

THE ROLE OF JAPAN IN MODERN CHINESE ART



Edited by
JOSHUA A. FOGEL

The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON CHINESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY

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*To Ye Xiaoqing (1952–2010),
participant at the conference that led to this volume,
and scholar extraordinaire*

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*J.A.F.
June 2010*

Introduction

Art History and Sino-Japanese Relations

Joshua A. Fogel

Following the reforms put in place by Deng Xiaoping (1904–97) and the opening up of China, the first cinematic Sino-Japanese joint venture was a movie entitled *The Go-Masters* (1982).¹ It covers in sweeping, colossal fashion several decades in the lives a Chinese and a Japanese, both renowned go (Chinese, *weiqi*) masters whose bond forged through a shared passion for this ancient game transcends politics, war, family safety, and just about everything else. Through personal trials and the devastations of World War II, it is ultimately the individual ties sealed in this cultural mold that continue when all else is gone. Implied is not only the fundamental fact that the insane policies of their respective governments—be it the imperialist invasions of the Japanese or the domestic upheavals of the Chinese, both involving unspeakable mass murder—have proven to be devastating failures in every way, but that the only meaningful, lasting ties between the two peoples are the personal, cultural ones formed in the manner of the two men. As the film comes to a close, the two men, after many years of separation, pick up their game where they left off before devastation ravaged the continent.

Romance and melodrama aside, *The Go-Masters* offers some interesting instruction in Sino-Japanese cultural relations. There was a time not too long ago when the cultural interactions between Japan and China from the late nineteenth century through World War II were generally known to be important but still relatively unstudied. Although an enormous amount of work remains to be done, those many scholarly lacunae are gradually now being filled by scholars in China, Japan, Korea, and the West. One large area that particularly calls out for serious attention, though, is the realm of art history. In what ways did Japan and the Japanese of the Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa eras influence Chinese

artistic movements and artists, and the development generally of art in China? What can be said about the interactions between Chinese and Japanese artists and art patrons? What role did Japanese and Chinese play in the revival and spread of artistic antiquarianism and art collecting? What role, in the final analysis, did Japan play in the institutional development of art in China? These are among the many questions this volume seeks to raise and discuss.

One force that has militated against bringing these sorts of questions up earlier has been the lack of ongoing communication between historians (even cultural historians) and art historians in the East Asia field. Nonspecialists in the art realm have shied away, as they rarely do vis-à-vis other subfields, from the distinctive language and specialized training needed to make sense of art history. While all subfields require a particular form of preparatory education, for some reason historical scholarship on art seems to strike other historians as especially daunting. Many scholars have thus largely drawn back from addressing the sorts of questions raised above. Yet, however, artists and art history played a major role in forging ties between the Japanese archipelago and the Asian mainland.

For over two centuries, from the mid-seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth, actual Sino-Japanese interactions were severely curtailed. These restrictions did not end contacts between Chinese and Japanese, but they made them much more difficult. Many thousands of books (including painting manuals) traveled from China to Japan—in addition to much else—and influenced those who sought them out. Throughout these years of restricted exchange, though, many Chinese painters (usually nonprofessionals) nonetheless made their way to Japan. These men were invariably well treated, even venerated, as figures of great stature once they reached Nagasaki.² By the 1860s when the ban on Japanese travel abroad began in stages to be lifted, well over one hundred such painters over the previous two centuries had made the trip to Japan for generally short stints, rarely more than one or two years.

In the 1850s and early 1860s, China was ravaged by the Taiping Rebellion, especially throughout the provinces of the lower Yangzi delta region. These heartlands of traditional Chinese culture had been targeted by the Taipings, and many thousands of members of the literate elite, including painters, made their way to the presumed safety of Shanghai with its foreign enclaves protected by extraterritoriality.³ Among these a few, such as Wang Kesan (b. 1822) and Xu Yuting (b. 1824) of Zhapu, traveled on to Japan by merchant vessel.⁴ Alighting in Nagasaki, they found a welcome

reception especially from the community of Nanga (Southern School) painters there.

When the possibility actually emerged for Japanese to venture to China, although it was still technically illegal, among the very first to do so as individuals were three painters. These three—Yasuda Rōzan (1830–83), Nagai Unpei (1833–99), and Ishikawa Gozan (1844–1917)—planned to visit Shanghai as a group, study at the knee of a great Nanga painter, preferably Hu Gongshou (Yuan, 1823–86), and thus be able to inject fresh blood from the source into Nanga painting when they eventually returned home. Unpei and Gozan stayed in Shanghai for relatively short periods of time, but Rōzan remained there for nearly a decade and there he became the local Japanese expert on all things Chinese for Japanese visiting Shanghai.

Chapter 1 in this volume, by Chen Jie, examines Chinese artists and calligraphers who traveled to Japan to make contacts and sell their work. As Chen shows, there appears to have been a space opened up already in the early Meiji years for such Chinese visitors.⁵ Indeed, before long traveling to Japan, perhaps having a show there, and getting to know Japanese connoisseurs of Chinese art had become an avenue to acquire a reputation and earn the kind of money unavailable at home. Close relations between Chinese painters and calligraphers and their Japanese counterparts and patrons ensued. The importance of personal connections cannot, in fact, be overestimated. In this era, which turns out to be the last hurrah of traditional Sinic-style arts and culture, the Japanese were welcoming with open arms.

Moreover, the rapidity with which the Japanese adopted one Chinese artist or calligrapher after another in the early Meiji decades leads one to think that Japanese had been waiting for this moment for some time, preparing to allow this cultural enrichment to flow to Japan. As Kishida Ginkō's (1833–1905) acerbic comments, cited in Chen's chapter, make clear, the whole process of Chinese seeking Japanese legitimization, making some money, and heroically returning home had already become marketized by the mid-Meiji. But like a morning glory, this period of Sino-Japanese cultural enchantment in the traditional modes of painting and calligraphy was to be short-lived. As Chen demonstrates, rather than launching a new era, the 1870s and 1880s were the end of an era, and the whole atmosphere would sharply change after the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95.

One other characteristic of their cultural ties, which Chen notes and crops up in other chapters, is the centrality of Shanghai and its art market to Japanese, be they artists or merchants. Shanghai plays a similarly

pivotal role in chapter 2, by Yu-chih Lai, on the Japanese dealers, sponsors, and supporters of artistic culture as seen through a case study of *sencha*. As she demonstrates, the tea ceremony in the newer *sencha* style was radically Sinophilic, opposed to the earlier and highly formalistic *chanoyu*. It served as a ground for numerous gatherings of Chinese and Japanese men of letters and opened a space for a significant flow of culture between China and Japan. In the case study she examines, these gatherings were mediated by antiques dealers who hosted many of the *seki* (individual banquets which comprised a tea gathering as a whole) and used the occasion to sell their wares.

As stressed by Chen Jie, Lai also emphasizes that this extraordinary level of elite cultural interaction between Chinese and Japanese was the apex, not the beginning, of Sino-Japanese cultural relations. The Japanese dealers, with their heightened sense of the importance of Chinese artifacts and objects of art, poured mountains of wealth into purchasing these items for collectors back home, a process that led ineluctably to the outflow of great quantities of gold and silver to China from Japan. Eventually the disposable income used to make acquisitions began drying up, just as the interest in such exchanges began to appeal to fewer and fewer potential participants. It was, indeed, the end of an era.

In chapter 3, Shana Brown shines a light on the phenomenon of East Asian antiquarianism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through a close look at the case of Yang Shoujing (1839–1915). As she pointedly remarks, antiquarianism at this time was not a manifestation of opposition to modernity. Those Chinese and Japanese who took up this calling were trying to preserve their traditional culture as modernity unfolded, to safeguard or defend it from being the proverbial baby tossed out with the bathwater. She thus posits the term “antiquarian modern” to characterize their position. Attached to the Chinese Mission in Japan, Yang used his time to make contacts among the last generation of serious Kangaku (Chinese learning) scholars there. Yang served as lightning rod of sorts for Sinophilic Japanese who were anxious to have intellectual, poetic, and artistic exchanges with equally well-educated Chinese. In the years he spent in Japan, Yang thus amassed bibliographies of rare and ancient Chinese texts extant there but frequently no longer available anywhere in China. In part because the traditional East Asian literatus was not a specialist in the narrow way we now understand that term, antiquarians of Yang’s day—unlike their counterparts in the West—not only collected old books, coins, and other objects but were often amateur artists and calligraphers in their own right.

Moving ahead to the early decades of the twentieth century, Walter Davis in chapter 4 focuses on the figure of Wang Yiting (1867–1938) and his wide artistic contacts in the Japanese art world. Because of his highly successful business career, Wang also had high-level contacts in Japanese political and economic realms. Once again, Shanghai is central to the story, for it was through his home and restaurants in the city that these connections were mediated. His friendships with Japanese artists and calligraphers lasted through years of political trouble, at least until 1932, when the first Shanghai Incident erupted and the state of Manchukuo (Manzhouguo) was later formed. As in the fictional movie about the culturally cementing power of *go* to forge and seal friendships, art and culture transcended politics for Wang and his Japanese associates. Art was eternal, he believed, while politics and war remained transitory.

These four chapters comprise four perspectives on artistic interactions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We next move into the realm of art collections, the art market, and art exhibitions. In chapter 5, Zaixin Hong concentrates on *guhua* (antique painting) as art and as substitutes for money with the development of a modern art market in China and Japan. Once again, Shanghai plays center stage, only this time in a more familiar commercial (and considerably less overtly cultural) role. He examines the increasingly complex mix of culture and economics as the trend toward the commercialization of art grew. He traces this development back to the high Qing, but in our period he demonstrates how Chinese began successfully to use the Japanese art market to make money, and he sees the Taishō International Exposition of 1914 as extremely important.

Aida Wong in chapter 6 addresses head on what appears to be the single most frightening technical subject for nonspecialists in the field of art history: brush stroke analysis. That is, she challenges us to take calligraphy and calligraphic styles seriously as a medium of Sino-Japanese scholarly and personal exchange. Calligraphy was dying in the early twentieth century at modern Japanese art institutions, but at the same time it was thriving privately largely through the efforts of Nakamura Fusetsu (1866–1943). Nakamura adopted a calligraphic style from stelae extant from the Six Dynasties period (220–589), though not as some sort of curmudgeonly obscurantist. He saw this calligraphic mode as a middle ground between the poles of Japanese conservatism and pro-Westernization. In 1936 he founded a museum devoted exclusively to Chinese calligraphy, and it would remain the only one of its kind for decades thereafter. For Chinese not prepared to dump their entire cul-

tural past into the historical dustbin, Nakamura proved to be an inspiration in this regard.

The modern institution of the museum to house all forms, new and old, of art was just one way of exposing painting, calligraphy, sculpture, and other artistic expressions to a wide audience. Exhibitions and exhibition culture from Japan opened Chinese eyes to different sorts of possibilities. Exhibits were a way of organizing and representing knowledge for external consumption. They reveal as well the role of the visual in shaping Chinese modernity. The Osaka Exhibition of 1903 has attracted considerable attention over the years for the way in which the Japanese organizers exhibited other Asian peoples. In chapter 7 Lisa Claypool examines the centrality of “race” to this exhibition and the Chinese response. She is careful to point out that the Chinese objected not to “race” as an organizing principle per se, but just to the degrading place of the “Chinese race” in the exhibition’s overall layout. She also looks closely at the architectural structure of the exhibition grounds, the pamphlets distributed, and how the Japanese presented themselves and others to visitors at the site in 1903.

Chapter 8, by Julia Andrews, is also concerned with the exhibition of art, although Andrews focuses on the case of the first Chinese National Arts Exhibition of 1929, held in Shanghai. She demonstrates the influence exerted by Japanese modernism on the same school in China. Modernism had a short life in prewar China, shunted aside when total war erupted and then banned after the Communist victory in 1949. Andrews asks why there were so many fine works by Japanese in the 1929 exhibition, and she points to the extremely important prefatory essay to the catalog by none other than the major cultural figure of the day, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), the chancellor of Peking University at the time of the May Fourth Incident, and she translates from it at length. As Cai noted, four private Japanese painting societies were centrally involved in planning the Japanese contribution to this important event, especially so for the Chinese themselves. She finds not only enormous respect by Chinese for the Japanese art world but, possibly surprising to some, just as vast a reserve of respect by the Japanese for their hosts in China.

The next two chapters look at aspects of how the modern curriculum of art history came into being in Japan and China, respectively. Tamaki Maeda in chapter 9 addresses the issue of the role of Japan, in particular the Kyoto school, in the rejuvenation of literati painting (*bunjinga*) in China—not so much the practice but respect for the historical artwork itself. The Japanese book publisher and art dealer Harada Gorō (1893–

1980) found himself with large quantities of Chinese art, especially paintings and works of calligraphy, in the years following the 1911 Revolution. He brought them to the attention of the famed Sinologist Naitō Konan (1866–1934) who, in turn, consulted with his friend and colleague the émigré loyalist from the now defunct Qing dynasty, Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940). Luo had himself brought quantities of artwork from China to Kyoto. Naitō proceeded to steep himself in this material and ultimately to deliver a series of lectures on Chinese art history in which he glorified *bunjinga* and helped to revitalize a moribund tradition. This then led ultimately to a similar trend in China. One trend distinctive both of Naitō and his colleagues at Kyoto Imperial University was to bring “history” to Chinese painting. By offering a relatively simple periodization scheme (ancient-medieval-modern), he introduced the idea of progress into the scholarly discussion.⁶

Approaching a similar issue from the Chinese side, Kuiyi Shen argues in chapter 10 that China followed the Japanese modernization model for art history as a discipline in the 1920s. By examining the two cases of Teng Gu (1901–41) and Fu Baoshi (1904–65), he demonstrates that this trend developed further in the 1930s when Teng and Fu were most active. As we see in other chapters in this volume, here too politics and Sino-Japanese cultural ties do not always or necessarily march in lockstep. Thus, even in times of heightened nationalism in China, Shen finds significant Japanese influence on the construction of Chinese art history as a discipline and on the restructuring of the latter’s canon.

One of the most important innovations in modern art history was the marriage of print and publishing with works of art in many genres. Reproductions in book form, such as museum or exhibition catalogs, made available to a much wider audience in the prewar decades the richness of Chinese art. A central figure in this development was the Shanghai-based editor and publisher Di Baoxian (Di Pingzi, 1873–1941), the subject of chapter 11, by Richard Vinograd. Di discovered in the Japanese national essence movement a way to preserve one’s traditional culture with a modern nationalist thrust that was neither xenophobic nor reactionary. Again, this meant harnessing nationalism to the preservation of traditional culture. In Di’s case, this direction meant packaging the Chinese artistic patrimony for the modern nation-state. Vinograd analyzes the 1930 volume *Zhongguo minghua ji* (Famous Chinese paintings), published by Di Baoxian’s Youzheng Press, as an effort to establish a new canon, and he sees this effort firmly rooted in the earlier Japanese volume *Shina meiga shū* (Collection of famous Chinese paintings), dating to 1908. The larger

question here, one tied to issues raised by both Maeda and Shen, is how canons take shape at any time technologically and intellectually.

Addressing the theme of print and art as well is Cheng-hua Wang, although she homes in more closely on the topic of collotype as a new technology for preserving antiquities. Through collotype-produced images, rare and valuable pieces became available to many, and in short order they enabled a re-canonicalization of Chinese antiquities. We thus ironically have the newest technology making possible the preservation of the most ancient heritage of China. Whereas lithography had proven superior to woodblock printing, collotype ultimately outstripped lithography. The Japanese had developed collotype to publish high-quality art books and magazines and thus to preserve their heritage, a lesson not lost on similarly inclined Chinese. She focuses on the figures of Di Baoxian and Deng Shi (1877–1951) as the creators of a space for sharing China's cultural patrimony on a national basis through their publication of images of antiquities heretofore only available in private collections. In so doing, antiquities were transformed from dusty items in a handful of personal collections to the constituent elements of the national heritage. Although it necessarily had to reduce the size of many objects, collotype nonetheless was able to convey the sense of a thing's materiality because it was so accurate or authentic.

Vinograd and Wang both demonstrate that the meeting of print and art in China led to an extraordinary expansion of the populace that could enjoy the artistic heritage of their own nation. One need no longer establish an elaborate personal network to gain access to private collections or even travel to China's major cities to gain entrance to China's newly founded museums. Books and an increasing number of high-quality journals made reproductions available wherever they could be found. This trend is fully consonant with one that Naitō Konan identified with modernity in China, although he traced its roots back to the Song dynasty—that of a wider public taking part in the creation and production of culture.⁷ Our present era perhaps represents the next stage in the process: anyone with an internet connection can now have access to most of the world's great art, although the computer screen is, if anything, even more restricted in conveying with exactitude the real contours of an original than collotype reproductions.

As should now be evident, the history of the development of art and art institutions in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century China cannot simply be described as tradition confronting modernity, with the latter winning in a revolutionary sweeping out of the old. Indeed,

nowhere does this older, May Fourth–informed discourse seem to exert any noticeable impact on the story whatsoever. Instead, we find modern-minded entrepreneurs looking for ways to use all the most recent tools available—be it print, collotype, or museums—as a means of preserving the national heritage. Nowhere do we see hopelessly reactionary scholars confronting revolutionary students set on destroying the old in the interest of radical Westernization—that was to be the discursive spin during the Cultural Revolution several decades later. The heritage preservers and the devisers and entrepreneurs of the latest technology are frequently the same people.

From the start of Sino-Japanese contacts in the realm of art, we find predominantly healthy and respectful relations, something altogether different from the political and military realms. Initially, Chinese artists and calligraphers were treated with great deference and admiration in Japan, just as a handful of aspiring and courageous Japanese had traveled to Shanghai to receive instruction firsthand from Chinese painters. Japanese inclined toward shared East Asian traditions in the arts were completely open to sharing their spaces with visiting Chinese men of letters. Many of the Chinese attached to the official Chinese Mission—such as Huang Zunxian (1848–1905) and Yao Wendong (1852–1927), in addition to Yang Shoujing—spent a great deal of their time in Japan engaged in literary soirées with the last generation of Edo-period Japanese men of letters. This was to be the swan song of a shared Kanbun (“literary Chinese”) culture in which such hypereducated men and some women wrote poetry together as they drank tea or wine, shared their art work, and impressed one another with their respective stores of knowledge of earlier—often much earlier—Chinese culture. What Chen, Lai, and Brown in this volume describe as the end of an era had surprising staying power.

At time passed, and indeed the sheer numbers of such extraordinarily well-educated or trained men diminished, such interactions needless to say also became fewer and fewer. The Chinese eventually learned that their counterparts in Japan had figured out a way to retain the essence of their cultural patrimony without having to reject all the conveniences of modernity. Whether it was art publications or art exhibitions, the influence of Japan directly or by example from Japan’s experience was palpable. This is not to say that all Japanese and Chinese in their respective art worlds had unlimited love for one another. It does, however, strongly point to the fact that a sense of shared cultural history lasted well into the twentieth century before total war made it impossible to retain mean-

ingful cultural ties. The Communists' rise to power and the purposeful destruction (literally and educationally) of China's cultural heritage by China's own leaders until the late 1970s, as well as a defeated Japan's place beneath the American Cold War umbrella, made for strained political ties in the first postwar decades. Perhaps, like our *go* masters, even decades of noncommunication will prove not to be an impediment to the further efflorescence of future Sino-Japanese interactions in the world of art, art historical studies, and other cultural realms as well. One thing is certain: culture plays by a different standard of time from politics.

As noted earlier, the chapters in this volume aim to redress a lacuna in Western scholarship and to attempt to bring greater balance to a discussion of the complexity of Sino-Japanese interactions in the period under analysis. In doing so, it may appear as though we have overplayed the positive at the expense of the negative relations between China and Japan. To this, we readily admit guilty as charged but with a plea that our aim has not been to write a comprehensive history of Sino-Japanese cultural relations, just fill in the gap in this extremely important subfield.

PART I

Sino-Japanese Artistic Interactions

I. Travels to Japan by Chinese Painters in the 1870s and 1880s

Chen Jie, translated by Joshua A. Fogel

For a significant period beginning in the 1870s, contacts between Chinese and Japanese people grew more frequent, and the circulation of artworks and art curios between the two countries took off. Not only did the exuberant purchasing power of those coming from Japan expand the demands on the Shanghai art market, but it attracted Chinese artists active in the Shanghai area to travel to Japan so as to purchase art. Although we have a series of important articles entitled “Raihaku gajin” (Painters who traveled [to Japan by ship]), by Tsuruta Takeyoshi, concerning the Chinese painters who visited Japan from the mid-nineteenth century forward,¹ these essays basically comb through the documents related to individual painters. As I understand it, travel by Chinese artists to Japan in the 1870s and 1880s was by no means the random actions of a succession of individuals, but was a coordinated activity selected and undertaken within a specific timeframe and under specific conditions. Thus, we have to examine the background to this period and the specific joint activities in which they engaged after arriving in Japan. We shall thus investigate the travels to and in Japan of Chinese painters at this time based on the diaries, travel narratives, letters, and “brush conversations” of Chinese and Japanese literati of that era.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND NOTABLE PERSONALITIES

Given the prohibition on foreign travel in force for many years by the Edo shogunal authorities, Nagasaki was the only official channel for the importation of Chinese goods to Japan. It was also the only window through which Japanese could directly have legal contact with Chinese

and thus come to understand circumstances there. Among Chinese merchants who came to Japan at that time, there were a number who were sufficiently proficient in literary composition, such as Yi Fujiu (1698–1747) and Jiang Jiapu (fl. 1804–15), and who while conducting their business also engaged in painting. Based on the statistics in the sections entitled “Raihaku shoshi” (Various men [i.e., painters] who came to Japan) in the *Gen Min Shin shoga jinmeiroku* (List of calligraphers and painters in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods) of 1777 by Sakaki Hyakusen (1697/8–1752/3) and in the *Zoku Nagasaki gajin den* (Biographies of Nagasaki painters, continued) of 1851 by Araki Senshū (1807–76), both of which provide a listing of Chinese painters who made their way to Japan, Tsuruta Takeyoshi eliminated duplication and came up with a total of 131 such painters.² When Japanese were still unable to travel abroad, the chance to meet a Chinese person in the flesh was a rare opportunity. A number of literati and scholars from outside the Nagasaki area often found an opportunity to come to Nagasaki and to learn from the visiting Chinese a variety of information from the mainland. The literary activities of these men exerted a profound influence in transmitting Chinese culture to Japan.

With the exception of Satsuma, Chōshū, and other great domains in the south who were engaged in private trade, as well as individual Japanese who violated the ban and traveled overseas, until the late Edo years these circumstances remained basically unchanged. We find in writings from the 1860s and thereafter that those few Chinese who traveled to Japan and engaged in literary exchanges still held the status of ship captains, merchants, or local literati who had taken temporary shelter in Japan to avoid calamity. Their activities were largely confined to Nagasaki. These would include Chen Ziyi and Jiang Xieding (Zibin) of Suzhou, Qian Yi (Ziqin) of Liangxi, and Wang Kesan (b. 1822) and Xu Yuting (b. 1824) of Zhipu, among others.³ Chen Ziyi's father, Chen Yunsheng (Yizhou), had himself traveled to Nagasaki and there the Japanese painter Taki Katei (1832–1901) and the wealthy merchant Kosone Kendō (1828–85), a man highly proficient in seal script calligraphy, studied with him. The principal reason for Chen Ziyi's coming to Nagasaki was to evade the chaos of war in Jiangnan, while his friend Jiang Xieding was long resident in Nagasaki, collecting numerous poems by Japanese written in literary Chinese and preparing an edited selection of such works. When at a later date he met Okada Kōsho (1820–1903) in Suzhou, Jiang had already reached the second stage in the imperial civil service examinations and had become a celebrity of sorts around Suzhou. He constantly

bore the desire to invite Okada to collect writings by Japanese.⁴ Qian Yi had already by the early years of the Tongzhi reign (1862–74) visited Nagasaki five times and had made intimate contact with local scholars and their work. Okada Kōsho, a Nagasaki doctor trained in Chinese-style medicine, traveled to China in 1872 in part to visit Qian Yi.

This situation underwent great changes in the 1870s. First, aside from men involved in commerce, service industries, and various technical enterprises, a fair number of literati, scholars, calligraphers, and painters traveled to Japan to sightsee, teach literary Chinese studies, or buy works of calligraphy or paintings. Also, the seat of activity for Japanese literati, calligraphers, and painters shifted from Nagasaki to Kōbe, Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo. Before these developments occurred, however, broader relations between China and Japan had already been transforming. The 1870s were a critical period for both China and Japan, which were establishing modern-style state relations, and it was also the starting point in the modern era for private relations between the two peoples. In 1871 the two countries signed an equal treaty (the Treaty of Amity), and the following year Japan set up consulates in Hong Kong, Fuzhou, and Shanghai. In 1873 the Shanghai consulate was elevated to a consulate-general. In February 1875 the Mitsubishi Steamship Company opened regular service between Yokohama and Shanghai, and contact between the two nations became even more convenient than before.⁵

Because of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, the Qing government delayed sending its scheduled mission to Japan and to establish its mission's headquarters in the Zōjō Temple in Tokyo. Private Sino-Japanese relations continued to expand unceasingly, and the number of Chinese and Japanese who traveled between the two lands grew dramatically. Numerous personal ties and the establishment of channels for interactions with Japan, as the growing convenience of travel itself, allowed a large number of literati, calligraphers, and painters to feel as though crossing the sea to visit Japan was no longer an unattainable goal. One reason behind this transformation was Nagasaki's decline in importance as an international trading center, along with foreign pressure on Japan to open such ports as Kōbe and Yokohama, especially after the Meiji Restoration. Nagasaki was replaced by Kōbe, Yokohama, and elsewhere, and a large number of Chinese long resident in Nagasaki moved to these cities.⁶ Even more important was the fact that literati, calligraphers, and painters who were able to and did visit Japan carried on exchanges and, where possible, became connoisseurs and purchasers of calligraphy and paintings. New politicians and retired former shogunal officials, literati

scholars, calligraphers and painters, publishers, and other merchants and businessmen mostly concentrated now in Tokyo (where politics was carried out), Osaka (the commercial center of Japan), and Kyoto (the center of traditional culture). These large cities were strongholds from which it was relatively easy to quickly get to know important people from various walks of life, establish an array of personal relationships, and thus develop literary and artistic activities even further.

Among Chinese who relatively early on made their way to places other than Nagasaki to engage in literary activities, first mention should go to Jin Bin (Jiasui) of Wujiang. He received an invitation from the lord of Owari domain, and in March 1871 he traveled to the city of Nagoya to assume the post of teacher of Chinese studies at the Meirindō, the Owari domainal school. Mori Kainan (1863–1911) and Nagasaki Sekitai (1845–1924), important figures in the world of Meiji-era poetry who came from Owari, as well as the painter Okuda Hösei (1825–1934) and others also from Owari, all received guidance from him. The year after his arrival, the Meiji government carried out an education reform as part of its plan to abolish the domains and establish a prefectural system, and Jin Bin perforce served only one year at the Meirindō before being dismissed. In April 1872 he left Nagoya and returned to China. While in Japan, Jin Bin left a number of calligraphic and artistic family heirlooms, as well as fragments from brush conversations he had with Japanese scholars on the subject of painting. From these one can see the actual contours of his developing relations with Japanese. In addition, in the Wakimoto Archive of Tokyo University of the Arts (Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku) is a woodblock printed work in one string-bound volume entitled *(Ink traces of Master Jin of the Dao hut). It is composed of the *Thousand Character Classic* in ordinary Chinese writing (printed in red) and two pieces by Jin Bin written in semi-cursive style (printed in black), a copy book composed by Jin Bin to practice calligraphy. While in Nagasaki, Jin Bin became close to Dr. Okada Kōsho⁷ and had contacts with the famed Zen master Tetsuō (1790–1871), the abbot of the Shuntoku Temple there, and while he was in Kyoto he had occasion to meet Tomioka Tessai (1837–1924) for whom he did a woodblock engraving on one occasion.⁸*

Because Jin Bin taught in Nagoya for only one year, the scope of his activities and the range of personal contacts he was able to forge were rather limited. The notes he left of his time in Japan remain small in number. By comparison, Ye Wei (Songshi), who came from Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province, and was invited by the Meiji government to teach at the Tokyo

Foreign Languages School, had a far greater impact. Recommended by the Japanese consulate-general in Shanghai to go to Japan, Ye Wei served as a foreign instructor from February 1874 to July 1876.⁹ During this time, he was able to establish close ties with Mori Shuntō (1819–89), Ono Kozan (1814–1910), Nakamura Keiu (Masanao, 1832–91), and others in the world of Japanese poetry written in literary Chinese. Among the works of poetry and prose published by Mori Shuntō, who edited one of the Meiji period's most important journals for Japanese writing in Chinese, *Shin bun shi* (New essays and poems), one frequently sees Ye's comments included, indicating his close ties to this journal. Before his term of service came to a close in 1876, his Japanese friends in Tokyo held a send-off party that lasted for several days running. Passing through Kyoto, Kōbe, and elsewhere in Japan on his route of return to China, the poems he composed together with friends from Japan and with readers he had not as yet personally met were promptly published in such major newspapers as *Chōya shinbun* and *Yūbin hōchi shinbun*, while *Shin bun shi* devoted a special issue to his departure, making this all a remarkable story in the Tokyo poetry world. After returning to China, Ye Wei collected the poems he had written with Japanese friends as well as their correspondence into a volume entitled *Fusang lichang ji* (Collection of dually composed [poems] in Japan), which he later published in Nanjing. In summer 1880, four years after his return to China, he again traveled to Japan at his own expense. On this occasion he stayed mainly in the Kansai region, first in Osaka and then moving in the spring of the second year to Kyoto. He was forced to return to Osaka to recuperate from illness, and there he remained until February 1882 when he returned home.¹⁰

Unlike the invitations to Jin Bin and Ye Wei to travel to Japan and teach, the painter Luo Qing (Xuegu) from Panyu in Guangdong Province provides an example of one who traveled to Japan at his own expense early on to purchase paintings. Sometime between 1870 and fall 1871, he left for Japan; from October 1875 he took up residence at the home of Morita Rokusaburō on the grounds of the former Asakusa Temple in the Asakusa section of Tokyo, and made his living purchasing artwork. He returned to China between fall 1876 and summer 1877.¹¹ Best known as a fingernail painter, Luo used his finger as a brush and under his fingernail he stuck a tiny piece of cotton dipped in black ink. With it he painted orchids and bamboo that were highly favored by customers. The eldest son of Yamamoto Kinzō, the founder of the Hanayashiki, the well known park in Tokyo during the Meiji era, was a scholar of Edo and Meiji culture by the name of Yamamoto Shōgetsu (1873–1936). In Shōgetsu's work

Meiji sesō hyakuwa (One hundred tales from Meiji times [Daiichi shobō, 1936]), he has a section entitled “Sono mukashi Okuyama meibutsu gojin otoko, henjin, kijin, tsūjin zoroi” (Five famous men of Okuyama in times gone by: Eccentrics, oddballs, and interpreters) in which he reminisces about five famous eccentric men on the western side of the Kannon Hall in Asakusa Park: “Finally, there is also the Chinese painter Luo Xuegu who is talented at fingernail painting. He grows the fingernail of his pinky finger long, dabs it into black ink, and paints scenery, flowers, and birds all in very ordinary works of art. He has quite a cute dog, and when the owner plays the lute, [the dog] sits before him nodding his head again and again as if he intends to sing. Even dogs [of eccentric people] are eccentric.”¹²

As this citation indicates, Luo Qing had been a well-known figure at the time in the Asakusa area. Although his fingernail painting was judged by Yamamoto Shōgetsu to be only “ordinary,” he nonetheless attracted the attention of his contemporaries because of his distinctive style, and the value of his work on the art market was apparently not at all bad. According to a section of the *Tokyo Toshi kiyō* (Notes on cities, cited in note 11) entitled “List of foreigners not residing outside the residential area between 1871 and 1876,” when Luo Qing settled at the home of Morita Rokusaburō on the grounds of the former Asakusa Temple, he registered his profession as “teaching calligraphy and painting,” indicating that he was offering instruction in these subjects to others as well. The *Tōkyō akebono shinbun* for May 19, 1892, carried the following item: “In the Asakusa Park area, Luo Xuegu from China does his fingernail painting, which is becoming increasingly contagious. Teaspoon engraver Sugawara Sessai recently has also taken up fingernail painting. At his studio in the same area, Sessai has begun teaching fingernail painting.”¹³

The Japanese term here translated as “teaspoon” (*senbai*) refers to one of the implements used in green tea preparation when the tea leaves are placed into the teapot. “Teaspoon engraver” refers to the artist who carved the characters or artwork onto a “teaspoon.” By “seated . . . [and] executing their painting in public,” the author refers to the performing artists who painted and sold their works while seated in public areas. We can thus say that Luo Qing’s fingernail painting exerted a considerable influence, such that Japanese handicraft artisans and private painters in the surrounding area had begun to imitate him. When Luo Qing arrived in Tokyo, the number of Chinese living outside the foreign residential area was minuscule, and thus he often was asked by Japanese to adorn their self-published works with an inscription or preface. The *Ra genchō* (Luo’s

original notebooks) in eighteen fascicles, contained within the Ōkōchi *monjo* (Ōkōchi documents) held in the Waseda University Library, record the brush conversations between former daimyo Ōkōchi Teruna (Minamoto Keikaku, 1848–82) and Luo Qing over the years 1875–76, and from them one can understand the basic underpinnings of his interactions with Japanese.

