-stroke mountain in *The Cuckoo* (30), a work thought to date from his late forties. The inscription in fluid kana syllabary, *Yama hototogisu* (mountain cuckoo), flows gracefully like a tail wind in the wake of flight. There is nothing Chinese about it. Nor could it be more poetic-and at the same time idealist-in spirit. It is mature *nanga*, and perfectly illustrates Gyokushiu's definition of *ippin*. Here Gyokushfi describes the Rinpa master in similar terms:
Korin liked to imbue his figures, flowers, and birds with a sense of antiquity, artlessness, and naivete. He used inkwash for flowers and grasses, and one may consider them simplified, abbreviated. (Sakazaki 1927, 150) (34)
To Gyokushf, the abbreviated, expressive, and simple images of *Korin* and *Sotatsu* constituted Japan's equivalent to China's Southern School as he understood it. By extension, the fact that (in Gyokushfi's mind, at least) Taiga and Yi Hai were the only artists aspiring to the same emotive and visual qualities made them the sole *ippin* masters of the day. It is not difficult to see that to Gyokushfi *ippin*¹²⁷ and *nanshu* (Southern School) were theoretically and stylistically inseparable as wet, amorphous images. While in China the relationship may have been so understood by Northern Song theorists like Mi Fu (a champion of individuality, brushlessness, and reliance on inkwash), it was entirely at odds with the understanding of Ming and Qing artists. The descriptive power of Taiga's single line reflects prodigious work. The Obaku monk Monchui Jofuku (1739-1829), an associate of many prominent members of the *nanga* set, described Taiga's diligence in his collected poetry and essays, *Monchu7-zenji shibunso*. He made the following entry in the tenth month of 1814:
Once Taiga Ikes⁶ of Higashiyama told me, "I went to visit

Mount Fuji for several days to study its pinnacle and to absorb its scenery in person. I worked hard to identify 127. The untrammelled and sublime style is, in Gyokushi's text, conceived in the specifically intrinsic context of moist, abbreviated forms without clear borders.

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myself with the mountain and to become part of it. In the end I finally learned to produce its contour line in a single stroke of the brush. In the process I used up several sheets of Chinese paper."128 Chinese paper was bound in those days at two hundred sheets to the sketchbook, and Ikeso had used up more than three of them. (Otsuki 1978)

Taiga pioneered a synthesis of multiple traditions, including Yi Hai, finger painting, and Rinpa, not to mention Muromachi inkwash traditions. As a result, pupils and friends looked to Taiga for inspiration in the new Southern mode, and less to China itself. Significant for this first phase of japanization was the swift abandonment of Chinese prototypes in favor of Taiga as model. Nanga artists did not turn seriously to Chinese models again until the nineteenth century, with the next wave of quasi-militant sinophilia.

When performing landscapes in the Yi Hai mode, artists of the earlier phase, including K6 Fuy6 (1722-84), Ikeno Gyokuran (1728 -84), Kuwayama Gyokushu, Kan Tenj6 (1727-95), and Nor6 Kaiseki (1747-1828), to name a few, sympathized essentially with Taiga's solution to the problem of brushwielding in the new mode

and showed less empathy with-or understanding of-the Chinese transmitter of the style, Yi Hai. Their mountain contour lines are moist and freely undulating; their modeling strokes are bouncy and luminous. Most significantly, their brushstrokes are applied largely in a lateral manner like Taiga's, and these are rarely superimposed. This is in keeping with a long-held love of clarity and purity and a concomitant distaste for clutter or complexity in the fusing and con-fusing of diverse brushstrokes so essential to the Chinese.¹²⁹ None of Taiga's followers, nor any other nanga painter

128. Chinese paper was less sized and therefore less prone to pooling. It was treasured by Japanese artists.

129. For Gyokuran see Mountain Landscape, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 127 x 55.5 cm, in the Kurt and Millie Gitter Collection, New Orleans, Addiss 1976, 106, pl. 38. For Gyokushui see Pavilion in the Mountains, hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 128 x 36 cm in Addiss 1976, 110, pl. 40. For a contrasting technique with an ingenious use of wash, see his Landscape with Figures (1798), hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 94.9 x 33.1 cm, in the Yabumoto Koz6 Collection, Hyogo, published in Cahill 1972, 47, pl. 18. For Kan Tenjfi, see River Landscape, hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 129 x 29.5 cm in the same collection, published in Addiss 1976, 109, pl. 39. For Kaiseki see Cahill 1972, 49, pl. 19.

before the nineteenth century, came to terms with the densely brushstroke-oriented manner. While Gyokushfi, Kaiseki, Gyokuran, and Tenju's ways of composition are less flamboyant or freewheeling than Taiga's, they largely derive from Taiga's method of organizing motifs and brushwork on paper. Their debt to Taiga in brushwielding (yongbi or fudezukai), is visible in their collective habit of swelling and "isolating" their linear strokes, which clearly follow Taiga's japanizing wrist-responses. Like Taiga, they prefer a clear, side-by-side approach, not only in the placement of motifs, but also in the laying on of brushstrokes. These are largely translucent and moist, in contrasting dark and light ink, and applied in a lateral fashion with energy spread across the painting surface. They are lucid in visual terms, and evocative in mood. We have seen that the dense linear mode was categorically rejected in eighteenth-century Japan. However, we may also recall that, due to the multiplicity of incoming stimuli in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not easy for Japanese artists to identify the dense linear mode as the dominant image in Chinese wenrenhua. This understanding came only with increasing exposure to works by the Four Wang, Yun Shouping, and Wu Li, and a reevaluation of the wenren experience on the part of third generation Japanese artists in the course of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the sparse, abbreviated style of Yi Hai¹³⁰ which derives from artists like Zha Shibiao (1615-98) and Zou

Zhilin (jinshi 1610),¹³¹ was readily incorporated into Taiga's repertoire. A few moist strokes of varying thickness and tonality create an abbreviated landscape around a body of water. Yi Hai's "lake vistas" such as the Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang (28a) feature a flat expanse and a few, wet brushstrokes and offer followers three distinct aspects or new formulae: (a) an airy genre with more emphasis on space than mass; (b) an abbreviated rendering, with at most three consecutive contour lines, and few

130. Compare Yi Hai's dense style in 25b with the sparse in 28a.

131. For brevity and angularity of lines, see the landscape by this Nanjing artist in the Wengo C. Weng Collection, New York, published in Cahill 1971,^{123,132}, pl. 61.

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intervening modeling strokes; and (c) wet and more fluid brushwork where lines assume greater expressiveness, bouncing up and down to form corners and planes. Indeed, Taiga freely selects compatible aspects, keeping his brushwork loose and agitated. For example, out of Yi Hai's sparse style in a horizontal format, Landscape in the Style of Huang Gongwang, Taiga creates in his own Landscape on Small Sliding Doors (28b), a misty and moist lake expanse. Taiga incorporates Yi Hai's abbreviated spits of land and the three-stroke, droopy trees but increases the water content in his brushwork, and

even
seems to have painted over previously dampened paper. Yi
Hai's
ram-horn shaped, droopy, and bare trees become spring
willow.
Retaining Yi Hai's basic configuration, they now become
moist,
glowing, enlivened with vernal foliage dots. This motif
acquires
prominence and independence in View of Moonlit Lake
(29a),
where the V-shaped top blossoms into great wash-strokes.
Finally,
Autumn Moon on Lake Dongting (29b) represents the
ultimate
reduction of this mode. Taiga's interpretation hydrates and
expands the Yi Hai spindly, droopy tree, glorifies it, and
illumines
the sparsely stroked distant mountains.
We can see that through Taiga there emerged an expressive
evocative ink-landscape style, whose debt to the Four Wang
is
superficial, that is, extrinsic at best. In the intrinsic aspect
of
brushwielding and, most basically, in the evocative mood, it
is the
Japanese aesthetic and its traditions that have come to take
over or
to engulf, amoebalike, the indigestible Chinese wenren
elements.

Absorption and Transformation in Japanese Texts
Sinophilia and Mixed Affiliations. Eighteenth-century
Japanese writers' familiarity with China's painting history
was
largely through theory. Few realized that Japan had
experienced a
brief phase of idealist painting, under the aegis of
Muromachi
"humanist Zen monks," in both ink flowers and grasses and
ink

landscape.¹³² The concept of idealist painting or nanga as factional and distinct from academic painting was not understood until the very end of the eighteenth century.

132. Parallels of the Muromachi period may be briefly cited here. As in the Tokugawa period, paintings and texts were imported and Chinese traditions in ranking painters were practiced. Japanese critics reserved the option to exercise relatively independent judgment, which is reflected in their ranking of Chinese works in Ashikaga collections. For example, Kundaikan sachoki of 1566 accords the topmost rank, jodj, to a group of highly mixed paintings, including Buddhist figurative paintings and landscapes, by or attributed to Wu Daozi, Han Gan, Muqi, Xia Gui, Yujian, Ma Yuan, (Sun) Junze, Zhao Yong, Emperor Huizong, and Zhu Deren, and to less-known painters such as (Monk?) Hengyang lushoushi, Buddhist Master Yufashi, Ma Gongxian, (Monk) Yazi, (Buddhist painter?) Li Wangqilang, (Buddhist painter?) Lu Wangsanlang, and (Daoist painter?) Dandong xianren. Middle class, chu, rank was accorded to an equally mixed group, where giants like Zhao Lingrang, Li Gonglin, Su Shi, Yen Liben, Wen Tong, and Qian Xuan appear in the midst of unknown artists. This represents a significant deviation from earlier views and a move toward greater independence in taste and in selection.

Previously, for example, the T6hoku version of the Kundaikan sayu ch6ki, with internal colophons dated to 1511 and 1526, had been more consonant with traditional Chinese tastes and accorded topmost rank to masters highly esteemed in their native land without,

interestingly, including many "professional" or Buddhist painters. The top class was occupied by titans of the Chinese painters' pantheon: Gu Kaizhi, Wu Daozi, Wang Wei (who was regarded as the founder of wenrenhua), Song Huizong, Li Gonglin, Li Cheng, Guo Xi, Xu Xi, Zhao Chang, Yi Yuanji, Zhao Lingrang, Liang Kai, Xia Gui, Ma Yuan and Ma Lin, Li Di, etc. The only monks among these were Muqi and the prelate Wuzhun shifan. Significant for Japanese selectivity, it was only for the contemporary Yuan that Chinese masters well regarded at home like Qian Xuan, Zhao Mengfu, Ren Renfa, and Sheng Mao begin to form a notable minority among an increasing number of painters regarded nowadays as more obscure, some of whom according to Tani Shin'ichi had served the Jin tartars. Moreover, not one of the Four Great Masters of the Yuan were registered. In this evaluation, the Tang horse master Han Gan, ranked in the topmost class in the later record, had been placed in the bottom class. Needless to say, it is now impossible to ascertain the actual quality or authenticity of these works most of which have since been lost. Clearly the tenor, whether academic or idealist, was of no concern. It cannot be said that appreciation by the Chinese themselves did not influence Japanese judgment, however, for efforts were made to procure examples of Tang and Song masters whose names had illumined the pages of Xia Wenyan's Tuhui baojian, a treatise known to the shogun's curators. The Kundaikan evaluations, especially in the later records, may be said in general to rank Chinese painters empirically, through a combination of reputation-at-home and Japanese standards of excellence based on personal examination. In the matter of inkplay, Wu Taisu's Songzhai meipu manual on ink prunus (dated 1351 by the author, with a 1349 date in the

end colophon), long lost in China, exists in Japan in at least four hand-copied though fragmentary versions. Shimada Shujirō discussed the four texts, suggesting that while the oldest version may have entered Japan during the fourteenth century via monastic circles, its existence in Japan is firmly documented by the fifteenth century.