Jin Bin, Ye Wei, and Luo Qing all traveled to Japan prior to the establishment of the Chinese Mission there. Around the same time that Luo Qing and Ye Wei arrived in Tokyo, another Chinese named Feng Gengsan was active there in calligraphic and painting circles from November 1875, having stayed with the manufacturer of writing brushes Takagi Gorōbee in the Kagomachi area of Tokyo, where he acquired the craft of making these brushes. In addition, there were the three brothers of the Wang lineage of Cixi, Ningbo Prefecture, Zhejiang: Wang Renqian (Tizhai), Wang Zhiben (Qiyuan), and Wang Fanqing (Tifang, Qinxian). After the Satsuma Rebellion, Japanese society returned to stability, and after 1877 traveling to Japan became a frequent topic of conversation among Shanghai literati, painters, and calligraphers. In particular, after Wang Yin (Yemei),¹⁴ Wei Shoujin (Zhusheng), and others with close ties to Shanghai literati society visited Japan, a large number of men hoped to emulate their example. The *Chōya shinbun* for April 13, 1880, carried a letter from Kishida Ginkō (1833–1905), the proprietor of the Shanghai pharmacy Rakuzendō, to Narushima Ryūhoku (1837–84), the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, which noted *inter alia*: “The number of Chinese who say they wish to come to Japan is extremely large, for they believe they can reap a huge profit after arriving in Japan. This is really laughable.”¹⁵

There seems to have arisen at this time a small “emigration fever” within the Shanghai literati world. Chen Honghao (Manshou) from Xiushui, Hu Zhang (Tiemei) from Tongcheng, the aforementioned Ye Wei, and his friend Guo Zongyi (Shaoquan), among others, made their way one after the next to Japan. Under Narushima’s editorship, *Chōya shinbun* carried a succession of letters and the latest news on these painters and calligraphers from Kishida in Shanghai to his Japanese friends as the occasion demanded. For example, Kishida wrote as follows about Chen Honghao: “There is a man from Suzhou by the name of Chen Honghao who traveled to Japan. He intended first to tour the Kyoto-Osaka area for a brief spell and then go to Tokyo. He has a fair amount of knowledge and is a good poet. His greatest expertise is in clerical script (*lishu*) and seal carving. He has asked me to write a letter to specialists in Tokyo to spread

the word about him.¹⁶ Chen was a friend of Ye Wei and Wei Shoujin. Under Ye Wei's influence he had on many occasions made plans to travel to Japan that never transpired. This time, however, with Wei Shoujin's assistance, he was able to realize his heart's desire.¹⁷ Like many Chinese who went to Japan, before departing Chen asked Japanese in Shanghai to write letters of introduction to well-known Japanese. In introducing Chen's particular strengths, Kishida noted that he was a man of considerable scholarship, wrote fine poetry, and excelled at clerical script calligraphy and seal carving. As will be pointed out below, these views expressed by Kishida about Chen would later influence Chen's evaluation by Japanese literati.

In the same letter, Kishida mentioned as well that Hu Zhang also planned to visit Japan:

Aside from Manshou [Chen Honghao], another painter by the name of Hu Tiemei has recently been saving his money to visit Japan. . . . Tiemei would fall in the third rank of Shanghai painters. He excels at painting taro and scenery, and he is also good at flowering plants. Based on local demand, his paintings of scenery earn two *yuan* in foreign silver, and those of flowering plants garner one to one and one-half *yuan*. Perhaps after going to Japan he will cause a huge fanfare, something well worth reporting. Compared to other painters who have made the trip thus far, though, he is indeed rather good!¹⁸

Based on Okada Kōsho's work *Shūchikurō zayū nikki* (Diary from the desk of the Repaired Bamboo Hall), which noted that on July 18, 1879, someone told Kōsho that the "famed painter" Hu Tiemei would be going to Nagasaki in August, Tsuruta Takeyoshi has argued that Hu Zhang may have traveled to Japan sometime after mid-August, later that month. If so, then Hu Zhang arrived in Japan a full year earlier. Kishida's evaluation of Hu Zhang as being in the third rank of Shanghai painters with excellence in landscapes and flowering plants was a means of informing his Japanese friend of Hu's fee schedule for his works in Shanghai, thereby protecting his friend from Hu's conceit and excessive demands for payment. Yet, he conceded that Hu Zhang was several levels more accomplished as an artist than Chinese painters who had preceded him.

A month after this letter appeared, on May 15, 1880, *Chōya shinbun* carried another letter from Kishida Ginkō reporting news to the effect that Ye Wei and Guo Zongyi were going to Japan:

Now Ye Songshi [Ye Wei] once again is coming to Japan. He is scheduled to set sail tonight aboard the *Takasagomaru*, but he has still not been able to collect enough to cover his traveling expenses and may

have to postpone his departure. A calligrapher by the name of Guo Shaoquan [Zongyi] will be traveling with him. Although he [Guo] has executed black-ink orchids for doorposts, he is not especially good at them. A calligrapher, he is one of the very worst. He is by nature docile, which had earned him men's admiration, and many in Shanghai have seen his works of calligraphy.¹⁹

One can see from this citation that Ye Wei's financial situation before his departure for Japan was fairly hard-pressed, inasmuch as he had not raised sufficient travel funds and was forced to wait for the next ship. The painter and calligrapher Guo Zongyi, who had planned to travel with Ye Wei, was a friend to both Ye Wei and Chen Honghao. Kishida's assessment of both his painting and his calligraphy was not overly high, but he recognized that he was a quiet and likable man. When Kishida traveled in 1883 to Suzhou and Hangzhou, Guo accompanied him on the trip and showed him great consideration at the time.²⁰

Kishida's letters not only conveyed detailed information about these literati, painters, and calligraphers before their departure for Japan and offered an evaluation of them at the same time, but they enable us to sense the atmosphere in Shanghai at the time in which a group of such literati, painters, and calligraphers were in fact seeking passage to Japan one after the next. What, then, was spurring these men to make every effort to travel to Japan?

From the middle of the nineteenth century Shanghai was gradually developing into the most important commercial city in the Jiangnan region, and the marketization of the world of painting and calligraphy was also growing dramatically. Accompanying the commercialization of painting and calligraphy, the number of professional painters and calligraphers who earned their living by selling their wares grew substantially. In addition, taking shelter from the Taiping depredations, many gentry from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang area moved to Shanghai, among them a group of literati who had lost most of their wealth and property and were only able to rely on selling works of art to sustain themselves. For numerous literati, painters, and calligraphers, the primary means of supporting a family was writing, painting, and executing works of calligraphy. As Kishida Ginkō wrote in another letter to his friend Narushima Ryūhoku:

In their execution of calligraphy, Chinese have a refined appreciation of nature through artistic pursuits, elegant yet candid. Many are the works which surprisingly are altogether ordinary, lacking any flavor or grace. While it is marked among merchants, even so-called gentry-

men, literati, painters, and calligraphers as a rule also bear the stench of money about them. . . . Let me give one example. A large landscape scroll would now go for sixty *yuan* of foreign silver, a flowering plant for twelve *yuan*, a mid-sized scroll a certain amount, four banners for poetic couplets a certain amount, and so on. Scraps of paper roughly one foot in length cost as much as four *jiao*, seven inches worth cost a certain amount, five inches of paper about fifty cash, and the like—all have set prices. If the paper for scrolls exceeds the measurement by an inch, it is calculated as a foot, as this adds to the remuneration for the artist. Those who seek out painting or calligraphy also demand value and will haggle over a price, but prices do not go down easily at all. Zhang Zixiang, Hu Gongshou, and other famous painters are all like this.²¹

In the eyes of Kishida Ginkō, painting and calligraphy in Shanghai at the time had already become completely transformed into merchandise. Even famous painters and calligraphers used paper sizes to measure the value of a work of art, and in a manner similar to merchants they bickered over every ounce of a piece of art to come to a price. Even Zhang Xiong (Zixiang, 1803–86), Hu Yuan (Gongshou, 1823–86), and equally famous men were no exceptions to this rule. For their part, customers had no scruples whatsoever in directly haggling over prices, like purchasing ordinary store-bought items. The situation pertaining to the world of Shanghai painting and calligraphy, as Kishida Ginkō saw it altogether estranged from “refinement” and “elegance,” would be rather easy to understand given the historical circumstances mentioned above.

As the painting and calligraphy market of Shanghai changed and developed, the massive demands for Chinese paintings and works of calligraphy from Japan constituted an exceedingly vigorous stimulus. After Japan rescinded its ban on private individuals traveling overseas, every year there were a number of antique merchants who came to China to collect and buy works of calligraphy, paintings, and cultural objects, while other Japanese who came to China for a variety of reasons were purchasing various Chinese cultural relics, paintings, and works of calligraphy to bring home to Japan. In the diaries and travelogues of Japanese who early on came to China to engage in observations, trade, or touring, we often find mention of Chinese who would come to their places of residence to peddle cultural objects, paintings, and the like. We also see them paying calls on painters and calligraphers there or art shops to buy works, an indispensable activity to every China trip.²² In his letters from Shanghai, Kishida Ginkō described the circumstances surrounding Japanese mer-

chants traveling to China at this time to collect and buy up cultural objects, paintings, and works of calligraphy as follows:

The number of Japanese antique merchants flocking to Shanghai each year is utterly huge. Most famous among them are Sano Zuigan and Noguchi Sanjirō, both of Nagasaki, and two or three others. According to one source, payment for Chinese art antiques over the course of last year reached the astonishing total of roughly 180,000 *yen*. Generally speaking, each person brings at most 20,000–30,000 *yen* and at least 3,000–4,000 *yen*. . . .²³

I have heard that recently a great many Chinese have made a business out of selling art antiques to Japanese, and many work for Japanese by traveling to Yangzhou, Suzhou, and elsewhere. Some Japanese even accompany them dressed in Japanese garb and repeatedly visiting places looking for old curios. Some people from Kyoto come together as husband and wife to Shanghai, having received orders from clients in Kyoto and Osaka; they buy up antiques and bring them home. Tonight one man will be going off to Yangzhou, according to reports, to search for old art objects. . . .²⁴

Certain Chinese have said more than once that anywhere from seven or eight to as many as ten men will frequently come from Kyoto, Osaka, Nagasaki, and elsewhere to buy up art antiques. Some others travel to Yangzhou, Gusu, Jinling [Nanjing], Changzhou, Huzhou, and other places where for high prices they purchase incense burners, vases, and teacup shards, spending as much as 300,000–400,000 *yen* each year. These objects, beloved of Mr. XX from Japan, . . . have thus reached such an extremity. I think that there really is no profit left to be made here.²⁵

According to comments Kishida heard, some were saying that Japanese in 1879 spent 180,000 *yen* buying up Chinese antiques, and others were saying that every year they spent 300,000–400,000 *yen* on Chinese antiques. Despite the disparity in these figures, one can easily confirm that many Japanese art dealers saw Shanghai as a stopover en route to collecting cultural objects en masse in such places as Yangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Changzhou, and Huzhou, and that there were Chinese who made a living by assisting these Japanese in their work. In Chinese literary works of the time, one sees as well scattered mention of the activities of Japanese art dealers and mention of their fondness for Chinese calligraphy and paintings. For example, in the Shanghai guidebook *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (Depictions of famous Shanghai sights), replete with pictures and text, there is an illustration entitled “Donggu souqi liuxin biangu” (Japanese merchants seek out rarities



Figure 1.1. “Japanese merchants seek out oddities and concentrate on authenticating antiquities” (*Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*), 1884.

and concentrate on authenticating antiquities) (fig. 1.1), which clearly illustrates Japanese merchants in Shanghai looking for artworks. It also introduces how Japanese “on the whole like calligraphy and painting, as well as inscriptional works on metal and stone. Literati have formidable collections and are able to distinguish between authentic and fake works. Whatever its quality, even for a piece of stone or a bit of silk, they aren’t stingy in the least and will pay hundreds or thousands to purchase [art-work] and return home with it.”²⁶ This assessment effectively represents the impression conveyed to the surrounding Chinese of Japanese in Shanghai at the time tracking down and buying up Chinese works of calligraphy and painting.

From the foregoing, one can see that coming to Shanghai and elsewhere in China to collect Chinese calligraphy and paintings was clearly not the provenance of a few literati types with an interest in China or the work of a small number of separate antique merchants. Painting, calligraphy, and literary works had already become an important commodity in Japanese import trade from China. In one of his letters from Shanghai, Kishida Ginkō reported: “Japanese who come to China to engage in business find great difficulty in that there are no profits to be had. Unlike

Mitsui and the Kōgyō shōkai (Commercial development association [of Hokkaidō]), which seem to be doing fine, aside from courtesans all earn no profit.²⁷ Thus, according to Kishida's report, we can see even more clearly the place held by business in painting, calligraphy, and literary works within Sino-Japanese trade at the time.

The reason Japanese art dealers came so frequently to Shanghai and never hesitated to expend large amounts of money buying up antiques was the high demand within Japan for Chinese paintings, works of calligraphy, and literary works. There were huge profits to be made in buying Chinese objects, returning home, and then selling them to Japanese. In one of Kishida's letter's from Shanghai published in the February 22, 1880, edition of *Chōya shinbun*, we find:

This business is very difficult to put an end to. During autumn last year a man from Nagasaki was in the Suzhou area buying a Zhou-period copper dish which had been unearthed. The inside of the dish was the shape of a toad. He took it back to Japan and sold it for 600 *yen* to a certain shop in Osaka that sold antiques. Its original price was said to have been less than 100 *yen*. Often these Nagasaki antique merchants come to Shanghai initially with 1,000–2,000 *yen*, and in short order they carry away the huge sum of 10,000 *yen* [worth of goods]. They do this several times in a year.²⁸

As this concrete example from Kishida demonstrates, Nagasaki merchants could buy a copper dish in Suzhou for only 100 *yen*, and then take it back to Japan and sell it for 600 *yen*. With only 1,000–2,000 *yen* initially, antique merchants in no time could turn it into 10,000 *yen*, many times each year traveling between Nagasaki and Shanghai. Even though Kishida perceived these antique merchants' behavior as "truly without any advantage," "despite the fact that business was burgeoning, there was no advantage at all in it for Japan."²⁹ Nonetheless, he had to recognize the indicators that these antique dealers were enthusiastic about their work and not about to stop.

At the same time we see considerable demand for painting and calligraphy in China. Among his letters to Narushima Ryūhoku, Kishida described in detail the circumstances surrounding calligraphy and painting in Shanghai and Japanese demand for such:

Among the painters here Zhang Zixiang enjoys the greatest reputation. Hu Gongshou's fame is inferior to his in Japan. He smokes opium, and is a filthy old man who lies around in bed all day. The best calligraphers are Wu Jutan, Tang Xunbo, Chu Pingyan, Jiang Youjie (who is also a capable seal maker). Among them, Jutan is the

best. Wei Zhusheng who recently came to Japan is inferior to all the aforementioned. For painters, there is [Hu] Tiemei, Zhu Menglu, and Yang Borun, and among those who have of late come to Shanghai all are capable painters, but they earn for their works nothing like they would in Japan. The exact same pattern holds in dyeing cloth. . . .³⁰

Wei Zhusheng and others of a lesser capacity have of late purchased cheap tickets to travel to Japan. They made a huge amount of money and returned home. It so happens that business in raw silk thread and tea leaves is in a slump lately in Shanghai, and calligraphers and painters cannot get for their work what they would like. People are all clamoring about wanting to go to Japan. Blame for this, though, is entirely to be laid at the feet of Japanese indiscretion. . . . I recently heard at the branch temple of the [Higashi] Honganji here that ordinary Japanese who come to Shanghai looking for calligraphy and painting all equally offer particularly high levels of remuneration. The agreed upon prices these painters and calligraphers come to after returning from Japan reflect the scale of fee payments for Japan, at odds with the old standards, and they speak of wanting to come back some time to Japan again. This is the situation we have. Art and antique shops are all arranged and decorated for Japanese.³¹

As these descriptions reveal, the Japanese demand for Shanghai painters and calligraphers was immense, and the works of Shanghai painters and calligraphers in Japan could fetch much higher prices than they could in China. Thus, Wei Zhusheng, a painter with at best a modest reputation at home, could earn amply in Japan. This state of affairs provided an extraordinarily stimulating revelation for them. In particular, at a time when raw silk thread and tea were in a downturn in Shanghai, the painting and calligraphy market, which was supported by a prosperous business sector, was also affected. Under these conditions, those who had been to Japan and earned much money for their work enhanced their expectations and could make a healthy income. This was a huge attraction to Shanghai literati, painters, and calligraphers. Kishida satirized them by saying that painters and calligraphers in Shanghai were scrambling to go to Japan and make money: "The blame for this is entirely the ignorance of the Japanese people." This point underscored the relationship between the desires of Shanghai painters and calligraphers to get to Japan and Japanese demands for Chinese works of calligraphy and painting. The stories Kishida passed along that he had picked up at the branch temple in Shanghai of the Higashi Honganji noted that the remuneration which Japanese in Shanghai provided for paintings and works of calligraphy was higher than the general scale of fees one could expect. This was due

to the fact that the painters and calligraphers who had come to Shanghai were thinking on the basis of an adjusted scale for standard fees in Japan. One of the aims of this was preparation for a subsequent trip to Japan to sell paintings there. Kishida noted as well that the art and antique shops in Shanghai outfitted themselves completely to welcome Japanese, which again reflected the importance exerted by Japanese demand on the Shanghai art and antique markets at that time.

THEIR ACTIVITIES IN JAPAN

In the foregoing we have looked at the historical background to the Chinese literati, calligraphers, and painters who sought to travel to Japan in the 1870s and 1880s. When this dream was realized, how did these men spend their days in Japan? In what follows let us examine three aspects of their activities in Japan.

Interactions with Japanese

From the writings of the literati, calligraphers, and painters who traveled to Japan and the testimony of men such as Kishida Ginkō, we can see that their principal objective in going to Japan was, in addition to enhancing their personal experiences, a desire to acquire greater earnings through various and sundry literary and artistic activities. Because at this time there were no specialized brokers for calligraphers or painters, one mainly worked through a friend to gain an introduction and participate in various calligraphic or painting exhibitions held in a large city or locale. To earn a healthy profit, one first had to get to know Japanese from various walks of life and establish a broad network of personal acquaintances. Chinese literati, calligraphers, and painters who traveled to Japan were able to succeed in most instances because they relied on help from Japanese they knew personally or from Chinese friends who preceded them to Japan. Often before leaving for Japan, they paid formal visits to Japanese in China or to people with ties to Japan who might provide them with introductions. Just before departing, there would be farewell visits and send-off parties, and on occasion poetry from such events might be published in newspapers. For example, just before Wei Zhusheng set off for Japan, he paid numerous calls, had send-off gatherings, and a number of poems from these were carried in the newspaper *Shenbao*, such as on Guangxu 4/10/22 [1878/4th lunar month/22nd day] ("Song Wei Zhusheng zhi Riben" [Sending Wei Zhusheng to Japan]), 11/13 ("Song Wei Zhusheng you Riben" [Sending Wei Zhusheng on his travels to Japan]), and 11/27 ("Dajiang dongqu, song

Wei Zhusheng cizhang zhi Riben" [The great river flows eastward, poems sending Wei Zhusheng to Japan]); these continued through Guangxu 5 [1879]/1/6 when *Shenbao* carried a piece by Chen Shanfu, son of Chen Honghao, entitled "Jixi song Wei Zhusheng zhi Riben" (Banquet sending Wei Zhusheng off for Japan). Aside from the emotional and ceremonial aspects of such activities, they also worked to establish new bonds with Japanese and to gain the trust of Japanese from various fields of pursuit.

After reaching Japan, they usually established a foothold in Tokyo, Osaka, Kōbe, or Kyoto, and with introductions from friends participated in various Japanese literati meetings and gatherings, and paid visits to people in various fields; and step by step they established or expanded their networks of personal associations in Japan. For example, Chen Honghao boarded the *Takasagomaru* (which he referred to phonetically as "Tugesagu" in writing) on April 9, 1880, and set sail for Japan; it passed through Nagasaki, Kōbe, and then reached Kyoto where he took up residence at the Gyōsuirō along the shores of the Kamo River. On April 19, he went with Wei Zhusheng, Zhu Jifang (Yinran), and others on an excursion to Mount Suwa. At that time, Wei and Zhu were living in Osaka, and aside from Chen Honghao, Chinese painters and calligraphers in Kyoto included Feng Yun (Yunqing) from Cixi and Wang Yin. Both Feng and Wang lived at the Matsumuraya, an inn at Shimomaruyamachi, Sanjō-agaru, Kawaramachi, dai 31-gumi, Kamigyō-ku, not far from the Gyōsuirō.³² After a short while, Chen Honghao made the acquaintance at the inn of the poet Harada Seichū. He also came to know the famed poet Ema Tenkō (1825–1901), the proprietor of the Taikyōen Sōdō, just one alleyway removed from the Gyōsuirō: "He often comes to visit and we happily exchange poems and cups of wine, whiling away nearly an entire day. We've come to be on very friendly terms, as if we've been friends for a long time."³³

Later, the well known poet Ono Kozan (1814–1910) also traveled from Tokyo to Kyoto, and Chen Honghao by chance was carrying a letter of introduction to him from Kishida Ginkō. The two men hit it off extremely well. Because of Harada Seichū's enthusiastic work and Ono Kozan's high esteem, that summer a selection made by Harada of Chen's poems, entitled *Weimei huaguan shichao* (Selection of poems by [Chen] Weimei), was published in two fascicles by Maekawa Zenbee in Osaka. This thin collection of poems established for Chen a foundation for activities in Osaka (fig. 1.2).

The celebrated literary scholar Yoda Gakkai (1830–1909) set out on April 15, 1885, to tour Tokyo, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, and elsewhere. In the

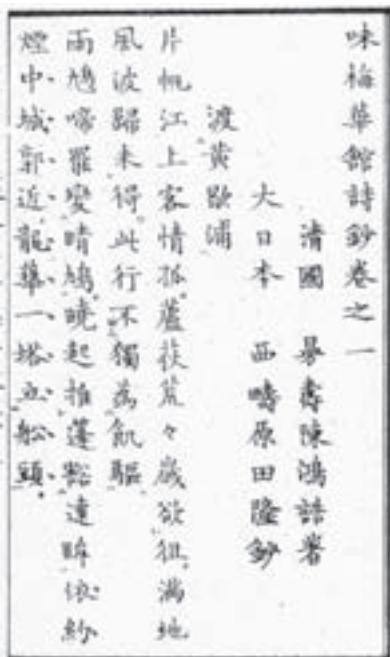


Figure 1.2. Chen Honghao, *Weimei huaguan shichao*, selected by Harada Seichū, 1880.

course of his trip, he kept a travelogue to which he asked painters to offer illustrations, altogether coming to two fascicles which he entitled *Gakkai gamu* (Gakkai's painting dreams). Katagiri Masaki (Nansai) added reading punctuation, and the book was published that October. The final section of the first fascicle was entitled "Nanto kaikyū" (Longing for the old days in the southern capital) and carried an illustration by Hu Zhang entitled "Chunri shan tu" (Drawing of mountains on a spring day), and the second fascicle had an illustration by Zhu Jifang entitled "Wu wan guan song" (Dancing estuary looks out on pine trees) in a section entitled "Kinsui tōshi" (Poetry contest at the Kinsuirō). The latter has an entry for April 28 which mentions, at a poetry gathering held at the Kinsuirō of Katagiri Masaki, close to the foreign residential area of Osaka, the scene of Japanese literati and the Chinese Zhu Jifang, Huang Chaozeng (Yinmei), Wei Zhusheng, Hu Zhang, and others all drinking wine and writing poetry. The illustrations drawn by Horinishi Beichū (1850–91) vividly portrayed the poets each concentrating in deep thought, and they help us picture the occasion of a poetry gathering in which these Chinese men of letters in Japan would have participated (fig. 1.3).³⁴

Figure 1.4 is the lower half of a scroll held in a private collection entitled

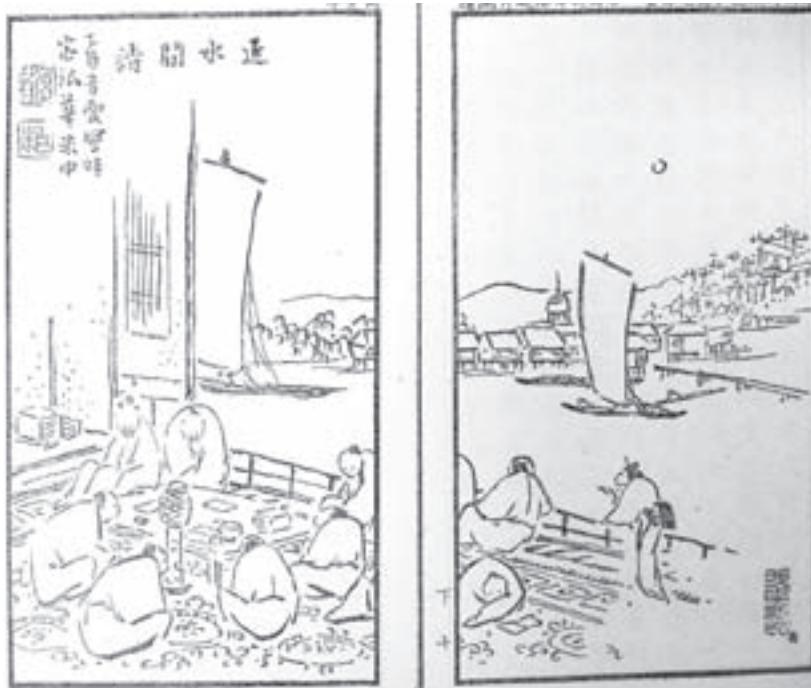


Figure 1.3. Horinishi Beichū, "Kinsui tōshi," 1885. Source: Yoda Gakkai, *Gakkai gamu*, fascicle 2.

"Naniwa ōkawabata, shikaizu" (By the riverside in Naniwa, illustration of a poetry gathering) by the painter Mori Kinseki (Kichimu, 1843–1921) of Osaka, which shows the sort of activities in which he was active at the time. Naniwa was another name for Osaka, and this illustration depicts a gathering of poets held near the river in Osaka. It can be compared to "Kinsui tōshi" in the *Gakkai gamu*.

In the *Gakkai gamu* we find Katagiri's evaluation of Zhu Jifang's "Wu wan guan song": "Zhu Yinran's painting exceeds that of Hu Gongshou, and his poetry and calligraphy are beautiful. He lives near the Kinsuirō, and we frequently meet. We exchange poems and discuss painting—as they say, it is like getting to know oneself at the farthest corner of the world. Sadly, making a living by writing is insufficient, and he will soon be leaving Naniwa." As Katagiri's note indicates, although Zhu Jifang had intimate associations with Japanese writers of Chinese poems, the earnings to be had in Osaka were less than ideal. Katagiri believed that the reason Zhu Jifang had not received such a hearty welcome was "although



Figure 1.4. Mori Kinseki, "Naniwa ōkawabata, shikaizu," n.d., private collection.

Zhu is a man of elegance with a free and easy demeanor, whose writing is strong and refined, unavoidably business sense dominates in the world of poetry and painting and ultimately not as a man of stature would like it. Almost all Chinese at present are like this, not just Yinran." Thus, mercantile sense influenced his poetic and artistic sensibility.

In their own writings, Chinese literati, calligraphers, and painters who came to Japan only rarely mentioned how they launched their own "business." From the letters and texts of brush conversations exchanged between them and Japanese literati, calligraphers, and painters that have survived until now, however, we can get a glimpse of the situation at the time. For example, in a brush conversation between Mori Kinseki, who was very active in the Osaka area at this time, and an unidentifiable Chinese painter and calligrapher (fig. 1.5), we find the following points made: (1) at the same time that this Chinese calligrapher expressed his thanks to Mori for providing him with introductions to his friends and disciples, he sought continued access to ever more clients through Mori and Mori's disciples; (2) because of Mori's assiduous concern, this calligrapher expressed the additional desire for Mori to write some calligraphy for him and for the two of them to forge a fictive fraternal bond; and (3) on another occasion when they met, the Chinese calligrapher told

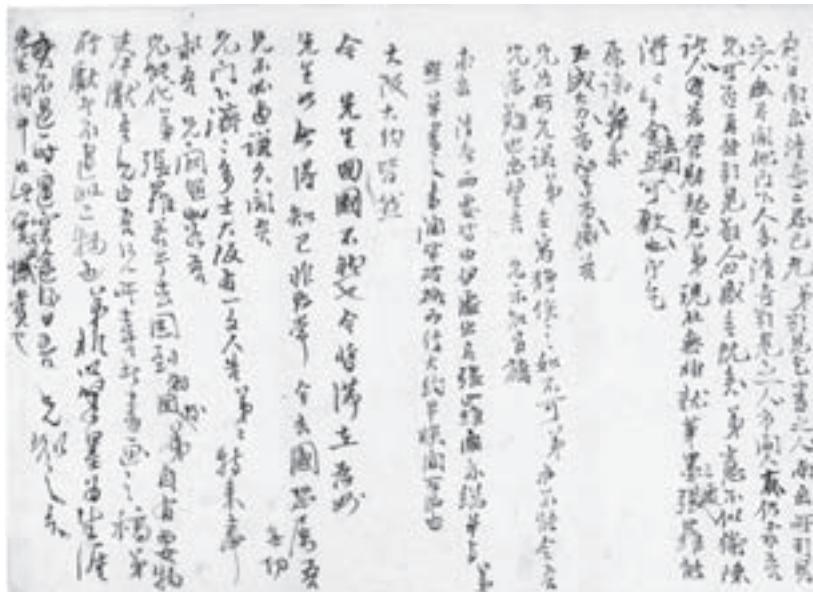


Figure 1.5. Brush conversation between Mori Kinseki and a Chinese calligrapher, private collection.

Mori that the friends and disciples to whom Mori had introduced him had further introduced him to their own friends and disciples. He indicated that for the works of art these people wanted he received extremely meager compensation. The brush conversations contain detailed records regarding compensation of this sort.³⁵

Mori Kinseki (he initially used the name Rokyō but later changed it to Kinseki) also used the names Kanseki, Tekkyō, and Unkonkan, among others. His studio bore the name Chōkōdokugaro. He studied with the Nanga painter Kanae Kinjō, and in the second Meiji decade (1877–87) he began producing copperplate etchings under the name Kyōsendō in Osaka. He printed illustrations in maps, guidebooks, dictionaries, textbooks, all manner of guides for daily use, novels, poetry collections, as well as commentaries on paintings and introductions to calligraphy and painting; these included both independent collections as well as his participation in works of art and engravings, altogether over one hundred items in all. He was personally close to Wang Yin, Wei Shoujin, Zhu Jifang, Hu Zhang, and other Chinese, having long housed Hu Zhang at his home (fig. 1.6). Chinese painters and calligraphers active in the Osaka-Kōbe area at this time often sought his help with personal introductions



Figure 1.6. Hu Zhang,
*Small Portrait of Mori
Kinseki at Thirty-Eight*,
private collection.

to others. One painter and calligrapher whose name is now unknown to us also clearly used Mori's introduction to get orders filled through his disciples. In a brush conversation this man expressed his profound predicament, and Mori enthusiastically introduced him to a client as well as proposing that he travel to local areas to hunt down opportunities (see below) and not rush to return home to China.

Travel to Local Sites in Japan

Because demand might reach a saturation point for a given period in the urban areas of Tokyo, Osaka, Kōbe, Kyoto, and the like, on occasion Chinese painters and calligraphers left Osaka to travel to the hinterland in an effort to open up more opportunities. Touring around such locales for men of letters, painters, and calligraphers only began in the last years of the Edo period in Japan, and the Meiji period witnessed many examples of this sort. For example, Oka Senjin (1832–1914), the scholar of Chinese learning, traveled to Hokkaidō, and the calligrapher Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922) traveled all over the country with his calligraphy. During the brush conversations between Mori Kinseki and Chinese calligraphers and painters, Mori noted that Osaka was much like Shanghai, a commercial city and thus not one to lay great weight on calligraphy, painting, or literature. Thus, he encouraged them to travel to the Kansai region, even offering to provide introductions to his friends and acquaintances. Mori also touched on the fact that two years previous Wang Zhiben had been in Osaka and every day he was running around, working hard and earning little. The previous year the two of them sojourned together in the hinterland, and now they were to go to Bakan where they were going to make considerable sums of money. However, if Chinese painters and calligraphers who went to Japan had no accompanying Japanese who could interpret for them and knew the local landscape well, their inability to communicate in Japanese and lack of familiarity with the terrain made the difficulties considerable. As Mori Kinseki put it, Wang Zhiben had traveled around to numerous local areas in Japan, but he had lived in Japan for a long period of time and was relatively well informed about conditions in the country. At that time it was especially important that one go to Tokyo, Osaka, or another big city to establish relationships with Japanese who could then offer them introductions to well known local figures where they might learn of convenient local conditions. Mori had himself provided introductions to disciples and friends in various locales for Wei Zhusheng, Hu Zhang, Zhu Jifang, and Wang Zhiben. We know from the extant letters from Hu Zhang to Mori Kinseki that Hu's trip to

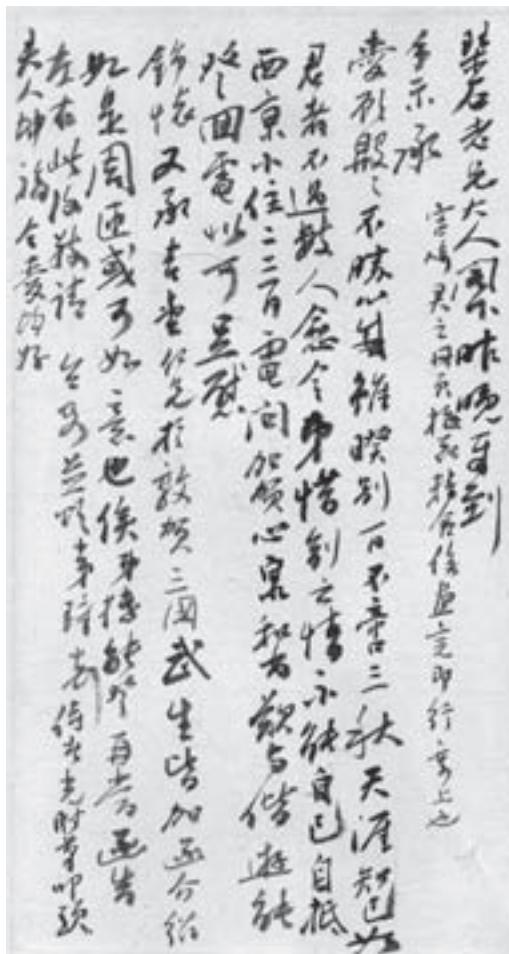


Figure 1.7. Letter from Hu Zhang to Mori Kinseki, 1886, private collection.

Japan's north was facilitated by Mori's connections; when he traveled to Tsuruga, Mikuni, Takefu, and elsewhere, he carried a letter of introduction from the painter Utsumi Kichidō (1850–1925), and when he reached Noto he sought out Kitakata Shinsen (1850–1905) of Kaga (fig. 1.7).³⁶

Although Chinese calligraphers and painters neither understood Japanese nor were familiar with Japanese conditions, there was a way to travel in the company of Japanese painters and calligraphers and take part in local artistic gatherings, in which instances they could rely on Japanese friends to take care of them and make arrangements with the host at such a gathering. For example, Hu Zhang traveled with Mori Kinseki to Okayama. This sort of trip, however, might also on occasion lead to

great hardship. For example, early in 1887 Sun Dian (from Laian, Anhui Province) came to Japan from Shanghai to make a living; a month after arriving in Tokyo, an art dealer from Kōshū (in present-day Yamanashi Prefecture) by the name of Suzuki Zenjirō bearing a letter of introduction from Mishima Chūshū, the well known poet in Chinese and founder of the Chinese learning academy Nishō Gakusha, paid him a visit. He wanted Sun Dian to take part in a painting and calligraphy exhibition that he was organizing. On the trip there he was accompanied by Mishima and Kusakabe Meikaku, but the road getting there was rugged and muddy, and they arrived completely worn out. The local people did not appreciate elite culture, and the organizer was both cunning and miserly. They were exhausted for several days, and each person only received thirty *yen*. Thus, as Sun Dian sighed in his diary: "From start to finish the trip took seven or eight days, but it was exceedingly exhausting, the pay was extremely meager, and I honestly felt overtaxed. Only the scenery was quite beautiful, making it all just passable. Had I not been accompanied by [Kusakabe Mei]kaku and [Mishima Chū]shū, I fear I would have been greatly deceived by the gathering's organizer. Relations with strangers are not easy, and the trip was extremely hard. This voyage to the interior left me deeply disheartened."³⁷ Later, Sun Dian again consulted with Meikaku about traveling to the Japanese interior, but the latter's response was: "To travel to the interior without a knowledge of the language would be highly problematic. Even with an interpreter, it is difficult to assess what he is thinking. Perhaps there is someone like Mr. Suzuki who lives in the hinterland. It is entirely futile, no reason to plan for such."³⁸ Even Meikaku, a man with considerable experience traveling around the Japanese interior, was greatly disheartening in this regard. Sun Dian's travel plans were thus clearly best not attempted.