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Yanagisawa Kien, a *nanga* pioneer, had written at the age of twenty-one the often-cited book, *Hitorine* (Living Alone, 1724), in which he gave the impression that Chinese idealist painting was a new discovery of the times. Half a century later, Nakayama Kōyō (1717-80) wrote *Gadan keiroku* (pref. 1775), in which painting is treated topically. Members of the two schools are termed *bunjin* (literati) and *eshi* (professionals), instead of Southern and Northern respectively. A year later, the conservative artist Takebe Ryōtai (1719-74) produced a detailed instruction book on painting, *Kanga shinan* (Guide to Chinese Style Painting, 1776), which was similar to Kōyō's book in concept and did not mention the North-South distinction. Kuwayama Gyokushū, easily the most well-read and acute observer, was the first to mention the North-South theory. Sensitive to the merits of both schools in China and in Japan, he

praised, for instance, the genius of professional master Kano Tan'yfi (1602-74), surely one of the most versatile painters in Japan's history, who was at the time under attack by critics of both the idealist camp and of conservative groups like the Unkoku School, a rival faction that claimed descent from Sesshui, protesting that Tan'yf had debased that noble tradition.¹³³ In Kaiji higen (1799), Gyokushf was able to say of the Muromachi experience in inkplay:

In the Bunmei and Mei6 eras (1469-1501), monks of the gozan monasteries and painters attached to them mainly worked in Buddhist and figure painting, following the styles of Muqi, Yan Hui, and Yujian. The monk with the sobriquet Bonp6 Gyokuenshi (see below) developed a type of ink epidendra after the Yuan monk Xuechuang Shimada highlights the literati atmosphere current at the time among monastic circles of both countries (Shimada 1956, 96-118). Among Japanese bunjinsd humanist monks who painted in China, Tesshui was said to have been admired for his painting, calligraphy, and poetry and was awarded the title of Master of Perfect Penetration by Emperor Shunzong (r. 1322-41). In 1342, Tesshui became primate of a monastery in Suzhou, the heart of China's budding wenren movement. For more on this period, see Shimizu and Wheelwright 1976.

133. The Unkoku School was rival to the Kano School, and hence to Kano Tan'yfi.

Later nanga writers were to attack the entire Kano School because the Kano style was based on Southern Song academy styles and their Ming reflections (all loudly despised by Chinese idealist critics). Using angular brushwielding in "axe strokes" for modeling, large black hacking shapes are made with the brush moving perpendicular to the brush-stem, exploiting the furtip's "belly." This type of brushwielding is called cebi (J. sokuhitsu, slanted brushwielding).

Gyokushui, on the other hand, was a champion of quality rather than Schools. He lucidly described various artistic phases of the Kano School, and was unencumbered enough to remark on Tan'yui's unusual refinement and taste.

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[Puming]; he grasped the essence [of Xuechuang's painting] and added his own (inscriptions in) verses. This has been recorded in Honcho gashi (Kano Eino's history of Japanese painting). That there was such a style at that time must be [attributed to] this man.... Ink traces (surviving works) of this Gyokuenshi who had studied Xuechuang must surely be limpid and marvellous.

Unfortunately genuine works are extremely rare nowadays, and I have not been able to see a single one. This is indeed a source of regret. (Sakazaki 1927, 15)

Curiously, Gyokushfi does not mention the Muqi style, which, had he seen an example, he would most likely have recognized as of the "Southern School."¹³⁴

The Unkoku School painter Sakurai Sekkan (1725-90) voiced unequivocal disdain for contemporary trends, reserving praise

only for the high standards of his own school beginning with

Sesshi. In Gasoku (Principles of Painting, prefaced by friends in

1773 and 1774), compiled by his daughter Akiyama Sakurai Keigetsu

(herself also a formidable painter who styles herself as "thirteenthgeneration descendant of Sesshd in painting"),

Sekkan displays

contempt for most activities outside his school. Loudly lamenting

the loss of understanding in the pivotal matter of brushwielding,

or fudezukai, and of "spirit resonance," he belittles the vogue of Kaishien gaden (Mustard Seed Garden Manual) among certain painting circles, declaring that all the teachings in that tome had in fact been passed down for thirteen generations in his school since Sesshi. Sakurai is unaware, evidently, of the vital ink-flora traditions that had flourished in Sesshi's time. One of the most scholarly writers was Hirazawa Kyokuzan (1733-91), a Cheng-Zhu Confucianist serving the bakufu in standardizing the education system. His writings on painting, Koku134. On landscape painting in the idealist mode, the Ashikaga curator Soami (ca. 1485-1525), well acquainted with high-quality Chinese works in shogunal collections, was the third generation of his family to serve as custodian to the Ashikaga. He mastered the Muqi style seen in the superb sliding-door panels for the Daisen-in of Daitokuji (lb). That Soami may be literally the first Japanese landscape painter of the "Southern" School was demonstrated by Richard Stanley Baker (1979, 176-77). Most remarkable is that Soami, prior to the introduction of idealist theories (promoting Yuan idealist modes of the Jiangnan region thought to have derived from Dong Yuan, Juran, and the Mi's), appears to have made, quite on his own, a visually oriented judgment, that of a connoisseur-painter concerning the interrelated nature of the styles he here combines. Soami stands out from his contemporaries as a notable connoisseur, as well as the first proponent of what later came to be known as the "Southern School" or nanshu.

garon (Dissertation on National Painting, 1788), is a curious mixture of historical research and heated nationalism. One of very few texts that discuss styles, the Kokugaron displays however little understanding of the crucial, brush-mode differences that mark the Northern and Southern Schools in painting. Kyokuzan knew that Yuan critics had branded Muqi as "coarse, abominable, with exposed bones (brushwork)" and as a style to be avoided. On the other hand, he observed in the same breath that Japan's own Oguri S6tan (d. 1481) had studied Muqi and that "S6tan's brushwork [in the Muqi mode] is not at all barbarous. That is why the Muqi style is treasured only in our land" (Sakazaki 1927,112). Here the author touches on a feature of the Jiangnan style (with its rounded hills, hemp-fiber pamacun, moss dots, and inkwash), clearly unaware of its so-called Dong-Ju origins now being emulated by nanga artists. Kokugaron was written forty years after the Japanese edition of Kaishien gaden, which is dominated by the theory of Northern and Southern Traditions. It is curious that Hirazawa claims knowledge of the Mustard Seed Garden Manual, a strong interest in style, and pride in his Muromachi heritage, and yet makes no mention of the Chinese masters (affiliated with either school) cited in Muromachi records and later again in Qing texts. Prominent members of both camps, cited in the manual, were known through genuine or attributed works in Muromachi collections.¹³⁵

135. The Kundaikan sayu ch6ki (A Fifteenth-Century Connoisseur's Manual of Chinese Art) includes a manual on Chinese painters, some of whom were

represented in the Ashikaga shogunal collection in the late fifteenth century. Among the various versions of different dates from the simplest to the most complete, names of Chinese masters subsequently grouped by Dong Qichang into the Southern camp appear in the so-called Tohoku-bon of 1511 (now kept in Tohoku University): "Wang Wei, Li Longmian, Mi Yuanhui (Youren), (Su) Dongpo, Zhao Danian, Zhao Mengfu and son Zhao Yong, Wen Tong," and others. Needless to say, the so-called members of the Northern School are also amply represented, and it is these followers of Li Tang, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui, members of the Southern Song Imperial Academy, whose images had dominated shogunal and monastic collections of the fifteenth century. Japanese painters associated with shogunal collections must have been familiar with these names throughout the intervening three centuries. When most of the same names reappear in Japan, in the new Chinese painting manual Mustard Seed Garden Manual, now squarely aligned on opposite sides of a great divide, it must have given pause to Japanese readers familiar with their images through Japanese collections and versions. In effect, members of nearly all eighteenth-century Japanese schools trace their lineages back to Li Longmian and Mi Fu, if not to Wang Wei himself, thus claiming a most exalted Chinese ancestry for their particular school.

In retrospect, Chinese painting suffered in its growth and development from a serious lack of "alternative" voices. There was a scarcity of anti-idealist treatises written in self-defense by professional or other nonelite painters.¹³⁶ This is not surprising in light of the fact that in China as a class scholars had always been the elite as well as the arbiters of taste. This was not the case in Japan, whose elite, since the ascendancy of the warrior class in the Kamakura period, ceased to be at the same time practitioners of the arts. As a result, the relative consensus among Chinese texts then being read in Japan created a curious anomaly. Japan's professional painters claimed legitimacy by tracing their lineages to Chinese so-called Southern School founders. The non-nanga aligned Shunboku quotes Mi Fu on connoisseurship and recommends for figure painting "the style of Longmian (Li Gonglin), for bamboo painting the styles of (Su) Dongpo and (Wen Tong) Yuke" (Sakazaki 1927, 56-58), all in all achieving a perfectly Southern nanshuf orientation in theory. Sakurai Sekkan laments the fact that many who would learn the methods of Huang Dachi (Gongwang) are forced to do so through woodblock prints and therefore misunderstand the way of fusing expression with brushwork, resulting in withered strokes like (spindly) red beans, and acquiring an inferior method. (Sakazaki 1927, 91) Hirazawa Kyokuzan claims that Sesshii's method for brushing willow and bamboo leaves comes from Mi Nangong father and son, and his Buddhist figures are by no means beneath those of Li Longmian. (Sakazaki 1927, 110-1) One must not be surprised, therefore, to find that a Kano partisan published an album of paintings by Southern masters Wen

Zhengming and Chen Shun, and that members of the nanga circle treasured it. In sum, eighteenth-century writers of all camps wrote

136. Richard Barnhart discusses the issue from the standpoint of the hapless and wrongly victimized nonorthodox painters in Barnhart 1981. With passion he extols Ming and Qing champions of the "wild, eccentric, and crazy" and eulogizes them ex post facto as "heroic and strange."

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histories in which they laid the genesis of their respective schools squarely in the now prestigious idealist camp of China. *Japanization and Rejection of Chinese Painting Manuals*. A painting manual ascribed to the Chinese visitor to Nagasaki, Fei Lan (zi Hanyuan, J. Hi Kangen) illustrates the nationalization of nanga. Fei Lan arrived in Nagasaki in 1734 (some say 1736) as a teacher of painting. His followers included the Edo painter Takebe Ryōtai and the devoted Taiga pupil Suzuki Fuyō (1749-1816). Both men were also writers. Ryōtai's treatise on painting is not illustrated, and his instructions are hardly original. Fuyō was the more astute writer and inserted incisive commentaries into Kyōkuzan's treatise on Japanese painters. He also produced an illustrated painting manual called *HiKangen gafu* (*Painting Manual of Fei Lan*, prefaced 1787). Here Fuyō shows in simple steps

various methods of painting trees, different types of mountains, etc. The exegesis and illustrations are said to originate from the hand of Fei Lan. This cannot be proven. It is not clear at this point whether Fei Lan stayed in Japan long enough to teach Fuyū, who was not yet born when Fei arrived. Moreover, the paintings for the woodblock publication were all by Suzuki Fuyū and said to be made "after Fei Lan originals." More important is the fact that Fuyū had also studied with Tani Buncho in Edo. Significantly, the manual reflects highly japanized brush habits in the drawing of lines.

In an example of the "modeling technique of Huang Dachi (Gongwang)" (18b), the undulating brushwork with lyrical overtones is the product of Taiga's japanization of Chinese monochrome models. The derivation from Taiga (19) is unmistakable.

Typically, while this manual purports to be Chinese in name and inspiration, the execution and stylistic derivations are already Japanese and represent nearly seventy-five years of Japanese experience in idealist landscape painting. One may well suspect that the album was a Japanese creation, with a Chinese name "attached" to enhance its appeal.

It has been shown that in spite of the novelty and popularity of Ming and Qing Chinese painting manuals, their effective influence on representative paintings by Taiga and Buson was virtually negligible. For earlier pioneers like Nankai, Kien, and Nakayama Kōyū, the printed illustrations did serve as models on occasion. Nankai was more scholar than painter, Kien more a

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dandy and bon vivant, while Koyo can only be described in the

words of artist Suzuki Fuyō:

He has aspirations but cannot fulfill them. How can you blame one who seeks to compete for dexterity among full-colored mural painters but who does not know the meaning of *ki'in* (C. *qiyun*) spirit-resonance?¹³⁷

Taiga and Buson took most of their Chinese models or inspiration from Chinese visitors, Yi Hai and Shen Quan respectively. To greater and lesser extents they transformed the

brushwielding of their models. Traditional assumptions of Taiga's

primary reliance on the *Hasshu gafu* during his fan shop years

remain to be confirmed with convincing examples. A comparison

of images published in the manual and those in the Taiga *sakuhinshu* should challenge such notions. If Taiga had indeed used the Chinese woodblock images as models in his teens

(from which period a few works survive, showing his debt to the

printed image), there is little trace of their impact from his third

decade onward, where the works are regularly reproduced in the

sakuhinshu.

It is possible that not many serious artists or theorists paid attention to the manuals. Men of visual acuity like the Confucian

scholar Hattori Nankaku deplored the manuals, doubtless as a

result of exposure to actual works of better quality. He writes:

The Eight Kinds of Painting Manual (*Hasshu gafu*) comprises vulgar paintings and is beneath contempt. As for the *Kaishien gaden* (*Jieziyuan huazhuan* [Mustard Seed Garden] Manual) by Li Weng, it would be considered in

Japan no more than painting of the market place, as it falls quite short of good painting. (Hashimoto 1979, 2)
As for Kuwayama Gyokushii, there is almost no mention of painting manuals in his Gashu of 1790, Ga'en higen of 1795, or Kaiji higen of 1799. Gyokushii evidently learned from looking at actual paintings and from watching Taiga at work. He was thus able to reevaluate Japanese painting history afresh and from empirical experience. From the standpoint of refinement or vulgarity, stylis137. Suzuki Fuyū's addendum to Hirazawa's treatise published in 1788 (Sakazaki 1927, 113). Critical terms of Chinese origins are given in their Chinese reading (even as they appear as here in Japanese texts).

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tic considerations and expressiveness of brushwork, Gyokushii gave greatest weight to expression of lofty aristocracy. This quality he found in certain artists regardless of school affiliations. Gyokushii studied Chinese technical and theoretical treatises and, like Hattori Nankaku, ignored the painting manuals. When applying Chinese theories to Japanese painting history, Gyokushii offered opinions that seemed outlandish to many, but which are upon reflection extraordinarily acute, reflective both of an unusually perceptive eye and an incisive clarity of mind. Among the latest of Chinese writers he read was Tangdai (see p. xvii), pupil of the ultimate exponent of Southern painting, Wang Yuanqi.

Tangdai's Huishi fawei (1716), of which Gyokushi had an original copy, is a contentious partisan statement of the Orthodox School.

It clearly nurtured Gyokushii's growing partisan understanding, an understanding that was to be fully enunciated in his third and last treatise, Kaiji higen, published posthumously shortly after his death. The quotations at the beginning of this study illustrate Gyokushu's unique insight. He saw that the crowning achievement in capturing the essential spirit of Japanese art was the work of S6tatsu, K6rin, and Taiga, painters whom he accurately identified as Japan's nanga and ippin masters. Gyokushui's growing awareness of the partisan nature of Chinese painting became fully enunciated in his last work, Kaiji higen. But Gyokushui did not understand, or reaffirm, Tangdai's stress on brushwork with its Chinese energy-oriented approach.

His own perception of idealist painting was more anecdotal (colored-poetic), with a requisite evocative quality. This is a view in keeping with the quintessence of Japanese painting: emotionality.

Literary Evidence for Japanization of the Four Wang Style. As we have seen from the foregoing, orthodox Qing wenren paintings were virtually unknown in eighteenth-century Japan. Nor could they have been appreciated on anything close to the original Chinese terms, that is, with visual recognition of their brushwork lineages, and in particular with a grasp of new values in brushwork criteria. Japanese viewers would not have been able to identify, for example, the manner in which the Huang Gong-wang image had been transformed by Dong Qichang and then reinterpreted by one of the Wang masters. Virtually nothing of the development

of
China's wenrenhua movement since the eleventh century
had

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reached Japan at the same time.¹³⁸ On the other hand, China's evolving color traditions had long continued to enter Japan. Thus models from the late sixteenth-century Wu School (centered around Suzhou) were readily appreciated. They were treasured for their anecdotal, colorist, evocative, and poetic qualities. In this section we shall examine Gyokushfi's writings for an insight into his understanding and reception, which were conditioned not only by Japan's exposure to the different Chinese styles, but also by strong indigenous preferences. Japanese contact with Chinese art circles since the Yuan and Ming had been with those of Chan and, to a lesser extent, professional painting. Although art lovers had access to most major Chinese art treatises in whole or in part and quoted liberally from them, they had no visual examples in paintings to illustrate the finer points we have discussed above. Chinese painting style and brush-modes as well as theories were thus understood and reinterpreted in light of Japan's own experiences in Chinese painting. This, as we have seen, followed rather distinctive

paths over
the next five centuries. Gyokushfi, who well understood
Japan's
major professional and monastic painting traditions, was in
this
way able to provide lucid and insightful analyses of Chinese
painting styles and to discuss the functions of Chinese
painting and
calligraphy in a way that would have been inconceivable in
China
itself. His views of China's colorist and monochrome
traditions
differ significantly from those of his Chinese peers.
The colorist tradition, including flora and landscapes, as
well as the fine outline-and-color fill genres, was elevated by
Gyokushfi by means of drawing comparisons with the
monochrome wenren tradition, by ascribing to color
masters the qualities treasured in the wenren giants:
[On colored-poetic landscapes]. A work although dense
with minutely delineated motifs is still without vulgarity;
the coloration is beautiful and marvellous like brocade;
there is furthermore a bright purity and clarity in
all the brilliant colors. Such quality cannot be attained by
lowly artisans or vulgar officials, [for] this was the method
started by Li Sixun and passed down to Zhao Qianli
138. The brief exception was that of the fourteenth-century
clerics who practiced
ink-flora painting associated with the Zhao
Mengfu/Xuechuang Puming styles;
see chapter i.

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[Boju], Zhao Danian, and Liu Songnian. [While] it belongs to
the Northern School [tradition] its techniques commanded
a pure clarity that was often employed by
Zhao Zi'ang [Mengfu], Wang Shuming [Meng], and Wen

Zhengming. (Sakazaki 1927, 123)

By the late Ming, Wen Zhengming School works had evolved into an anecdotal mode verging on the decorative and saccharine.

While the pastel pictures of minor and late followers like Song Xu,

Shao Mi, or Zhang Hong may have evoked a responsive chord

among the Japanese, they were vigorously decried at home by

Dong Qichang. It was Dong's antipathy for the degeneration of the

more abstract and monochromatic Yuan ideals that had fueled the

schism between the Wen-based Wu School and his own native

Songjiang School. Gyokushf was unaware of this internal dichotomy and chose to respond to new Chinese imports using his

own aesthetic judgment.

A decade previously the bakufu's Confucianist writer, Hirazawa Kyokuzan, had made more technical observations on

Taiga's minute color style:

Heian's Ike Mumei [Taiga] established a school all to himself. His paintings excel in their spirit resonance, and the literati (bunjin) all champion him. From his [time on] blue-and-green style paintings proliferated. I once saw a small scene by Ike in blue-and-green style. It was minute, skillful, and finely wrought and must have been worked with extreme care. The excellence of his thoroughness is praiseworthy. (Kokugaron, 1788, Sakazaki 1927, 111-12)

Both descriptions indicate that Taiga was practicing a fineline style that was called gongbi, which in Chinese denotes a

meticulous, draftsman's technique by which architectural elements

are ruled with fine lines of even width throughout and colors are

applied neatly within the contours, in short, something that resembles artisan painting. Although surviving monuments of this

type from the hand of Taiga are lacking, it is not difficult to believe

that this artist would have spent time exploring all manner

of painting techniques, the constrained as well as the free. On the other hand, ample surviving evidence has shown that Taiga did explore the potentials of pointillist blue-and-green styles, models of which were available in the Manpukuji collection. From a larger East Asian perspective, we may see that it was

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in Taiga's Japan that the evocative, decorative potential of the Wen Zhengming legacy received its fullest realization, and that this realization received Gyokushui's full approval. Gyokushui's understanding of China's wenren ink monochrome traditions is, however, radically different from that of the Chinese and provides a clear view of Japanese perceptions. For example, the traditional association in Japanese monastic circles of painting styles with calligraphy styles prompted observations that are inapplicable to China and unique to Japan: It is commonly known that [landscape] painting is differentiated among the shin (formal), gyo (running), and so (cursive) styles. Detailed renderings (clearly articulated in the linear manner) of pavilions and manors are called kaiga (paintings done in the formal, kaisho or shinsho script mode). As for the gyo style of painting, it is the so-called Goshō (Wuzhuang) style of pale expanse, tanko, engendered by Wu Daozi,¹³⁹ hence its name. Then there is the so cursive style, which is interesting in that it differs only in the method of expressing one's ideals, sha'i, as in

the spattered ink method of Wang Xia, and in the methods of Mi or Dong [Yuan]. (Sakazaki 1927, 125-26)

139. An abbreviated manner of painting using often broken, interrupted ink lines, enforced occasionally with pale washes of pigment such as dilute ocher, associated by the eleventh-century art historian Guo Roxu (ca. 1080) with Wu Daozi (see Tuhua jianwenzhi, book i). Gyokushu here associates the ancient Wu Daozi, not incorrectly, with the idea of broad expanses of pale inkwash or of light color washes, applied to figure and landscape paintings in place of heavy pigments. To Chinese theorists Wu was the "sage of painting" under the Tang emperor Xuanzong, who had learned his skills, according to his contemporary Zhang Yanyuan, from the reigning master of the wild-cursive script, Zhang Xu. Wu once completed in a single day a depiction of a three hundred li expanse of the Jialing River, painted on the massive walls of the Datongdian. But in China surviving notions associated with his hand have since the Northern Song been confined to Buddhist or Daoist figures, where Wu's brush is said to consist of lively, undulating linear strokes, with little suggestion of "pale" ink or "broad" expansiveness. Guo Roxu discusses the "twin traditions of [Northern Qi master] Cao [Zhongda] and Wu [Daozi]" when referring to Buddhist and Daoist figure painting. Already then Guo said of Wu Daozi, "The dynamics of his brushwork are centered and fluid, making the garment-sashes flutter in the wind," indicating the prominence of long linear brushwork in the rendering of the garments. In Japan the gyō running style of painting had been associated since Muromachi times with Muqi as represented in the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang attributed to him. In those paintings, indeed, the sense of tankō, pale [ink] and vast [space], pervades throughout.

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While it may be to some a curious confusion of images to associate Wu Daozi with broad expanses of pale inkwash or with the running-script style, it is here in a calligraphy-derived ranking of painting styles that we find the root cause of Gyokushui's linking of Wang Xia with ippin and with the cursive script as well as with Mi Fu and Dong Yuan.