Given these conditions, the lot faced by Chinese literati, painters, and calligraphers who traveled to Japan differed greatly. After Chen Honghao arrived in Japan, even though he quickly became friends with Japanese poets in Kyoto, the economic benefits were not uniformly great. He then promptly moved to Tokyo, and in the brush conversations that Ōkōchi Teruna preserved with Wang Zhiben, we find the following conversation of May 18, 1880 between Wang and Kametani Seiken (1838–1913):³⁹

KAMETANI: Recently, men have returned home from Osaka. They say Wei is very rich and Chen very poor.

WANG: Mr. Chen's poetry is quite beautiful, but unfortunately he lacks knowledge. I have heard that Wei earns some 20–30 *yen* each day.

We can see from the foregoing that the income earned by Chinese painters and calligraphers was certainly a topic of concern to men of letters at the time. The phenomenon of "Wei is rich, Chen poor" was often related to favorable circumstances.

Publication Activities

Earlier, I referred to the student text of the *Thousand Character Classic* in ordinary script, published in Nagoya by Jin Bin. I also mentioned that, due to the enthusiastic efforts of Harada Seichū, during Chen Honghao's brief visit of only a few months to Japan, they published in Osaka the poetry collection *Weimei huaguan shichao*. Chen arrived back in Japan a year later in July 1881, and before visiting the city of Sakai outside of Osaka with Fukuhara Shūhō (1827–1913), he got to know the Osaka poet Tsuchiya Hōshū (Hiroshi, 1841–1926) and did some painting for Tsuchiya and his disciples. Tsuchiya personally sent Chen off from Osaka, and during the time Chen was visiting Sakai, he edited Chen's brush conversations with Japanese as *Kaikō hitsugo* (C., *Xiehou biyu* [Brush conversations on chance meetings]), with an announcement about its publication appearing in September of that year and its actual printing in October (fig. 1.8).⁴⁰ Chen's trip to Sakai and the publication of *Kaikō hitsugo* clearly added depth to the mutual understanding and trust between him and Tsuchiya.

In 1883 Chen prepared a book of poetry by sixty-two Japanese poets from his acquaintances while in Japan and those with whom he shared a "divine association." He added to it his own introductory remarks and gave it the title *Riben tongren shixuan* (Selection of poems by Japanese colleagues), and as before it was published by Tsuchiya in Osaka. This work was as well the historically first collection of Japanese poems in literary Chinese compiled by a Chinese. In addition, Ye Wei also published two works while in Japan, one in 1881 entitled *Meng'ou yiyu* (The ravings of Meng'ou), a collection of jottings by his disciples and Japanese friends, and one in 1882 entitled *Zhuyao xianchao* (Leisure notes in sickness), a work published while he was convalescing in Osaka. In fact, editing and authoring one's own work was rarely one of the main activities performed by Chinese literati, calligraphers, and painters while in Japan. With support from Japanese friends and publishers, Chinese who traveled to Japan in this period published a certain number of poetry collections and painting albums while they were in Japan. Publication of these works was usually the result of assistance from the authors' Japanese friends, and they reflect at the same time the reading demands of a sector of Japanese soci-

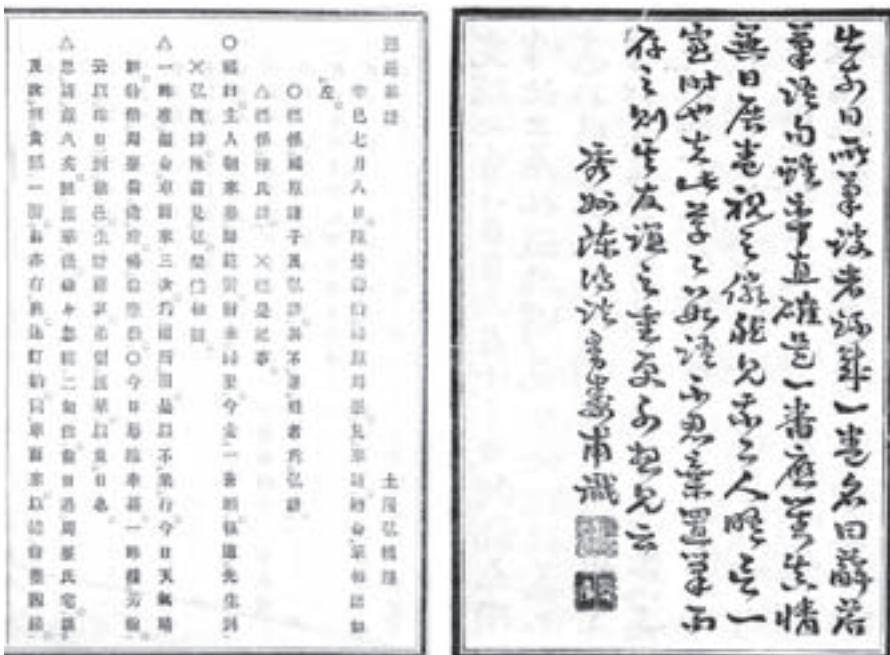


Figure 1.8. Tsuchiya Hiroshi (Hōshū), *Kaikō hitsugo*, 1880.

ety of the time.⁴¹ These works afforded the authors an expanded influence in Japan which demonstrated their utility, and because these publication plans had a certain distinctiveness, they circulated later rather widely although only briefly; few people later knew of them. Below I shall select from the more famous of Wang Yin's painting albums.

The man who was most energetic in promoting his own works while in Japan was Wang Yin. In Osaka in 1880 he published his *Yemei shipu* (*Yemei's sample stone paintings*) in two string-bound volumes; publication was registered on March 5, 1881, and copyright obtained on March 28. It was printed in black ink with color overlays (fig. 1.9). It was collated and published by Kutomi Kanae and Maekawa Zenbee, printed by the printing firm of Kurasawa Masashichi in Osaka and the Kyūkyodō in Kyoto. It bore a title page inscription from Chen Honghao, prefaces by Wang's friend Ye Wei, his nephew, and Fujiwara Nangaku (1842–1920), an autobiographical introduction by Wang Yin himself, and postfaces appended to the first fascicle by Ema Tenkō and Fukuhara Shūhō.

Yemei shipu was Wang Yin's first album in Japan, but he had already begun work at this point editing work on other painting and calligraphy



Figure 1.9. Wang Yin, *Yemei shipu*, 1880.

albums. In 1879 while he was living at the Kyūkyodō in Kyoto, he took note of the paintings owned by Kumagai Kokō of the Kyūkyodō and those of his friends in Kyoto and sought to follow this pattern by editing on a limited scale the *Lidai minggong zhenji suoben* (The calligraphy of famous men over the ages, reduced format). It appeared several years later with a publication registration listed as May 17, 1883, printed on December 22. This work appeared in four pocket-sized, string-bound volumes, and the work's title calligraphy was executed by Chen Honghao and the publisher given as Kajima Nobunari; the printer was Osaka publisher Yoshioka Heisuke and the Dongbi shanfang in Shanghai. From Kajima's preface, dated December 1879, we know that Wang Yin was the first to become interested in compiling a work of this sort while he was residing at the Kyūkyodō in Kyoto. He chose to have it be sold in Shanghai and Osaka simultaneously. We thus see that he was editing and publishing this work was not only for Japanese readers but that he was fully cognizant of the demand on the Shanghai book market for it.

The year 1882 was Wang Yin's most productive in Japan. In just a few short months, he published *Lanzhu erpu* (Two albums of orchids and bam-

boo, September 1882) in two string-bound volumes, *Yemei huapu* (Yemei's sample paintings, November 1882) also in two string-bound volumes, *Yemei lanzhu pu* (Album of Yemei's orchids and bamboo, November 1882) in two string-bound volumes, and several other painting albums. They were published by Yoshioka Heisuke of Osaka and Kajima Nobunari of Gifu Prefecture. It should be noted that Yoshioka, the publisher and printer of all of Wang's albums aside from *Yemei shipu*, was also the publisher of such works as Mori Kinseki's *Bokujō hikkei daiga shishū* (Essential handbook for calligraphers, poetry collection for painting colophons).⁴² Mori Kinseki also provided for Yoshioka engraved maps, as well as illustrations for guidebooks and various other sorts of written material.⁴³ The two men were friends and business partners. From the close relationship between Mori and Yoshioka, we can surmise that Wang Yin was able in a short period of time to prepare a number of painting albums, and perhaps this was a sign of the success of the mediation exercised by Mori's introduction.⁴⁴

Based on the diaries, travel writings, brush conversations, and similar materials of Chinese and Japanese men of letters from the 1870s and 1880s, we have examined the phenomenon of numerous Chinese painters and calligraphers traveling to Japan. To be sure, one of the important elements in the increased numbers of those traveling was the convenience of movement between the two countries, and when we look specifically at the historical background, we need to consider the particular relationship between the Shanghai art market and Japan. In addition, although a major objective in going to Japan at this time for Chinese painters and calligraphers was to gain economic benefit, in the process of their travels they often established a broader range of personal relations, and many had close ties to Japanese men of letters, painters, and calligraphers. The bond between Mori Kinseki and Hu Zhang would be a prime example.

Not only did these Chinese painters and calligraphers often leave a fair number of their works at various sites in Japan, but they also contributed title pages, colophons, pieces of calligraphy, prefaces and postfaces, and commentaries, poems, and songs prepared together—all manner of vestiges which remained after them in Japan, while many others still in Japan published their own works. Not only did the activities of Chinese literati, painters, and calligraphers who traveled to Japan deepen the mutual understanding between Chinese and Japanese painters, calligraphers, and authors, but they also facilitated the expansion of channels of interactions between Japan and the Shanghai art world. From the 1890s,

especially following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, the view of China held by Japanese society in general changed greatly, which also resulted in diminished interest among ordinary people in Chinese painting and calligraphy. The decision by Chinese calligraphers and painters to try to make a living in Japan selling their works thus represents a distinctive cultural phenomenon of the 1870s and 1880s.

2. Tea and the Art Market in Sino-Japanese Exchanges of the Late Nineteenth Century

Sencha and the Seiwan meien zushi

Yu-chih Lai

After the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 and, most importantly, the opening of Japan in 1854, Shanghai rapidly became not only the most cosmopolitan city in China, but also the dreamland of many Japanese adventurers, cultural admirers, Meiji modernizers, market-seeking entrepreneurs, and other such figures in the late nineteenth century. In the art world, scholars have recently begun to pay greater attention to the activities of Japanese artists and dealers in Shanghai and their associations with contemporary Shanghai artists.¹ These studies have yielded many important, yet previously ignored, artistic ties between China and Japan during that era. However, the underlying enterprise that motivated these tie-building activities has been little discussed.

A preliminary survey shows that many of the pioneering Japanese dealers and artists who associated with Shanghai artists at the time were involved in the culture of *sencha*, a new-type of tea practice that emerged in the eighteenth century and had achieved great popularity by the following century. This essay focuses on a popular record, entitled *Seiwan meien zushi* (Illustrated record of the tea banquet at Seiwan, fig. 2.1), of an important *sencha* gathering in 1874 held by the major Japanese antique shop in Osaka, Yamanaka shunkōdō. The importance of this record lies not only in the fact that many prominent Shanghai painters and calligraphers appear therein, but also that this record was indeed circulated in Shanghai.² Therefore, by analyzing how Chinese art was appropriated and transformed in the Japanese context, I propose to take this gathering and its record to explore the artistic network between Shanghai and Japan, the different expectations and knowledge involved in these exchanges, and what we can read in them to shed new light on our understanding of the nature of Sino-Japanese cultural interactions at that time.



Figure 2.1. Yamanaka Kichirobee, ed., *Seiwan meien zushi*, cover.

TEA GATHERING AT SEIWAN

On the eighth day in the eleventh lunar month of 1874, the famous antique shop in Osaka, Yamanaka shunkōdō, run by the Yamanaka family, held a tea gathering in Seiwan in remembrance of the late father of the shop's owner in which Chinese painting, calligraphy, various kinds of antiquities, and flower arrangements were put on display. A grand gathering, it involved a total of thirteen *seki*, which meant thirteen tea banquets each held in a different space. In addition to Yamanaka shunkōdō, which hosted the first *seki*, twelve other collectors or antique shops were also invited to bring their collections to participate in this banquet of tea and art. Later, the *Seiwan meien zushi* was published to record and commemorate the whole event.³

Yamanaka shunkōdō was the forerunner of the famous pioneering Yamanaka & Company (Yamanaka shōkai), which was devoted to exporting Asian art to the West and had developed international operations with its base at Osaka and branches in New York, Boston, Chicago, London,

Beijing, Shanghai, Nara, Kyoto, and other cities.⁴ Those familiar with the early collections of Asian art in America will be familiar with its representative and the actual operator of its oversea branches, Yamanaka Sadajirō (1866–1936).⁵ Yamanaka & Company opened first at 20 West 27th Street in New York City in 1894, and it had many important customers who would become prominent figures in the collecting history of Asian art in the United States, such as Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913),⁶ Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853–1908), and Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919).⁷

Yamanaka Sadajirō was one of the most influential dealers in the collecting of East Asian art in the early twentieth century not only in the United States but also in England. It was through his leadership that Yamanaka & Company was granted a royal warrant by King George V on December 1, 1919. It was also his acquisition of the Prince Gong Collection in 1912 that astonished business colleagues and further sped up the exporting of Chinese fine arts onto international markets. He introduced foreign handicrafts to Japan and promoted East Asian arts to the West through exhibitions and well-printed catalogs, a revolutionary modern platform for the art business in the early twentieth century that ensured his success.⁸

Knowing the significance of the role Yamanaka Sadajirō played in the global circulation of East Asian arts in the early twentieth century, why would this have anything to do with the seemingly classical tea gathering in Seiwan? The host (*kaishū*) of the Seiwan gathering for the first *seki*, Yamanaka Shunkō, was the literary name of the main proprietor of Yamanaka shunkōdō at this time, Yamanaka Kichirobee (1845–1917). He was not only the head of the Shunkōdō, but also the founder of Yamanaka & Company. Yamanaka Sadajirō was his successor and the adopted son of his elder brother, Yamanaka Kichibee the Third.⁹ It is Yamanaka Kichirobee who, along with other family members, financed Sadajirō's explorations of the foreign market.¹⁰ Yamanaka Kichirobee was born to a family running an antique shop in Osaka. His father, Yamanaka Kichibee the Second, the subject of this memorial gathering in Seiwan, was a self-made antiques dealer. When he died at the age of sixty-seven on the third day of the sixth lunar month in the fifth year of the Meiji period (1872), he had three heirs: Kichibee the Third, Kichirobee, and his son-in-law Yoshichi. The eldest son, Kichibee the Third, had been adopted by the head family into their clan. The second son Kichirobee and the son-in-law Yoshichi shared his inheritance and started their own business. Kichirobee took over his art and antique trade, however, by the time of the Seiwan gathering in 1874, and the three of them had all joined together to form a large

shop called the Shunkōdō located by Kōrai Bridge.¹¹ Shunkōdō officially became a “company” (*shōkai*) in 1900. The first president was Yamanaka Kichirobee. It was further transformed into a joint stock corporation and Sadajirō acted as president of the new corporation in 1918, mainly taking care of overseas trade and related business. At the same time, the Kichirobee Company (*Gōshi gaisha Yamanaka Kichirobee shōten*) was established, and it watched over its traditional trade related to tea culture.¹² In short, as opposed to Sadajirō, who promoted Asian art in the era of the modern museum and expositions, Kichirobee sold his art in the milieu of the popularity of *senchadō* (the way of *sencha*) in the Meiji period as shown in the Seiwan gathering.

SINO-JAPANESE CIRCLES

What made this Seiwan gathering distinctive was not only that this was the first grand demonstration of the Yamanaka family’s influence in *sencha* circles, but, more importantly, many figures active in the art world of Sino-Japanese exchange participated. The first preface was written by Chō Sanshū (1833–95), a famous calligrapher, Sinologist, and royalist,¹³ who wrote about the grandeur of this gathering at the very beginning of the book.¹⁴ Sanshū not only befriended many Chinese visitors,¹⁵ but he also had visited China in 1872. His preface was followed by one written by the Shanghai calligrapher Wang Dao entitled “Preface for the Art Gathering at the Yodo River” (*Dianjiang yaji tu xu*). Wang Dao, according to *Haishang molin* (Shanghai painters), had sojourned to and made a name for himself in Japan.¹⁶ He apparently knew Kichirobee personally, because in addition to the preface Wang also gave him ten white porcelain tea cups inscribed with gold characters as a gift especially commemorating this event.¹⁷ Following Wang Dao’s preface was a poem by Bai Juyi (772–846) transcribed by the Shanghai artist Hu Gongshou (1823–86) to offer his congratulations on the occasion of the event (fig. 2.2),¹⁸ and then another Shanghai artist Zhang Xiong (1803–86) presented the four characters “*Lu Lu yi feng*” (Legacy of Lu Yu [733–804] and Lu Tong [ca. 795–835]) (fig. 2.3) to eulogize the spirit of the gathering.¹⁹ Although neither Hu Gongshou nor Zhang Xiong had ever been to Japan, both (as I have demonstrated elsewhere)²⁰ were deemed by the Japanese as leaders and representatives of the Shanghai art world.²¹ Thus, many Japanese visitors to Shanghai wanted to meet them and acquire their works.

Those involved in this tea gathering included not only Shanghai artists but also important Japanese artists, mainly Nanga painters and calligra-

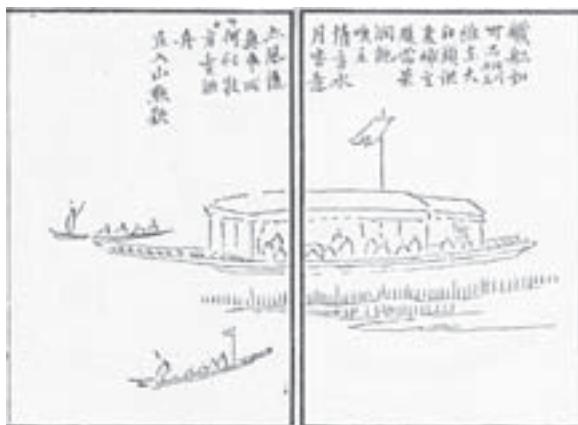
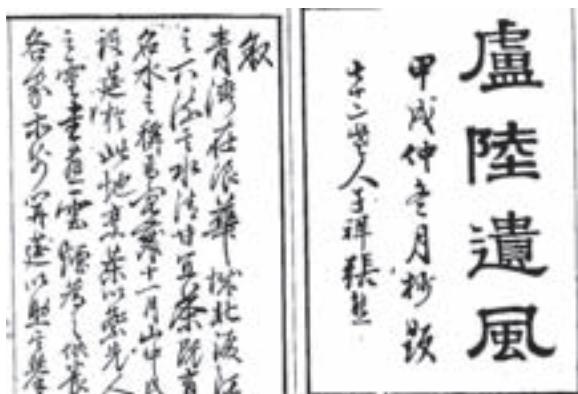
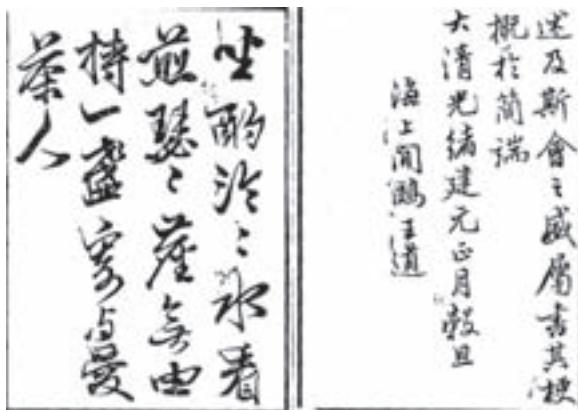


Figure 2.2. (above) Hu Gongshou's inscription, *Seiwan meien zushi*, preface, 5b–6a.

Figure 2.3. (middle) Zhang Xiong's inscription, *Seiwan meien zushi*, preface, 6b.

Figure 2.4. (below) Drawing by Tanomura Chokunyū, *Seiwan meien zushi*, 3: 14b–15a.

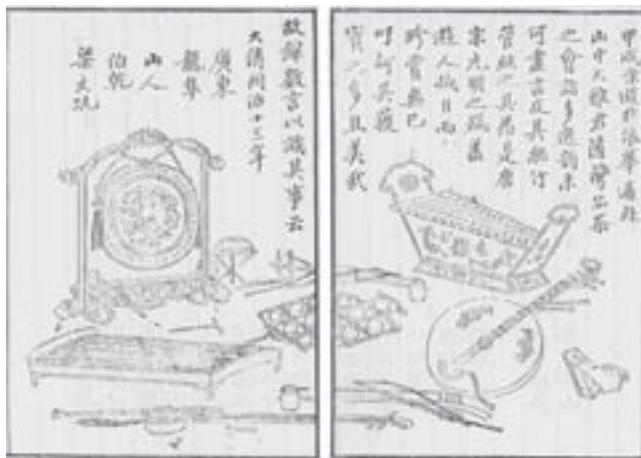


Figure 2.5. Liang Wenwan's inscription for *seki* eleven, *Seiwan meien zushi*, 3: 9b–10a.

phers. In addition to Chō Sanshū, another less well-known calligrapher-official, Teranishi Ekidō (1826–1916),²² active in the Osaka area, also wrote a short essay sketching the biography of Yamanaka Shunkō, his family, and his shop.²³ Following it was an inscription by the Nanga painter Tanomura Chokunyū (1814–1907).²⁴ Born in Bungo domain, Chokunyū studied with and was adopted into the family of the famous Nanga painter Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835) in Osaka. Later moving to Kyoto and befriending many literati, Chokunyū became a famous figure in the world of *sencha* himself. He was well known for holding the Seiwan Tea Gathering of 1862 commemorating the centennial anniversary of the death of Baisaō (1675–1763), an Ōbaku monk from Hizen commonly taken as the first and most important master of Japanese *senchadō*. More than 1,200 people attended that event, many of whom were prominent literati. Later he published a catalog, *Seiwan chakai zushi* (Illustrated account of the Seiwan tea gathering).²⁵ In Shunkō's catalog, in addition to the inscription, Chokunyū contributed a drawing of the scene of *seki* twelve, which was held on a boat (fig. 2.4).²⁶

Some sojourning Chinese also participated in the event. For example, Liang Wenwan from Guangdong wrote an inscription for *seki* eleven (fig. 2.5), which was a concert of Chinese Ming- and Qing-era music held aboard a boat.²⁷ Although largely unknown, he apparently was a friend of Kōno Michitane. When Kōno contributed a colophon at the end of the catalog, Liang did the calligraphy for him.²⁸ Unfortunately, little is



Figure 2.6. Wang Yin, *Level Forest and Misty Rain* (*Pinglin yanyu*), 1889, Hashimoto Collection.

known about the background of Kōno Michitane either. He was probably a member of Nanga circles in Osaka, because both of them later participated in a Nanga painting manual, *Nanga dokugaku kigō jizai* (Painting manual for Nanga autodidacts), edited and published in 1880 by Mori Kinseki (1843–1921),²⁹ a famous artist from the Osaka area who specialized in Nanga and etch-printing. What is worth noting is that in 1874, when Shunkō's Seiwan tea gathering was held, there were actually few known Chinese artists living in Japan. For example, the Shanghai painter Wang Yin (fl. 1861–80, also known as Wang Yemei) did not go to Japan until 1877, while Hu Zhang (1848–99, also known as Hu Tiemei), another Shanghai artist, first went to Japan in 1879.³⁰ Therefore, it is imaginable that the Chinese who actually participated in this gathering were probably less well known merchants and others, such as Liang Wenwan.³¹

In addition to artists, many Japanese dealers who actively developed Chinese connections also contributed to this gathering. For example, Kumagai Kokō, the owner of Kyūkyodō,³² did not host a *seki*, but still offered a Shitao painting listed in the section entitled "Paintings Viewed in the Gathering." Kyūkyodō was (and still is) a Kyoto shop selling writing accessories and various kinds of incense, and it also acted as an art dealership. Kokō was extremely active within the art community in the Osaka and Kyoto areas. Because many of his goods and materials were imported from China, he had the opportunity to befriend many Chinese sojourners. Therefore, when Kokō visited Shanghai in 1889, the artist Wang Yin, who was there at the time, painted for him a handscroll entitled *Level Forest and Misty Rain* (*Pinglin yanyu*, fig. 2.6), in which Wang Yin recalled Kokō's hospitality while he was in Japan.³³ Another



Figure 2.7. Wang
Jianzhang, *Cascades
and Lofty Pines* (*Feiquan
qiaosong*), seventeenth
century, Nezu Museum.

noteworthy figure was Ikejima Sonsen, the host of the seventh *seki*. As a Nanga painter and an important dealer in Nagasaki,³⁴ he was also responsible for importing many important paintings by Wang Jianzhang (1627?-1650?) at this time, such as *Cascades and Lofty Pines* (*Feiquan qiaosong*, fig. 2.7), now in the Nezu Museum. Based on Sonsen's writing on the box for the painting, it originally belonged to a collector in Fujian and was purchased by him from a dealer in Shanghai.³⁵

Before we go further in exploring how and why Shanghai artists would have participated in this tea gathering, let us first ask if Yamanaka Kichirobee knew them in person. If so, what were the circumstances? And, most importantly, how did they understand this gathering? To do so, however, we need first to understand the nature of the *sencha* gathering itself.

THE RISE OF SENCHADŌ

What is *senchadō*? When people today think of Japanese tea ceremony, what invariably comes to mind is *chanoyu*, the ceremony using powdered green tea or *matcha*. Different from *matcha*, in which the pulverized tea leaves are whisked together with hot water in a bowl, *sencha* involves whole-leaf tea prepared by steeping the leaves in a pot of hot water. The popularity of *sencha* is greatly indebted to the Chinese Ōbaku monks in Nagasaki and gained momentum in opposition to *chanoyu* and the constraints imposed by its strict rules of etiquette. In particular, when Baisaō, commonly taken as the first master of *senchadō*, promulgated *sencha*, he made its spiritual ties to ancient Chinese sages a means of protesting against and coping with an era of political turmoil. *Sencha* henceforth was always associated with an ideology and an attitude of life that rejected the political status quo and confirmed a deep respect for Chinese literati culture, particularly that which developed in the Ming dynasty.³⁶ Therefore, strictly speaking, *senchadō* should not be called *sencha* tea "ceremony." Later influenced by *chanoyu*, *senchadō* did also evolve into a standardized way of tea preparation.

Generally speaking, *chanoyu*, based on the powdered green tea that had been imported into Japan starting in the Song dynasty, developed a program of a ceremonial sequence in combination with art appreciation, which reached its maturity in the sixteenth century. Besides a disciplined frame of mind for performing the tea ceremony, its most important aspect was the aesthetics that the ceremony intended to convey through the tea performer's body language as well as the choice of items being used and viewed during the entire process.³⁷ The fifteenth-century collection

of the family of the Ashikaga shogun, "Higashiyama gyobutsu,"³⁸ has long been canonized as the highest form of aesthetics in the tradition of *chanoyu*. As a result, *chanoyu* came to emphasize the appreciation of Song and Yuan paintings.³⁹ By contrast, toward the end of the Edo period, when aristocratic power waned and social class distinctions were dissolving, *sencha*, with its connotation of freshness and reformation beyond formalism, reached its greatest popularity. Many royalists (such as Chō Sanshū), painters in Nanga circles (such as Rai San'yō [1780–1832], Watanabe Kazan [1793–1841], Tanomura Chikuden, and later Tanomura Chokunyū and Tomioka Tessai [1836–1924]), and Sinophile intellectuals such as Naitō Konan (1866–1934) were all *sencha* practitioners. Admiring the spirit of the Chinese literati, there is in *senchadō* a preference for the appreciation of literati painting from the Ming and Qing traditions rather than the earlier Song and Yuan ones.⁴⁰

Even so, however, the Ming and Qing paintings that appeared in the Japanese *sencha* gathering were carefully selected. For example, in the Seiwan gathering, the majority of the paintings viewed were still works by so-called "Raihaku gajin," or Chinese sojourner-painters in Japan, such as Yi Fujiu (1698–1747), Zhang Qiugu (1744–1817), Jiang Jiapu (fl. 1804–15), Fei Qinghu (1765–1806), and others. In addition, such late Ming artists as Wang Jianzhang, Ni Yuanlu (1593–1644), and Zhang Ruitu (1570–1641) were also favorites.⁴¹ In China, most of these artists were either not deemed as artists (Jiang Jiapu, for example, was a ship's captain and Yi Fujiu a businessman), were actually second-rate artists (such as Wang Jianzhang), or were artists too creative to belong to the mainstream (such as Zhang Ruitu). It seems that the Chinese literati painting tradition comprehended by *sencha* practitioners in Japan at this time was still dominated by the knowledge built by sojourning Chinese and Nanga painters in Nagasaki since the late Ming period.

In addition to paintings, one can see that Chinese bronzes were also very popular in the Seiwan gathering. They were used as vessels for flower arrangements, water containers in preparing tea, or even braziers for boiling water. According to Tomita Noboru, this marks the beginning when actual bronzes from the Shang and Zhou period start to appear in Japan. They were not widely recognized and appreciated until the *sencha* gathering held in memory of Yamanaka Shunkō in 1922, an event later published in the catalog *Tsunoyama Shunkō ō senji zuroku* (Illustrated account of the offering to the late venerable Shunkō of Tsunoyama). Actually, Yamanaka Shunkō himself was an advocate and major seller of ancient Chinese bronzes in Japan's early reception of Shang and Zhou

material culture. He sold many items that became part of the famous Sumitomo collection of bronzes.⁴² In the Seiwan gathering, another genre worth noting is jades copied in the shapes of ancient bronzes. Rather than a late Ming period trend, this had emerged at the Qing court and was a new genre of appreciation in *sencha* gatherings.

Ironically, the rise of *senchadō* in opposition to *chanoyu* was actually heavily influenced by the latter. The most apparent example is obviously the adoption of the *iemoto* (headmaster) system in the early nineteenth century.⁴³ However, the institutionalization of *senchadō* only constituted a superficial change. One of the most fundamental assimilations caused by *chanoyu* was the attitude toward objects. Toward the end of his life, Baisaō ceremonially burned his tea utensils, an act that consciously defied the *chanoyu* tradition of placing great monetary value on the utensils made and owned by famous tea masters. This inspiration, however, did not continue. People in *sencha* circles soon came to venerate and copy Baisaō's utensils. For example, in *seki* five of the Seiwan gathering, three of Baisaō's extant utensils (a tea caddy, pottery kettle, and pottery brazier) were exhibited. In the nineteenth century, things used and owned by the hosts of *sencha* gatherings were always the focus of the whole gathering.

To process the *sencha* gathering in the form of a *meien* is another example. Here, *meien* refers to the amalgamation of the appreciation of Chinese art from the Ming and Qing periods along with the consumption of *sencha*. Like *chanoyu*, the host of a *sencha* tea gathering usually would compile a catalog recording the utensils used in serving tea, the art appreciated in the gathering, and how these items were arranged in the space of each *seki* (as shown in the discussion of things used in the Seiwan gathering). This *meien* practice and its popularity were accelerated by the increasing importation of Chinese objects to Japan from 1860. It continued to enjoy great popularity until 1895, when the defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War disillusioned many Japanese about China, now no longer a dreamland or model to emulate.

SHANGHAI ARTISTS AND SENCHADŌ

As was the practice, Yamanaka Shunkō edited the *Seiwan meien zushi* for the Seiwan gathering. Of particular interest is the fact that this catalog contains prefaces written by Hu Gongshou, Zhang Xiong, and Wang Dao, three leading Shanghai artists. Why would they write prefaces for Yamanaka Shunkō? What was their relationship to him? Hu's preface stated:

Monk Ruiyan and I are friends. From him, I know that the owner of the Shunkōdō has the elegant practice of Lu Tong [the tea master of the Tang dynasty], which is highly respected. In the twelfth month in the winter of the *jiashu* year [1874], Ruiyan returned to Japan from Shanghai. I wrote him twenty words from a poem by Bai Juyi as a gift to show my appreciation and admiration. [signed] Hu Gongshou of Huating⁴⁴

The “elegant practice” (*yacao*) to which Hu refers was the Seiwan tea gathering, for which “Ruiyan” traveled all the way back from Shanghai to participate in. Hu, therefore, wrote out for him Bai’s poem to commemorate the opportunity to attend this grand occasion. What is confusing here, however, is the first preface written by the Japanese poet and calligrapher, Chō Sanshū:

The owner of Shunkōdō in Osaka arranged a tea gathering in Seiwan on the eighth day in the eleventh month of the *jiashu* year, displaying paintings, calligraphy, and antiquities. Domestic art collectors all brought their collections to attend.⁴⁵

Chō Sanshū indicated clearly that the tea gathering was held on the eighth day in the eleventh month in the *kinoeinu* (or *jiashu*) year (1874), but why did Hu Gongshou state that it was in the twelfth month that Monk “Ruiyan” returned to Japan for the tea gathering? Zhang Xiong’s note, included in the catalog *Seiwan meien zushi*, gives the date as “the month of *zhongdong* in the *jiashu* year.” *Zhongdong* refers to the eleventh month following the lunar calendar, which is consistent with the date mentioned by Sanshū. The twelfth month mentioned by Hu could either be a mistake or a reference to December according to the Western calendar. Hence, it should be the eleventh month of the lunar calendar that Monk “Ruiyan” went back to Japan to attend Yamanaka Shunkō’s tea gathering. The question then arises as to the identity of Monk “Ruiyan” (*fangwai ruiyan*).