As for wenren ink painting of birds and flora and landscapes, the inkplay principles of which were clearly understood, Gyokushui was not conversant with the various Chinese brushwork

lineages:

Or... in some works the ink and brushwork are pale and abbreviated, kantan. Birds are not birds, flowers are not flowers, and landscapes are not landscapes, but the flowers' and birds' and landscapes' spiritual essence, shinki, arises between the presence and absence of brush and ink. This style of painting is not based on formal likeness but expresses the intrinsic essence/flavor, busshu, of the subject. Such was the style of Wang Xia, Mi Yuanzhang, and Huang Ziju. The first to use this method in the writing out (sha) 140 of flowers and grasses was Chen Daofu (Shun). (Sakazaki 1927, 123) 141

140. The verb sha'i (C. xieyi) derives from wenren texts, which speak of painting in terms of "the writing out of ideals" in contradistinction to the older verbs for painting as in professional painting, such as kaku, written both as the Chinese hua to paint or to delineate, and miao, to render, terms clearly

eschewed here, in order to focus on the lofty, spiritual aspect of idealist painting in this, Gyokushfi's new formulation of the genre in Japanese.

141. Chen Shun (Daofu, 1483-1544) was a student of Wen Zhengming (1470-1559). His uses of pale inkwash related, in the Chinese context, not so much to the irreverent spattering of ink, *pomo*, said to have been invented by Wang Xia. More probably, it was related to the uses of broken ink (also pronounced *pomo* in Chinese but the character *po* means "to break") invented in China, it is said, by the Tang poet Wang Wei. In the thirteenth century the monk Muqi was said to have painted flowers and vegetables in the *mogu* or boneless (without outlines) style using broken ink, that is, inkwash. Again in the Ming, Wen Zhengming's teacher Shen Zhou (1427-1509) is known to have practiced the painting of ink-flora and vegetables in the monkish manner. Here clearly Gyokushfi was unaware that the progenitor of the nonlinear ink-flora style was the early Northern Song master Xu Xi, who is said to have astonished viewers with his "boneless" method of painting flowers and grasses in light inkwash and little color, bringing out their essential life vibrancy. Ming writers considered his legacy to have engendered the ink flower styles of Shen Zhou and Chen Shun, among others. An early biography of Xu appears in the early twelfth-century catalog of the Huizong Collection, *Xuanhe huapu*, juan 17.

In this passage Gyokushui traces the wenren styles of the Yuan master Huang Gongwang to the Southern Song master Mi Youren, and back to the outrageous Tang eccentric Wang Xia, who had been credited with the invention of pomo spattered ink, in the production of which he would get drunk and pour inkwash onto prepared surfaces and manipulate them in violent ways (which today may recall similar activities by postwar American "action painters"). In Chinese thinking these three could not possibly be so closely associated. For while Wang Xia had been decried by the Tang scholar-critic Zhang Yanyuan as beyond the pale, Mi (whose style was seen in the Ming and Qing as a rather wet, amorphous style filled with wet blobs of "Mi dots") and Huang (whose Chinese eyes was in a somewhat dry, linear mode) were elevated to the exclusive idealist stratosphere by their Chinese contemporaries and later admirers. Chen Shun was in this context, however, a comparatively minor figure. But in Japan he was widely admired. At the time of Chen's activities in the sixteenth century, Chinese wenren painting was moving away from the more washy experiments that had been a part of the work of Shen Zhou (1427-1509, founder of the Ming wenren school) to increasingly dry and linear modes. Thus Chen's inventive uses of inkwash in the painting of flowers and landscapes without outlines were never given the recognition they deserved. The same relative disregard greeted the

works of the younger master of wet inkwash, Xu Wei (1521-93), whose brilliant and energetic paintings of ink flowers and vines astonish today's viewers with their vigour and modernity. Nor did Gyokushf understand the abstract, brushworkoriented nature of the Yi Hai linear modes in their Chinese context. He did, however, sympathize with Chinese complaints against the traces of vulgarity in academic landscapes, and against the tendency to stress physical resemblance. Gyokushi thus discovered refinement in the simplified, abbreviated wenren type of ink paintings, which he understandably associated with the sublime or untrammeled ippin class: As for Southern painting it is the brushplay by imperial relatives, scholar officials, and gentlemen of elevated refinement done during their pure leisure. Thus, such painting emphasizes [internal] antique refinement and does not seek [external] beauty. It seeks a sense of warmth and moisture, onjun, in the forms, and the utmost in

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emotional resonance, sei'in.⁴² Therefore it is called the style of [scholar] officials, and pure pastimes worthy of one's studio. As for masters of pure and simplified styles [in ink landscapes], there are Mi Yuanzhang father and son, Huang Zijiu, Ni Yunlin, and Gao Shangshu, whose paintings belong to the untrammeled category, or ikaku, which is the most treasured class among connoisseurs.¹⁴³ (Sakazaki 1927, 141)

As we have seen, Gyokushfi considered Yi Hai and Taiga the sole ippin (untrammeled class) painters of his day and associated ippin with ink landscapes of the abbreviated,

expressive

mode that was visually and technically related to Rinpa and to

142. Onjun (warm and moist) here represents distinctly Japanese preferences.

Orthodox critic Dong Qichang had used the term run (moist) in contrast to dry,

as a technique for the desired effect of the gently understated or unassertive,

pingdan. An example is Dong's reported conversations with Chen Jiru, in which

they decided it was preferable to have "dark," an, which to them meant "unclear,

like floating clouds and mists" (unbounded and rounded).

"Obvious," or ming,

on the other hand, was "like a tile ridge at the corner of a roof and rather

suggestive, angular," which, of an oblique or slanted brush-idiom, was to them

ostentatious or vulgar (see Dong's Huayen, or Eye of Painting). This aspect of

reserve in Chinese brushwielding had never been transmitted to Japan, and

Gyokushu's usage of terms like warmth suggests emotional temperatures and

bears a distinctly emotive connotation. Sei'in (C. xingyun, emotional resonance)

appears in later Chinese texts such as Huazhu (Leisurely Talks on Painting) by

the mid-seventeenth-century Suzhou writer Shen Hao, who, while echoing Dong

Qichang's sentiments, adds such terms as xingyun and also qingyun, pure

resonance, which would appear to be his own contribution.

Huazhu was familiar

to Gyokushui, who quoted from it often.

143. Gyokushu cited his sources scrupulously when quoting from the Chinese. This

passage appears in a section that begins, "The

above-mentioned passages are

roughly what the other country (China) says about painting.

If we were to fathom

their meaning minutely, [we see that] their Northern School painting is entirely

focused on verisimilitude." It thus seems that it represents

Gyokushf's summary, reflecting his own views and his own understanding of idealist theories. Gyokushui's astonishing grasp of available materials in Chinese paintings and texts accounts only for part of his lucid analysis of Japanese painting in general and the interrelationship of ippin and nanga in particular. This process involved on the part of Gyokushui a formidable combination of visual experiences, as well as notions of Japanese painting history, familiarity with Chinese critical texts from pre-Yuan to contemporary authors, a grasp of the nature of Taiga's transformation of Chinese finger-painting techniques, of Rinpa's tarashikomi techniques, of Yujian-derived inkwash techniques prevalent among Kano painters, and, finally, glimpses of real contemporary wenrenhua as represented by Yi Hai's works in Japan. It is my firm belief that only this breadth of experience could have produced the lucid and remarkable understanding of nanga that Gyokushui was to bring forth in his major treatise Kaiji higen.

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finger painting. At no point is there evidence that he understood the fundamental brushwork-oriented criteria informing the Yuan and Ming texts he studied, nor the stress on a zhongfeng ideal to calligraphic brushstrokes, where energy is focused in order to penetrate the painting surface with its weight and substance. That

the complex superimposition of masses of linear brushwork was

rejected in Japan is clear from their significant absence in eighteenth-century Japanese painting. Instead, we see that Taiga transformed the chop suey-like constructs of multiple strokes of his

Chinese models, producing instead a new type of ink-stroke that

incorporates qualities derived from finger painting and from Rinpa

techniques of tarashikomi. We can further see that Taiga's response is not only reflective of his personal brilliance, but also of

Japanese reaction to Chinese culture as a whole.

It parallels earlier rejections of the same Chinese tendencies in the case of calligraphy. Heian calligraphers had begun to tire of the complex, multilayered, architectonic structure of Chinese characters in the formal kai and xing scripts and devised a

limpid, fluid, two-dimensional form based on the draft or cao

script that came to be known as hiragana. In aristocratic Heian

society the motion transmitted through a single line of kana script

along the writing surface served as a sensitive barometer of a writer's poetic cultivation and aristocratic bearing. It was better

suited than foursquare, architectonic Chinese ideographs to the

expression of Japanese sensibilities. A far cry from the ponderous,

philosophical, and monosyllabic structures of blocky Chinese ideographs, it was especially appropriate for transcribing the rhythmic, polysyllabic waka form of Japanese poetry.

We have seen that for inkplays in flora and bamboo, literary and visual evidence indicate significant rejection of contemporary

imports, in preference for historical models from the Muromachi,

based on those of the Yuan or early Ming. Not only were several

Yuan manuals on ink bamboo and flora reprinted in early Tokugawa,

but paintings by Nankai, Taiga, Gyokuran, K6 Fuyo, and others reveal a collective resistance to the thick, heavy models illustrated in the late-Ming and early-Qing manuals. Even Taiga's friend and abbot of Manpukuji, Dapeng Zhengkun, famed for his "vigorous, compelling," but dense and confused ink bamboo, inspired no more than a handful of copies. Respectful but occasional gestures in his direction were made by Taiga and Gyokuran, among others.

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Closer, more serious "studies" were made by the Chinese monk Dacheng and the Japanese monks Raiho and Miho, but the Dapeng style left no effective imprint on mainstream Tokugawa bamboo painting. Gyokushf explains the genre and his preference for the ancient masters as ideal models: Since antiquity [the four friends: chrysanthemum, prunus, epidendra, and bamboo] have been called the Four Gentlemen and [served as vehicles for] brushplay. Furthermore, the forms of bamboo and epidendra are quiet and refined and employ the brush-method of calligraphers; therefore many literati "wrote them out." When the breast is filled with the lofty flavor of the Four Gentlemen and one goes about painting them, it is not a matter of concern with expertise or clumsiness but above all a concern with the expression of pure harmonies, sei'in, beyond

their forms.... For ink bamboo [one should study the methods of] Wen Yuke, Mei Daoren, Li Xizhai, Ke Jiusi, and Madam Guan (Zhao Mengfu). For ink prunus [follow] Yang Buzhi, for epidendra, Zhao Zi'ang (Mengfu).

(Sakazaki 1927, 129-30)

Although Gyokushfi was aware of the powerful bamboo style issuing from Manpukuji, he specifically avoids mentioning

Dapeng/Taih6 in the context of bamboo painting. Instead, he

recommends as models Song and Yuan masters famed in the genre

of ink bamboo, including the two Yuan masters whose bamboo

manuals were recently reprinted in Japan, Wu Zhen and Li Kan.

Furthermore, none of the masters recommended is from the Ming

or Qing. Clearly, Japan's own experience in Song and Yuan type

ink-flora, as well as its preference for clarity, a sense of space, and

tonal gradations (which in China were predominant only in the

Song and Yuan), has exerted a profound influence on the assimilation process of rejection, selection, and transformation.

Gyokushu's Concept of Ippin. In this section we shall examine briefly what Gyokushui understood, in visual terms, by the

sublime, untrammled yipin class or ippin, considered in Qing

texts as the ultimate achievement of the wenren movement.

We

shall also look for Chinese models that were probably available to

him (directly or through copies) and that may have contributed to the formulation of his understanding.

It must be noted, first of all, that since the Muromachi period the abbreviated inkwash style had been associated with the cursive script in calligraphy, *sosho* (C. *caoshu*), and with the "writing out of ideals," *sha'i* (C. *xieyi*). Both concepts became increasingly identified in Japan with "painting in the idealist mode." In this peculiarly Japanese context, Gyokushf assessed

wenrenhua by matching notions from Chinese texts with his empirical observations:

The ideal of brushwielding in calligraphy is [to be natural and evenly balanced] like the mark of an awl drawing in sand, or that of a seal pressed into seal paste.¹⁴⁴ Thus Yan Zhenqing in his treatise on calligraphy said that the ideal of brushwielding is to [direct one's psychic energy] so powerfully that it penetrates to the back of the paper. Other desiderata include "ceiling stain of a leaky roof" [in its balanced formal naturalness], which refers to the hidden brushtip.¹⁴⁵ Therefore in Chinese calligraphy there is not one dot or one wipe that either is thin (weak or insubstantial) or floats [lightly on the paper's surface]. For instance, in the wild-cursive *kuangcao* script or in their idealist painting, *sha'i*, each line or stroke is [centered and weighted] like that of a sharp knife, leaving ink traces like marks [deeply etched] into a copper block. Chinese painting before the Song consisted mostly of [fine-lined, even-edged] rounded brushwork (*enpitsu*, C. *yuanbi*), and the style therefore was largely of the minutely exquisite, *jingke* (J. *seikaku*) category.¹⁴⁶ From [Dong] Beiyuan of the Song onward, the use of slanted

144. This ancient Chinese saying refers to both the weightedness of the stroke, and to its even, smooth, and rounded contours that bear no visible outline.

145. Water stains have invisible, faint boundaries that appear to have no beginning and no end. Gyokushf interprets this Chinese adage in terms of calligraphy, and

by "hiding the brushtip" he refers to the doubling back on itself of the brushtip during a stroke's entrance and exit, in order to conceal the pointed beginnings and ends of the stroke.

146. Gyokushu here interprets the Chinese sources and seeks to describe Tang painting as consisting mainly of a courtly style, of colored painting with fine outlines and ruled architectural lines of extremely fine caliber. Judging from extant survivals, Japan's own experience of the Nara period may have included such a finely detailed genre (even though we lack surviving examples), for by Heian times, the narrative painting tradition demonstrates the prevalence of an

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brushwielding (sokuhitsu, C. cebi) was incorporated. And since the Four Yuan Masters all based their works on the style of Dong Beiyuan, they all used slanted brushwielding as well. But according to the ancients, Ni Zan used the slanted brush exclusively.<sup>147</sup>

Tang painting was all of minutely wrought styles, but Wang Mojie initiated the inkwash method, with which he achieved a sense of space.<sup>148</sup> But he could not entirely avoid painting in the minutely wrought style. After him, Li Cheng, Dong Beiyuan, and others increasingly worked on [the sense of spaciousness and brevity] till Huang Ziju of the Yuan achieved a lofty and refined style. For

this reason Huang Ziji is called the progenitor of the untrammelled category ikaku. And thus all Ming and Qing masters followed Yuan methods. (Sakazaki 1927,125,128) even, fine-line technique used as boundaries for figures and buildings. See especially the haknby6 (C. baimiao) ink outline genre of painting.

147. This extraordinary and highly instructive example of freewheeling interpretation of Chinese sources reveals Gyokushui's ignorance of the fact that the single technical factor dividing the "Northern" and "Southern" Schools in Chinese ideals had been engendered by the wenren's distaste for the slanted or oblique brush manner, cebi (J. sokuhitsu), hallmark of the Ma-Xia mode used by the professional painters. It was the axe-type stroke called fupicun or the great axe stroke, dafupicun, together with angular configurations of jagged rocky mountains that Zhao Mengfu had decried as vulgar. Yuan ideals turned, therefore, resolutely away from this type of slanted brushwielding toward a more centered or reserved brushwielding, zhongfeng, which produced noodlelike strokes with relatively even edges, called pimacun. Ni Zan did use the slanted brush, and almost exclusively in his hallmark inverted-L strokes known as zhedaicun or folded-sash stroke. But Ni's brush motion was not so oblique, and the effect, supple and even, was a leisurely, unfettered, and ambient ease, an ideal cherished as supreme by Yuan wenren painters and admired by their Ming followers. From a Japanese perspective, however, brushwork in the wenren style that contrasted to the even, "iron-wire"-like lines used in Heian narrative painting, for example, would appear slanted. But Chinese idealist brushwielding called zhongfeng, centered brush, was not actually done with the brush held bolt upright, perpendicular to the paper-which would have resulted in an even, "lifeless" iron-line. What was centered, zhong, in the wenren ideal of zhongfeng

brushwielding was the energy; hence the center of gravity remained within the stroke, resulting in an effect of zhongfeng brushwielding. It is in this light that Tangdai's remarks at the beginning of this study (p. xvii) should be understood.

148. Significantly, the "sense of space" is stressed by Gyokushf where it would have escaped his contemporary Qing commentators. In Japan, inkwash styles developed over the previous five centuries by followers of the Yujian manner had become synonymous with expansive spaciousness, hirogari, a prime ideal since pre-Sesshui painting of the Muromachi period. The expanse in such works is undefined, evocative, and full of expressive potential.

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These accounts derive in large part from Chinese texts and do not indicate direct observation on the part of Gyokushf. Descriptions of Tang painting with fine-lined contour-and-color fill, of the addition of a slanted brushwielding since the Song, of brushwork criteria as focusing on weight and penetration as if a knife were incising a copper plate, are largely hearsay. Visual and documentary evidence show that the Chinese masters extolled here were not represented by works in Japanese collections. There was no way by which Gyokushui could ascertain the meaning of the Chinese comments on their respective brushwielding. However,

from the sequence in which Gyokushfi arranged the information, we see how he could arrive at a perception of the untrammelled style as a style that was "founded by Huang Gongwang," which was not linear and which was in essence based on an inkwash tradition with its genesis in the Tang dynasty. How do we reconstruct what Gyokushfi perceived, in visual terms, to be the style of Huang Gongwang in composition and in brush-mode? It was certainly not related to our twentiethcentury notions of Huang's vertical landscape types, such as Jiuzhu fengcui (Nine Pearl Peaks),<sup>149</sup> a painting done with a fairly upright centered brush where the lines emerge with relatively even edges. Nor is it of the river scene handscroll, Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains<sup>150</sup> celebrated in China above virtually all other paintings, an ink monochrome work on paper done with easygoing, largely dryish strokes drawn with a brush that is more centered in its balance and weight than it is perfectly upright in its handling. Nor did Gyokushfi appear to have reacted to a Huangrelated image then available in Japan, Tianchi chibitu (Stone Cliff at the Heavenly Pond),<sup>151</sup> a complex vertical painting in colors on silk ascribed to Huang Gongwang and dated to 1341. A version of this work had entered Japan in the eighteenth century and was avidly studied by nearly every major nanga artist since Hyakusen. It is one of numerous late and embellished copies of what may have been a genuine early composition by the Yuan master; in this Ming

149. Hanging scroll, ink on satin, 79.6 x 58.5 cm. National Palace Museum Collection, Taipei. Reproduced in Chang 1975, pl. 101.



150. Handscroll, ink on paper, 33.0 x 636.9 cm. National Palace Museum Collection, Taipei. Published in Chang 1975, pl. 102.

151. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk, collection presently unknown. Published in Cahill 1976, pl. 40.

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or early-Qing re-creation, however, motifs have been multiplied and the structure made unnecessarily complex. Above all, the brushwork has lost in such transcription all its original bounce and suppleness combined with tensile strength, the hallmark and quintessence of the Huang style in Chinese eyes. From Gyokushui's description of Huang's use of inkwash, spaciousness, and brevity, a more reasonable image is found in Yi Hai's representations of Huang's style. Although we have not yet established the date of entry into Japan of Yi Hai's fabricated image of the master in *Painting in the Style of Huang Gongwang* (1745) (28a), we know that one of Taiga's interpretations of Huang Gongwang's<sup>52</sup> was remarkably close to that of Yi Hai's horizontal painting. It is therefore probable that Gyokushui's formulation of the Huang style was based on such Yi Hai/Taiga interpolations and variations. The sparse, linear Yi Hai renditions of the Huang style had evidently served to confirm for Gyokushui an image

that  
was indeed moist and abbreviated. Only such a perception  
(and  
not the actual Huang image) could provide for Japanese  
readers  
the visual grounds for associating the wet and amorphous  
image of  
"Dong Yuan and Mi Fu" with the unknown but revered  
modes of  
the Yuan master. This association was of course at odds  
with actual  
historical facts.

On the whole, eighteenth-century artists and theorists  
understood the Chinese yipin to be abbreviated in  
execution like  
cursive script, and amorphous in shape. To summarize the  
history of yipin based on Gyokushu's writings, it is a lofty  
genre  
done in an (imagined) manner of formless inkwash  
generated by  
the legendary Tang masters Wang Xia (of spattered ink  
fame) and  
Wang Wei (founder of the "broken ink" tradition). Yipin was  
further developed in the Song by Dong Yuan and Mi Fu,  
who were  
thought to have produced fairly moist, inkwash-based lake  
scenes.

Moving to the Yuan of Huang Gongwang and Ni Zan, of  
whom  
there were no examples then in Japan, Japanese imagination  
indicates further reduction and abbreviation. Gyokushu,  
like  
Taiga, envisioned the Huang Gongwang style along the lines  
of  
the apochryphal image projected by Yi Hai.  
Huang was seen as "founder of the the yipin category." The  
yipin style was perceived as essentially nonlinear and largely

152. See Kurimoto 1960, pl. 299 for example, and pl. 300 for  
an angular variation.

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inkwash-based where "forms had no distinct boundaries."<sup>153</sup> This style is in contrast to contemporary Chinese notions, where the yipin style had become dry and linear, exemplified by the works now ascribed to Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, among others. For thoughtful viewers like Gyokushfi, the abbreviated inkwash-based works long in Japanese collections could, and did, present a history of Chinese painting that was incompatible with Chinese accounts. The works include attributions to Dong Yuan, such as the cursory Winter Landscape in the Kurokawa Collection (Cahill 1976, pl. 90)<sup>154</sup>; the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang ascribed to Muqi from Ashikaga shogunal collections, now in the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts; and the even more abbreviated and cursive Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang (on paper) ascribed to Yujian in the same Muromachi collection, and Mount Lu (on silk) also ascribed to Yujian, which had entered Japan somewhat later. Chinese examples in early Japanese collections (see Tokyo National Museum 1962) describe a course of development in painting that is to a large extent at odds with Chinese painting history as seen through eighteenth-century Chinese collections. Stepping back to our own times, let us reconsider in this bifocal regard how our perception is formed by our collections. The majority of Chinese paintings surviving today reflect the taste of Qianlong collections, collections that had been formed in

the eighteenth-century ethos of wenrenhua supremacy. The guiding principle was based on Dong Qichang's reverence for the dry, linear style developed in the Yuan for painting on paper in a calligraphic manner. The Japanese, on the other hand, until recent decades, had viewed Chinese painting in light of their collections formed in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, collections that throw light on earlier phases of Chinese art history. Their visualization of painting as described in Chinese idealist texts was guided, therefore, more readily by the familiar images of wetter, inkwash-based paintings of the Song and Yuan. Gyokushfi visualized paintings by Wang Xia, Dong Yuan, Mi Fu, Huang 153. This is in keeping with Shimada's definition of the yipin manner as defined in the Tang. 154. Although this work and others, such as the Xiao and Xiang landscape handscroll by "Mr. Li" (signed Boshi) and the Wang Tingyun and Guo Bi paintings, entered Japanese collections after the Tokugawa period, they are consistent with Japan's historical perspective of Chinese painting history and clearly reflect Japanese understanding and preferences here so expertly enunciated by Gyokushfi.

thought,  
therefore, that the ippin tradition had been ever evolving  
toward  
increasing moisture and abbreviation. This was identified in  
Japan  
as the sublime or untrammelled ikaku.