There are two possibilities. In one scenario, he may have been the Nanga painter Nagai Unpei (1833–99), the one said to have traveled to Shanghai with Yasuda Rōzan (1830–83) in 1867,⁴⁶ and whose sobriquet was Zuigan (Japanese pronunciation of “Ruiyan”). In another scenario, he may have been the active dealer in antiques mentioned by Kishida Ginkō (1833–1905) as Sano Zuigan (active in the late nineteenth century). The close similarity of their names has confused many people, including their contemporary Okada Kōsho (1820–1903). For example, when Kōsho met the Suzhou collector Gu Junshu in 1872, Gu asked (communicating in written form using literary Chinese): “Chicheng Misu [the Chinese

pronunciation of a Japanese person's name] from your country came to paint at my house the year before last, and Monk 'Ruiyan' also visited my home several times last year. These two famous names descended upon my house. Do you have any comments about this?"⁴⁷ Kōsho immediately replied: "I know both Zuigan and Sekisei. Zuigan is the disciple of Tetsuō, the Zen painter. Tetsuō passed away last year."⁴⁸

When mentioning Ruiyan (in Chinese) or Zuigan (in Japanese), the one who first came to Kōsho's mind was Nagai Unpei. Although many scholars believe that Unpei sailed to Shanghai in 1867, his case differed significantly from that of Yasuda Rōzan, who was actively engaged in the art community in Shanghai—apparently no information in either Chinese or Japanese reveals Unpei's artistic activities in China. Therefore, it is doubtful whether he was the man who visited the Suzhou collector several times.

The names of the participants in the catalog of the Seiwan tea gathering does not reveal Nagai Unpei's presence; we do find the name of Sano Zuigan, who appears in the seventh *seki* held at the Shiroyamaji oshitsu. The hosts (*meishu*) were Ogawa Kochi and Ikejima Sonsen, and the assistants (*hojo*) were Kojima Chazan and Sano Zuigan. Therefore, Monk "Ruiyan" mentioned by Hu Gongshou undoubtedly referred to Sano Zuigan. Judging from the same context, it is highly possible that the one who visited the Suzhou collector Gu Junshu several times was also Sano Zuigan, rather than Nagai Unpei, the one identified by Kōsho.

The frequency of travel by Japanese art dealers between Shanghai and Japan was extraordinary. Sano Zuigan, for example, returned to Osaka in the eleventh month for the Seiwan tea gathering, stayed less than two months, and then returned to Shanghai in the first month of the following year. The preface by Wang Dao reads:

In the winter of the *jiashu* year, the owner of Shunkōdō in Osaka, Japan invited literati and high officials to gather at Seiwan along the Yodo River to pray for blessings for his deceased father. It was a day of bright sunshine and gentle breezes. The proficient scholars arrived drinking tea and engaging in lofty talk. They all brought their collections of famous paintings, calligraphy, and remnants of old bronzes and stone epigraphs throughout the ages. They commented on each other's collections and wielded their brushes writing inscriptions. Later, the banquet was held at which music was played. [People] chanted poems while drinking. Different kinds of musical instruments were performed at different times. The guests drank together noisily, having a great time with the host. They did not feel tired after the activities of an entire day. Although it was winter at the time, and the season made all the flowers hide, the refreshing

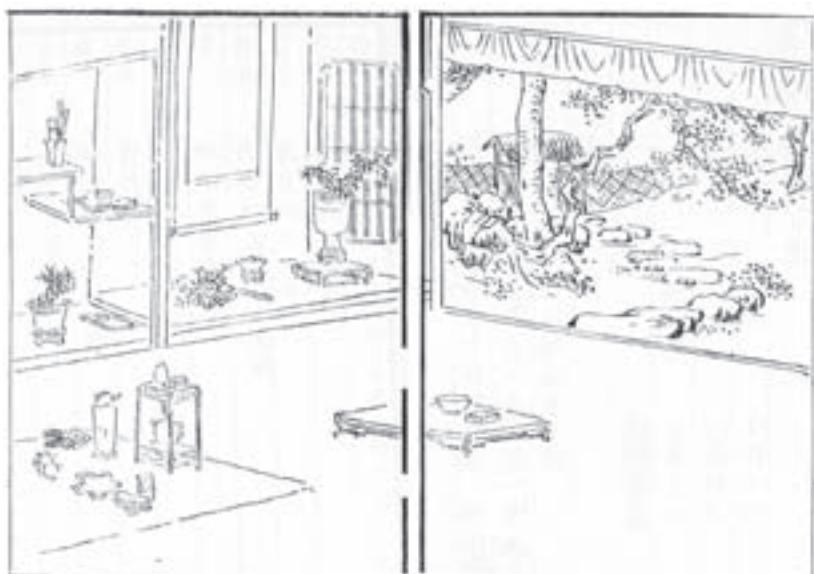
fragrance of green pine trees and bamboo greeted people, which was even more seductive than the beauty of flowers. However, this kind of elegant gathering does not happen often, nor will it be easy to hold such a grand banquet again. Like the gathering at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin and the gathering of the Western Garden in Luoyang, both left paintings and poems [in commemoration], so they are still praised today. The host painted some images to commemorate the festivities of this event. Monk Ruiyan also attended that gathering. He came to Shanghai to meet me today and told me of the grandeur of the event. He asked me to write a synopsis to narrate the event briefly. On the eighth day of the first month in the first year of the Guangxu reign [1875] of the Great Qing.

Wang Dao, a leisurely gull upon the sea⁴⁹

From the above, it was clearly Sano Zuigan (“Monk Ruiyan” in the Chinese text) who had invited Hu Gongshou to write a preface in the eleventh month right before his departure for the Seiwan tea gathering. Two months later, he returned to Shanghai and asked Wang Dao to write another preface as an introduction to the catalog. Interestingly, Wang Dao used the Chinese image-making tradition for literati gatherings—represented by paintings of the elegant gatherings at the Orchid Pavilion and the Western Garden—to conceptualize the composition of the *Seiwan meien zushi* in the Japanese context, which may not have been entirely accurate (as discussed below).

OBJECTS VERSUS PEOPLE

Given its ties to Chinese literati culture, the Japanese *sencha* tea gathering certainly emulated the spirit of the traditional Chinese elegant gathering (*yaji*) and took the meetings at the Orchid Pavilion and Western Garden as its model. However, influenced by the formality of *chanoyu*, the catalogs of *sencha* tea gatherings actually owed more to the tradition of “records of tea ceremonies” (*chakaiki*) for the *chanoyu* tea ceremony, which reached its maturity in the sixteenth century. *Chakaiki* documented a tea ceremony, recording the date, place, names of the hosts and guests, tea utensils (*chadōgu*) used, food served, and the like. The record of the *chadōgu* might include a sketch of the main tea wares used, a brief indication of the places of their production, and the names of their makers. There were, however, also some highly elaborate ones that not only included illustrations of famous tea wares, but also clearly specified their shape, measurement, and color. If works of calligraphy were shown, transcriptions would sometimes also be printed. The paintings viewed



第七席	白山氏小室
著主	小川小原
補助	湯島村泉
史書	堀田茶山
文房品目	後野瑞巻
掛軸	明王一鶴行書七絕紙本立幅
	名園雨過早鶯啼春入遙山碧四圍風日晴和人意好報尋芳得勝遊西山山
茶盤	古調豆精里井頭廬先生子貢於某儿上題出於復
香爐	高麗窓白磁香式
香筒	象牙刻人物者
菓盒	天然木青石根子根頭
硯	紅玉荷葉式
墨	萬松牛乳制大墨
墨床	黃楊木几式
筆	嫩竹管廣東製
筆洗	白玉制杏式
筆筒	紫檀木盒式

Figure 2.8. Image of the seventh seki held at Shioyamaji oshitsu (above); list of the hosts and items exhibited (below). *Seiwan meien zushi*, 2:24b–25a.

would be documented in detail with regard to their content and history. *Chakaiki* could function as the tea practitioner's own memorandum or the record of the tea utensil connoisseur. After the seventeenth century, it gradually became a description of the program for the tea ceremony performed by tea professionals, or, one might say, a script for the tea performance. In short, the focus of appreciating tea in Japan underwent several changes throughout its history.⁵⁰ One of the most influential shifts was from identifying the quality and district of origin for the tea, the practice of *dōcha*, to appreciating the art of tea utensils in the fifteenth century. Therefore, inclusion of illustrations and descriptions of the objects used and shown in the *chakaiki* was not uncommon.

As with *chakaiki*, in addition to the organizer (*shusaisha*), the *Seiwan meien zushi* also specified such information as the date, place, and names of the host of each space (*seki*) and his assistants (*hojo*). Included also were illustrations of the major *chadōgu* used along with detailed measurements, their shapes, history, and other facts. It was, then, closely related to the tradition of *chakaiki*. What is most distinctive about a *meien zuroku* (illustrated account of a tea gathering) like the *Seiwan meien zushi* is that it usually included an additional illustration of the overall view of the scene for each *seki* before going into the main contents, by which the reader could easily grasp the spatial arrangement of the setting, how the tea apparatus and other accessories were placed, and what the atmosphere was like (fig. 2.8). Also stipulated was a list of the art works shown for each *seki* along with the titles, names of the collectors, measurements, and other information. This part is actually closer in form to an exhibition catalog (*tenkan mokuroku*), a format which developed at the end of the Edo period. In particular, the editing style of having this art list printed on lined pages was indeed commonly to be found in *tenkan mokuroku*. Hence, one might say *meien zuroku* was a combination of *chakaiki* and *tenkan mokuroku*.⁵¹ Given the addition of an illustration for each *seki*, some scholars have therefore argued that, in contrast to the *tenkan mokuroku* format, the special design of *meien zuroku* was meant to convey more about the atmosphere and temperament of the tea gathering than simply serve as a record of the art works displayed.⁵²

Does this more atmosphere-oriented design of *meien zuroku* share the same context of production with Chinese paintings of elegant gatherings as indicated by Wang Dao in his preface? Generally speaking, in contrast to Chinese paintings of elegant gatherings, in which human activities and interactions were always the main focus, the *Seiwan meien*

zushi, like most *meien zuroku*, did not show any figures, only objects. Even the picture of the *chaseki*, the tea banquets, arranged to convey the milieu of the tea gathering, presented only the setting filled with tea-related objects, but no people. As a document of the gathering, therefore, Chinese paintings of elegant gatherings and Japanese catalogs of *sencha* tea gatherings actually reveal rather different mechanisms for recalling memories (for those who attended the gathering) or forming images (for those who did not have a chance to attend). Chinese paintings on elegant gatherings usually take the viewer directly back to the narrative activities at the gathering, such as drinking from "flowing cups on a winding stream" (*qushui liushang*) at the famous gathering of the Orchid Pavilion, whereas Japanese catalogs of *sencha* tea gatherings, following the tradition of *chanoyu*, always centered on the objects used and appreciated as a way to define characteristics.

JAPANESE ART DEALERS IN SHANGHAI

It is also worth noting that, in addition to the fact that Yamanaka Shunkō and Sano Zuigan were both art dealers, other hosts who went by such names as Gankodō, Yōshundō, and Seikodō were also professional dealers. The antiques business actually occupied a significant arena amid the activities of Sino-Japanese exchanges of the late nineteenth century. The most illustrative example of the presence of Japanese buyers and their impressive purchasing power in Shanghai is the scene depicted in *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (Illustrated famous scenes of Shanghai), published in 1884. Entitled *Japanese Merchants Hunt for Rarities and Concentrate on Authenticating Antiquities* (*Donggu souqi liuxin biangu*, fig. 2.9), the image depicts two Japanese seriously discussing and authenticating a painting. The accompanying text not only takes Yasuda Rōzan and Kishida Ginkō as examples and praises them for "knowing elegant things extensively, appreciating the old, and collating [everything] precisely and carefully," but also points out the passion and knowledge of the Japanese for Chinese art and antiquities. "Most people in Japan are fond of bronzes and stone inscriptions. Scholars' families with rich collections can authenticate the real from the fake. If the quality suits [their eye], even a small piece of stone or an inch of silk will not keep them from paying hundreds and thousands of gold pieces, as they will make every effort to buy and bring it back home."⁵³ In the eyes of Shanghai natives, the price did not seem to concern Japanese buyers much, as they would apparently pay incredible



Figure 2.9. *Japanese Merchants Hunt for Rarities and Concentrate on Authenticating Antiquities* (*Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*, 63b-64a).

amounts of money for even the smallest antiquity, so long as they liked it. There were so many Japanese apparently wandering around the antique shops in Shanghai that it was becoming one of the spectacles of the city.

Many of these Japanese buyers were actually professional art dealers. For example, during the trip to Shanghai of Nagasaki doctor Okada Kōsho in 1872,⁵⁴ one of his companions was the art dealer Matsuura Eiju (1822–74), also from Nagasaki. As a disciple of Hidaka Tetsuō (1790–1871), the abbot of the Shuntoku Temple and also the celebrated leader of Nanga circles in Nagasaki,⁵⁵ and his expertise was equally recognized by Chinese friends. In *Molin jinhua xubian* (Contemporary talk on a forest of ink, continued) of 1872, Matsuura was praised as being “expert at connoisseurship” (*jing jianshang*).⁵⁶ In a brief guide to Qing dynasty painting and calligraphy, *Shinchō shoga ichiran* (Overview of calligraphy and painting in the Qing era), published in 1879,⁵⁷ the first shop mentioned in the section entitled “Shokoku Wa-Kan shoga kottō shōka jinmeiroku ryaku” (Brief listing of names of Japanese and Chinese merchants of calligraphy, painting, and



Figure 2.10. Hirose Tōsuke, ed., *Shinchō shoga ichiran*.

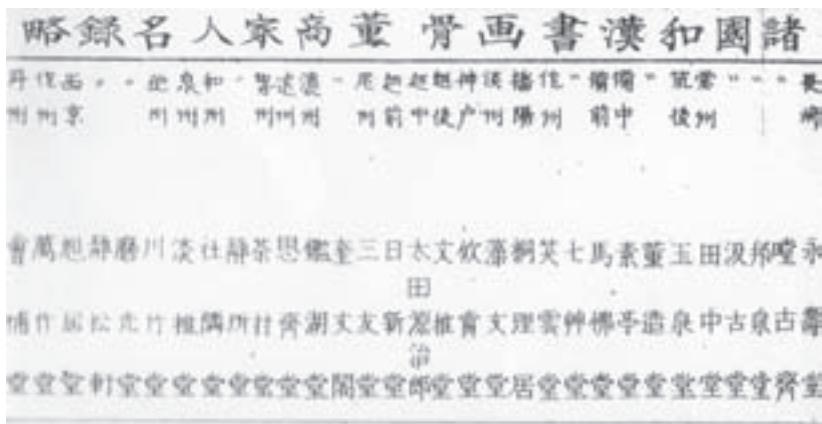


Figure 2.11. Detail, bottom left and bottom right of figure 2.10.

antiques from various areas) was the Ejūdō (figs. 2.10, 2.11).⁵⁸ Unsurprisingly, he was also a fervent *sencha* practitioner and promoter. In his visit to the famous Shanghai painter Zhang Xiong with Okada Kōshō, he brought his own tea utensils and made Japanese *sencha* tea in Zhang's home. His shop, along with another antique store, the Shōudō, held an important *sencha* gathering in the Sōrin Temple in 1870 as a farewell party for Chihara Kakei and published the catalog entitled *Unjō muei* (Fog and shadows in the cloudy sky).⁵⁹

The extraordinary enthusiasm of Japanese for Chinese art and antiques, as well as their economic ramifications, at the dawn of overall direct contact between the two countries, was best observed by Kishida Ginkō. In one of his letters of 1880 from Shanghai to the members of Ichien ginsha, he gave a comprehensive picture of the activities of Japanese art dealers in China:

At that time [when I first came to Shanghai sixteen years ago], there were roughly three hundred Japanese sojourning in Shanghai. Businessmen were indeed few. Among these [three hundred people], two hundred of them were so-called *rashamen* women.⁶⁰ The rest were officials, travelers, monks, and artists. Most of the businessmen and *rashamen* women were from Nagasaki. The managers of the Mitsui Company and the Kōgyō shōkai were all Nagasaki natives. There were many antique dealers sailing from Japan to Shanghai every year. The most famous ones were Sano Zuigan and Noguchi Sanjirō of Nagasaki, among others. Someone said with an angry cry that the amount of money paid for antiques in China last year probably

reached 180,000 Japanese *yen* in total. Roughly speaking, each person would bring twenty to thirty thousand *yen* at most and two to three thousand *yen* at the least. I heard that recently there are also many Chinese who make a living by selling antiques to the Japanese. Most of them are working for the Japanese. They would travel inland to Yangzhou and Suzhou. They would walk on the street together with the above-mentioned Japanese and dress in the same Japanese clothes, asking incessantly about antiques.⁶¹

One hundred eighty thousand *yen* appears to be a large amount of money, but how much was it at the time? We can use the example of the price of the *Senzaimaru*, the vessel designated to take Japan's first official trip to China in 1862 before the country had opened up. According to *Tōkoku tokai nikki* (Diary of a trip overseas to China), the travelogue of one of the members of the *Senzaimaru*, the Nagasaki merchant Matsudaya Hankichi, the *Senzaimaru* was purchased from an English merchant at the price of 34,000 Mexican dollars.⁶² In the same work, Matsudaya recorded the exchange rate in Shanghai at that time between the Mexican dollar and the Japanese *yen* as "one dollar for one *kan* and two hundred *mon* in Japanese *yen*".⁶³ Inasmuch as one *kan* was equivalent to 1,000 *mon*, one dollar equaled 1,200 Japanese *mon*. In other words, \$34,000 Mexican would have been 40,800,000 Japanese *mon*, or 408,000 *yen* (with one *yen* equaling 100 *mon*), which is 2.2 times the amount of 180,000 *yen* mentioned in the passage above. In short, the amount of money said to have been spent in the Chinese antique market by Japanese in a single year equaled half the amount used to pay for a modern vessel of 358 tons such as the *Senzaimaru*. No wonder criticism often appeared in newspapers against this trend that propelled so many Japanese art dealers from the Nagasaki and Osaka areas to Shanghai. Japanese newspapers condemned dealers for importing useless trifles and exporting useful gold and silver currency, which was against the principle of "enriching the country and strengthening the military" (*fukoku kyōhei*),⁶⁴ a goal that concerned Japan greatly in an era of coping with globalization. It is worth noting that, here in this news report, the term used to refer to the antique shops was "*dōguya*." Its literal translation is "shops of [or dealers in] tea utensils." Therefore, one can see the impressive influence of the Japanese *sencha* culture on the growth of the Chinese antiquities market.

Indeed, beyond establishing a network of contacts and appreciating art, the purpose of this kind of *sencha* tea gathering had much to do with the transaction and exchange of antiquities, which differed greatly from the

context of Chinese elegant gatherings.⁶⁵ In the early Meiji period, *sencha*, with its less formalistic and more liberated approach toward tea drinking, was seen as “progressive” in contrast to the more “conservative” impression that the *matcha* tea ceremony conveyed. Accompanying the opening of China, increasing numbers of “Chinese objects” (*karamono*) were available in the market, and *sencha* tea gatherings, which were deemed the embodiment of Chinese, as opposed to the Japanese (*matcha*), aesthetics became more popular than ever. Dealers like Yamanaka Shunkō were among the most fervent supporters of *sencha* tea culture.⁶⁶ They worked, on the one hand, as suppliers of *chadōgu*, importing Chinese bronzes, ceramic wares, and Ming and Qing paintings to adorn tea spaces, while, on the other hand, they were also patrons and promoters of *sencha* tea gatherings. As a result, they usually maintained close ties with Chinese dealers as well as Chinese artists like Hu Gongshou and Zhang Xiong who could offer not only their art, but more importantly their connections to major collections. For example, Zhang Xiong himself was an ardent collector of paintings, bronzes, and art objects. In the first *seki*, one dry gourd bought from Suzhou had the inscriptions of Hu Gongshou and Wang Dao on it. Yamanaka Shunkō, the host of that *seki*, probably also purchased it through his connection with Wang Dao. Oftentimes, dealers also patronized sojourning Chinese artists in Japan. For instance, the owner of Kyūkyōdō in Kyoto, Kumagai Kokō, who offered free meals and lodging to Wang Yin when he first arrived in Japan,⁶⁷ was himself a practitioner of *senchadō*. He held the Maruyama tea gathering of 1875 and published the *Maruyama shōkai zuroku* (Illustrated record of the Maruyama gathering) in 1876.⁶⁸ Therefore, it was Japanese dealers involved in the *sencha* scene who were the pioneering force actively engaged in the first wave of Sino-Japanese interactions in the art world of the late nineteenth century.

JAPANESE TASTE

Japanese dealers or artists active on Chinese soil at this time might not have been a new phenomenon in Chinese history. In the sixteenth century, for example, facing the haughty exclusionism that Chinese literati painters generally exhibited at the time, what Japanese visitors could access was usually the work of marginalized professional artists (such as Zhe school painters) and a great number of forgeries, as they were vulnerable to repeated fraud in the Chinese art market.⁶⁹ In late nineteenth-century

Shanghai, given their impressive purchasing power and a more open society, Japanese visitors received considerably different treatment compared to their predecessors. Not only were the generally well-educated Shanghai people more enthusiastic about making friends with them, but many people also desired to own pieces of their writing or painting.⁷⁰ That helps explain why Yasuda Rōzan could "support his traveling expenses by selling his calligraphy and painting."⁷¹ As we saw above, the presence of Japanese art dealers in Shanghai had become one of the spectacles of the city (as seen in the *Illustrated Famous Scenes of Shanghai* of 1884). The text praised how Japanese could "authenticate the real from the fake"⁷² and make their decisions regarding a purchase based on preference instead of concern about the price.⁷³ This observation bespeaks an unprecedented confidence built on economic power and the active role they played in the Shanghai art community.

Indeed, educated Japanese art lovers at this time seem to have developed a sense of independent judgment about Chinese art. For example, the Nagasaki doctor Ōkada Koshō offered the criticism at one point that "everyone says [Hu] Gongshou is the great authority of the Shanghai art world, [but] I would say that he is only an ordinary professional craftsman."⁷⁴ The Japanese poet Ono Kozan (Chōgen, 1814–1910) also made adverse comments about Wang Yin, noting that "the paintings of Yemei [Wang Yin] are all right, but his poems are very awkward."⁷⁵ Even Kishida Ginkō, who had desperately asked his friend Kawakami Tōgai (1827–81) to send him some of his works to give to Hu Gongshou in the hope of exchanging them for just one piece of Hu's work back in 1866, wrote a letter to his friends in the Tantansha in 1880, exhibiting an altogether different attitude:

Hu Gongshou, who is popular in Japanese assessments, does not enjoy particular fame in China and actually is only an ordinary painter. This is because Japanese rarely use their ears and eyes to observe things. One or two people brought back Hu's paintings. They were so proud of themselves, so they ranked Hu as the best. Actually he is several levels below Zhang Xiong in terms of ranking. Yang Borun is at the second level and Hu Gongshou the third. Others beginning with Hu Tiemei and Zhu Menglu also belong to about this same level. Wang Yemei is on the low rank. The foregoing is an evaluation of the "taro-like" landscape paintings in the Chinese style. As for oil paintings, none of the Chinese painters has achieved this technique. Recently, some Cantonese painters use oil pigments, but none of them have gotten its essence.⁷⁶

Kishida condemned the Japanese fervor for Hu Gongshou and attributed it to what they had heard, not what they had seen, which confirmed the merit that valued the truth in “Japanese eyes.” In other words, he thought that Japanese should have confidence with their eyes in judging Chinese art rather than believing hearsay. He argued further that even such artists as Zhang Xiong, Yang Borun, and Hu Gongshou were the only good ones at Chinese-style landscape paintings. In terms of fine oil painters, he felt China had none. Kishida here actually mapped out Japan’s newly developed concept of “painting” after the Meiji Reformation in terms of the situation in China.⁷⁷

Another case demonstrating a Japanese perspective on Chinese art was the frontispiece painting by Nagao Muboku (1832–1894) for *Chō Shishō Ko Kōju ryō sensei gafu* (The painting manual of Messrs. Zhang Zixiang and Hu Gongshou) (fig. 2.11),⁷⁸ a painting manual of works by Zhang Xiong and Hu Gongshou copied, reproduced, and published by Muboku right after his return to Japan in 1881. In one of the paintings reproduced therein, the foreground shows a young male servant squatting and fanning a fire as he boils water in a pot to prepare tea. Tea wares on the tray are to his right, and a hand basket with layered trays for food is to his left. Flower arrangements and *bonsai* on low stands are on display also in front. In the background, two figures, presumably Hu Gongshou and Zhang Xiong, are looking in appreciation at a painting. The title, *A Picture of Mr. Zhang and Mr. Hu Loftily Appreciating a Painting* (*Zhang Hu er xiānshēng qīngjiān tu*), and a smaller signature by Muboku appear to the left. It is interesting to note that judging from their horizontally stretched legs and the fact that the shelf on the left is higher than their heads (and therefore different from sitting on chairs as commonly shown in Chinese paintings of elegant gatherings, such as Xie Huan’s [active ca. 1426–35] *Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*), Hu and Zhang here are actually seated on the floor. This setting was obviously more like a Japanese tea gathering, such as the first *seki* hosted by the Shunkōdō depicted in the *Seiwan meien zushi*.⁷⁹ With a painting in the center, both have a high shelf on the right along with what is probably a wall on the left to frame the space in front of the painting for viewing. In particular, the plum blossoms in the foreground arranged in a *zun*-like pot, probably an old bronze vessel, as illustrated above, had been in vogue in *sencha* tea gatherings. For example, in the *Seiwan meien zushi*, after the depictions of each *seki* was a chapter “Viewing Flowers and Trees of the Four Seasons with Sincerity and Idleness” (fig. 2.13), which illustrated different flower



Figure 2.12. Nagao Muboku, *The Picture of Mr. Zhang and Mr. Hu Loftily Appreciating Kōju ryō sensei gahu Painting* (*Zhang Hu er xiansheng qingjian tu*), from Nagao Muboku copy, *Chō Shishō Ko*, frontispiece.

arrangements and *bonsai* viewed during the tea gathering. It not only looks similar to the foreground of Muboku's frontispiece painting as a whole, but also more specifically a *zun* bronze vessel was used as a pot for the flower arrangement.⁸⁰

Thus, in Muboku's painting, Zhang Xiong and Hu Gongshou apparently are situated in the environment of a Japanese *meienkai*, a made-up occasion that Hu and Zhang probably never attended. Considering the context of the Japanese consumption of Chinese paintings and the popularity of Hu and Zhang in Japanese Nanga circles, this arrangement is actually not too surprising. As two of the most favored Shanghai artists, Hu and Zhang, if they had been able to come to a *meienkai*, drink tea, and share their appreciation of Chinese art with *sencha* lovers as depicted in Muboku's painting, must have been emblematic icons for contemporary Japanese in tea circles. Ironically, this arrangement superficially seems highly flattering to Hu and Zhang, but to frame Hu and Zhang in a Japanese tea gathering was actually a thoroughly Japanese-centered trans-



Figure 2.13. *Seiwan meien zushi*, 3:33b–34a.

formation of the original context of the use and consumption of Chinese paintings. Moreover, in the painting, Muboku uses a "U"-shape formed by connecting the bodies of Hu and Zhang to frame the Chinese painting hung on the wall, in a seemingly conscious use of Hu and Zhang—whose painting styles reflect the continuity of the Ming and Qing literati tradition and hence cohere with the tastes of the way of *sencha*—to select the Chinese paintings. In other words, although Muboku showed his admiration for Hu and Zhang without reservation by saying "Zhang Zixiang and Hu Gongshou are great authorities of painting among the Chinese people,"⁸¹ he actually viewed them from a Japanese perspective, one shaped by the way of *sencha*.

Yamanaka Shunkō died in 1917. In addition to his own Yamanaka shunkōdō, as mentioned earlier, he was also the first head of Yamanaka & Company. After his death, Yamanaka Sadajirō became the second president of the company. The art environment in Japan also underwent major changes at that time. Bound to the dealers, the way of *sencha*, which inspired the cultivation of transcendent minds like the Chinese literati early on, gradually seems to have been corrupted by the antiquities business. Moreover, with the rise of nationalistic demands to preserve Japanese traditions in the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods, the

way of *matcha* experienced a resurgence with a corresponding decline in *sencha*. Yamanaka Sadajirō, who had been managing only overseas business,⁸² formed a new business strategy for the domestic market when he succeeded Yamanaka Shunkō—that is, promoting his art through exhibitions rather than tea gatherings.⁸³ Thus, the death of Yamanaka Shunkō symbolized the end of an era, when the setting of *sencha* was used to offer the ideal context for the Japanese to approach, use, and appreciate Chinese art.

3. Modern Antiquarianism and Sino-Japanese Rivalry

Yang Shoujing in Meiji Japan

Shana J. Brown

THE ANTIQUARIAN MODERN

We start with a conversation that took place in Tokyo on July 15, 1882. Two men in their forties, both scholars and artists, were discussing calligraphy, poetry, Tokyo bookstores, and the art market. One showed the other a sample of his calligraphy, eliciting the response: "What era calligraphy is it?" (Implying: what is its style?) The artist explained that his specialty was Stele School calligraphy, literally *jinshi* (J., *kinseki*), or bronze-and-stele style. Stele School artists were inspired by the rectilinear shapes and heavy, thick, sharply differentiated contours of inscriptions found on ancient stone inscriptions, including monuments millennia old. "But I don't practice any one school in particular, so my work cannot be labeled as any one style," the calligrapher elaborated. "It's extraordinary," the second man rejoined.¹ As they continued their conversation, the first man again boasted of his skill in *jinshi*, a recurring theme in their discussions. The second man posed questions about the kinds of script styles found on ancient monuments and inscribed bronze vessels. Their discourse on politics, bibliography, historical scholarship, and mutual friends might seem typical of a conversation between Japanese antiquarians.

Their exchange was hardly commonplace, however. A "brush conversation" (C., *bitan*, J., *hitsudan*) in literary Chinese, its participants were the diplomat Yang Shoujing (1839–1915), the calligrapher who excelled at *jinshi*, and his friend Miyajima Seiichirō (1838–1911), a former samurai and supporter of constitutionalism. Yang and Miyajima were both captivated by the study of inscribed bronzes and stone steles (also referred to as *jinshi*), the practice of Stele School calligraphy, and the collection

of antique books. Such antiquarian interests were long part of both Chinese and Japanese scholarly culture, but it is surprising that these pursuits remained popular in the 1880s. At a time when both countries were enthralled by new technologies, institutions, and social values, antiquarianism remained relevant, particularly in the context of Sino-Japanese relations. Indeed, it helped structure the interactions between Qing officials and their Meiji counterparts, offering both sides a way to articulate cultural superiority and mutual indebtedness simultaneously. For this reason, there was such a thing as Sino-Japanese antiquarianism—a shared discourse of the appreciation for antiquities and ancient texts—and it had a distinctly modern valence.

Indeed, this modern connotation helps distinguish antiquarianism in China and Japan from European counterparts. Through the end of the eighteenth century, European antiquarians examined the past by collecting coins, statues, and weapons; they embraced topics as vast as literature, art, geography, and philosophy, but loved material relics more than textual ephemera. They were typically wealthy men of great, if chaotic, scholarly appetites—connoisseurs of classical vistas, lovers of fossils and ancient glass, collectors of obscure editions, and above all, humanists. However, the pursuit lost some of its allure in the eighteenth century, when it merged with narrative history and was subsumed under the modern Historical discipline.² From that point forward, antiquarianism increasingly implied intellectual obsolescence. In the popular view, antiquarians increasingly were like characters in the Sir Walter Scott novel: sentimental about artifacts but indifferent to concrete human affairs, and, principally, politically and culturally conservative.³ In contrast, East Asian antiquarians scarcely “prided themselves on being relics of Antiquity.”⁴ True, in both China and Japan, the pursuit of ancient artifacts and texts—often obtained through travel—was an elite pastime of distinction, the mark of a subtle and passionate intellect. But antiquarians of the period believed firmly that the study of antiquities was consistent with political and intellectual reform.

They were also quite aware that the collection and dissemination of ancient texts and artifacts was a component of the larger contentious relationship between China and Japan. Chinese scholars who traveled to Meiji Japan were amazed to find a number of ancient Chinese books, lost at home, that had been preserved in Japanese libraries. Repatriating precious copies of these rare editions, they reclaimed a portion of their intellectual heritage and asserted its significance against erosion or appro-

priation by an emergent Japanese national discourse—the discourse that admired Chinese cultural traditions only insofar as they offered little resistance against an emerging narrative of Japanese cultural pride and national strength.⁵

Finally, studying the past was a way to endorse artistic reform. Adherents of the Stele School promoted calligraphic styles taken from ancient stone monuments, which were thought to be more authentic, unmanered, and emotionally evocative than other script forms. For both Chinese and Japanese artists, the Stele School approach to inscriptions and calligraphy encouraged a period of dynamic experimentation.

Yang Shoujing was at the center of several of these trends. As a consular official, he was given the mission to discover ancient editions of Chinese books, many lost in their country of origin, and he succeeded spectacularly. In Japan for just four years, he collected hundreds of extremely rare editions of lost or ancient Chinese works (by his count, more than 30,000 fascicles in his first year alone), including many that were being sold off by Meiji intellectuals or were closely guarded in government libraries and archives. Aided by Meiji bibliophiles like Mori Tateyuki (1807–85), who were motivated by lingering expressions of a shared Sino-Japanese cultural heritage, or *siwen*, Yang's bibliographic project had explicit policy implications. The "lost" works he discovered in Japan and formed into collectanea affirmed the capacity of late Qing intellectuals to critically examine and husband the Chinese intellectual tradition, despite apparent Meiji contempt for its relevance.

But Yang was more famous to his Japanese contemporaries for his skills as a Stele School artist. Japanese collectors had been flocking to Chinese antiques markets for decades, both attracted to the potential for buying Chinese art and artifacts and repelled by the obsessive lust for the past that such markets seemed to promote. Few of them were exposed to newer trends in Chinese calligraphic practice, however, particularly the Stele School, which was building momentum throughout the nineteenth century. With Yang's arrival in Japan—with several hundred epigraphic rubbings in his baggage—artists like Matsuda Sekka (1823–81), Iwaya Osamu (Ichiroku, 1834–1905), and Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922) were exposed to the aesthetic potential of stele inscriptions. In the next century, antiquarian projects on the Asian mainland continued to invoke the scholarly conventions of Chinese antiquarianism. Ironically, a movement that was created by Chinese antiquarians to reassert their ideological prominence ultimately gave their Japanese contemporaries greater

opportunities to assert intellectual authority over the Asian continent. Under the amiable surface of the conversation between Yang Shoujing and Miyajima Seiichirō thus lay undercurrents of national rivalry that would become increasingly exposed over the next several decades.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO YANG SHOUJING

In the intellectual history of the nineteenth century, Yang Shoujing is famous for several large geographical projects in addition to his bibliographic research and Stele School calligraphy. But until relatively late in his life, his career appeared stillborn and his scholarly reputation marginal. A native of Xuandu in Hubei Province, for a decade he lived as a student in the capital and tried unsuccessfully to pass the highest level (C., *jinshi*) of the imperial civil service examinations. But although he was an examination failure, he enjoyed exalted social connections with men who shared his antiquarian enthusiasms, among them Pan Zuyin (1830–90) and his protégé Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909). Zhang invited Yang Shoujing to attend Pan's lavish parties, where young gentlemen composed poetry in celebration of ancient artifacts.⁶ Zhang also brought Yang on shopping trips to the Liulichang antiques market, where he filled entire carts with his purchases.⁷

Although he was proud of his learning in books and antiquities, Yang was disappointed by his repeated failure to pass the *jinshi* examinations, and was seen drinking and complaining that his talents were unappreciated.⁸ He later sought work at a publishing house and supported himself by working for his family's paper business and other private ventures.⁹ Even as a collector he was second rate; on their joint shopping trips, Zhang Zhidong took home the first-rate pieces, while only "the next best" went home with Yang.¹⁰ Until his forties, he appeared destined for scholarly and professional obscurity, until he was given the opportunity to forge a diplomatic career, courtesy of a new bureaucratic tendency—to appoint geographers to the consular service and encourage them to send back dispatches on foreign life.