Of China's formative, pre-Yuan phase, had Gyokushui seen  
any works or copies of Dong Yuan or Mi Fu, father or son? As  
the

ample records of Kano shukuzu (reduced copies and  
reductions)

demonstrate, there were available at the time<sup>55</sup> no more  
than

distant reflections of Mi Fu of mid-Ming vintage, and closer,  
earlyMing-based representations of his Yuan follower, Gao  
Kegong.

From Muromachi shogunal collections, there were  
landscape sets

and Buddhist figure sets ascribed to Muqi, and Yujian  
landscape

sets. These are related to the Jiangnan tradition in general,  
though

not necessarily specifically to the styles of Dong Yuan or Mi  
Fu.

While we cannot determine whether Gyokushf had direct  
access

to Tokugawa shogunal collections, we can be certain that he  
studied Japanese copies and recensions made of such works  
over the

centuries. The wet style related to Mi Fu and to Gao is seen  
in a very

large number of Taiga paintings, with or without the  
apocryphal

large, watery blobs or "Mi-dots."<sup>56</sup>

On the other hand, we can only admire Gyokushui for his  
formidable and incisive knowledge and understanding of  
Japanese art. Applying to his own heritage Chinese wenren  
criteria as

he understood them, this is his remarkable and well-known  
conclusion:

In my opinion, the Southern Tradition nanshu of our  
land comprises Prince Konoë, Shokado, S6tatsu, and  
Korin.... K6rin liked to inform all his figures, flowers,  
and birds with a sense of antiquity and artless naivete,  
guzhuo (J. kosetsu), scrupulously avoiding the trodden

155. The Kano were avid record-keepers of paintings seen in various collections, and their detailed copies clearly record virtually all the paintings that were worth seeing in Japan at the time, including many from ancient collections, as well as important new arrivals. With one or two odd exceptions, the shukuzu reflect no firsthand examples of the Four Wang but are rich in the figurative, anecdotal ink works treasured, of course, by the Kano School. How accessible these Chinese copies by Kano connoisseurs were to outsiders is a moot point, in view of the rivalry among the schools.

156. For Taiga's debt to the Mi-Gao images in Japan, see ic, a Taiga painting of Mount Fuji in Mi style, and 29b, one of the views of Xiao and Xiang.

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paths of [hack] painters. He used inkwash to "write out" flowers and grasses, and, though one may consider them simplified, abbreviated, or of unusual stance, their gesture of facing the breeze, bearing the dew, brings them fully to life.<sup>157</sup> Moreover, his manner never sank for the slightest fraction into vulgarity or commonness. (Sakazaki 1927, 150)

The special attributes of S6tatsu and K6rin, aside from poeticism and emotionality, are brushlessness in the application of wash and the tarashikomi device of pooling wet ink or color wash.

At the time, Prince Konoe and Shokado were renowned for an abbreviated, spontaneous inkwash style associated with Zen

ink painting. Gyokushu's notion of untrammeled painting, ikaku, was associated on the one hand with the Mi tradition of abbreviated, wet inkwash styles, and on the other hand with the simplified, expressive, moist, and brushless styles of Japanese Rinpa and Zenga (Zen painting), styles that also lay little stress on linear construction. As for the sublime, untrammeled class, Gyokushfi accords the ippin rank only to Yi Hai and Taiga. In his own way Gyokushfi, like the Chinese theorists, based his analysis on intrinsic aspects, namely, the manner of using brush and ink, and not on extrinsic features of subject matter or compositional schemata.

It is clear that Gyokushui understood the Yi Hai (and Huang Gongwang) styles through renditions by Ikeno Taiga. He perceived them to be abbreviated in technique and expressive in mood. But from a Chinese perspective the Yi Hai style is, as mentioned above, a qualitatively degraded version of the Wang Hui mode, which in turn derives from the dry, linear, overlaid tradition of post-Dong Qichang idealist standards. The ideal for Chinese wenrenhua painters was for their art to attain that state of perfection in capturing the essence of their subjects by means of highly sophisticated and personal, calligraphy-based brushwork, a perfection that was considered "beyond the comprehension of the vulgar or common people." As a mark of the scholar-gentry class, whose pride resided in mastery of the virtually impossible, or at the very least of the extremely difficult, idealist painting had

been since its Song inception a closed world enjoyed only by its

157. For an illustration, see K6rin's fan painting of young fern, warabi, facing the wind, done in wet inkwash and very few strokes of the brush (34). Published in Yamane 1967.

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own practitioners. A medium for communication on a lofty plane,

this "fine and exalted art" was reserved in China for those who

were themselves of equal caliber in brushwielding, or yongbi.

It was therefore inevitable that even by the end of the eighteenth century there was little understanding of the actual

history of Chinese idealist painting. Inspired interpretations like

Gyokushfi's were formed by knowledge of Chinese art history

through texts, an art history understood in terms of available

Chinese paintings and, not least, of Japan's own experience in

Chinese-style painting. This last had been overwhelmingly inkwash

oriented, as evidenced by the triumph at the end of the sixteenth century of the Yujian-oriented style at Hideyoshi's court.<sup>158</sup> Such understanding led logically to Gyokushfi's perception of China's painting history.

In sum, eighteenth-century Japanese idealist painters understood ippin/yipin to mean (a) in quality, the sublime hors

conours class of the inspired, untrammeled painter, and



(b) in visual terms, spontaneous expression that is often heterodox in execution, abbreviated in rendering, without boundaries, usually moist with atmospheric and a liberal use of water. Thus, while Qing painters of the dense Four Wang linear style, or the sparse Zha Shibiao linear style, would not dream of engaging in finger painting, Japanese admirers of the idealist mode saw no contradiction in attempting finger painting as part of idealist activities.

Ikeno Taiga merits close study in this regard since he almost single-handedly transformed the heterogeneous new Chinese visual stimuli into mainstream nanga. Nineteenth-century painters like Nakamura H6chfi and Tani Bunch6,159 among others, continued to make occasional experiments in finger painting. In short, eighteenth-century Japanese artists and theorists identified Chinese idealist painting with inkwash, abbreviation, freewheeling, and, not least, experimentation in heterodox techniques.

158. An entry in the Taik6ki describes the visit of a Ming emissary to the court of Hideyoshi in 1594 when, speaking on art, the Japanese warlord said proudly, "In our country we value 'Fen' Yujian as the first, Ma Lin as the second, 'Chang' Muqi as the third" (Richard Stanley-Baker 1979, 238).

159. Tanaka (1972, 82) mentions references to Tani Bunch6's various finger-painting experiments in Bunch6 gadan, and examples by H6chfi and Rosetsu, among others. For a more detailed examination of finger painting in Tokugawa Japan, see my essay on the subject in the catalog on finger painting in the Far East for the exhibition held in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in December 1992.

## Conclusion

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## Conclusion

In this brief survey several unexpected directions of enquiry emerged. A reassessment of the internal development of Chinese idealist painting was necessitated by its interrupted and fragmentary exposure in Japan, an exposure that conditioned not only Japan's collecting and evaluation of Chinese works, and its subsequent development of ink painting, but also its peculiar view of the history and form of Chinese wenrenhua. In a Japanese context, then, Chinese idealist painting has been for the purpose of this study re-viewed in terms of four categories.

The first three-colored-poetic landscapes, philosophical or quasi-abstract ink landscapes, and inkplays of flora and trees-had been reinterpreted in the fourteenth century by Zhao Mengfu, founder of the linear, calligraphic movement that would become the orthodox mode by the Qing. Zhao's concept of lofty self-expression contradicted, and in brush usage went counter to, the earlier shidaifu movement of Northern Song. Eleventh-century scholar officials had aimed less at self-expression than at an identification of self with aspects of nature, zhen or ziran. Their spontaneous, free re-creations of nature's dynamism sought neither formal resemblance nor, indeed, excuses for displaying one's accomplishments in brushwielding (J. Stanley-Baker 1977). It had been a freer, experimental brushplay, where criteria of excellence resided

in capturing the subject (nature)'s essence; the act of painting was self-forgetting; the result was to parallel nature's dynamics, shi, and nature's principles, li. The focus was on inner energy, qi, and lastly, particularly stressed by Mi Fu, on unassertiveness in manifestation, that is, understatement. This approached an abbreviated manner using largely pale inkwash and minimum linear brushwork. Among Northern Song shidaifu painters there were no categorical limitations and no stricture against implements other than the brush.

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## 148 Conclusion

Professor Shimada has shown that China's eleventh-century critical legacy regarding yipin had prepared for the first wave of shidaifu painting.

It is an historical irony that features common to the two categories in the Song, yipin and wenrenhua, are subsequently

reflected in unison only in Tokugawa texts. Eighteenth-century

Japanese critics understood Chinese idealist painting as free expression, spontaneous and inspired, abbreviated, wash oriented, and nonlinear. They understood it as a viable alternative to the carefully built up linear constructs of the Southern Song and Ming academies.

In the history of Chinese painting itself, however, this held true only up to the time of Mi Fu. For, from Zhao Mengfu

onward, the Song ideals were ignored, and post-Yuan idealist painting codified distillations of Dong-Ju and Li-Guo

brushmodes, which eventually generated the studious Ming and Qing variations we know so well. To distinguish themselves from professional painters, Zhao Mengfu and his followers developed their counter-style by using a centered, that is, a more reserved, zhongfeng type of brushwielding. Rather than an identification of self with eternal or cosmic values, now the motifs of nature were borrowed to reflect the self and to highlight inner, personal cultivation. This was by means of excellence in brushwielding. It is inaccurate to postulate an amateur stance for the Yuan movement since in brush-modes the wenren landscape and bamboo styles were built solely on the brushidioms developed by Song professional academic painters. Nor can we view Yuan wenrenhua as freewheeling brushplay for, as is well known, while brushwork acquired independence with Zhao Mengfu, it aimed at elegance and studious cultivation, hardly "play" that was spontaneous or carefree. There was little in Yuan idealist painting of the unstudied, amateur, wet, and nonlinear approach promoted in Song times. By the late Ming, exponents of free, nonlinear washy modes of painting were considered decidedly beyond the pale. Let us take the case of the Zhejiang genius Xu Wei (1521-93), poet, playwright, and madman. While in Mi Fu's eyes Xu might well have been ranked as yige or sublime, to Ming contempo

An associate of the iconoclastic Gonggan School, Xu's preference for violence in expression (as manifested in his poetry, dramas, calligraphy, and painting) was engendered by an "intense and individual response... to life" (Lynn 1981, 172), a sensibility that indeed did find empathy among Japanese artists. The shift in perceptual bases between the Song-Yuan and Ming-Qing eras on the one hand, and that between the Song-Yuan and Tokugawa Japan on the other, highlight the divergence in the assessment of Xu Wei. In Tokugawa Japan, Xu was regarded as an inspiring wenrenhua master, even though at home Xu's work was not associated with the idealist movement. Taiga, for example, inscribed a poem by Xu upon a mural at Jishoji, and Tani Buncho mentioned him in his treatise Buncho

gadan.<sup>161</sup> The perception of Xu Wei as a wenrenhua master has persisted even to the present day.<sup>162</sup> The culmination of the dense linear mode in the oeuvre of Wang Yuanqi verges closely on abstraction. Chinese connoisseurs even to this day can become "inebriated by merely gazing at [a square inch] of Wang's brushwork,"<sup>163</sup> which was the triumph of China's brush aesthetics. But the linear bases of

160. See the stimulating discussion of "Alternate Routes to Self-Realization in Ming Theories of Poetry" by Richard John Lynn in Bush and Murck 1981, 317-40.