Many members of the Qing diplomatic corps wrote travelogues and geographic studies, including several of Yang Shoujing's colleagues in Japan. His supervisor, Li Shuchang (1837–96), was a career diplomat who wrote *Xiyang zazhi* (Miscellaneous notes on the West) after postings to England, Germany, and Spain. Another coworker was Huang Zunxian (1848–1905), whose *Riben guozhi* (Treatises on Japan) inspired the

Guangxu emperor to request a meeting with the young reformer-poet. Other legation officials such as Yao Wendong (1852–1927) also produced geographic studies.¹¹ While the fashion was to describe exotic artifacts like kimono and samurai swords, these travel accounts also emphasized historical and literary touchstones distinctly familiar to their Chinese readers.¹² Hence geographical writings complimented antiquarian interests by situating within the landscape the physical traces of the past. But as Christiane Reinhold argues, the qualities Huang Zunxian admired in Japan—the attention to “simplicity, natural beauty, and cleanliness”—were considered “trademarks of life in ancient China.”¹³ These travelogues, in other words, often contained not-so-subtle reminders of Chinese superiority as the wellspring of East Asian culture.

On the face of it, Yang Shoujing seemed a likely candidate to produce a travelogue himself. He was interested in geography from an early age, ever since mountainous Xuandu sheltered several well-known geographers fleeing the violence of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864).¹⁴ But the most ambitious flowering of Yang’s geographic talents was a project to correct a renowned medieval geography text, the *Shui jing zhu* (Commentary to the *Waterways Classic*) by Li Daoyuan (469?–527), which never saw publication in Yang’s lifetime.¹⁵ Nonetheless, Yang’s geographical expertise helps explain his posting to Japan, inasmuch as he had scant credentials for diplomatic service otherwise.

When he arrived in Tokyo, however, Yang ignored geography. Indeed, he almost went home immediately, irritated by conflicts among the members of the legation staff. His unease was not helped by the arrival a few months later of the “improper, contradictory, and ineffective” diplomat Li Shuchang, who was disliked by many of his subordinates.¹⁶ Yet Li was impressed by Yang’s antiquarian talents and proposed that they work together to produce a collectanea of rare Chinese books preserved in Japanese libraries and archives, eventually published as *Guyi congshu* (Series of lost Chinese books in Japan).¹⁷ As we shall see, however, *Guyi congshu* was made possible not only by the unlikely alliance between Yang and his abrasive superior. The project succeeded because of Yang’s ability to make alliances with Meiji antiquarians, and his luck in tapping into an important current of Japanese bibliographic work that was already under way to locate and catalog rare Chinese works in Japan. The question remained, however, as to whether Chinese or Japanese cultural interests—or a combination of the two—were served by these projects to identify and re-channel the effluence of Chinese literature abroad.

MEIJI ANTIQUARIANS

In Japan, the Meiji period was a time of increasing interest in national culture as an indicator of the relative stature of various nations. On the one hand, some internationalists believed that Japan's triumphant rise as a world power was made possible by adopting the hallmarks of Western "civilization."¹⁸ On the other, Meiji intellectuals were discovering a new pride in Japanese cultural distinctiveness and delighted in throwing off the supposed weight of centuries of Chinese influence.¹⁹ Both these trends were articulated through antiquarian interests in ancient books and artifacts, and both help explain the ongoing relevance of antiquarianism in Meiji Japan.

Indeed, Yang Shoujing arrived in Japan at a time of growing pride in that nation's own cultural traditions and artifacts. Just a few years earlier, Ninagawa Noritane (1835–82), an official in the Education Ministry, had produced a superb antiquarian catalog of ancient pottery and ceramics illustrated with hand-colored lithographs, which was a landmark text in the connoisseurship of Japanese artifacts. Edward S. Morse (1838–1925), for two years a zoology professor at Tokyo Imperial University, praised Ninagawa's illustrations as "far more characteristic of the pottery than the more perfectly chromolithographed ones one sees in English and French publications on similar subjects."²⁰

For Ninagawa, ancient Japanese pottery or earthenware could illuminate native Japanese technologies, aesthetic styles, and even local politics.²¹ Indeed, many Meiji scholars emphasized national learning and indigenous cultural practices, and as a consequence, they began to sell off their old Chinese books. Medical texts, in particular, lost prestige after Japanese doctors began to embrace Western methods.²² This new disdain for Chinese studies, or Kangaku, created a windfall for foreigners, including several Westerners, buying old books in Japan. Yang queried Miyajima Seiichirō about "an Englishman named Katō, who loves old books," mentioned to him by local booksellers.²³ This was the British diplomat Ernest Satow (1843–1929), whose library forms the nucleus of the Japan collection at Cambridge University.²⁴ Yang felt some urgency to find the most valuable books among the thousands pouring onto the markets, as one might suspect that "there had to be an orphan book haphazardly thrown into the book boxes," Yang wrote, "and I could not know what my poor wanderings might produce." Instead, Yang's thirst for rare texts had the effect of encouraging more sellers to place their old books on the market.²⁵

The image of foreigners scooping up valuable Chinese and Japanese books for a pittance accords with the idea that Meiji intellectuals had rejected past tastes in favor of modernity and the West. But antiquarianism remained robust throughout the Meiji period, and in certain respects may have grown even more significant, as long as the object was Japanese antiquities. As the case of Ninagawa suggests, Meiji scholars used their delight in Japanese artifacts to express both regional and national identity. Antiquarian interests could complement other aesthetic pursuits like participating in poetry societies, attending to fashionable dress, or consuming books on manners, all activities that were believed to represent a sophisticated, elegant, and uniquely Japanese way of life.²⁶

Partly in order to preserve the national heritage, as well as to resist encroaching Westernization, Meiji officials were pioneers in East Asia in calling for safeguards of ancient artifacts and historic sites.²⁷ As Suzuki Hiroyuki argues, beginning at the end of the Tokugawa era Japanese scholars hoped to establish libraries and exhibition centers to protect rare books and artifacts. A landmark event was the passage, in 1871, of a Meiji law to preserve antiques and artifacts, and the establishment just a few months later of the first museums for that purpose.²⁸ Yet celebrating their national heritage did not necessarily mean casting off Chinese antiquities. For one, newly established state libraries inherited Kangaku collections from the Tokugawa period. For example, the College of Historiography (*Shūshikan*), established in 1877 to write Japanese national histories, held a large collection of Chinese materials.²⁹

Japanese antiquarians also remained eager to add to their collections of Chinese books, artifacts, and art works. Almost as soon as travel restrictions loosened in the late Tokugawa period, Japanese visitors began to shop for antiques in China. Sojourners in Shanghai like Nōtomi Kaijirō (1844–1918) and Hibino Teruhiro (1838–1912), both members of the 1862 delegation aboard the *Senzaimaru*, eagerly sought out scrolls, painted fans, and antique ink. They were daunted by the size and complexity of the Chinese market, populated by wily dealers who often tried to elevate inferior merchandise or pass off goods of recent manufacture as ancient artifacts.³⁰ Nōtomi Kaijirō was disappointed by the preponderance of bronzes and ceramics on the market—evidence of emerging tastes in China—when his primary interest was painted fans and scrolls. Still, he made a number of purchases, including an inkstone sold to him by an impoverished student.³¹

Indeed, a visit to Liulichang became something of a *de rigueur* stop for Japanese intellectuals touring the continent, and was something to which

many antiquarians looked forward. When the former Tokugawa retainer Ōkōchi Teruna (1848–82) held a series of brush conversations with Yang Shoujing's consular superior He Ruzhang (1838–91) and other members of the diplomatic staff, he asked detailed questions about shopping for antiques in the capital. The Qing officials explained that it was possible to find extraordinary articles in the Liulichang market, the preeminent antiquities center of the empire. Ōkōchi then discussed his own fondness for collecting Chinese antiques. Only the previous year, he noted, he had built a special pavilion to display his collection, and he hoped some day to travel to China to buy more items.³²

Even travelers who frequented Liulichang, though, found something to criticize in the Chinese attitude for the past. Oka Senjin (1833–1914), a friend of the journalist Wang Tao (1828–97, whose opium addiction greatly dismayed his Japanese friend), famously attacked the "drug" of the Six Classics, the canonical Confucian texts that served as the basis for the imperial examination system.³³ While visiting China in 1884–1885, Oka discussed paintings and calligraphy with his Chinese friends and visited Liulichang, where he found scroll paintings, Jin- and Tang-dynasty calligraphy rubbings, and Song- and Yuan-dynasty books. Gold, jade, and other treasures were also abundant, and "there was nothing one could seek that was not there," Oka wrote. Unfortunately, coming back from Liulichang, a carriage got stuck in the mud and shut down traffic for blocks—a fitting metaphor, he may have felt, for the intellectual inertia that was believed to be a consequence of China's antiquarian tastes.³⁴

Even men like Ōkōchi Teruna, who professed to admire Chinese culture, used collecting Chinese antiques as a subtle expression of cultural rivalry. Marius Jansen has written that "perhaps one-fifth of the 'conversations' carried out by brush between Ōkōchi and Ho Ru-chang [He Ruzhang] consisted of expressions of the daimyo's enthusiasm for the supposedly superior culture of his friend's country."³⁵ But Ōkōchi's compliments could resemble thinly veiled insults. For example, he praised the "life of lofty retirement" enjoyed by his Chinese friends, who took such marked pleasure in "poetry and wine."³⁶ Surely, to be called "easygoing and free from impatience" and to be complimented as drinkers could be interpreted as an insult in a room of career diplomats. The jockeying that colored these exchanges about antiques, poetry, and calligraphy alerts us to the political importance of antiquarianism. It also explains why members of the diplomatic corps, and officials from both countries, took book and antiques collecting so seriously.

ANTIQUARIAN DIPLOMACY AND THE PROBLEM OF SIWEN

Why were diplomats and officials conversing at length about calligraphy and antiques, anyway? Were they not sufficiently engaged by the Ryukyu Islands crisis, for example, which occupied much of He Ruzhang's time in Tokyo?³⁷ In fact, the work of legation officials was intimately connected to cultural pursuits. Yang Shaojing's colleague Yao Wendong, for example, was asked by Li Shuchang to compile the poetry composed by legation staff and their Japanese guests during annual festival celebrations.³⁸ Also, as Christiane Reinhold suggests, a diplomatic posting to Japan was a "low prestige" assignment, and foreign service officials "were considered outsiders and not expected to rise to the top echelons of China's bureaucracy."³⁹ Largely excluded from important policy discussions back in China, members of the diplomatic staff felt free to engage in other pursuits. But as leisurely as these activities appear, they were still closely linked with pressing political issues in Chinese-Japanese relations at the end of the century.

Qing officials did not enter Japan expecting to find a plentitude of rare Chinese books; there was an element of happenstance that antiquarian pursuits could be so richly rewarded. Among Yang Shoujing's contemporaries, it was Huang Zunxian who first discovered the riches of Chinese materials held in the kingdom. In his poem "Yishu" (Lost books), he exulted that an extant copy of Huang Kan's (488–545) commentary to the *Analects* survived in a Japanese collection, writing: "Though we used Huang's annotated *Analects* for kindling long ago / Here, protected by the Sea God, we have it as good as new."⁴⁰ "More than a thousand years old, the ink is still fragrant," Huang wrote in "Zhongguo shuhua" (A Chinese scroll) about an antique painting preserved in a Buddhist temple.⁴¹

Yang Shoujing arrived just as Huang Zunxian was about to leave Japan and took up the antiquarian mantel, sharing the poet's delighted surprise in the potential for collecting rare books and other materials. Only a month after he disembarked, Yang wrote to a friend in Beijing that "there are a lot of rare books in Japan," mentioning his discovery of several valuable Sui- and Tang-dynasty editions. He was pleased to discover how easy it was to use brush conversations to converse with Japanese scholars.⁴² In turn, his Japanese friends remarked on his unwavering obsession for antiquities. When he visited Osaka, Oka Senjin chronicled his "craving for old books," which resulted in the purchase of an expensive Song-dynasty edition of the *Book of Documents*.⁴³

But Yang was not simply motivated by the desire to luxuriate in rare

texts. For one, he hoped to influence the status of bibliography back in China. Specifically, he planned to surpass his friend Zhang Zhidong's recent guide to student reading, *Shumu dawen* (Questions and answers on bibliography, 1875). *Shumu dawen* recommended that students not only immerse themselves in classical literature and antiquarian texts, but also read works of foreign science and geography. Two decades later, Zhang's famous *Quanxue pian* (Exhortation to learn, 1898) included an essay called "Extirpating the Poison" (*Qu du*), a discussion of opium addiction that was also a subtle riposte to the "Classics addiction" of Chinese literati criticized by Oka Senjin.⁴⁴

Now in Japan, delighting in the availability of rare editions of ancient books, Yang decided to produce a bibliography which would correct Zhang's mistakes, explain in what place and in whose collection rare books could be found at that time, and distinguish more clearly between different philosophical schools.⁴⁵ "Its offerings are very broad," he told his friend Iwaya Osamu of the *Shumu dawen*, but its works were "organized without really being analyzed."⁴⁶ He offered to produce a similar bibliography in Japan to help Japanese scholars "understand and access Chinese scholarship."⁴⁷ In fact, a fragment of his bibliography survives, but it does little more than offer more detailed descriptions of many of the same works found in the *Shumu dawen*.

The second motivation felt by Yang Shoujing was more specifically linked to Sino-Japanese relations of the period. This had to do with the emerging tension over national pride and the new locus of "civilization" within the framework of East Asian cultural politics. During the period, Japanese intellectuals were beginning to express disdain for Chinese civilization, trying to minimize its importance for Japan, or trying to reclassify it—historical texts were criticized as myth, for example. Celebrating the discovery of rare Chinese books in Japanese libraries and archives was one way for Qing diplomats to countermand this trend, if only in the realm of intellectual discourse. It meant that rare Chinese books were still valuable, and Japanese libraries, bibliophiles, and collectors thought so, too. It also allowed an old discourse which implicitly privileged Chinese cultural superiority—that of *siwen*, or "this culture of ours"—to be dusted off and redeployed among a new generation of diplomats.

The concept of *siwen* was extremely old. It expressed the idea that a mastery of the Chinese literary tradition and Confucian Classics allowed people to share the same political norms, ethics, and cultural values.⁴⁸ When Chinese scholars used it to refer to intellectuals from other nations, they were praising the spread abroad of Chinese literary, philosophical,

and cultural traditions—the foreign absorption of Chinese civilization. Huang Zunxian, for example, invoked *siwen* when he praised Japanese monks who studied the Ming philosopher Wang Yangming (1472–1529).⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, the use of *siwen* in the late nineteenth century was not politically neutral. It meant that far from adopting the supposedly cosmopolitan standards of a new world civilization, Japanese intellectuals were considered—by their Qing counterparts, at least—to remain in the Chinese cultural orbit.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the idea of *siwen* recurs frequently in the attempts by Yang Shoujing and Li Shuchang to find rare Chinese books in Japan. When Li Shuchang arrived in Tokyo, he exulted in the “good fortune” of seeing lost books in a foreign kingdom and that *siwen* preserved the spirit of antiquity.⁵⁰ When he thanked Sanjō Sanetomi (1837–91), the director of the College of Historiography, for permitting him access to Chinese books, he wrote of the “fortunate sense of *siwen*” that underlay Sanjō’s generosity.⁵¹

In fact, the project to find and copy rare Chinese books in Japan was only made possible by the help of Meiji bibliophiles, some of whom were indeed animated by the sense of cultural indebtedness that underlay *siwen*. Yang was significantly guided by the *Shichikei Mōshi kōbun* (Textual study of the seven classics and Mencius) by Yamanoi Konron (1690–1728), the only Japanese-authored book included in the eighteenth-century *Siku quanshu* (Four Treasures) compendium sponsored by the Qing government to identify rare and standard scholarly texts.⁵² Yamanoi’s work referenced handwritten or early printed copies of texts preserved in the collection of the Ashikaga Gakkō, a classical school that imported a number of Chinese books in the fifteenth century. Acknowledging the bibliography’s importance, the first entry in Yang’s *Riben fangshu zhi* (Record of a quest for books in Japan) discussed editions of the Seven Classics held by the Ashikaga Gakkō and used by Yamanoi Konron, the component pieces of which Yang was able to purchase in reprints.⁵³ Another book utilized by Yamanoi was a rare Song edition of the *Book of Documents* that “Chinese scholars had long lacked,” so as soon as Yang arrived in Japan, he “expended all his energy to find it” and finally located it in a private collection in Osaka.⁵⁴

Even surpassing the influence of Yamanoi Konron was the *Keiseki hōkoshi* (Record of a quest for ancient classics and texts), whose lead author was Mori Tateyuki. Born into a family of physicians, Mori was known as an expert in *materia medica* and had researched the sixth-century *Bencao jizhu* (Annotated collection of the pharmaceutical canon).⁵⁵ Possibly due

to Mori's influence, Yang Shoujing was made aware of the quantities of old Chinese medical texts flooding the Tokyo bookstalls.⁵⁶ His bibliography (which only included works dating from the Yuan dynasty or earlier) was actually a collaborative project undertaken by several scholars, including other medical specialists.⁵⁷ Mori's text discussed works preserved in the Tokugawa shogunal library, the Ashikaga Gakkō, and private libraries of the bibliographers themselves, including the esteemed philologist Kariya Ekisai (1775–1835).⁵⁸ As Peter Kornicki writes, it was one of the last examples of a Japanese bibliographic project, undertaken within a circle of antiquarian friends, to catalog Chinese books.⁵⁹ Such projects were common through the end of the eighteenth century, but had become unfashionable in an age of national pride and Westernization.

But the elderly Mori remained an aficionado of Chinese books and became a close collaborator of Yang Shoujing. During their first brush conversation in the winter of 1881, Yang requested a glimpse of the Japanese scholar's library. Apparently he assumed that many of the books Mori had researched were in his private library, and he offered to trade pieces of his calligraphy for any works that Mori could spare.⁶⁰ But Mori explained that the most valuable works mentioned in his bibliography were possessed by official repositories and libraries.⁶¹ He counseled Yang to begin at the Momijiyama Bunko, the library established by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) on the grounds of Edo castle. There one could find, among other treasures, an astonishing Six Dynasties (220–589) edition of the *Chunqiu zuozhuan* (Spring and autumn annals and the Commentary of Zuo [Qiuming]), which narrated the disintegration of the ancient Zhou Dynasty. It was so closely guarded that few Japanese scholars had been allowed to see it.

Mori may have been animated by Sinophilia, but it took more than *siwen* to open the stacks of the Momijiyama Bunko. Yang Shoujing wrote to the librarian requesting an opportunity to see the book, and was informed that it was unknown.⁶² Yang expressed "great regret" over the librarian's news, but, armed with corroborating information from another Japanese bibliography and encouraged by Mori, pressed his case that the text must exist. At that point the librarian conceded that the book existed, but he was not in a position to allow Yang to borrow it. Tellingly, Yang was only given access to the book after he appealed to the librarian's sense of national pride. He argued that if he "were allowed to transmit the book back to Western [i.e., Chinese] lands," then "would it not be to the glory of Japan?" Thus persuaded, the librarian finally allowed Yang to borrow this work and several others for ten days.⁶³

Yang boasted that he located 80–90 percent of the books listed in Mori’s bibliography, a figure that illuminates several of these points.⁶⁴ Surely his skill at procuring rare books was a reflection of his antiquarian expertise. But he could not have succeeded without Japanese bibliographers. Their counsel allowed him to engage successfully with the Meiji bureaucracy, which was reluctant to grant access to Chinese scholars. Although Japanese families were discarding Chinese books in quantity, it was still a sensitive national issue for Japanese libraries to share their Chinese antiquities too readily. Reflecting that same sense of importance, Yang’s collectaneae were heralded in China as significant acts of scholarship and as important examples of the safeguarding of the cultural patrimony abroad. They were one of the first examples of Chinese scholars using book-compilation projects to (re)assert Chinese intellectual superiority in relation to Japan, and they inspired a subsequent generation of publishers and editors to view bibliography and antiquarian publishing as an expression of patriotism.⁶⁵

YANG SHOUJING AND JINSHI (*KINSEKI*) IN MEIJI JAPAN

Yang’s bibliography project was largely directed at a Chinese readership, but other elements of his antiquarian interests were more influential on Japanese contemporaries, who were fascinated with the Stele School. For his Meiji contemporaries, Yang’s arrival represented a rare opportunity to meet an artist adept at stele calligraphy. This style, which had been promoted by several prominent early nineteenth-century scholars, advocated that brush calligraphers begin to practice styles typically used on dedicatory stone monuments. These were considered to be more austere, forthright, and masculine than cursive scripts, which were still typical of most brush-written calligraphy in the Qing period. Yet because it was unusual to see these stele styles in contexts like letters and inscriptions on paintings, writing in stele style was also considered to be an opportunity for artists to express greater individualism and creativity.

Yang Shoujing’s interest in the Stele School was not articulated until he entered the circle of Pan Zuyin, who encouraged several young scholars to learn stele-style calligraphy and embrace its implicit aesthetic message. Japanese calligraphers like Miyajima Seiichirō, Kusakabe Meikaku, Iwaya Osamu, and Matsuda Sekka—even in their lifetimes they were famous—considered Yang a talented artist. (His Chinese colleagues agreed; He Ruzhang helped Yang find some Tianjin clients for his calligraphy just before the young scholar accepted the posting in Japan.)⁶⁶

Japanese calligraphers were particularly excited that he had brought with him thousands of copies of epigraphic rubbings (*taben*, J., *takuhon*), many bought in Shanghai just before embarking for Japan, which they used to explore different stele styles.⁶⁷ After his arrival, Japanese scholars visiting the Qing legation ignored the esteemed poet Huang Zunxian and headed straight for the rubbings.⁶⁸ Friends like Iwaya Osamu tried to buy hundreds of sheets.⁶⁹

Japanese calligraphers were "completely overwhelmed by these revelations" of the status of *jinshi* in China.⁷⁰ Studying the forms of characters found on stone steles, particularly the symmetrical, square, and thickly stroked seal (*zhuan*) and clerical script (*lishu*) styles, "revolutionized" Japanese calligraphy.⁷¹ Yang Shoujing's introduction of seal and clerical script offered virtually an unprecedented aesthetic style to Japan, and furthermore did so armed with a critical vocabulary articulated by late Qing scholars that praised the styles for their authenticity and purity of form.

Yang Shoujing wrote essays on Stele School calligraphy before he was posted to Japan, but he believed they were lost. In fact, they were preserved and eventually republished by Japanese calligraphy scholars. The two texts, *Ping bei ji* (Record of stelae criticism) and *Ping tie ji* (Record of model-letters criticism), both written in the late 1860s, are considered unorthodox interpretations of the Stele School because Yang praised cursive script as well as stele script.⁷² But his discussions of *jinshi* with Japanese calligraphers inspired at least two generations of artists seeking to free themselves from the perceived staleness of the most popular calligraphic forms. Hidai Tenrai (1872–1939), for example, felt that studying the calligraphic styles found on stele rubbings enabled a more pure expression of *hitsui*, the "spirit of the brush," one of the founding principals of Japanese avant-garde calligraphy.⁷³

For his part, Yang Shoujing was intrigued to learn of a stele tradition in Japan that also dated back a millennium. Although there were no truly old steles in Japan, Yang noted, there were still some valuable inscriptions found on temple bells and Buddhist artifacts.⁷⁴ He brought back to show Pan Zuyin a compendium of Japanese inscriptions written by the National Learning scholar Nishida Naokai (1793–1865). Like eighteenth-century Chinese catalogs of stele inscriptions, Nishida's chronologically and geographically organized compendium of stele inscriptions was intended to aid historical research. While the text itself is not remarkably different from similar Chinese works, it was still significant that Pan Zuyin was willing to incorporate it into his own definition of *jinshi* stud-

ies, later re-publishing the work in his private series of book reprints. In this act of republication, the Chinese *jinshi* community went far toward accepting their Japanese counterparts as intellectual equals.

Perhaps they were hoping that Japanese interest in the Stele School might reverse nationalist trends in Meiji antiquarianism. Huang Zun-xian even predicted that Kangaku might revive, noting that “although Western learning flourishes today, it is still not the same as Chinese studies since Japanese people cannot understand the writing.” In addition to their familiarity with the language, Huang pointed out the significant number of educated Japanese who were trained in Chinese learning and who would benefit by its revival. “In previous years various rural schools all competed to hire Chinese studies experts as their teachers,” Huang noted. “But now scholars and literati cannot advance in rank as they did before. A fashion in Chinese studies, can it possibly be delayed?”⁷⁵ Indeed, a decade or so after Yang Shoujing’s stay in Tokyo, prices for Chinese books—an indicator of interest in Chinese studies—began again to rise, far surpassing prices in Liulichang for comparable books.⁷⁶

The triumph of the Stele School in Japan, however, did not resurrect a more favorable Japanese perspective on China. At the end of the *Dai Nihon kinseki shi* (History of Japanese antiquarianism, 1921) by Kizaki Aikichi (1865–1944), we find a list of studies of Korean steles like *Chōsen kinseki sōran* (General overview of Korean antiquarianism, 1919) and *Chōsen kinseki kō* (Examination of Korean antiquarianism, 1935) by Katsuragi Sueji (fl. 1920s–30s). In the 1930s Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), an admirer and friend of Yang Shoujing as well as a Qing loyalist and official in Manchukuo, flattered the newly established state by publishing his own work on the steles of Manchuria. These works by both Japanese and Chinese scholars continue to invoke the scholarly authority of *jinshi*. But, ironically, their purpose was to inscribe the historical and geographical boundaries of colonial territories, and in that way, to defend continental expansion.

The cross-cultural dialogue of Sino-Japanese antiquarianism began, on the part of Chinese scholars, as an expression of national pride, but it ultimately resulted in a discursive expression of Japanese imperialism. Perhaps this, too, indicates the modernity of Sino-Japanese antiquarianism—a form of intellectual practice whose subtext was almost always political rivalry. It is ironic, but not entirely unexpected, that its meaning thus escaped the control of its progenitors and was turned against them.

4. Welcoming the Japanese Art World

*Wang Yiting's Social and Artistic Exchanges with
Japanese Sinophiles and Artists*

Walter B. Davis

In the early decades of the twentieth century, when cultural reformers and iconoclasts proposed to reverse China's national decline by adopting the materials and modes of Western painting and drawing, admirers of China's traditional arts mobilized to preserve the forms of expression that they believed would sustain China's national essence, adapting traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy to modern circumstances and reviving those arts' dwindling fortunes. Many of these traditionalists found allies for their project among cultural and artistic conservatives in Japan. Despite popular Chinese resentment of Japanese economic and military expansion in continental Asia, members of both nations' art worlds formed Sino-Japanese artistic societies and mounted joint art exhibitions over the course of the 1920s and early 1930s. However, these collaborative efforts at cultural conservation nearly faded from historical memory, casualties of the Sino-Japanese War and the lasting animosity it generated.¹

One of the most important contributors to prewar Sino-Japanese artistic exchanges was the Chinese painter and calligrapher Wang Yiting (1867–1938). Like the international projects he helped organize, Wang nearly disappeared from historical awareness in the People's Republic of China, where his status as a Shanghai capitalist, his Nationalist politics, and his intimate ties with Japan conflicted with post-1949 intellectual orthodoxy.² Although Wang's artistic reputation never wholly disappeared in postwar Taiwan and Japan, it did not begin wholly to revive until collectors and scholars of the 1970s and 1980s started to appreciate the art of the Republican period once more and rediscovered this forgotten painter and calligrapher.³

Today Wang Yiting is celebrated as one of the most important artists of the later Shanghai School. Exhibition catalogs, articles, and a mono-

graphic study have traced the outlines of his biography: his early career as a businessman, his foray into national politics and support for the 1911 Republican Revolution, his forced withdrawal from open political involvement in 1913, and his embrace of Buddhism and philanthropy. These studies have also characterized his art. Focusing on its subject matter and style, they have described it as fusing the figures, birds, and flowers of Ren Yi (1840–95) with the calligraphic brushwork of Wu Changshi (1844–1927). Studies of Republican artistic societies and the national essence movement have registered Wang Yiting's leadership of numerous Chinese artistic associations.⁴ Examinations of early-twentieth-century philanthropy in Shanghai have noted his prominence as a public benefactor.⁵ Accounts of the modern Buddhist revival in China and of Wang's own dedication to the religion have identified him as one of the nation's most important lay supporters of the faith.⁶ Wang's name even recurs in historical studies of early-twentieth-century Chinese politics.⁷ Most recently, investigations of the social networks of Republican Shanghai have revealed that Wang was a central figure in the city, a middleman and fixer par excellence who helped channel diverse social and economic interests into effective, decentralized administration of the modern metropolis.⁸

This chapter explores an aspect of Wang Yiting's life and work that remains poorly understood, his association with Japan. It will focus in particular on Wang's practice of welcoming Japanese visitors to Shanghai, which spanned three decades and involved luminaries from the worlds of business, politics, religion, and art in Japan. By receiving them on their trips to China and sharing with them the appreciation and production of traditionalist art, Wang drew them into the modern life of traditional Chinese culture. Through their agency, he promoted his own art, that of his fellow Chinese painters and calligraphers, and the national culture they aspired to preserve. This study utilizes such untapped resources as documentary materials preserved in Japan and illustrated catalogs published by Wang and his contemporaries to detail the origins, participants, and scope of Wang's practice of welcoming Japanese visitors. It characterizes the art that Wang and his guests generated, and it charts some of the ways in which Wang's private, cultural exchanges with members of the Japanese art world furthered his diverse ambitions.

BEGINNINGS

The origins of Wang Yiting's involvement with Japanese visitors to Shanghai are to be discovered in his early career as a businessman, which was

predicated upon cooperation with foreigners. As a teenager Wang served apprenticeships at two of Shanghai's traditional Chinese banks, or *qian-zhuang*—commercial banks that enabled local and foreign merchants to conduct transactions with each other.⁹ He also studied at Shanghai's School for the Diffusion of Languages (*Guang fangyan guan*), which offered exceptional young students both a classical education and training in foreign languages.¹⁰ From 1902 until 1931 Wang worked as a comprador (*maiban*), or middleman, for a number of Japanese firms, including the Osaka Shipping Corporation and the Nisshin Steamship Corporation.¹¹

Through this employment Wang Yiting established friendships with Japanese colleagues. Some of them wrote favorably of Wang many years after his passing. Their recollections of Wang as a man of artistic cultivation appear to have resulted from Wang's practice of making art and cultural activities an integral part of his interaction with them. One colleague recounts that Wang expressed his gratitude to Hori Keijirō (1867–1944), the manager who gave him his start at Osaka Shipping in 1902, by filling his home in Japan with outstanding examples of painting and calligraphy by Wang's teacher and friend, the esteemed literatus Wu Changshi.¹² For the colleague who wrote of this, Wang Yiting painted a diptych representing the Buddhist figures Hanshan and Shide.¹³ Wang also invited his colleagues into his home: Okada Eitarō, who worked with Wang Yiting at Nisshin, is known frequently to have joined Wang at his residence, where Okada would grind ink while Wang painted and the two chatted in Mandarin.¹⁴ Wang's Japanese business colleagues also appear to have joined him when he met with visiting Japanese dignitaries: several of the men who posed for a commemorative photograph with Wang, members of his Chinese circle, and the Japanese politician Count Kiyoura Keigo (1850–1942) at a popular Japanese restaurant in Shanghai closely resemble Wang's coworkers at Nisshin.¹⁵

Wang's involvement with Japanese businesses in Shanghai and his participation in Chinese politics brought him to the attention of the government of Japan and led to his contact with Japanese dignitaries. Investing his substantial income as a comprador for Japanese companies in Chinese ventures, Wang became one of Shanghai's most important capitalists.¹⁶ This success enabled him to assume leadership positions in many of the city's commercial and political organizations, heading several chambers of commerce and serving on the city council.¹⁷ In addition, Wang's participation in local politics led him to support national efforts at constitutional reform, and when conservative forces smothered the movement, Wang lent his entrepreneurial skills and financial assets to Sun Yat-sen (Sun

Zhongshan, 1866–1925), helping secure the success of the 1911 Revolution in Shanghai. Wang's background in dealing with foreign economic interests, his prominence in Shanghai business, and his connections with Sun Yat-sen positioned him to join one of the most important Sino-Japanese business ventures of the 1910s, the China Industrial Development Company.¹⁸ This venture was the brainchild of Sun Yat-sen and Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931), the Japanese industrialist who founded his country's first modern bank and who helped establish the Tokyo Stock Exchange and the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce.¹⁹ Shibusawa had long sought to expand Japanese business interests in continental Asia, and Sun was convinced that China's industrial infrastructure could only be modernized and expanded with the backing of foreign capital.²⁰ During his brief tenure as provisional president of the Chinese Republic (January 1–February 13, 1912), Sun went so far as to seek Japanese credits of three million *yen* for his struggling government and nine million *yen* for the strategically important Hanyeping arsenal, ironworks, and coal mines; in exchange, he offered Japan managerial control of the complex and guaranteed deliveries of iron.²¹ Popular Chinese opposition to this gesture caused a crisis in Sun's government and hastened his resignation. Even so, in 1913, as China's Director of Railways, Sun continued to press for Japanese investment in the Hanyeping industrial works and devised his project with Shibusawa. Wang Yiting was one of ten Chinese businessmen who backed the endeavor, helping negotiate the terms of its charter, purchasing 200 of its shares, and serving on its board of directors.²² Through this involvement, Wang Yiting came to the attention of the Japanese consular staff in Shanghai and thus into the view of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Japanese government was eager to promote Japanese business interests in China, especially Japanese control over Chinese resources like the Hanyeping industrial works, and it supported Shibusawa and Sun's venture. Ariyoshi Akira (1876–1937), the Japanese consul general in Shanghai, was responsible for vetting the company's Chinese backers, and in a report to the minister of foreign affairs, dated August 9, 1913, he detailed the background and credibility of all of the Chinese investors, including Wang Yiting.²³

PARTICIPANTS AND PLACES

Within six years of first verifying Wang's credentials, Ariyoshi Akira would introduce the Chinese businessman to no less a visitor than a former Japanese prime minister, the aristocrat and statesman Saionji

Kinmochi (1849–1940). The encounter, which took place in January 1919, appears to be the first documented instance of Wang welcoming a Japanese dignitary to Shanghai.²⁴ Saionji briefly stopped in the city while traveling to the Paris Peace Conference, where he was to serve as the Japanese plenipotentiary.²⁵ A Japanese journalist reports that Ariyoshi accompanied Saionji, his daughter, his son-in-law, and his doctor to a Japanese restaurant called the Rokusanen, where the consul general presented the proprietor, Shiraishi Rokusaburō (1868–1934), as the most successful Japanese in Shanghai.²⁶ Moments later Ariyoshi introduced Saionji to Wang Yiting and his artistic mentor, Wu Changshi.

Over the course of the next decade, Wang Yiting would welcome numerous Japanese guests to Shanghai, even as political tensions between China and Japan mounted. Sawamura Yukio (1883–1942), a reporter for the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* who visited Wang at his home in 1929, wrote of seeing a Western-style room filled with photographs of Wang with national figures from Japan. This confirmed for Sawamura reports of Wang not fearing connections to Japan during anti-Japanese demonstrations, and it convinced Sawamura that the Chinese artist was a true friend of his nation.²⁷ In July 1942, Tsuchiya Keizō (1888–1973), a Japanese businessman who had worked for a number of years as the manager of the Shanghai branch of the Mitsui Bank, presented the recently deceased Wang Yiting in similar terms to readers of the Japanese art monthly *Kokuga*.²⁸ Tsuchiya wrote that Wang worked hard to improve relations between China and Japan, welcoming virtually every important Japanese dignitary who came to Shanghai as well as countless artists. Among his visitors were the statesman Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), the Imperial Prince Takamatsu no Miya (1905–1987), and such artists as Yokoyama Taikan (1868–1958), Hayami Gyoshū (1894–1935), Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877–1933), Matsuoka Eikyū (1881–1938), Fukuda Heihachirō (1892–1974), Araki Juppo (1872–1944), and Kosugi Hōan (1881–1964). Tsuchiya noted that he helped organize many of Wang's receptions, and he observed that Wang's hospitality was such that, "like a Buddha giving out food," the artist would use his own chopsticks to offer his guests morsels of vegetarian fare. In addition, Wang would frequently paint or write calligraphy for them, in the cases of some poorer artists doing so to pay for their travel expenses. Tsuchiya wrote that Wang was able to harmonize the interests of his various guests and that the atmosphere at his gatherings was always genial, even during the height of the anti-Japanese demonstrations of 1930, leaving Japanese guests with the impression again that Wang was a true friend of their country.

A contributing factor to the positive tenor of Wang's gatherings was the predisposition of many of Wang Yiting's Japanese guests to appreciate and even participate in the artistic and literary activities that Wang and his fellow traditionalists espoused. Japanese leaders like Prince Saionji were usually well educated in their nation's tradition of Chinese letters. Prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Chinese writing in Japan had been associated with Confucian values and government administration. Educated men who came of age in the Meiji era (1868–1912), particularly those who became Japan's captains of state and industry, continued to value Chinese letters, spending a substantial part of their formative years studying Kanbun (Chinese prose) and Kanshi (Chinese poetry) in preparation for their future careers.²⁹ Inukai Tsuyoshi, for example, was well versed in the Chinese classics.³⁰ Shibusawa Eiichi, with whom Wang founded the China Industrial Development Company, harbored a long-standing interest in them too, editing and lecturing on Confucian texts.³¹ Both men practiced a visual and often highly public form of Chinese literary cultivation, writing calligraphic inscriptions in Kanbun and Kanshi.³² The majority of artists whom Tsuchiya recorded Wang greeting were also inclined to appreciate Chinese tradition, for they were practitioners of Japanese-style painting, or Nihonga, a style of art that first emerged in the Meiji era as part of an effort to save Japan's traditional artistic culture from extinction in a climate of modernization through wholesale Westernization.³³ Like China's *guohua*, or "national painting," whose neologistic name was inspired by Nihonga, Japanese-style painting made use of traditional materials, subjects, and styles, many of which originated in China.

Meetings between Wang Yiting and Japanese guests with such traditionalist inclinations provided opportunities for the convergence of two similarly aligned cultural movements. Much as Japanese Sinophiles and Nihonga artists embraced elements of Japanese culture that had premodern and, in some cases, Chinese origins in an effort to resist the cultural power of the West, so too did Chinese artists like Wang Yiting aspire to maintain elements of Chinese culture that they perceived to be endangered. During the final decades of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), many Chinese intellectuals worried that avaricious foreign powers might destroy China as a political entity, and they thus took it upon themselves to defend Chinese civilization by promoting the forms of cultural expression that they believed were its medium.³⁴ Some thinkers looked to Japan, where in the late 1880s and 1890s the Society for Political Education (Seikyōsha) had reacted against widespread Westernization of Japanese society by call-

ing for "preservation of the national essence" (*kokusui hozon*), and from the decade of the 1900s through the 1940s, Chinese cultural traditionalists formed societies dedicated to preserving China's national essence (*guocui*). These groups, a number of which Wang Yiting led, undertook a variety of educational and publication projects. Artists in such centers as Beijing and Shanghai formed national essence artistic associations, organized lectures and art exhibitions, and published catalogs, criticism, and histories of traditional art. Through these efforts they effected a revival of traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy. As will become clear later in this study, Wang Yiting sought to include Japanese enthusiasts of tradition in this project.

In addition to welcoming Japanese Sinophiles and artists, Wang also received a third type of visitor who venerated traditional culture—Japanese Buddhists. When Yuan Shikai's (1859–1916) violent crackdown on Sun Yat-sen and his supporters forced Wang Yiting to withdraw from open political activities in 1913, the Shanghai businessman and artist enthusiastically embraced Buddhism, becoming one of China's most influential lay supporters of the religion. In addition to maintaining a vegetarian diet and daily prayer regimen, which included painting images of Buddhas,³⁵ Wang joined and helped establish numerous Buddhist groups that were dedicated to social work and that sought to revitalize the religion through publication and public education projects.³⁶ When an earthquake devastated Tokyo in 1923, he worked with other Shanghai elites and Chinese Buddhists to organize shipments of relief supplies and perform Buddhist prayer rituals for the victims of the disaster.³⁷ These efforts helped pave the way for Wang to travel to Tokyo as a Chinese delegate to the 1925 East Asian Buddhist Conference (Tō-A *Bukkyō taikai*), where Wang chaired the social welfare committee and authored its report.³⁸ Wang's participation in the conference brought him to the attention of many Buddhists in Japan and led to over a decade of encounters with Japanese Buddhists who traveled to China. When one such believer named Kasagi Yoshiaki (1892–1955) traveled to Beijing and Shanghai in 1927, he met the man whom he had heard called the "Shibusawa of Shanghai," visiting Wang Yiting's home with a few other Japanese guests.³⁹ Wang painted and wrote calligraphy for the Japanese men and afterward accompanied them to a facility for disabled people and to one of the Buddhist societies of which Wang was a member. Kasagi published an account of these events in *Tohō Bukkyō* (Eastern Buddhism), a Japanese journal that began publication shortly after the East Asian Buddhist Conference, running from June 1926 to December 1927. Kasagi thus spread word of Wang's hospital-

ity, pet projects, and penchant for making art for guests to Japanese Buddhists. By 1936 Wang Yiting's reputation among Japanese Buddhists was so great that when the Japan-China Buddhist Research Society (*Nik-ka Bukkyō kenkyūkai*) published its first annual report—a special edition dedicated to research on modern Chinese Buddhism—a Japanese Buddhist named Shigahara Ryōsai contributed a brief article dedicated solely to Wang Yiting, in which he recorded his own encounter with Wang and observed that, because the Chinese layman was well known for his piety in Japan, it had become almost customary for Japanese Buddhists to meet with him on their trips to China.⁴⁰

Wang Yiting welcomed his Japanese visitors to at least five venues in Shanghai. One of these was the Rokusanen, a site of many meetings between Chinese and Japanese. Sun Yat-sen met with Chinese and Japanese members of his Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmenghui*) at the restaurant in 1912.⁴¹ Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi were frequent patrons in the 1910s and 1920s, with Wang often taking Wu there to drink and listen to the zither.⁴² When suitably inspired they would use the materials for painting and calligraphy that Shiraishi Rokusaburō kept specially on hand for them. An admirer of Wu's calligraphy, Shiraishi also provided the Rokusanen as the venue for Wu Changshi's first solo art exhibition in 1914, and he helped such Japanese scholars and artists as Tomioka Tessai (1836–1924) and Nakamura Fusetsu (1866–1943) purchase Wu's paintings and calligraphy.⁴³ Tsuchiya Keizō reported that in addition to receiving visitors at the Rokusanen, Wang met with them at another Japanese establishment—the Japanese Club (*Nihonjin kurabu*)—and that he also hosted them at two of his own properties, the Bodhi Grove (*Juelin*) and the Catalpa Garden (*Ziyuan*).⁴⁴ The former was a vegetarian restaurant that Wang ran as a social project, serving inexpensive but tasty food, and the latter was his own home. Wang's residence was sufficiently suitable for hosting visitors that when Albert Einstein (1879–1955) and his wife stopped in Shanghai on their way to Japan in November 1922, it was the site of a banquet held in the physicist's honor.⁴⁵ Wang's home is reported to have been chosen for the occasion because it represented a typical Chinese home and because the guests could enjoy viewing a number of works of art, which Einstein and the Chinese, German, and Japanese scholars who were present inspected before taking their seats.⁴⁶ Japanese sources also record that Wang met visitors at the Shanghai Gongdelin restaurant, a Buddhist establishment whose Shanghai branch Wang helped found.⁴⁷

Wang Yiting met with many Japanese visitors more than once. The Sinophile scholar and painter Hashimoto Kansetsu (1883–1945) was a fre-

quent guest. After his first trip to China in 1913, Hashimoto subsequently traveled there almost yearly, meeting with Wang and Wu Changshi on numerous occasions.⁴⁸ Between 1921 and 1928 a now obscure seal carver, calligrapher, and poet named Kitagawa Fukutei (1884–1937), who made five trips to China in search of the seal carving and calligraphy of Wu Changshi, Wang Yiting, and others, met with Wu and Wang on at least four occasions.⁴⁹ Ōmura Seigai (1868–1927), a professor of East Asian art history at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, who traveled to China in October 1921 to photograph and collect Chinese art, stopped in Shanghai and met with Wang.⁵⁰ When Ōmura returned to China two years later, Wang and Wu went to greet him.⁵¹ Ōmura visited China three more times—twice in 1924 and once in 1926—and met with Wang again.

THE AESTHETIC AND ARTISTIC CHARACTER OF WANG'S ENCOUNTERS

As early as Saionji Kinmochi's visit of 1919, Wang Yiting made the appreciation of traditional art and the production and exchange of painting and calligraphy a central feature of his encounters with visiting Japanese. The journalist who recorded Saionji's stop in Shanghai wrote that after the former prime minister had arrived at the Rokusanen and the proprietor of the restaurant had shown him a piece of calligraphy by the Chinese scholar-artist Shen Zhou (1427–1509), Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi arrived by horse-drawn carriage, wearing Chinese-style clothing.⁵² Saionji and Wu immediately took to each other, comparing their ages, discussing their ailments, and lamenting the difficulty of traveling in old age. They then enjoyed a banquet in a large room. The Japanese sat before the main Japanese decorative alcove, in which a scroll by the Chinese literatus Dong Qichang (1555–1636) had been placed, and Wu and Wang sat obliquely before a secondary alcove in which willow branches and an image of the Bodhisattva Guanyin (J., Kannon) were in view. Upon completion of the banquet, Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi treated Saionji to a demonstration of their artistic skills by collaborating on a work. Wang painted a portrait of Saionji, which Wu inscribed with four Chinese characters in seal script—*Wuliangshoufo* (Buddha of Limitless Life). Probably as a result of the occasion, Wu also carved at least two seals for Saionji, one of which also reads *Wuliangshoufo*.⁵³ Wu's likening of Saionji to the Buddha of Limitless Life probably constituted a humorous and auspicious wish for the Japanese man's longevity—a fitting flourish for the end of a friendly encounter.

In the years following his meeting with Saionji, Wang Yiting would offer many Japanese visitors gifts of painting, calligraphy, and seals. When Ōmura Seigai visited Wang for the first time in 1921, the Chinese artist sent him home with three works: *Bamboo, Brook, and Perched Crows* (*Zhu xi qi ya*), *Meditation* (*Canchan tu*), and *Grasping Su's Poetry* (*Lu Su shi*) (see figs. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3). In 1928, one year after the death of Wu Changshi, Wang gave Kitagawa Fukutei a scroll of impressions of seals in his collection, including ones by Wu, Wu's son Wu Ziru (1876–1927), and Xu Xingzhou (1853–1925).⁵⁴ Wang was offering his calligraphy and painting to Japanese visitors as late as June of 1936, when he gave Shiga-hara Ryōsai three Buddhist inscriptions and a depiction of the Amitabha Buddha.⁵⁵

During many of his receptions for visitors to Shanghai, Wang demonstrated his artistic skills and cultural bona fides by creating paintings and calligraphy on the spot, with Wu Changshi frequently adding calligraphic inscriptions. Some of Wang's Japanese guests collaborated on the works, too, adding inscriptions of their own. Tanabe Hekidō (Tanabe Tamesaburō, 1864–1931), who worked as an auditor for the Nisshin Steamship Corporation from 1907 to 1922, was a skillful writer of Chinese poetry—he published volumes of his poems in both Japan and China—and an accomplished painter of *nanga*, or Japanese literati painting.⁵⁶ In 1921 Wang and Wu Changshi invited him to join them for drinks, on which occasion Tanabe added poetic inscriptions to works by Wang and Wu.⁵⁷ When Tanabe and the Chinese artists met again in 1925, Wang and Wu celebrated their Japanese friend by painting and inscribing a portrait of him.⁵⁸ At least one artist lent his skill as a painter to a collaborative work. In March 1930, Fukuda Heihachirō, Yamaguchi Kayō (1899–1984), Nakagawa Kigen (1892–1972), Inohara Taika (1897–1980), and others met Wang at the Catalpa Garden.⁵⁹ Tsuchiya reported that when he told Wang that Fukuda was good at painting carp, Wang took out a piece of paper, painted a black cat on a rock, and then invited Fukuda to add to the work. The Japanese artist painted blue waves and red carp. The two artists appear to have given the work to Tsuchiya, for he reproduced it in his 1942 article.

One of the best-documented cases of Wang and his Japanese guests appreciating, creating, and exchanging traditional art occurred in 1929, when Wang Yiting welcomed Inukai Tsuyoshi to Shanghai. Readers of the Japanese newspaper *Shōwa nichinichi shinbun* learned of Wang's hospitality toward Inukai through a journalist named Shimizu Ginzō (1879–1937), who chronicled a trip that Inukai and his longtime friend Tōyama

宿直水月在室便上國原來
付一鑑空教微參詳魚人更
是繡墨作三乘

三乘之竹
節全生子
宿直水月



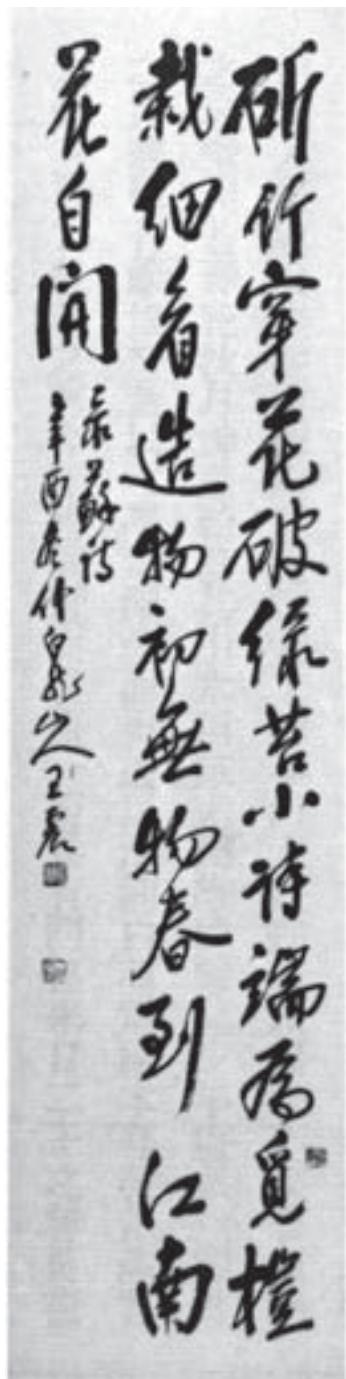


Figure 4.1. (opposite, left)
Wang Yiting, *Bamboo, Brook, and Perched Crows* (*Zhu xi qi ya*), 1921, as reproduced in Ōmura Seigai, *Uiki kinga roku*.

Figure 4.2. (opposite right)
Wang Yiting, *Meditation* (*Canchan tu*), 1921, as reproduced in Ōmura Seigai, *Uiki kinga roku*

Figure 4.3. (left) Wang Yiting,
Grasping Su's Poetry (*Lu Su shi*),
1921, as reproduced in Ōmura
Seigai, *Uiki kinga roku*.

Mitsuru (1855–1944) made to China for the ceremonial interment of Sun Yat-sen at his mausoleum in Nanjing.⁶⁰ Shimizu writes that at midday on the sixth of June Inukai visited Wang's home, where the Chinese artist showed him a number of famous works of art. In the evening Inukai attended an "inkstone party" (*suzuri no kai*) that Tsuchiya Keizō had helped arrange at the Rokusanen. The theme of the affair suited Inukai nicely, for in addition to being an accomplished calligrapher, he was also a connoisseur of the art who had published a book on its materials and its national traditions in China and Japan.⁶¹ Participants in the party, which included Wang's friend Di Pingzi (1872–1941)—the publisher of the Shanghai newspaper *Shibao*—and several other artists, viewed over one hundred works of art. These included a piece from the time of the 1911 Revolution, famous works by Wu Changshi, and numerous antiquities. The next day Inukai, Tōyama, the Japanese Ambassador Yoshizawa Kenkichi (1874–1965), a number of Japanese who lived in Shanghai, and several Chinese gathered at Wang's home to view several dozen works from Wang's collection, including ones attributed to Xia Gui (active early 13th c.) and Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307). According to Shimizu, the display of so many fine works inspired Inukai to write calligraphy whenever anybody asked, and many of the other guests also wrote calligraphy and painted on fans and other objects.⁶² Wang appears to have written at least one piece of calligraphy for Inukai on this occasion, entitled *Grasping Hanshan's Poetry* (*Lu Hanshan shi*), in which he rendered several lines of verse attributed to the Tang dynasty (618–907) poet and Buddhist icon Hanshan (eighth or early ninth century).⁶³ Wang also painted Inukai's portrait. Its location and appearance are unknown, but it probably resembled one that Wang produced for Tsuchiya the next day, *Mr. Wooden Cottage Appraises Inkstones* (*Mutang xiansheng pin shi tu*), which Tsuchiya published in his 1942 eulogy to Wang.⁶⁴ The Chinese artist's inscription on the painting for Tsuchiya records the circumstances of the work's production: "In the summer of 1929, Mr. Tsuchiya invited [me] to drink at the Rokusanen and on the spot made me paint *Mr. Wooden Cottage Appraises Inkstones*. The next day I made another [version of the] painting as a gift for Mr. Tsuchiya."⁶⁵ Inukai gestured his thanks to Tsuchiya by adding an inscription of his own to the image, writing in Chinese about his love of inkstones.

Whereas Wang Yiting's reception of Inukai was remarkable for the number of premodern works that the participants viewed and for the flurry of paintings and inscriptions they were inspired to create, other gatherings that Wang hosted were striking for the number of parti-

pants they incorporated. In February 1930, Wang invited over one hundred Chinese guests to attended a banquet at his restaurant in honor of Yokoyama Taikan, Ōchi Shōkan (1882–1958), Hayami Gyoshū, and other prominent Japanese painters who were traveling to Italy for an exhibition of Nihonga.⁶⁶ Chinese dignitaries who were present included Di Pingzi, Wang Jiyuan (1893–1975), who was the principal of the Shanghai Art Academy (Shanghai meishu xuexiao), and Ye Gongchuo (1881–1968), who had served as a minister in national government and had helped organize China's first national art exhibition in 1928. As was his practice at such receptions, Wang painted and wrote calligraphy. For Yokoyama Taikan he brushed a picture of a heron and a conventional wish for a safe journey (*yilu ping'an*) on the first opposing leaves of the Nihonga painter's sketchbook.⁶⁷ On the following leaves Wang wrote an inscription testifying to the attendees' creation of an artistic society, and he and the other participants from Shanghai signed their names. Taikan later returned this hospitality by painting works for Wang Yiting and Tsuchiya while aboard his ship for Italy.

It is not surprising that many of the works that Wang produced for his guests are examples of the types of art for which he is now well known—calligraphy, bird-and-flower painting, and figure painting, especially Buddhist figures. However, it is revealing that these works are similar to other works that Wang was producing at approximately the same time. The calligraphic works that Wang wrote for Ōmura Seigai in 1921 and Inukai Tsuyoshi in 1929 adopt the same type of content and form as the pieces of calligraphy Wang put up for sale in a 1922 solo exhibition of his works at the Edobori branch of the Takashimaya Kimono Shop in Osaka.⁶⁸ All of these works present canonical poems in Wang's speedy, thickly brushed running script. The calligraphic works for Ōmura and the Takashimaya exhibition even share the same title—*Grasping Su's Poetry*. The paintings that Wang gave Ōmura in 1921 also bear strong resemblances to other works in the artist's oeuvre. *Bamboo, Brook, and Perched Crows* differs little in its motifs, composition, and brushwork from a painting that Wang produced in the same year and hung in the Takashimaya exhibition.⁶⁹ The composition and brushwork of *Meditation* are nearly identical to those of *Mr. Wooden Cottage Appraises Inkstones* and to those that appear in other roughly contemporaneous paintings, such as *The Luohan Ingata* (*Yinjietuo zunzhe*) of 1920 (fig. 4.4). In each of these works, a single figure sits at a three-quarter angle on a circular mat before a blank ground, holds Buddhist prayer beads in his left hand, and rests his right hand on his right knee. Placed behind the figures are stacks of traditionally bound books.

因釋迦尊者

十二

壬子年夏月
王一亭畫



默然而無言此說之說真詳神妙如圓
登瀛壽麻徑桃毫拂曉偈具有慧於度汝一切

壬子年夏月
王一亭畫

Figure 4.4. Wang Yiting. *The Luohan Ingata (Yinjietuo zunzhe)*, 1920, as reproduced in *Shiba yingzhen shengxiang*.

The shape and relative placement of the brush strokes that delineate the body of the figure in one painting closely resemble those serving the same function in the other works. Such simple compositions and recursive groups of brush strokes probably enabled the artist not only to paint prolifically while maintaining a busy schedule but also to produce works as social occasions demanded, on short notice and even in the presence of his guests, easily generating gifts for them and often dazzling them with on-the-spot performances of his calligraphic and painterly skill.

Among the figure paintings Wang offered to his Japanese guests were numerous examples of portraiture, a genre that allowed Wang to tailor his programmatic images to individual guests. Comparison of the figure in *Meditation* to published photographs of Ōmura Seigai strongly suggests that the work is a rendering of the Japanese scholar.⁷⁰ As such it would join a substantial number of Wang's portraits of Chinese friends and Japanese associates. Few such images have appeared in exhibitions of the past several decades or been discussed in art historical publications, generating the impression that portraiture was not an important component of the artist's oeuvre.⁷¹ However, catalogs published in Wang's own era tell a different story. In 1925 the Xiling Seal Society (Xiling yinshe), a conservative Chinese art organization dedicated to promoting epigraphic studies, seal carving, and calligraphy, published *Ink Marvels of the Hermit of the White Dragon Mountains* (*Bailongshanren mo miao*), a two-volume, illustrated catalog of works by Wang Yiting, who was a member of the group.⁷² This traditionally bound publication presents Wang's bird-and-flower paintings and his renderings of popular figures, but it also reproduces three portraits: one of Shibusawa Eiichi (*Mr. Blue Profundity Possesses Morality, Qingyuan xiansheng you dao*, 1925), one of Saionji Kinmochi (*Mr. Clay Cottage Possesses Morality, Taoan xiansheng you dao*, 1925) (fig. 4.5), and Wang's 1925 portrait of Tanabe Hekidō.⁷³ The portrait of Saionji reappears in a 1936 volume, *Pictorial Catalog of Masterpieces by Mr. Yiting* (*Yiting xiansheng jingpin huaji*), which also reproduces a portrait of Ōmura Seigai that Wang and Wu Changshi created during the Japanese professor's 1923 visit to China (*Summer Repose in the Cool of a Pine, Song liang xia yi*) (fig. 4.6), five other portraits of Japanese men, and twenty-one portraits of Chinese associates.⁷⁴ Of the catalog's thirty-eight paintings, twenty-seven are portraits.

Wang's portraits of his Japanese guests fall roughly into two types. The first employs the composition and brushwork that appear in *Meditation* and *Mr. Wooden Cottage Appraises Inkstones*, and it characterizes the subject by accoutering him with items typical of his tastes and practices,



Figure 4.5. Wang Yiting.
*Mr. Clay Cottage Possesses
Morality* (*Taoan xiansheng
you dao*), 1925, as repro-
duced in Wu Xiong,
Bailongshanren mo miao.



Figure 4.6. Wang Yiting.
Summer Repose in the Cool of a Pine (*Song liang xia yi*), 1923,
as reproduced in Wang Yiting,
Yiting xiansheng jingpin huace.

such as traditionally bound books and inkstones for Inukai and books and prayer beads for Ōmura, who published several substantial volumes on the history of Buddhist art.⁷⁵ The second type, of which Wang's 1923 portrait of Ōmura Seigai and his 1925 pictures of Shibusawa Eiichi and Saionji Kinmochi are examples, employs a more complex composition and more varied, dramatic brushwork. This type of work presents the Japanese man in traditional clothing and employs a time-honored Chinese pictorial simile in which a figure is likened to the pine, a tree long associated with the virtues of the Confucian gentleman.⁷⁶ As in the first type of portrait, Wang tailors a standard composition to the individual subject of the work by adding a face that uniquely resembles the Japanese guest. Although the relative complexity of this second type of portrait suggests that it would not have been as easy to produce in the presence of the sitter as works of the first variety, Wang appears to have produced an example of it in the presence of a guest on at least one occasion. Ōmura Seigai records in a diary of his travels to China that when he called upon Wang Yiting on the morning of April 17, 1923, the artist painted his portrait and promised to send the work to Ōmura after Wu Changshi had had an opportunity to inscribe it. The picture to which Ōmura refers is almost certainly *Summer Repose in the Cool of a Pine*.⁷⁷

In both types of portrait, Wang typically lauds the subject as a scholarly gentlemen not only through a visual simile but also through the discursive component of his calligraphy. In the portrait of Shibusawa, for example, both Wu's and Wang's poetic inscriptions pay homage to Shibusawa's Confucian values and cast the Japanese industrialist in a scholarly light. Wu writes:

以義為利	Profiting through righteousness,
如風遇琴	As the wind strikes upon a zither,
見書之道	He sees the Way of letters,
得天之心	And achieves the heart of Heaven.
青淵先生正之	For Mr. Blue Profundity's correction.
乙丑十月十日吳	Tenth day, tenth month of <i>yichou</i> [1925],
昌碩年八十有二	Wu Changshi, eighty-two [years old]

Wu's statement that Shibusawa easily turned righteousness (*yi*) into profit (*li*) praises the Japanese businessman by asserting that he has successfully addressed a moral dilemma, one that Shibusawa himself would contemplate earlier in 1929 in a Chinese poem of his own composition that he wrote out in calligraphy.⁷⁸ Shibusawa's poem reads:

義利何時能兩全	Righteousness and profit: when can one realize both?
每逢佳節思悠然	Every time I come across a festival I ponder this leisurely.
回頭愧我少成事	Looking back I am ashamed of my few accomplishments.
流水開花九十年	Waters have flowed and flowers have bloomed for ninety years.
己巳元旦書感	I write my feelings at dawn on New Year's day of <i>jisi</i> [1929].
青淵逸人	The recluse Blue Profundity.

Politely following Wu Changshi's lead, Wang Yiting bears witness to his teacher's claim that Shibusawa's literary erudition has generated his moral success, exhorting viewers of the painting to take seriously the Confucian text that was so important to Shibusawa:

樞謁朱門見道真	Having an audience with a wealthy man, I see the essence of morality.
聖賢實學不時親	This sage, a genuine scholar, never stops being friendly.
漫云魯論蒙童事	Do not say that the Analects of Lu is something for naïve children.
趙普原來有義人	Zhao Pu was a righteous man. ⁷⁹
青淵先生有道	Mr. Blue Profundity possesses Morality.
乙丑孟冬之初白龍 山人王震並題	At the beginning of winter in <i>yichou</i> [1925], Hermit of the White Dragon Mountains, Wang Zhen, also inscribes [this].

Wang's portraits of Shibusawa and other Japanese associates appear designed to flatter their subjects by visually and discursively associating them with premodern, scholarly values. It seems safe to assume that recipients of the works would not have been offended by such comparisons. Wang did not render his Japanese associates in a manner that was wholly foreign to them—his portrait of Shibusawa bears a striking resemblance to published photographs of the Japanese businessman roaming his Tokyo estate while wearing traditional Japanese clothing and holding a staff—and many of the recipients were avowed enthusiasts of premodern Chinese literary culture.⁸⁰ If the recipients of such works were familiar with other works in Wang's oeuvre, they might also have delighted in finding

themselves in the company of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas whom Wang frequently depicted and who were familiar to them through Buddhism in Japan. Wu Changshi's likening of Saionji Kinmochi to the Buddha of Limitless Life in his inscription upon Wang's 1919 portrait of the statesman suggests the likelihood of such a possibility. So too does a trio of works from 1931. In late April and early May of that year, Wang traveled to Japan with a group of Chinese artists for an exhibition of premodern Chinese art.⁸¹ Preserved in the Asakura Museum of Sculpture (Asakura chōsokan) in Tokyo are three hanging scrolls that have been mounted for display as a triptych. The centerpiece—a large painting of the Buddha of Limitless Life that Wang Yiting painted in the spring of 1931—hangs between two smaller scrolls of calligraphy—poetry by Inukai Tsuyoshi and Tōyama Mitsuru. The Japanese friends, who were the same age, note in their inscriptions that they write in their seventy-seventh year, which by the Chinese manner of counting equates to 1931. In Japan as in China, one's seventy-seventh birthday was traditionally considered auspicious.⁸² Wang's image of the Buddha of Limitless Life may have been a felicitous means of wishing longevity to his auspiciously aged acquaintances, a gesture that the Japanese men acknowledged through their own calligraphy. Saionji Kinmochi also appears to have approved of a work by Wang Yiting, for he saw fit to hang the artist's 1925 portrait of him in his private study, where it served as one of the props for a carefully posed portrait photograph of the Japanese aristocrat.⁸³

RECIPROCATION AND COLLABORATION

After meeting Wang Yiting in Shanghai, some of the artist's Japanese guests returned his hospitality by welcoming him in Japan. In autumn 1925, Wang served as one of the Chinese delegates to the East Asian Buddhist Conference, which took place in Tokyo.⁸⁴ Wang chaired the conference's Social Welfare Committee and authored its report, and after the conference drew to a close, he and other members of the Chinese delegation toured the country. During his trip Wang met with many Buddhists, dignitaries, and members of the Japanese art world. He participated in large receptions for the Chinese delegation and in private gatherings arranged specifically for him. One of the Japanese figures with whom Wang met was Saionji Kinmochi.⁸⁵ Others who attended gatherings in his honor included Inukai Tsuyoshi—the party politician who would become Prime Minister in 1931—and Masaki Naohiko (1862–1940)—the principal of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō*).⁸⁶ Shibusawa Eiichi

invited Wang to lunch at his Tokyo estate.⁸⁷ In 1928 Inukai Tsuyoshi again received Wang in Japan, hosting a reception for Wang and other members of the Chinese delegation to a major exhibition of premodern Chinese painting. Over seventy Chinese and Japanese guests posed together at the Kusatsutei restaurant in Tokyo for a photograph commemorating the event.⁸⁸

Japanese visitors whom Wang welcomed in Shanghai also reciprocated by forming Sino-Japanese artistic societies with him and promoting the art of Chinese traditionalists in Japan. The case of Ōmura Seigai is illustrative. When he returned home from his 1921 trip to China, he exhibited the photographs he had taken and the sixty or seventy works by modern Chinese painters that he had gathered, and he published the best of the latter in a traditional, string-bound volume entitled *Contemporary Painting from the Land of Yu* (*Uiki kinga roku*).⁸⁹ This catalog introduces thirty-nine artists through reproductions of their work and brief biographies written in literary Chinese. The book includes a biography of Wang and photographs of the three scrolls that he produced for Ōmura. When the Japanese scholar visited Shanghai in 1923, over ten artists, including Wang, Wu Changshi, and Tang Jisheng (b. 1892) held a reception banquet for him. During the affair the participants formed an art society known in Chinese as the Xihu youmei shuhua she (West Lake Full-of-Beauty Calligraphy and Painting Society) and in Japanese as the Nis-Shi bijutsu kurabu (Sino-Japanese Art Club).⁹⁰ Afterward Wang and Ōmura continued their relationship for several years. They planned but were unable to bring to fruition an Art Research Institute (*Meishu yanjiusuo*), and they displayed their art together at an exhibition of painting and calligraphy devoted to the West Lake in Hangzhou.⁹¹ The show, which was held in 1924 at the Nagahoribashi branch of the Takashimaya Kimono Shop in Osaka, contained works by nineteen Chinese and thirty Japanese artists, including Wu Changshi, Tomioka Tessai, and Nakamura Fusetsu. Ōmura also published books on the history of Chinese art that introduced Wang Yiting and other modern Chinese artists to the Japanese public. His 1925 *Tōyō bijutsu shi* (History of East Asian art) canonized Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi as two of the five most important artists of the Republican period.⁹²

Two other Japanese associates of Wang Yiting who participated in the Takashimaya West Lake exhibition and who promoted the Chinese artist in Japan were Hashimoto Kansetsu and Nagao Uzan (1868–1941). Hashimoto ranked Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi among the finest contemporary Chinese practitioners of literati painting in his 1924 primer, *Nanga*

e no dōtei (The way to literati painting).⁹³ Nagao Uzan, who worked as an editor at the Commercial Press in Shanghai from 1903 to 1914 and who befriended a number of Chinese scholars and artists,⁹⁴ wrote a laudatory preface for the catalog that accompanied Wang's 1922 Takashimaya art exhibition.⁹⁵ Nagao thus did for Wang what he had done previously for Wu Changshi and what he did for a number of Sinophiles in Japan, including the artist Ikeda Keisen (1863–1931), Tanabe Hekidō, and the collector Harada Gorō.⁹⁶ Nagao also wrote titles on the boxes of paintings in Wang's Takashimaya exhibition, lending his credibility as a connoisseur to the works as they went before Japanese buyers.⁹⁷

Many of the Japanese Sinophiles whom Wang met in Shanghai supported the Sino-Japanese collaborative projects that Wang helped organize. The most important of these was the Sino-Japanese Art Society (C., Zhong-Ri meishu xiehui, J., Chū-Nichi bijutsu kyōkai), which was founded in Shanghai in 1920.⁹⁸ The association benefited from the support of some of the most prominent artists and patrons of the arts in China and Japan. When its membership was organized in 1923, the Chinese Confucian scholar and political reformer Kang Youwei (1858–1927) served as its president.⁹⁹ Its two vice presidents were Liu Haisu (1896–1994), the principal of the Shanghai Art Academy, and Masaki Naohiko. Four men served as the group's advisors: Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924), who was one of Japan's leading practitioners of Western-style oil painting; Ijuin Hikokichi (1864–1924), who was the head of the Information Department of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Zhang Ji (Zhang Puquan, 1882–1947), who had studied at Waseda University in Japan, had participated in the 1911 Revolution, and was a leading member of the Nationalist Party; and Wang Yiting. Among the Japanese business leaders and politicians who are recorded as patrons of the group were Shibusawa Eiichi and Inukai Tsuyoshi. The group's large membership included 193 special members (of whom 168 were Japanese and 25 Chinese) and 1,322 regular members.¹⁰⁰ A substantial part of the group's membership was made up of Japanese businessmen sojourning in Shanghai and included some of Wang Yiting's colleagues at Nisshin. The society articulated its ambitions in its charter, which stated: "The goal of this association is collaboration and friendship between the artists of China and Japan, and its direct purpose is the improvement and development of both countries' art. Thus, [this association] will attempt to inspire the two nations' cultural union and harmony between their peoples."¹⁰¹ To these ends the society resolved to hold yearly exhibitions.¹⁰² Although the 1923 Tokyo earthquake, Chinese political upheavals following the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, and fac-

tional differences among Chinese artists partly hindered this ambition, the group did hold joint exhibitions of Chinese and Japanese traditionalist art in 1921, 1922, 1924, and 1926, mounting the shows in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Tokyo, and Osaka. The Sino-Japanese Art Society also resolved to publish a journal, organize lectures on art by distinguished speakers, construct a hall for Sino-Japanese art, and support visits by members to each other's countries.