161. A painting of Xu Wei's ink flora had been in the collection of the Confucian official named Murase serving his fief, which Bunch<sup>6</sup> regrets not having seen personally. Bunch<sup>6</sup> had admired the eccentric Chinese painter from reading about his painting of landscapes, figures, flowers, insects, and bamboo and rock. He notes that Xu Wei (under his hao Tianshui Yuefu, Moon-man of the Water-field) is not

mentioned in the  
Qing compendium *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu*. A brief entry on  
Xu Wei appears  
after one devoted to the technique of flower painting using  
no outlines, tracing the *mogu* or "boneless" style from the  
Song to the Qing  
master Yun Shouping. See Bunch's *gadan* op cit.: 311-12.  
162. See for example Nakata Yfijir's discussion (1975, 121ff.)  
of Xu Wei in his  
treatise on latter Tokugawa painting theory.  
163. Such expressions are often heard among traditional  
Chinese connoisseurs like C. C. Wang and his fellow  
collectors. I was privileged to hear  
similar exchanges during the many years of our oral history  
project on  
brushwork aesthetics. See p. 10, n. 7.

## 150 Conclusion

this style were not understood in the pale reflection that Yi  
Hai  
introduced to Japan in the 1720s.  
Yipin was associated in contemporary Chinese criticism  
with the highest of *wenren* expressions. But this was only in  
terms of ranking, as *yipin* had crept above the *divine* class,  
*shenpin*, in status. In China the term had long lost its  
technical  
definition of freewheeling, untrammelled brushwielding in  
forms created "without distinct boundaries." It now referred  
to a dry, linear, brushwork-oriented approach. Masters of  
*yipin*  
for late-Ming and Qing writers were Mi Fu and Ni Zan.  
Images  
"in the manner of Mi" were visualized in terms of the  
apocryphal "Mi-dots" placed, one beneath the other, along  
axes of  
long, imaginary strokes. In conception an essentially linear

approach, this interpretation transformed the earlier Mi mountain image that was wet and amorphous<sup>164</sup> into masses of horizontal dots that were aligned along cascading phalanxes like groups of pearl necklaces that radiate downward from the pinnacle. This is surely a far cry from the original spirit and image of Mi Fu. Nevertheless, the late-Ming image of Mi Fu comprised cascading rows of densely packed wet blobs. As to the image of Ni Zan, the other yipin style without visual examples in Japan, it was understood in China in terms of a sparse and dry linear style consisting of L-shaped zhedai strokes. Thus it is not surprising that eighteenth-century Japanese critics were hard put to visualize the Chinese texts in terms with anything vaguely approaching the Chinese perceptions.

The category of yipin is discussed here at some length because, while it was the earliest genre to emerge and to die out (as unclassifiable brush-technique) in China, it enjoyed the longest development in Japan. It was with yipin in mind that Taiga developed his abbreviated ink landscapes. Taiga and Gyokushui conceived of the Qing orthodox wenren style in terms of yipin. We may note parenthetically that in this regard

<sup>164</sup>. Perhaps with a very few original, descriptive linear strokes or groups of vegetation dots, but retaining a largely "brushless" quality. The original image of Mi, aside from what may have lain beneath the heavily retouched and repainted Misty Landscape now in the Freer Collection, is, I believe, invoked in the S6ami and Taiga landscapes in la-c.

Tokugawa perception most closely approached that of the movement's Chinese founders of the Northern Song. Colored-poetic landscapes with figures entered early Tokugawa Japan chiefly in the form of late-Ming Wu School works. Although these were also linear and pointillist in execution, reflecting a brushwork-oriented approach, their evocative and colorist expressions were readily appreciated. Indeed, Japan's own Tang-derived Yamato-e tradition shares a common ancestry with the colorist Wu School, which in turn had built upon Zhao Mengfu's revival of Tang colored-poetic modes. Although the blue-green Tang mode had been virtually stripped of its linear emphasis in Japan in favor of more atmospheric, wash-oriented effects in Heian painting, the exploitation of emotive and poetic allusions was emphatically pursued in Japan at all times; in China it emerged notably in late-Ming Suzhou. Assimilation of this mode was therefore rapid, requiring less radical transformation than that of the Four Wang ink mode. In this regard, the set of Manjuiin fan albums of Wu School works found quick response in Taiga. Technical devices introduced in these albums are enlarged and enlivened in many of Taiga's representative works. In brushwielding, Taiga's japanization of these brushmodes reveals a marked preference for lateral, as opposed to overlapping, applications of brushwork and placement of the motifs. That is, where the model exhibits aspects of dry linear styles (dense or sparse), Taiga's response was to reduce the linearity, enhance the watery and planar aspects, turning the dry, mottled brushstrokes into expressive and richly tactile, often half-dark, half-light katabokashi stroke-forms. This manner of transforming Chinese models is characteristic not only of Taiga, but of the process of japanization as



a whole. The tendency to simplify, to reduce, to make translucent if not transparent, is seen in Heian artists' development of the Tang blue-green mode, as well as in Muromachi painters' responses to Southern Song, Yuan, and early-Ming academic styles. In each, the motifs as well as brushwork elements are "disentangled" from their Chinese interweaving and depth, to be applied side by side, creating a tension among the forms that spreads across the entire painting surface.

## 152 Conclusion

The Manpukuji (Manjiin) fan paintings are on gold foil and therefore not conducive to overlaid brushwork or dense applications of ink. Gold foil requires sparse and surface-oriented brushwork, especially in lateral applications. The lesson was easy and quickly learned. But for the complex Four

Wang manner seen in Yi Hai's dense linear style, however, Taiga's transformation by way of lateral placement of motifs and brushwork is nothing short of dramatic and reveals important and basically Japanese artistic choices.

The category of inkplay had entered Japan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries along with yipin. Previous studies have amply demonstrated the near parallel development of this category among bunjinso (literati monks). A solid foundation based on Yuan prototypes had been firmly established, and long before the late-Ming ink bamboo types entered Japan.

We have seen that eighteenth-century Japanese artists preferred the more expressive, moist image of delicate small bamboo and rock situated in an expansive space, over the more "modern" styles featuring dense leaf-clusters, brushed on in

flat, unmodulated jet-black ink with little sensitivity to breathing atmospherics; that is, they preferred Gyokushfi's "spaciousness." Furthermore, Yuan manuals on inkplay were being published anew in mid-eighteenth-century Japan, perhaps as an appropriate antidote to the current Chinese imports. We have here employed a carefully structured approach to the question of influence. Instead of identifying all possible Chinese or Korean sources for, say, the paintings of Taiga or Buson, this study seeks first of all to identify the paintings and texts (including manuals and theoretical works) that are known to have been accessible at the time, and traces the fates of these diverse new stimuli in their Japanese environment. This approach reveals the significance of rejection in the history of Japanese absorption of foreign stimuli, and demonstrates beyond a doubt that it is a highly selective process, all forms of flattering encomia and occasional line-copies notwithstanding. The enormous enthusiasm with which all Chinese novelties were said to have been greeted amount, as we have seen, to little more than natural curiosity. The Bazhong huapu was for Nankai more a collection of Chinese miscellany than anything serious in the way of an art manual. The touted Jieziyuan

intelligentsia as Hattori Nankaku, teacher of Sakaki Hyakusen and Buson and associate of Nankai and Kien. Its popularity among the masses and Nankai's disdain for such manuals could not but have affected Japanese would-be idealist painters' own responses. Again, a search for Japanese echoes of the printed illustrations among representative works of nanga masters has revealed little in the way of copies or significant influence. Not one of the numerous manuals is mentioned in any of Gyokushii's three sinophile treatises on Southern School painting. Instead, Gyokushii focussed on Chinese art theories and discussed them in terms of visiting Chinese painters like Shen Nanping and Yi Hai. He japanized Chinese notions in a logical fashion, using as his evidence, whenever possible, actual paintings by Chinese and Japanese artists he had seen. In this way he has wrought an admirably thoughtful metamorphosis of Chinese critical methodology. A by-product of this study is the identification of the late-Ming Fujian landscape style. Common features are isolated in comparing an unusual handscroll by Cai Hui in Yinyuan's collection with works by Fujian artists Zhang Ruitu, Wang Jianzhang, Wu Bin, and other late-Ming Fujianese artists known in Japan. Certain reflections of the style are also present in the works of Gong Xian, Mi Wanzhong, and other resistance painters from this turbulent period of China's history. Characteristic features are identified in their japanized reappearance in several works by nanga artists up to the early nineteenth century. Japanese versions are, once again, less dense, and less overlaid. Notable is the change from a somber, brooding, ominous ink gradation of the Chinese prototypes to a playful, textured, and lyrical shimmering of light and dark

patterns in their Japanese replays.

The second section deals with transformation of selected Chinese stimuli, following a number of documented Chinese techniques and ideas through to japanization.

Thanks

to compilers of Taiga's compendium, Ike Taiga sakuhinshu, we

are able to examine the corpus of Taiga's work, a fortunate circumstance not available for other early nanga painters.

Taiga's status as synthesizer of foreign and traditional materials and his influence on later painters make his particular

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responses to new stimuli a fruitful means for exploring the questions posed at the outset. There is pressing need for fuller

study to isolate the later nanga artists' individual development

as painters, to identify their diverse manners, and to trace their

direct models and indirect prototypes regardless of land of origin, date, or provenance.

In retrospect, it is seen that Chinese idealist painting suffers from increasing degrees of conformity and rigidity, at the same time raising brush standards to ever more exalted heights and limiting images to increasingly abstract expressions in landscapes of densely woven, dry, linear brush-modes.

While repeated efforts were made to transcend these bounds,

and to exercise the imagination in new directions (even adopting Western techniques), these efforts were consistently

thwarted. The works of Xu Wei, and the less orthodox works by

Tang Yin, as Cahill has shown, were considered works by men outside socially accepted norms (Cahill 1978b, 159 ff.). Cahill cites the example of Zhang Hong (1577-ca. 1660), who incorporated aspects of Western perspective in successful and appealing works but who had no following. That finger painting was tolerated among the Qing elite must be attributed to the fact that Emperor Shizu had indulged in the genre, and that its most famous exponent was another Manchu. Regional features in Chinese models have been identified in several instances and are shown to remain characteristic of, and often exclusive to, their respective schools. Once in Japan, however, they are freely integrated into nanga, often mixed within a single work. In the hands of Taiga, not only different Chinese modes but also Japanese modes of varying traditions are harmoniously integrated, remaining as a rule subservient to the artist's own vision. Eclecticism as well as selectivity are characteristic not only of Taiga's but of Japanese processes of assimilation as a whole and feature frequently in other fields of Japanese art history. Finally, eighteenth-century Japanese views of Chinese wenrenhua and yipin, while radically different from Chinese views of the time, are not so outlandish as they might at first appear. Gyokushf's perception is more closely related to the original, Northern Song, formulations of creative inkplay. Eighteenth-century Japanese manifestations of the ideal have

## Conclusion 155

returned much of the playfulness to what had become in postfourteenth-century China something scholarly, intellectual, and

internalized, in a word, nonpictorial. Transported to a different cultural climate, the latter-day modes of the colored Wu School and the virtually played-out eighteenth-century linear ink mode received a new and revitalizing breath of life. This is thanks to Japanese selectivity, and to native preferences for a lateral, translucent, and moist approach to brushwork and for evocative tonal values. Indeed, in Japan the Chinese modes have become something else. They are no longer wenrenhua in its introverted and reserved seventeenth-century Chinese sense but have become dynamic and extroverted Japanese nanga. For the first time in centuries, idealist paintings were conceived and executed free of the exclusivity and academicism born of the Yuan historicizing aesthetic. In Japan, they were conceived afresh by artists intent on serving emotional and visual sensibilities, and on creating poetic allusions in pictorial terms. The basic ingredients invented by the Song shidaifu possessed greater visual and expressive potential than the artists themselves could have imagined. Ideas and ideals may generate new or different brush-modes in new environments. Conversely, brush-modes, when transplanted to other cultural climes, may in turn generate different ideas and ideals. Thus, identical brush-idioms were readily adjusted to suit pictorial, morphological, and expressive functions different from those for which they had been originally conceived. In China, brushmodes and brush-idioms served to stress superior brushwork and were internalized as indices of one's cultivation, so that artists could commune with like minds, sharing noble values of

ancient times. In Japan, the new brush-idioms became ingredients with which professional painters created exciting and dynamic images appealing to a wider audience, an audience for whom the forbidden and ancient land of China and her reverence for things past had in and of themselves become exotic ideals that engendered poetic and artistic fantasies.