A series of receptions for two members of the Japanese art world who helped organize Sino-Japanese art projects illustrate how Wang's social practice of meeting with visitors helped bring collaborative efforts to fruition. In November 1928, works of premodern Chinese art from both Chinese and Japanese collections were displayed in a major exhibition in Tokyo.¹⁰³ As Aida Wong has noted, Wang Yiting played a crucial, behind-the-scenes role in the success of the show when he secured the support of the head of the Nanjing government, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975),¹⁰⁴ whom Wang had known since the leader was a young man studying in Japan with one of Wang Yiting's sons.¹⁰⁵ Catalogs of the exhibition reveal that Wang assisted in other ways as well, lending at least seven paintings from his own collection.¹⁰⁶ Other Chinese in Wang Yiting's circle in Shanghai, such as Di Pingzi, also contributed works.¹⁰⁷ It was through receptions for visiting members of the Japanese art world that Wang ensured that works from his collection and Di's, along with ones from the holdings of other important collectors in the region, made it to Tokyo. In July 1928, a former military man and expert on China named Banzai Rihachirō (1870–1950) and the Nihonga painter Watanabe Shinpo (1867–1938) traveled to Shanghai to negotiate the loan of works from the region. A diary of their trip preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveals the extent of Wang Yiting's involvement.¹⁰⁸ The day after the Japanese men arrived in Shanghai on July 19, they attended a reception banquet at the Rokusanen organized by an official at the Japanese Consulate. The primary guests included Wang Yiting, Tsuchiya Keizō, and Ye Gongchuo. Banzai and Watanabe discussed with Wang and Ye how to organize the exhibition of ancient paintings and agreed to meet again. The following day Banzai and Watanabe called upon Ye, and they were visited by Wang. On July 22 the Japanese visitors contacted several Chinese, including Wang Jiyuan and Liu Haisu, before being picked up by a car sent by Wang Yiting. At his residence they met with Ye Gongchuo, the artist Zhao Shigang (1874–1945), and several other Chinese, viewing antique paintings in Wang's collection and discussing how to implement the exhibition. When Banzai and Watanabe

suggested that a joint exhibition take place the following year in Shanghai and Dalian, Wang enthusiastically promised to speak with his peers and make the exhibition come to fruition. Over the course of the remaining six days that Banzai and Watanabe spent in Shanghai, they met with other members of the Shanghai art world, several of whom had been participants in the West Lake Full-of-Beauty Calligraphy and Painting Society and the Sino-Japanese Art Society. Banzai and Watanabe continued to see Wang Yiting as well, meeting with him every day. On July 26, they attended another banquet organized by Wang, during which they looked at bronzes and porcelains owned by a local collector. The following day Wang Yiting, Liu Haisu, Wang Jiyuan, and others hosted a banquet for the Japanese visitors at the Gongdelin restaurant, and on July 28 Banzai, Watanabe, Wang, Ye, Tsuchiya, and others attended a banquet organized by one of the consular staff. During these two affairs, Wang promised Banzai and Watanabe that he would be in charge of asking two famous collectors, Gu Linshi (1865–1930) and Pang Laichen (1864–1949), to loan artifacts to the Tokyo exhibition. Wang appears to have kept his word, for at least three of their works were eventually hung in the show.¹⁰⁹ On July 29 Banzai and Watanabe attended a luncheon at the Rokusanen organized by Tsuchiya and attended by Wang. There they viewed many paintings by famous painters. In the evening, at a dinner banquet at Wang Yiting's restaurant hosted by Wang and Ye Gongchuo, they viewed paintings from Di Pingzi's collection. Wang Yiting was also a part of the group of Chinese residents and Japanese consular staff that saw Banzai and Watanabe off at the harbor on the morning of July 31.

The 1928 exhibition opened in Tokyo on November 24 to great fanfare from the press. Newspaper reports in Japan announced the exhibition and noted that Wang Yiting would be leading a delegation of Chinese artists to Tokyo.¹¹⁰ The press described Wang as representing southern China and observed that he and seventeen other Chinese artists and collectors accompanied the works from southern collections on the ship that brought them to Kōbe harbor on November 19.¹¹¹ Among the members of Wang's group were Di Pingzi and Pang Yuanji. The Chinese attendees were welcomed by Inukai Tsuyoshi at the Kusatsutei restaurant, where they posed for the group photograph mentioned above. Inukai was only one of the Japanese backers of the show with whom Wang had pre-existing ties. Among the nobles, business leaders, art collectors, and other dignitaries who supported the exhibition were Nakamura Fusetsu and Tanabe Hekidō.¹¹²

Visiting Nihonga painters also joined Wang in forming Sino-Japanese

artistic associations. In February 1930, Wang and his Chinese friends in Shanghai welcomed Yokoyama Taikan (a member of the Sino-Japanese Art Society), Ōchi Shōkan, Hayami Gyoshū, and other Nihonga painters who were traveling to Italy. The participants in the gathering took advantage of the occasion to form a new artistic association, the Society of Sino-Japanese Artistic Fellows (*Zhong-Ri yishu tongzhi hui*).¹¹³ This group functioned for roughly a year. In April 1930 Tsuchiya Keizō sought funding for the society from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹¹⁴ Tsuchiya directed his application to Shidehara Kijūrō (1872–1971), the foreign minister who through conciliatory rhetoric and a willingness to accommodate Chinese interests sought diplomatic rapprochement between China and Japan over the course of the 1920s.¹¹⁵ Whether Tsuchiya's request was successful is unclear. In the autumn of 1930, members of the society gathered at Wang's home to bid farewell to Tsuchiya, who was returning to Japan. A photograph of the attendees was taken to document the occasion, and Tsuchiya left for home in possession of an extraordinary album to which Wang and fifty-five other members of the society had contributed paintings.¹¹⁶ Not unlike the lengthy list of signatures that members of the society added to Yokoyama Taikan's sketchbook, the album's leaves index the number of participants in the farewell party, while the content of its inscriptions and the high quality of its paintings express the participants' best wishes for their departing friend. The society is recorded to have met one more time, for Masaki Naohiko wrote in his journal that in January 1931 the group reconvened at Wang's house to welcome him to Shanghai.¹¹⁷ Masaki notes that the Japanese ambassador, consul general, and several others in important positions joined the mid-day affair.

The political environment in which Wang and such visiting members of the Japanese art world might gather socially and register their goodwill would soon take a dramatic turn for the worse, and Wang Yiting appears to have ceased his practice of meeting with members of the Japanese art world after 1931. September of that year witnessed the Mukden Incident, in which fighting broke out between Chinese and Japanese military forces in Manchuria. By January 1932 Chinese and Japanese military units were battling on the streets of Shanghai.¹¹⁸ Japanese politicians like Inukai Tsuyoshi found it increasingly difficult to constrain the actions of Japan's militarists, and for his relatively conciliatory stance toward China, Inukai was assassinated on May 15 of that year. Wang Yiting does appear to have continued meeting privately with Japanese Buddhists, welcoming visitors like Shigahara Ryōsai with relatively little fanfare at his home as late as

1936, and he continued to support Japanese philanthropic causes as late as 1934, when he sold paintings to a group of Japanese patrons in order to raise money for Japanese victims of the Murotō Typhoon.¹¹⁹ However, the cooperative projects that Wang and other members of the Chinese and Japanese art worlds undertook in the 1920s—the international societies and the joint exhibitions—were no longer publicly tenable, and the promise of fellowship that Wang and his Japanese associates had invoked with their brushes at so many private gatherings in China and Japan could not withstand the public animosity and geopolitical maneuvering that would carry the two nations to war.

From at least 1919 until the early 1930s, Wang Yiting welcomed numerous Japanese visitors to Shanghai, impressing them with his hospitality and art. Wang thus developed a reputation among Japanese as a modern Chinese literatus, a devout Buddhist, and a friend of their nation. Japanese enthusiasts of Chinese letters and practitioners of traditionalist Japanese art particularly appreciated the conservative artistic ideals that Wang and other members of his circle espoused and were happy to join forces with them for the sake of buttressing traditional culture in East Asia against the onslaught of Westernizing modernism. Wang encouraged alliances with these traditionalists by making them subjects, co-creators, and recipients of Chinese calligraphy and painting, and his Japanese beneficiaries returned his gestures of friendship by presenting Wang's art and that of his Chinese fellows to the Japanese public, assisting in its scholarly appraisal, public exhibition, and sale. Wang's Japanese collaborators also helped bring to fruition exhibitions of China's premodern art, thus broadening public appreciation for the traditional culture that Wang and his fellow defenders of China's national essence aimed to preserve.

Wang's hospitality toward these members of the Japanese art world was born of Shanghai's unique social, economic, and political environment, in which professional intermediaries like Wang were the ones who made international trade possible, and civic leaders with diverse interests—businessmen, politicians, revolutionaries, philanthropists, gangsters—worked together to run the city by cultivating social relationships and leveraging personal connections. It is difficult to imagine that Wang's practice of welcoming the Japanese art world would have existed had the artist not been a Shanghai comprador, capitalist, and supporter of nationalist politicians and their movements. Although many of Wang Yiting's Japanese contemporaries expressed the view that his friendship with Japan was genuine—a

perspective with which historians and art historians have largely agreed—it also seems likely that Wang Yiting's welcoming of the Japanese art world was not disinterested. As was the case in his commercial endeavors involving Japan, Wang's engagement with the Japanese art world appears to have been motivated by the artist's diverse interests—personal gain, the success of his associates, national salvation—which were not to be deterred by the potentially dubious character of Japanese motives or the possibility of Chinese public disapproval.

When Wang helped Sun Yat-sen found the China Industrial Development Company in 1913, Chinese public distaste for such a welcoming of Japanese capital and influence had already fully manifested itself; however, this did not prevent Sun and Wang from seeking what they viewed as essential Japanese backing for the greater development of China's infrastructure and resources. They also stood to profit financially, having purchased shares in the company, and they must have recognized the possibility of less tangible benefits of the venture as well, such as potentially productive relationships with Japanese men of stature and power. It was perhaps for the development of this type of benefit that Wang cultivated a personal connection with Shibusawa Eiichi that would last at least fifteen years and prompt the Chinese artist to create multiple works of art for him.¹²⁰ Wang's involvement in the China Industrial Development Company also helped establish his reputation within the Japanese Foreign Ministry and led to meetings with figures like Saionji Kinmochi. Wang could not have known that soon after his dinner with the Japanese statesman in Shanghai, the delegation he would lead to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference would outmaneuver its Chinese counterpart, win Japan possession of Germany's territorial rights in Shandong Province, and prompt the nationwide political protests in China that resulted in the May Fourth Movement. Yet Wang did not disavow his ties with Saionji, meeting with him again while in Japan for the 1925 East Asian Buddhist Conference. By the time of that trip, Wang had already welcomed such Sinophile scholars and visitors to Shanghai as Ōmura Seigai, Hashimoto Kansetsu, and Nagao Uzan, who authoritatively vouched for his art and that of his Chinese friends to Japanese readers, exhibition visitors, and patrons. Wang had also developed such extensive social connections with Japan that during his trip he was welcomed by a wide array of influential figures—politicians, businessmen, art educators—many of whom shared his interest in traditional Chinese culture and who were active in carrying out the projects of the Sino-Japanese artistic societies that Wang helped lead. These political leaders, artists, educators, and organizers

would continue to meet with Wang in Shanghai into the early 1930s, and Buddhists would seek him out well into that decade. Wang Yiting's social involvement with the Japanese art world must thus be understood as a part of his broader integration and leveraging of diverse personal connections for the achievement of his equally varied ambitions for himself, the members of his circle, and his nation.

Wang Yiting's engagements with members of the Japanese art world should also be seen as examples of a broader pattern of cooperation among cultural conservatives in China and Japan in the 1920s and 1930s. Wang's participation in the 1925 East Asian Buddhist Conference is suggestive. The Chinese and Japanese delegates to the conference differed in many of their aspirations: the Chinese were seeking to reform and reinvigorate Chinese monastic institutions by encouraging lay support, whereas the Japanese delegates, with the assistance of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were attempting to promote Buddhism as a form of modern, world culture under Japanese leadership. Much as in Wang's receptions of Japanese Sinophiles and traditionalist artists, where the participants held a veneration of tradition in common and made use of shared forms of literary and artistic expression to articulate ideals of friendship and encourage practical cooperation on joint projects, so too did the Chinese and Japanese delegates to the East Asian Buddhist Conference, gathering in an environment of Japanese hospitality, draw upon shared beliefs, texts, and ritual practices to overcome the asymmetry of their goals and the deep suspicions of Japanese motives that some of the Chinese delegates harbored, bringing about one of the most important prewar efforts at modernizing the ancient religion.

Finally, evidence of Wang Yiting's aesthetic engagement with Japanese associates calls for scholarship on Wang Yiting better to integrate historical biography and iconographic and formal analysis. Scrutiny of the subject matter and stylistic genealogy of extant paintings and calligraphy by Wang, if not supplemented by social analysis and informed by materials that previously have been underutilized, such as period catalogs and photographs, can rather narrowly circumscribe our picture of Wang's oeuvre and obscure important dimensions of his artistic activity. Japanese documentary resources and illustrated catalogs published in Wang's lifetime illuminate the deeply social character of his art and make examination of his practice of welcoming the Japanese art world a point of entry into a richer understanding of traditionalist art of the Republican period.

PART II

Collecting and Exhibiting Art and the Market

5. Moving onto a World Stage

The Modern Chinese Practice of Art Collecting and Its Connection to the Japanese Art Market

Zaixin Hong

An examination of an emerging international market for Chinese art, especially *guhua* (antique Chinese painting), provides a new angle from which to define the place of art in modern Sino-Japanese cultural relations. From this angle, a changing image of “Oriental” culture intrigued Westerners at the time when China and Japan were endeavoring to move onto the world stage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. China and Japan had previously developed their own traditions of art collecting, constituting a major part of what Joseph Alsop (1910–89) called the “Rare Art Traditions” in the history of world art.¹

After the first Opium War, the new treaty ports quickly replaced the old commercial centers on the Chinese mainland, and Shanghai became the leader in East Asia for its economic success, overshadowing even British Hong Kong in foreign trade.² In contrast to the enclosed world of the Beijing’s imperial art collection, then in decline, China’s domestic art market was chaotic and wide open to outsiders, both Japanese and Westerners.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Japan’s astonishing rise as a world power was accompanied by a desire for a new cultural image in East Asia as a means of reinforcing its political, economic, and military advancement. However, for promoting both ancient and modern Japanese art in an industrial society, the idea of *guhua* remained essential as both tradition and inspiration. With a similar goal of promoting cultural authenticity, but at a different pace, the Chinese art community, especially collectors and dealers, was becoming familiar with the new rules for playing an old game of art collecting in both domestic and international markets.³ In this process, the Japanese art market not only continued expanding its association with its Chinese counterparts but also established a new hub for trading in *guhua* and then disseminating it globally.

As far as the modern Japanese art market is concerned, the claim that

"modernity came out of Shanghai" is not far from the truth.⁴ In other words, an understanding of art collecting and the market in modern China is indispensable to understanding the formation of the modern Japanese art market.⁵ Until recently historians have not paid enough attention to East Asian interchanges, in contrast to Western contacts with the early modern Sino-Japanese world.

A prime example of how the Japanese found the West by way of Shanghai are two abridged Japanese reprints of Ge Yuanxu's 1876 *Hu you zaji* (Miscellaneous notes on sojourning in Shanghai), published in 1878.⁶ This important book reported about a variety of then current conditions in art and its market and provides us with a window onto a long forgotten history in which the "Shanghai model" briefly served as an inspiration during the Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration period.⁷

First and foremost, the reprint of Ge's travelogue came out of a serious debate among the reformists: whether Japan should jump into the industrial world overnight or should take a practical lesson by referring to what people in Shanghai had been doing since it became a treaty port. Compared to the enormous amount of information about Western countries, conveyed to Japan mostly from translations from the Chinese, little was known to the Japanese about the latest developments in Shanghai itself as an advanced cosmopolitan center in Asia.⁸ The time was ripe to have Ge's travelogue reprinted in Japan, but now under a new title, *Shanghai hanjō ki* (Records of a prosperous Shanghai), suggesting its primary use as a guide for commerce and trade.⁹ Prosperous Shanghai certainly provided Japan with a framework to measure the scope and speed of the process of Japanese social reform under the pressure of prevailing Westernization.¹⁰

What role did the art business play in Ge's accounts of cosmopolitan Shanghai?¹¹ The first entry ("Calligraphers and Painters") in volume two is of significant value regarding the economic situation of artists:

Shanghai as a hub of commerce and trade attracts many skillful people and artists. Calligraphers and painters who came here to validate their artistic talents often feel hand-tied by the costly living conditions in the city, and therefore they have to collect fees from commissions.

The most famous among them, the calligraphers Wu Gan [1869–1928] and Tang Jingchang, the painters Zhang Xiong [1803–84], Hu Yuan [1823–86], Ren Yi [1840–96], Yang Lu, and Zhu Cheng [1826–1900], all have a price list for their art works. Compared to the situation in the Jinmen, Yuanpu, Jinling, and Weiyang back to the Yongzheng and Qianlong eras, artists' lifestyles have changed only slightly, because they can do little about this commercializing trend. The important thing is to maintain elegance in their art.

As indicated here, a gradual commercialization in China since the eighteenth century enabled a new tradition of collecting, one outside the once-dominant Imperial Collection, which had reached its last flourish in the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736–96). Now professional painters and many literati artists had to survive the challenges of the market. And in most cases the institution for supporting their art was that of the city's fan shops, where they could transact their business exchanges. Ge Yuanxu wrote about the most famous fan shops, some of which had already had quite a long history, as agents connecting artists to their clients.¹²

Such information was particularly useful for the Japanese because whoever left for China usually considered art collecting a noteworthy pastime and often a profitable investment. As such they followed in the centuries-old tradition of building and enriching Japanese civilization. For instance, when Yasuda Rōzan (Mamoru, 1830–83) first came to Shanghai in 1868, he was accompanied by a Japanese art dealer from Nagasaki to advise him about making Chinese purchases.¹³ Such visitors could simply consult an appendix of *Shanghai hanjō ki* to find recommendations for thirty-two contemporary artists. Though far from exhaustive, the guide still offered a valuable notion to Japanese visitors of what was famous and trend-setting in the Shanghai art world.¹⁴ In the late Qing period, moreover, quite a few Chinese artists went to Japan from Shanghai seeking new opportunities.¹⁵ At least five artists in Ge's name-list were successful in Japan. In November 1878, right after the reprint of Ge's guidebook in Tokyo, Wei Zhu, a calligrapher and seal-engraver from Nanjing, left Shanghai for Kōbe, and he soon invited other Chinese artists to join him there.¹⁶ However successful they may have been in such exchanges, artists were happy to have such opportunities.¹⁷

It is difficult to know who read Ge's guidebook in Japan,¹⁸ but it is known that a group of famous artists were involved in promoting its publication. For the frontispiece Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922) wrote, *youmu chenghuai* (open eyes, open mind).¹⁹ His close friend Iwaya Osamu (1834–1905), also a revered calligrapher and scholar, contributed a preface, praising modern Shanghai as a convenient model. It was Iwaya who later wrote a biography of Yasuda Rōzan, who contributed four illustrations to the reprint, reporting that Rōzan had earned for himself "ten thousand taels of gold through a painting brush," a lucrative career that had started in Shanghai at the beginning of the Meiji era.²⁰

With their pro-China stand, the same group of artists soon became good friends with several Qing envoys to Japan who were distinguished anti-

quarians.²¹ Their Japanese antiquarian counterparts had already learned from *Shanghai hanjō ki* about the latest situation on the Shanghai antique market. One entry in Ge's book describes what had just happened in the city's antique shops quarter:²²

After the turmoil [of the Taiping Rebellion], antiques are abundant in the market. People from Nanjing often engage in this trade. The markets are located along the street inside the New North Gate. Shops display their items, including ceramics, bronzes, jades, precious stones, jewelry, calligraphic works, and paintings; prices vary accordingly, and are worth in total more than ten thousand taels [of silver or gold]. In the eight month of the *bingzi* year [1876], a terrible fire burned down more than ten shops, and half of the treasures were destroyed. It is so sad that 20–30 percent of the items were missing afterward.²³

Thanks to Ge's great interest in current affairs, Japanese readers were well informed that, in addition to the different business locations in town, the antique market belonged to a different category, distinct from the fan shops.²⁴ To understand the separation of the two trades is essential, for the latter dealt with contemporary artwork, while the former the work of deceased artists and artisans. Ge also indicated that both trades in 1876 were serving primarily the domestic market, with few clients coming from neighboring Asian countries.

Domestically, old "calligraphic works and paintings," according to *Hu you zaji*, were not as popular as contemporary art in Shanghai. While what happened there did not exemplify how *guhua* was collected everywhere in China, the Shanghai art market did demonstrate noticeable fashions, combined with the cachet of Japanese urban culture.²⁵ Ge Yuanxu offered information related to the art business, including museums, commercial photography,²⁶ oil painting, dealerships, and the like. Among them, the entry on auctions is particularly relevant to what the Japanese dealers would later adapt in regulating the business of the Tōkyō bijutsu kurabu (Tokyo Art Club) and elsewhere. In the spring of 1876, the Chinese business community began to put what is now known as the Anglo-Dutch auction into practice.²⁷ A small detail in Ge's account about this new mechanism is visually memorable: the auctioneer executed the auction sale after the rise of a foreign flag.²⁸ Through this Western visual sign, the Japanese could well have sensed the visual aspects of "modernity" in Shanghai, or a new image of Asia in a modern global context.

This sort of curiosity disappeared as soon as Japanese entered into direct dialogue with Westerners. When the revised edition of Ge's guide appeared in 1888, it drew little interest in contrast to the popularity of

the first edition.²⁹ Ironically for the Shanghai Chinese, within only about ten years, their art market was no longer "modern" in comparison to what Japanese were seeing in the West.³⁰ During the same short period, Huang Shiquan (1853–1924), then the editor of the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, investigated the art business initiated by Japanese residents.³¹ In April 1888, readers of *Shenbao* would discover that a Japanese gentleman was advertising to purchase antiques—an early message to Chinese collectors that the Japanese were taking the initiative in the old business. In conjunction with the fact that Japan had decided one year earlier to stop learning of world affairs through translations from the Chinese,³² the advertisement symbolized the beginning of a 180-degree turn in the long-standing teacher-pupil relationship between the two countries.

By the late 1880s, both Japanese and Chinese intellectuals in not only Shanghai and Tokyo but also Berlin, including art collectors, agreed that Asia was one.³³ An important figure in this regard was Pan Feisheng (1858–1934), who came from Canton, which (as will be discussed below) was an important source for the Shanghai art trade. On October 17, 1887, after arriving in Berlin as one of the two Chinese intellectuals invited to teach Chinese language and culture at the newly established Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen (SOS), Pan signed a contract with the Prussian Ministry of Education to serve as a connoisseur consultant for the collection of Oriental art in the Prussian State Museum.³⁴ It had in fact been the Japanese who brought Chinese artwork to the attention of German collectors, though this whole history is still under investigation.³⁵ After returning to China in 1890, Pan Feisheng and his collectors' network continued to expand in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and elsewhere, associating with Japanese and Western, especially German, artists, collectors, and dealers.³⁶

A series of humiliating defeats in modern Chinese history—starting with the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese War and the allied armies' suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing in 1900—combined with Japan's rapid rise on the world stage awakened Chinese intellectuals to the image that Japanese had impressed upon the West as the main representative of Oriental culture. This image was a visible counterbalance to the Westernized trend in art, first in the guise of *ukiyo-e*, then in the synthesized appearance of *Nihonga*, and gradually in the style of literati painting. These alternative approaches not only stimulated or paralleled modern art movements in the West, but also helped bring Chinese painting, especially *guhua*, to the attention of art collectors worldwide.³⁷ *Kokka*, a monthly magazine begun in 1889, for example, was a fine publication

of Japanese traditional and modern art, and it always included *guhua* as an especially related topic. Due in part to the dispersal of the Imperial Collection of *guhua* after 1900,³⁸ major Western museums began to form collections of *guhua*. On this trend and its impact on the Chinese market, Deng Shi (1877–1951), a journalist, publisher, and collector from Canton, made a remarkable observation in 1911:

In the last two or three years, Westerners began to be interested in purchasing old Chinese paintings. After the events of 1900, genuine works of Tang, Song, and Yuan paintings in the former Imperial Collection have been transported to all parts of the world. They have found places in the museums of Paris, Berlin, London, and elsewhere for public exhibition. Having been exposed to the old paintings from China, Westerners started collecting them to show off the elegance of their taste. However, they could evaluate what they were collecting only by their resemblance to the dispersed masterpieces from the Imperial Collection, because they had little knowledge about connoisseurship. One criterion was to get silk paintings in darkish color, another to choose certain subject matters like figures, birds-and-flowers, and animals, but they ignored the authenticity of their inscriptions and seals. In the past two years, nearly all the old darkish paintings, despite their quality, have been separated out for export from China—a fashion that has brought a huge profit to the antique painting dealers. Among the large quantity of exported old paintings, however, some famous masterpieces of Song and Yuan paintings were included. From June onward, a few European and American artists gathered together to do research, by means of which they gradually came to distinguish the different qualities of silk paintings made in the Song and Yuan dynasties, as well as the differences between original colors and dyed colors. Furthermore, they can tell whether the brushwork was old or not. A keeper of Chinese paintings in the British Museum published a book of studies of Chinese *guhua*, an insightful work which has been well circulated among collectors. In the spring, the marketing of fake Song and Yuan paintings went out of business. It is so amazing to see how fast the Westerners have progressed in doing business. With such new progress in the days to come, they will look for paintings on white paper and in good condition, and predictably the masterpieces of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing painters will be their targets. Considering that all famous Chinese paintings will be sold abroad, Chinese gentry must urgently find a proper way to preserve them.

In this new trend, the role of the Japanese art market was special, at once significant but short-lived.

Let us follow the adventures of three celebrities who were self-exiled

to Japan in the 1910s, to see through their eyes how the Chinese *guhua* market, particularly that in Shanghai, had been significantly affected by Japanese clients.

Among all artists, collectors, and dealers who went to Japan for various opportunities in modern times, Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940) was known for his adamant loyalty to the overthrown Qing court. Right after the 1911 Revolution, *Shenbao* reported that Luo fled to Japan with a great number of “national treasures.” From the Shanghai media we learn that the rare books in Luo’s *Dayun shuku* (Great Cloud Library) were priceless, but to the Japanese antiquarians, Luo’s collection of *guhua* and other antiques seemed to have been even more desirable.³⁹ His contacts in Kyoto, Tomioka Tessai (1837–1924), Nagao Uzan (1864–1942), Kawai Senro (1871–1945),⁴⁰ and Harada Kōzō,⁴¹ to name just a few, revered him as an excellent antiquarian and connoisseur. In fact, selling *guhua* had long contributed to the main revenue upon which Luo could support himself in Shanghai and elsewhere. In his view, “to purchase calligraphic works and paintings is nothing but a business.”⁴² On February 2, 1912, a dealer named Cheng Bingquan posted an advertisement in *Shenbao* to solicit antiques, just as a Japanese gentleman had done twenty-four years before. The similarity between these ads lies in the fact that Cheng and his antique shop did not serve a domestic market, but a Japanese one and in fact Luo Zhenyu, then in Japan, was a major figure in it.⁴³ In the correspondence between Luo and Wang Guowei (1877–1927), another Qing loyalist and also a famed scholar, some of the dramatic upheavals of both markets for *guhua* were deliberated in detail, vividly reflecting Japanese involvement in the art business of Shanghai and elsewhere in China and Japan.⁴⁴

When Luo exiled himself to Kyoto, a good number of Japanese antique dealers were collecting *guhua* in Beijing, Shanghai, and other places.⁴⁵ The competition between Chinese and Japanese collectors directly altered the Shanghai *guhua* market and made the situation there complicated and unpredictable. One drama from 1916 in Luo’s competition with his Japanese counterparts shows the intensity of the business side of affairs. On November 5, 1916, Luo wrote to Wang:

Yamamoto Teijirō [1870–1937] recently went to Shanghai and spent 30,000 yen in purchasing *guhua*. Yesterday I was invited to see the paintings in his place. From the invoice of the transaction which he showed to me, I was so surprised to learn that the price of the paintings, aside from three pieces by Wang, Wu, Yun, Tang, and Dai from Pang Laichen [Pang Yuanji, 1864–1949], was extremely cheap coming directly from the market. On average I purchase paintings [through

the Shanghai dealers] with a fair price, so the Japanese would pay [me] more. Now, they paid less [to the Shanghai dealers] than I did, which indicates a drop in the latest market price in Shanghai. From now on, Japanese will ask for a lower price [to buy *guhua* from me] and [our] business in Japan is in jeopardy.⁴⁶

Ten days later, Wang wrote back to Luo from Shanghai about the same deal, which he heard from the dealer:

Today I went to see Cheng Bingquan, who had not yet left for Canton [to purchase *guhua*]. . . . He told me that Yamamoto Teijirō came and bought paintings with 30,000 *yen*, allocating about 1,200 *yen* for a painting by Dai Jin [1388–1462], and 3,000 *yen* for two paintings by Dong Qichang [1555–1636] and Wang Shimin [1592–1680], all from the hand of Pang Laichen. To meet a Chinese client as wealthy as [Yamamoto] in Shanghai will be difficult.⁴⁷

Hearing this would have been devastating to Luo considering that only one month earlier, before learning of this deal, he had fancied that this source of revenue would remain secure. He confidently foresaw a yearly income from his business when he promised Wang Guowei: "Do not worry about your living expenses." With this assurance, Luo wished to invite Wang to stay with him again in Kyoto.

As for the [new yearly] expenses, let me take this year as an example, 1,800 will be enough, which I can get from the profit of selling calligraphic works and paintings. . . . It is true that I have to be in charge of my family affairs, . . . which I usually have covered with 6,000–7,000 *yen*. But if we endeavor to make preparations from now on, we can settle the business in the coming spring. Then [our two families] can live in Japan effortlessly with [a profit of] 2,000 *yen*, which will make our life fairly comfortable. Never mind your living costs, which I definitely can help you take care of. In your leisure hours, go to see dealers like Cheng Bingquan and Cai Shaoqing by the side of Mr. Luo Zhenchang [1857–1942], and each year obtain a few paintings from them, like what you have invested in now. The yearly expense should be covered with no difficulty. Your expenses, plus mine, will be about 4,000 *yen* per year. It is not easy to sell commodities here, but our business is an exception, so you should not worry about it.⁴⁸

Considering the profitability of trading in *guhua* across the Japan Sea, Luo's up-and-down experiences exemplify the delicate connection and conflict of interest between the two markets. Prior to Yamamoto Teijirō's venture, on February 6, 1916, Tanaka Keitarō (1880–1951) had posted an ad in *Shibao* to "buy rare books and old paintings and calligraphic works."

In June, Luo's old acquaintance Kawai Senro also left Tokyo for Shanghai; this time he would not sell his own pieces of calligraphy and seal-engraving pieces, but would collect *guhua*.⁴⁹ Luo lived in Kyoto until spring 1919, but he was tortured by both markets. In the end, he dispersed his major collection of *guhua* for an aborted fundraising effort in 1917, a sad epilogue to his exile as well as an unhappy prelude to his political career of serving the abdicated Emperor Pu-yi (1906–68) for the rest of his life.⁵⁰

In contrast to Luo Zhenyu's infelicitous politics and business experiences, Li Pingshu (1854–1927) was fortunate in his adventures in Japan. They not only made him a good fortune but also strengthened a shared regional interest in modern Sino-Japanese markets. His departure for Japan sprang partly from his keen awareness of a business opportunity, attracting attention from both the Japanese and Shanghai media.⁵¹ *Shibao* reported on January 5, 1914, that "Li Pingshu is addicted to dealing in antiques":

Li Pingshu, a native Shanghai gentleman, who hated to see more deaths of civilians after his unsuccessful negotiations with the two parties [Sun Yat-sen, (1866–1925) and President Yuan Shikai (1859–1916)] about the military conflict in Shanghai last summer, fled to Tokyo. He brought with him antiques and will only do business in Japan. To avoid any political involvement, he has already leased an exhibition space in the [Tokyo Taishō International] Exposition with a monthly fee of about a thousand *yen* and has been preparing to exhibit the antiques from his collection. With the assistance of the organizer he is applying to the Ministry of Domestic Affairs of the Republic for an exemption from the [export] tax. Yesterday his assistant Mr. Zhao returned to Shanghai and started gathering items for the Exposition. The merchandise is scheduled to be shipped to Tokyo at the end of this month. The exposition will be open in March. As soon as the event finishes, [Li] will return home without delay.