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## List of Characters

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## List of Characters

### Names

Ashikaga  
Bada shanren (see Zhu Da)  
Bai-dojin bokuchikufu  
(see Mei daoren mozhupu)  
Bazhong huapu  
Bi Zongyou  
Bifaji  
Byodoin  
Cai Hui  
Cai Ruzuo  
Cao Yu  
Chan  
Chen Jiru, Meigong  
Chen Quan  
Chen Shun, Daofu

Chen Xian  
Chen Zun  
Chikufu shoroku (see Zhupu xianglu)  
Chin Nanpin (see Shen Quan)  
Cho'un Reiho

tIj  
ik I L\_ A  
C3li  
lf\*  
PTT7  
itLM Qhe^~  
I JD3PR\*?j

157

## 158 List of Characters

Dacheng Zhaohan  
Dai Benxiao  
Dapeng Zhengkun  
Dong Qichang, Xuanzai  
Dong Yuan  
Duli Daili  
Duzhan Xingying

b4lt 'l3z  
'A00 \* A}E  
iEA-MF  
IQ - A'11 -mm +,Wl'tosk

Edo



i rv

Fan Daosheng  
Fang Yizhi  
Fei Lan, Hanyuan  
Feiyin Tongrong  
Fujian  
Funayeben zunzhe

VL X^ 1vl  
'VAli -'?Jj  
M,[- h,4n-W3

Gabi rochozu  
Gadan keiroku  
Ga'en higen  
Gajo yoryaku  
Gao Bing  
Gao Fenghan  
Gao Kegong, Yanjing  
Gao Qipei  
Gaotang Yuanchang  
Gashu  
Gasoku  
Gion Nankai  
Gomizuno-o

4Z- %t JL /jfz  
F /J\ XW  
t3A7U/R1  
t9F o <  
-a,rA Va'

Gong Xian  
Guan Tong  
Guanyin  
Gujin tushujicheng  
Guo Roxu  
Guo Xi  
Gyoku'en Bonp6

&Q F

- -71- At-T- -

Hakuin Ekaku  
Han Gan  
Hangzhou  
Hasshu gafu  
(see Bazhong huapu)  
Hattori Nankaku  
Hi Kangen (see Fei Lan)  
Hitorine  
Hongren  
Huang Daozhou  
Huang Fengchi  
Huang Gongwang, Zijiu  
Huang Xiufu  
Huashuo  
Huasou  
Huazhu  
Huishi fa wai  
Hushang Nanping  
I Fukyu  
Ikeno Gyokuran  
Ikeno Taiga

n -M-1

f \$

A )III

aL f=

-fJ TM

Af

-& 2L

J fc

160 List of Characters

Ito Jakuchu

Jieziyuan huazhuan

Jifei Ruyi

Jing Hao

Juran

f tI -b At- t

) I] ~ f [4-A, IJ \_li,.1 -R i-1{N

Li j m

I'll

Kaiji higen

Kaishien gaden (see Jienziyuan huazhuan)

Kan Tenjui

Kano Tan'yfi

Kimura Kenkado

Kita Soun

Kitajima Sessan

Ko Ten'i

Kokugaron

Konoe Iehiro

Kundaikan sayu choki

Kurokawa Kigyoku

Kuwayama Gyokushui

f~t- J\_[tg IAM

^-Hliw 'i

L -It fl -A -'

rjlAH5i  
IN iW hiCP^  
~^ L U A U )!'

Lan Ying  
Li Cheng  
Li Gonglin, Longmian  
Li Kan, Xizhai  
Li Liufang  
Li Sizhen  
Li Yu  
Lidai minghuaji  
Linji  
Lu Zhi

T ht  
W ff A- -&^  
Is; r \_ 'ff \_  
1-ffi1 -  
-T- RflJ 17AJ

## List of Characters

Ma Fang  
Ma Hozhi  
Ma Lin  
Ma Yuan  
Maming dashi  
Manpukuji (see Wanfusi)  
Manjuin  
Maruyama Okyo  
Mei Qing  
Mei Daoren mozhupu  
Mi Fu  
Mi Wanzhong

Mi Youren  
Mincho seiken  
Mokuan Reien  
Monchu Jofuku  
Monchu zenji shibunsho  
Muan Xingtao  
Muqi, Fachang, F3  
iaEI ' ' —7.^"nlt a  
FiLUi~=  
\*gg-k1R11 -151 B3fPz  
HLJUJ JC4  
t1?ff  
ZTA-VtT^

Nagamachi Chikuseki  
Nagasaki bugyo  
Nakayama Koyo  
Ni Zan, Yunlin  
Noro Kaiseki

f 5fT -'  
SLfJI j

Obaku (see Huangbo)  
Ogata K6rin  
Oguri Sotan  
Ogyu Sorai  
Okada Hanko

--++WJ-t fil )11L \*, -j -, V —;T — A  
t m ft  
k  
r4 M T- il

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Qian Gong

Raiho Yago

Rongtaiji

Ryukei Sosen

5\*a - HITA

'ZS ftl^

HE+%tA

Sakaki Hyakusen

Sakurai Sekkan

Sanchiijin josetsu

Sesshu

Sesson

Shen Gua

Shen Quan

Shen Zhou

Shirai Kayo

Shizhuzhai h uapu

Shuhua chanceye

Soami

So fukuji

Song Xu

Songzhai meipu

Sosatsu

Su Shi, Dongpo

Suzhou

Suzuki Fuyo

DO J 1Al P I I

LL g AMk-S,4t~~ ti-T

Ut: J. JJ

At-rrLf it

i z r lll l,

M ijklif ' 4J

P i ) I I

i-t

t2XS t -R

Taiga sakuhinshu Taiho Shokon (see Dapeng Zhengkun)

Taiping shanshui tuhua

Tangdai

Tang Hou

k- LL I l l t

JKBJJ^I

0 J~

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Tang Yin, Bohu, Liuru

Tani Buncho

Tanomura Chikuden

Tesshui Tokusai

Tianchi chibitu

Tuhuizongyi

i =14- jZj

JK sSt E [

~Hittlni

<^ -1. I

^'aii?

Unkoku ha

Wanfusi

Wang Gai, Luchai

Wang Hui

Wang Ji

Wang Jian  
Wang Jianzhang  
Wang Jiqian  
Wang Lan  
Wang Meng, Shuming  
Wang Shen, Jinqing  
Wang Shimin  
Wang Tingyun  
Wang Wei, Mojie  
Wang Xia  
Wang Yuanqi  
Wang Zhenpeng  
Watanabe Kazan  
Wei Zhike  
Wei Zhongxian  
Wen Boren  
Wen Tong, Yuke  
Wen Zhengming

I L  
Ft < ift F  
= F TR M  
fi A^ I  
X 9%^HLL1  
zEIftri h  
~ Iz~w

## 164 List of Characters

Wu Bin  
Wu Li  
Wu Taisu  
Wu Zhen, Zhonggui,  
Meihua daoren  
Wu Zhisui



c^\_^  
V' K\*  
II,\*  
V-4 IAL, fVP- t=  
f''-v Ad A~

Xia Gui, Yanzi  
Xia Wenyan  
Xiao Yuncong  
Xie Ho  
Xinyue Xingchou  
Xuechuang puming  
Xu Wei  
Xu Xi  
Xu Zhi

f: jc

Yamamoto Baiitsu  
Yanada Zeigan  
Yanagisawa Kien  
Yang Daozhen  
Yang Erzeng  
Yi Hai, Fujiu  
Ying Yuanzhang  
Yinyuan Longqi  
Yiran Xingrong  
Yiye chuanfang  
Yizhou minghualu  
Yoraku-in (Konoe Iehiro)  
Yosa Buson  
Yuefeng Daozhang

LL |t4A  
o4z4~al  
' 'lit  
4TI^  
^'lraStX  
fr -7' ^  
VLiC&L VtJ?

1 I I M Al  
'fM=-t ft  
l'<X iAd

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Yueshan Daozong  
Yujian, Rofen  
Yun Shouping  
Yu Shinan

JPtrU' ^  
- IT"t,  
- - ~r I Mt~-73 -

Zen  
Zha Shibiao  
Zhang Chenglong, Baiyun  
Zhang Daiqian  
Zhang Geng  
Zhang Heng  
Zhang Qi  
Zhang Ruitu  
Zhang Yanyuan  
Zhao Huan  
Zhao Mengfu, Zi'ang  
Zhao Xigu  
Zhe pai  
Zhitou huashuo  
Zhongfeng Mingben  
Zhou Lijing  
Zhou Zhimian  
Zhu Da  
Zhu Jingxuan  
Zhu Lunhan  
Zhu Shunshui

Zhupu xianglu  
Zoku Nagasaki gajinden  
Zong Bing

uk I-j  
TA PMP  
\* k 7JZ  
p j tkrA  
&W SWj 4,-~m AN.

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## 166 List of Characters

### Terms

bili  
biyi  
bokashi  
busu

<4B: L  
T- f6

cebi  
chuiyun  
cubi  
cunfa

ifX — ==  
V~IJ ik  
M LI~  
Ic \~,;i~7"X)~

dafupicun  
eshi

Z,,L~

fangbi ru caoshu  
fantou  
fudezukai  
fusuma-e

h-k \* n ff  
-y- N -  
"I

gachuga  
gazo  
gyo

haiga  
hiragana

-'JI Z4F

ikaku (see yige)  
ippin (see yipin)

jianbi (simplified brush strokes)  
juanyuncun

A" VI

katabokashi  
kebi goule  
kumogata

'rt. Al7t L  
)kcB:- Nb

li

meisho-e  
mogu  
moyi

~t Pt.~  
~I  
~Lf~ HE~Z

nanga  
nanshuga

M -ir  
M,-!- \ 4k

onjun

'IIYU3U  
^' r-PE

pimacun

pingdan  
porno (broken ink)  
porno (spattered ink)  
qi (vital energy)  
qi (unusual)

I f`  
T- 1,f,~

sencha  
shidaifuhua  
shirenhua

n,-rj t+

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shuimo 7J  
so  
tanko M  
tarashikomi If L A 4\_  
waka THl [X  
wenrenhua x k  
wubi  
xieyi  
ximo  
xuanran  
yat  
yige t~  
yipin  
yongbi m

zhongfeng

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Anlan, ed. Beijing.

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