Li, however, did not return until March 3, 1916. As for the investment environment, Li knew only too well the striking contrast existing between the early Republic and early Taishō period, as hinted in the report. While the "Second Revolution" in China seemed to put him in a corner, the continued prosperity of the Japanese economy afforded him an attractive business alternative. He made his near-perfect debut in the right place and right time—from March 21 to July 31, 1914, when he lent some of his collection to the Exposition and sold a variety of merchandise there for over 5,000 *yen*, a greater profit than he had ever imagined possible.⁵² After the success of this lucrative investment, he decided to stay

longer with his family, for whom he purchased a house by Suma Beach in Kōbe, while continuing to run his acclaimed antique shop, the Pingquan shuwu (Flat Spring Bookstore).

In addition, Li's exile coincidentally realized the political vision he had conceived decades earlier. As early as 1884, he had published in *Zilin hubao* (Shanghai news) a series of essays on the rise of Asia, addressing the shared interest with Japan to resist invasion by Russia and all Western powers.⁵³ In his opinion, modern Sino-Japanese cultural relations should have a win-win image, offering the appearance of unity in the international community. Li had once been a city manager of Shanghai during the late Qing period, and head of the Department of Civil Affairs in the city after 1911.⁵⁴ Also, he was a noted calligrapher and collector and an influential business patron in the Shanghai art community. In April 1908, when Nagao Uzan, Sasaki Sokō, and Suzuki Kochiku initiated the first exhibition of *guhua* in the Rokusan Pavilion in Shanghai, Li attended the event along with other Chinese celebrities. In September of that year, Li and those Chinese collectors established the Gallery of Chinese Antiques.⁵⁵ He was elected in February 1910 as chairman of the Association of Shanghai Calligraphers and Painters, which had more than one hundred members.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, neither the dying Qing court nor the chaotic Republic had any interest or capacity to sponsor an International Exposition, as the Japanese government would do on behalf of its new Taishō emperor in spring 1914. (As will be discussed below, another Chinese collector sent his *guhua* collection to be shown at the 1914 Exposition.)

Now Li became both contributor to and beneficiary of the shared interest with the Japanese through the Taishō International Exposition, an unprecedented event in East Asian history. On the one hand, the Exposition allowed Japan to consolidate its modern image as a world power in East Asia, with collections of art and antiques from China as a valued adjunct.⁵⁷ On the other, at the Exposition the Japanese helped make a great variety of Chinese merchandise marketable to the entire industrialized world.⁵⁸ The Japanese market in general inspired Chinese collectors and dealers to establish their own institutional arrangements in the years to come. For example, Li Pingshu and his cousin Li Wenqing joined the Market for Antiques, Stele and Bronze Vessels, Painting and Calligraphic Works, Jewelry and Jade in Shanghai, which opened in August 1922. According to *Zhengxinlu* (Records of the market), Li Wenqing was a shareholder in that organization;⁵⁹ and on March 20, 1923, he became the guild's director.⁶⁰ Moreover, Li Pingshu and his relative accumulated

valuable experience in the international art trade thanks to their sojourn in Japan.⁶¹

At the Taishō International Exposition, another celebrity from China made a contribution. Lian Quan (1868–1932) was a poet, collector, publisher, and pro-Republican intellectual who led a colorful life. He and his wife, Wu Zhiying (1868–1934),⁶² a legendary woman who showed extraordinary bravery in supporting the Revolution and criticizing Yuan Shikai, came to Kōbe on April 4, 1914. Lian had taken about eighty pieces of *guhua* and calligraphy works from his collection of 1,560 antiques to participate in that historic event.⁶³ He had poems published in *Shenbao*, reporting his involvement in various cultural exchanges. His acquaintance with such famous Japanese scholars as Mishima Chūshū (1830–1919), Taki Seiichi (1873–1945), the founder of *Kokka* and professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo, Professor Masaki Naohiko (1862–1940), president of the Tokyo Art School, Kusakabe Meikaku, and Oka Senjin (1833–1914), to name only a few, became known to Chinese readers, and they were celebrated for their shared enjoyment of literary appreciation and art connoisseurship.⁶⁴ A neighbor of Li Pingshu's Flat Spring Bookstore, Lian also ran an art business in his own fan shop in Kōbe until 1917.⁶⁵

Despite the political differences among Luo, Li, and Lian, these celebrities all brought something valuable to the ways the two countries envisaged East Asian art and culture. Their Japanese contacts, including the Emperor and Empress, became patrons of Chinese art.⁶⁶ After his arrival in Japan, Li Pingshu held an exhibition of *guhua* and calligraphy in the Kōbe Art Club and the Nihon bijutsu kyōkai (Association of Japanese Artists) in Tokyo.⁶⁷ Similarly, Lian Quan had his collection of *guhua* exhibited in the Tokyo Art School.⁶⁸ On these high profile occasions, Japanese society and its art community were exposed to art collections that exemplified aesthetics similar to and also different from their own traditions. The exiled Chinese collectors were in turn exposed to a variety of market strategies for trading in *guhua*, including *nyūsatsu* (a closed-auction organization of art dealers controlled by the Tokyo Art Club), publication, and the like. They were involved in similar enterprises, publishing catalogs, albums, and other related images of *guhua*.

In 1914, Li Pingshu hired Mr. Toyokura, a master technician of colotype printing, at his Flat Spring Bookstore to be in charge of the publication of his (Li's) collected works. The result included an eight-leaf album of landscapes by a twelfth- to thirteenth-century painter, Li Di. About the album, Li Pingshu wrote poems and a postscript, promoting the rep-

representative style of Southern Song court painting. Apparently, Li demonstrated his shrewdness in providing collectors in Japan with images that had become familiar in imports from China over the centuries.⁶⁹ At the same time, Li commissioned the publication of calligraphic works, because calligraphic masterpieces had even a longer history and broader readership in Japan.⁷⁰ Li's commission with Toyokura continued until 1919 because of the fine quality of the results he produced.⁷¹

In his fan shop, Lian conducted a similar business to advertise his *guhua* collections, but in fan shape. These included Ō Kenshō *senmenchō* (Wang Jianzhang's fan paintings, 1914)⁷² and *Shanmian hua zhen: Ming Qing shier mingjia juepin* (Chinese fan paintings: Twelve masterpieces by Ming and Qing artists, 1915), all of which had come from a series of fan paintings in his collection in sixty volumes published from 1915 to 1917 by Wenming shuju (Civilization Bookstore),⁷³ Lian's publishing company in Shanghai established in 1902. In this joint effort, the Japanese printing masters made high quality reproductions for circulating *guhua*, both genuine and fake, on Chinese and Japanese markets.

Luo Zhenyu demonstrated his skills with the same sort of enterprise. Among his efforts, the two-volume *Nanshū ihatsu batsubi* (Colophons on the legacies of Southern School painting, 1916) with a Japanese translation had gained him a high reputation in elite circles.⁷⁴ This catalog may remind one of a fabricated catalog compiled by a seventeenth-century Chinese collector.⁷⁵ Luo told Wang Guowei an astonishing story about the role of this catalog as a tricky link in the Japanese market for *guhua*.⁷⁶ He concluded: "In order to sell *guhua*, you have to play more tricks. If you directly consign the sale items to your dealer, no exceptional profit will result." Here Luo drew a fine line between two business strategies adopted by dealers and collectors. The former had their guild (such as the Tokyo Art Club), while the latter had their cultural capital (like Luo himself as a revered antiquarian and historian). Wang Guowei, who never considered himself a serious collector, took a class in the marketing of art from his senior partner during Luo's exile in Japan.

To the Chinese collectors, Japanese publications were informative in indicating specific tastes of the Japanese collector. A seventeenth-century painter from Fujian, Wang Jianzhang, provides an outstanding example. According to a 2007 study by Itakura Masaaki, the leading Japanese collectors of the late Edo period revered Wang as an *yimin* (left-over) artist of the Ming dynasty.⁷⁷ Such a politically charged reputation later became less important, but was stressed again in the early twentieth century. Four of Wang Jianzhang's paintings, for instance, were published in *Nan-*

shū meigaen (Famous paintings of the Southern School) between 1904 and 1908.⁷⁸ However, Wang Jianzhang enjoyed a different reputation in China. Having never heard of this fellow Fujian painter before, Lin Shu (1852–1924) acknowledged in a colophon that the Japanese, as he was just informed, would like to pay 1,000 *yen* for one of Wang's fan paintings.⁷⁹ In early June 1914, Lian Quan saw ten of Wang's paintings in silk in the collection of Baron Tōdō Takatsugu (1884–1943).⁸⁰ With excitement he wrote two poems for the baron, boasting that no other collector in the world could compete with them as far as Wang Jianzhang's paintings were concerned.⁸¹ On July 14, 1914, collotype reproductions of Wang's twenty-four fan paintings in Lian's collection were published in Japan, together with an inventory of all of Wang's works owned by Lian.⁸² This promotional printing stimulated Luo Zhenyu, who in the following year published another twenty-four landscape leaves that he attributed to Wang.⁸³ Putting aside the question of the authenticity of these works, the almost simultaneous efforts to advertise a painter obscure in China intensified the regional interest of collecting *guhua*, especially of the Southern School style.

In his 1926 "Report on the Shanghai *guhua* Market," Huang Binhong (1865–1955) wrote a historical review. Based on his personal experiences as an artist, collector, dealer, educator, and journalist who had moved to Shanghai in 1909, Huang observed that before 1911 "the Shanghai gentry only talked about contemporary painters' work. Other than that, they knew little."⁸⁴ Then changing domestic, regional, and international factors contributed to creating new conditions for the Shanghai art market. Of the general impact of Japanese collectors on the *guhua* market of Shanghai, Huang reported:

Next to the dealers from Beijing who come to Shanghai to purchase *guhua*, Japanese are the major players. The paintings they purchase are of two kinds: one is the Northern School style of painting, . . . and the other the Southern School style. . . . Dealers in Shanghai treat Japanese with respect, for they are wealthy and not stingy [in business].

Ever since Luo Zhenyu exiled himself to Japan, he has promoted the paintings of the Song and Yuan periods and of the four Wangs, which he thought were far superior to the Ming painters. Japanese collectors all wish to get their hands on those works.

This observation confirms what the three Chinese celebrities had encountered during their exile in Japan. Then, Huang shifted his perspective from domestic and regional arenas to the international sphere:

Oriental culture is defeated by its Occidental counterparts, for Europeans and Americans have all greatly enjoyed discussing famous Chinese paintings. People [referring to the dealers in Shanghai] who knew the trend therefore put the pictures in chronological order, from the Tang and Song to Ming and Qing, and published a lavish, annotated catalog with translations into foreign languages. Having heard this information, a Swedish nobleman came to Shanghai and purchased such a collection for a high price. Afterward, about ten collectors came to get *guhua* to [sell in] the West, and the dealers in Shanghai all made large profits from the transactions.

Huang's observations are helpful in seeing the impact of the Japanese on the Shanghai trade, and the increasing demand from the Beijing and Western markets, in which Japanese art dealers were also major contributors. Here are a few examples. On February 22, 1913, having successfully purchased the remarkable collection of Imperial Prince Gong of Beijing, Yamanaka & Co. placed it in an auction sale at the American Art Gallery in New York.⁸⁵ On December 21–22, 1913, an anonymous Beijing officer, with a Tokyo collector, put their collections of Chinese antiques in the *nyūsatsu* at the Tokyo Art Club.⁸⁶ Yamanaka & Co. put another private collection of a Tianjin nobleman in the auction sale at the American Art Gallery on January 24, 1914.⁸⁷ All these transactions preceded the events recounted in Huang's review, about the compilation and publication of *Chinese Pictorial Art: E.A. Strehlneek Collection*, which appeared in Shanghai in July 1914. Reflecting an appreciation of the new rules for playing an old game, the Shanghai media praised the publication of *Chinese Pictorial Art* as one of the "New Inventions of the Twentieth Century."⁸⁸ As a matter of fact, these new inventions could hardly have been made in Shanghai without the involvement of Japanese collectors and dealers. In the first place, prior to his participation in the whole process of the "new inventions," Huang had organized the Zhenshe (Society of the Faithful) in Shanghai. Seven Japanese, including Kawai Senro and his extraordinarily wealthy patron Mitsui Takakata (1849–1919), appeared in the first gathering of this special organization of antiquarians and art dealers,⁸⁹ demonstrating the keen awareness by foreigners of the antique market in Shanghai. Then, before a Swedish collector came to Shanghai in July 1913 to buy Strehlneek's first collection of *guhua*, Oguri Shūdō, a Japanese dealer and connoisseur, had written a colophon for Strehlneek, attached to a handscroll of "Snow Mountains," attributed to Wang Wei (701–61), which was said to have come from the former Imperial Collection.⁹⁰ More importantly, the Swede did not begin his collecting of Oriental art with *guhua* but with Japanese art!

Unfortunately, all these significant transcultural efforts were short-lived after the publication of *Chinese Pictorial Art*. As Huang hinted in the review, there was a group of foreign and Shanghai dealers, including Li Pingshu's cousin Li Wenqing, who all looked westward to opening a new international market for *guhua*.⁹¹

In the process of modernization, both China and Japan were identified in the West as undifferentiated exemplars of Oriental culture. This identification was acceptable for those in the Eurocentric West and also for some intellectuals in China and Japan. The theory of the rise of Asia conceived by Li Pingshu and affirmed by Oka Senjin in 1884, for example, foretold mutual cultural interest that the two countries shared, as embodied in their traditions of art collecting. Nonetheless, it was not easy for either Japan or China to rise above its East Asia agrarian culture and enter the industrial world. The 1878 Japanese reprint of Ge Yuanxu's *Shanghai hanjō ki* included a poem lamenting the image of *Dongyangren* (Japanese) who aspired to "change their attire to imitate Westerners."⁹² Such a conservative concern expressed by a native Shanghai poet revealed a dilemma in which Chinese intellectuals had been entangled for decades. Nonetheless, Japan took the fast lane to catch up with the industrializing countries and become a world power, leaving China far behind it. Only on an international platform could Japanese artists gain self-confidence within modern society. Japanese dealers not only provided the world market with traditional art like *ukiyo-e* prints, which in turn inspired the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists to revolutionize representational art in the West, but also with the recently created *Nihonga*, while showing a new image of Oriental art to the world. At the same time, Japanese dealers adopted new rules for an old game in order to trade in *guhua* internationally.⁹³ When the Japanese government organized the Taishō International Exposition, the *guhua* collections from China were made to play second fiddle. However, Chinese artists, collectors, and dealers found a useful framework to reevaluate East Asian painting in general and *guhua* in particular, thanks to Japan's early move onto the world stage. Co-existing in a different part of an international market for *guhua* in the early 1910s, Chinese painting regained its recognition in the art world. Even the promotion of the Song-Yuan and the late Southern School paintings by the three Chinese exiles in Japan inspired Japanese artists such as Ōmura Seigai (1868–1927), Tanabe Hekidō (1864–1931), and others to advocate the restoration of literati painting, echoing the emerging expressionism in modern Western art movements in the early 1920s.⁹⁴

History effectively repeated itself in a changed context. Around 1887,

the “Shanghai model” lost its attraction to Japanese reformers as soon as Japan stepped onto the world stage, regardless of China’s continuous efforts to catch up to modern industrialized societies. Nearly three decades later, the Japanese art market encountered a similar situation as soon as the Shanghai and other Chinese art markets merged into an international market for *guhua*—its impact was overshadowed by the broader and stronger interest in Oriental art from the West, and therefore it has been long forgotten. Nonetheless, its significance should not be underestimated because of its contributing role in the formation of a new pattern of art collecting in the twentieth century.

6. Reforming Calligraphy in Modern Japan

*The Six Dynasties School and Nakamura
Fusetsu's Chinese "Stele" Style*

Aida Yuen Wong

National “fine arts” exhibitions in prewar Japan came into being under government auspices. The Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai (Ministry of Education Art Exhibitions, “Bunten,” 1907–18) and the Teikoku bijutsu tenrankai (Imperial Art Exhibitions, “Teiten,” 1919–34) showcased the latest achievements in painting, sculpture, and handicrafts.¹ Conspicuously absent, though, was calligraphy (*sho*). This age-old emblem of literati refinement was cast off its moorings as the country modernized; its role became cloudy.² Starting with a debate in the 1880s between Koyama Shōtarō (1857–1916) and Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913), opinions varied as to whether calligraphy was just a form of verbal communication or a compelling visual art on par with painting. Moreover, Western collectors’ disinterest in calligraphy at that time called into question its usefulness in Japan’s quest for international prestige.³

At the Tokyo Taishō Exposition of 1914, calligraphy was shown together with a miscellany of “industries,” including a gas bathtub, the first escalator, and several live geishas. This exposed the widening gap between calligraphy and the officially recognized fine arts.⁴ But the most telling of all was the omission of *sho* from the curriculum of the Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō (Tokyo School of Fine Art, est. 1889), the premier art academy in modern Japan.

Outside the dominant art institutions, however, calligraphy continued to thrive. One of its most ardent advocates was Nakamura Fusetsu (1866–1943). During a career that spanned almost half a century, he championed *sho* through group learning, built a calligraphy museum, published essays and books,⁵ and produced innovative calligraphy himself.⁶ Fusetsu’s calligraphy is seldom discussed today because of the primacy of his reputation as a Western-style painter at the Bunten and Teiten (e.g., fig. 6.1).⁷ However, Fusetsu’s calligraphy and his paintings were in the same vein:



Figure 6.1. Nakamura Fusetsu, *Emperor Wu of Liang Dynasty Meets Dharma*, 1914, oil painting, collection of The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo.

both infused historical ingredients with modern sensibilities in order to tear down the dichotomy between the traditional and the new. This precept was at the heart of his *Kanji* (Chinese-character) calligraphy, the focus of the present chapter.

Fusetsu's calligraphy drew upon the Stele School (Beixuepai), a reformist movement that had flourished in China since the mid-Qing period (eighteenth century). The Stele School rejected the orthodoxy of the "Copybook School" (Tiexuepai) and the transmission of the "Classical tradition" (such as the lineage of Wang Xizhi, 303–61) through copying "model letters" (*fatié*), works by canonical masters in reproduction.⁸ Championed by the Tang and Song courts, including many elites of the

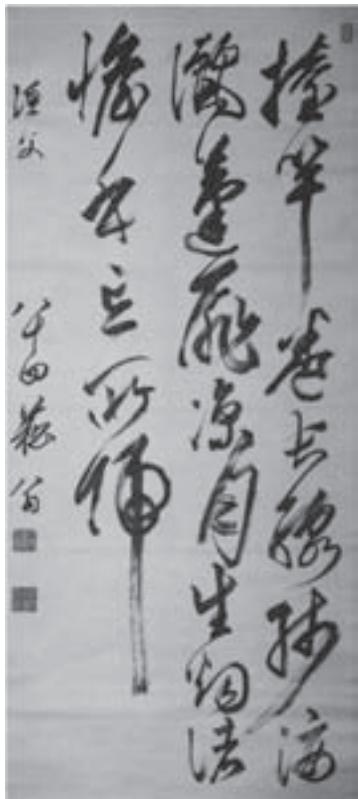


Figure 6.2. Nukina
Kaioku, *Poetic Quatrain*,
1861, private collection.

Southern Dynasties, the Copybook School had been the pillar of Chinese calligraphy for over a thousand years. It also had had widespread influence on Japanese *Kanji* calligraphy since the seventh and eighth centuries, shaping the foundation of the so-called Chinese manner (*karayō*).⁹ A typical *karayō* work is characterized by elegant brushwork and polished execution (see fig. 6.2 for an example).

Japanese advocates of Beixuepai, including Fusetsu, forged a local equivalent known as Rikuchōha or "The Six Dynasties School" (or "The Six Dynasties Mode," Rikuchōfū). It challenged the classical *karayō* aesthetic by adopting archaic, sometimes blocky and awkward, styles of calligraphy found on antique Chinese bronzes, stone stelae, and other artifacts that often bore no signed authorship (see, e.g., fig. 6.3, by Fusetsu).¹⁰ Rikuchōha was so named because the Six Dynasties (220–589) was regarded as the golden age of stelae production in China, though in actual practice the movement derived inspiration from many periods.

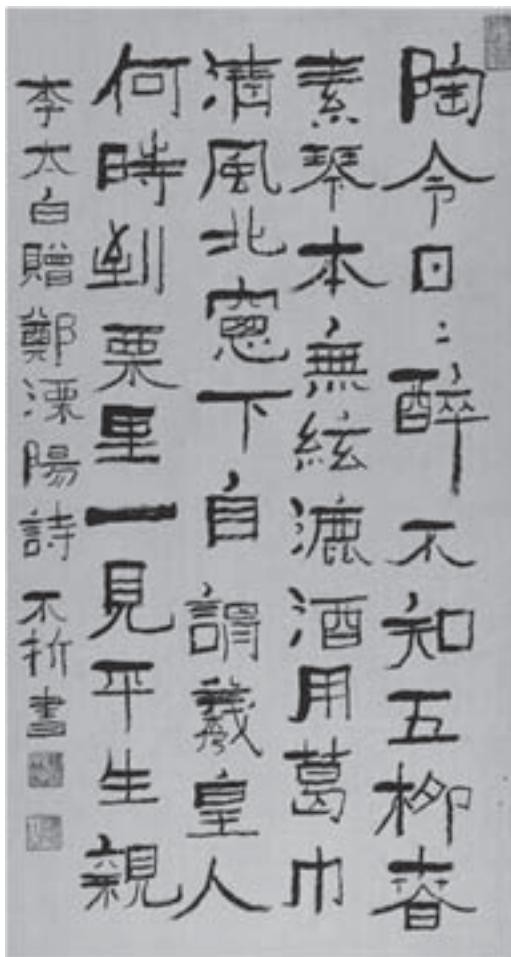


Figure 6.3. Nakamura Fusetsu, *Poem by Li Bai*, undated. Source: *Sumi* 155 (March–April 2002): 155.

The initial transplantation of the Beixuepai to Japan dated from the 1880s, when the scholar-collector Yang Shoujing (1839–1915), who was part of the Chinese Mission delegation, brought over a corpus of rubbings and inscribed artifacts.¹¹ These objects, never seen in Japan, galvanized Meiji calligraphers, especially Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922), Iwaya Ichiroku (1834–1905), Nakabayashi Gochiku (1865–1903), Nagasaka Sekitai (1845–1924), and Maeda Mokuhō (1852–1918). This group of mostly Sinophiles became the founding fathers of the Rikuchōha. Besides studying stone and metal inscriptions and other non-pedigreed sources, some of them journeyed to China to seek direct instructions from Beixuepai masters.¹²

In short, Rikuchōha was both an extension of China's Beixuepai and an internal reform in Japan's *karayō* tradition. In 1914 Fusetsu and Ido Reizan (1859–1935) published *Rikuchō shodō ron* (On Six Dynasties calligraphy), their translation of Kang Youwei's (1858–1927) treatise on the Stele School, *Guang yizhou shuang ji* (Extended paired oars for the boat of art, 1889).¹³ A tribute to Bao Shichen's (1775–1855) classic of a nearly identical title (*Yizhou shuang ji*, 1844), Kang's book was the most systematically elaborated theory on the Stele School ever attempted, with chapters on the genesis of script types, assessment of stele aesthetics, brush techniques, and methods of learning.¹⁴ In it, Kang made an explicit case for the superiority of the Stele School over the Copybook School, drawing an analogy to literature:

If one concentrates on Tang models one will never match them; that is because the point of entry was already inferior and weak! . . . Some people have said that a student's intellect must surpass his teacher's in order to internalize his teacher's learning. They have also said that striving to study the best only brings one to the middle. . . . Suppose [one wants to surpass the essays of the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song], there is no other way but to study the writings of the Xia, Shang, Zhou, Qin, and Han dynasties, for only then will the feeling and manner be rich and substantial. Naturally, success will be imminent, because we have the same teachers as the Eight Masters [of the Tang and Song dynasties].¹⁵

According to Kang Youwei, whether in literature or calligraphy, all attempts to surpass the classical tradition by copying the classical tradition were doomed to mediocrity. To achieve something truly transcendent, it was necessary to study inscriptions preserved on antique metal and stone, which were ancestral to all forms of writing. That, Kang asserted, was the modern calligrapher's best hope for competing with the canonical masters on an equal footing.

Extended Paired Oars, though overzealous in parts and indifferent to the virtues of copying classical works,¹⁶ must be seen as integral to Kang Youwei's political ideology. In 1898 he was a prime advocate for reforms from within the Chinese imperial system, such as the creation of a national assembly, the modernization of the civil service, and the adoption of a constitutional monarchy. These reforms started but were later rescinded by conservative opponents in the court after only about 100 days, under pressure from the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908). Kang went into exile while his chief supporter and Cixi's nephew, Emperor Guangxu (r. 1875–1908), was placed under house arrest following a palace

coup. The Emperor died not long after, some say from poison. *Extended Paired Oars*, written just prior to those turbulent days, is replete with charged slogans: “push out the old and bring forth the new in accordance with the changes in the world” (*shifeng shibian tuichen chuxin*) and “victory belongs to those who change, defeat to those who don’t” (*bianzhe bisheng, bubianzhe bibai*).¹⁷ To contemporary readers, Kang’s political message could not be more transparent.¹⁸

After the failed Hundred Days’ Reform, Kang lived off and on as a fugitive in Japan until the eve of the Republican Revolution in 1911. There, he found solace in antiquarian pursuits and in the camaraderie of kindred spirits like Fusetsu. Japanese knowledge of *Extended Paired Oars* actually preceded Kang’s arrival. The book had been introduced by Yang Shoujing, with a readership initially confined to those with advanced proficiency in the Chinese language. Not until Fusetsu and Ido’s translation, which Maeda Mokuhō (1853–1918) called “the authoritative text on the Rikuchōha,” did Kang’s ideas become popularized in Japan.¹⁹ Its publication was acknowledged by Kang Youwei himself in the nineteenth Chinese edition (1917) of *Extended Paired Oars*.²⁰

Kang Youwei’s impact on modern Japanese calligraphy is well known though seldom elaborated. In a groundbreaking study, Chak-kwong Lau explored Kang’s circle of Japanese friends and connected the rugged brush styles of such prominent figures as Tomioka Tessai (1837–1924) and Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932) to his influence.²¹ Some of Fusetsu’s semicursive works are remarkably similar to Kang’s as well: lines begin and end bluntly, with halting strokes and dramatic tonal variations (compare fig. 6.4, by Kang, to Nakamura’s fig. 6.5).²² This deceptively uncouth style points to the aesthetics of distressed stone inscriptions that became the hallmark of the Rikuchōha.

In Japan’s prolonged and anxiety-ridden transition from the feudal world of the samurai to insatiable Westernization, a cloud of conformity and indoctrination hung over modern intellectuals. Retreating to conservatism or rushing to follow the newest Western fashions seemed equally problematic. Rikuchōha pointed to a third route by harking back to archaic models such as Han and Wei stelae, which had no historical link to the Japanese classical canon. Described as a return to a more “natural” aesthetic by Fusetsu,²³ Rikuchōha’s departure from dogmatic standards of beauty presented a refreshing antithesis to the “straightforward, smooth, clear, [and] practical” style that Meiji school students emulated as model handwriting, a style made famous by Maki Ryōko (1777–1845), who had been an admirer of the early Tang master Ouyang Xun (557–

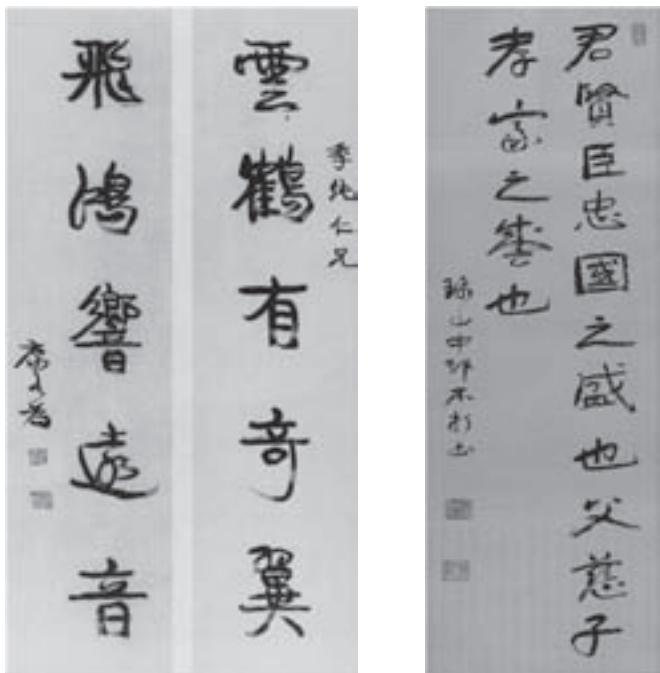


Figure 6.4. (left) Kang Youwei, calligraphy couplet in running script, undated, collection of the Taitō Ward Calligraphy Museum, Tokyo.

Figure 6.5. (right) Nakamura Fusetsu, calligraphy in running script, undated, private collection.

641).²⁴ Fusetsu too had been following the path of Ryōko in his youth, but he abandoned it after discovering the Stele School. Fusetsu first joined Mokuhō's Kenpitsukai (Vigorous Brush Society) and Meikaku's Danshōkai (Calligraphy Discussion Society),²⁵ and later formed his own calligraphy group known as Ryūminkai (Society of the Slumbering Dragon) to propagate Rikuchōha.

Not every Japanese calligrapher at the time subscribed to Rikuchōha. Among Fusetsu's critics was Naitō Konan (1866–1934), a prominent Sinologist at Kyoto Imperial University.²⁶ Naitō used "metal and stone" artifacts in his historical research,²⁷ but kept allegiance to the graceful brushwork of orthodox *karayō* as a calligrapher.²⁸ Nevertheless, both men held that China and Japan were interconnected by language and culture, a point of view with ideological implications. Naitō and Fusetsu had been old friends and fellow members of the Seikyōsha (Society for Political Education), a

tight-knit coterie that came together in 1888 and whose activities continued until 1923.²⁹ The group called for the maintenance of Japanese identity against the rising tide of Westernization. Their leaders, Shiga Shigetaka (1863–1927) and Kuga Katsunan (1857–1907), advanced theories of *kokusui*, or “national essence,” that had enduring influence in modern Japan. Rather than emphasizing the purity of national culture, the Seikyōsha saw the survival of Japanese identity as part and parcel of the preservation of Asia. Tam Yue-him explains the group’s mandate:

It was clear from the international situation that the *kokusui* of Western countries was already being promoted, so much so that it already encroached on the *kokusui* of Asian countries. Thus the duty of the Seikyōsha was not in advocating the promotion of *kokusui* literally all over the world, but to advocate its promotion in other Asian countries which were then not aware of their unique *kokusui*. Hence the Seikyōsha began to emphasize the importance of an awareness of Asia as a cultural and ethnic unit.³⁰

Maintaining “Asia as a cultural and ethnic unit” became a cornerstone for many modern enterprises in Japan. It also fueled imperialistic ambition that ended in disastrous consequences for the region. These consequences notwithstanding, many members of the Seikyōsha devoted their lives to the study of East Asian tradition and created a new place for it in modern society. Naitō Konan achieved this in Sinology and Nakamura Fusetsu in calligraphy; their artistic tastes might have differed, but their commitments were the same.

Fusetsu’s interest in Chinese calligraphy started around the time he was a young newspaper illustrator assigned to the continent to cover the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–95).³¹ In northern China, he acquired some ancient artifacts, rubbings, and books, including fragments from the *Longmen ershi pin* (Twenty works of Longmen), a canonical work of the Stele School which became one of his favorites (he continued to copy it even during his subsequent sojourn in France as a student of Western-style painting).³² His paintings rooted in French neoclassicism brought him accolades and prestige; he served as a judge at national exhibitions, starting with the inaugural Bunten in 1907, and was recommended to the prestigious Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (Teikoku bijutsuin) in 1919. With success came wealth, which allowed Fusetsu to build a prodigious calligraphy collection.³³

The early twentieth century was a time when internal conflict and external strife threw China into turbulence. Chinese *objets d’art* flooded the Japanese market, where they were sold at book and antique dealerships

such as Bunkyūdō and Bansuiken. Ancient coins, jades, and inscribed bronzes, tiles, stelae, and ceramics—a diversity of artifacts with textual inscriptions—came into Fusetsu's hands. In 1936, he established a house museum to display and preserve this group of objects amounting to more than 10,000 items. This was the first and, for many decades, only museum in the world devoted to Chinese calligraphy. Its holdings include seventeen works of recognized historical value that the Japanese government has designated as "Important Cultural Properties" and "Important Art Works." The collection survived the 1945 American fire-bombings of Tokyo unscathed,³⁴ and in 1995 it was donated and opened to the public as the Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan (Taitō Ward Calligraphy Museum).³⁵

In the Tokugawa (Edo) period (1600–1867), there had been proto-exhibitions of calligraphy in *shogakai* (painting and calligraphy societies) or *shoga tenkankai* (painting and calligraphy exhibition and evaluation societies) that entertained connoisseurs at restaurants and private homes. Starting from the mid-1800s there was "a tendency for *shogakai* to grow in scale, to be held over longer periods, and to be made more accessible to the public."³⁶ From the Meiji period (1868–1912) onwards, as exhibitions came to symbolize the civilizing efforts of modernization and assumed the role of educating the people about the nation's achievements, some calligraphy groups such as the Nihon shodō sakuhinkai (Japan Calligraphy Society, est. 1924) embraced exhibitions as standard practice.³⁷ Purists frowned upon public display as vulgar, for calligraphy had traditionally been a private form of cultivation to be appreciated only by friends and family in an intimate setting. The Tōhō shodōkai (Oriental Calligraphy Society, est. 1932) at first resisted public exhibitions, but in time came to see them as an inextricable part of the modern calligrapher's practice.

Some of Fusetsu's works were created with large exhibition spaces in mind. In the past, a hanging scroll of calligraphy, however flamboyant in style, could fit into the alcove (*tokonomo*) of a Japanese room. But modern exhibition spaces called for larger scales (see fig. 6.6 for an example). One photograph shows Fusetsu writing in his garden on a piece of paper some thirty feet in length (fig. 6.7). Each character is the size of the calligrapher himself. Another photograph depicts him and a friend posing in front of a long hanging scroll that stretches about four and one-half times the men's height (fig. 6.8).³⁸ In a way these scrolls could be seen as evoking giant rubbings taken from Chinese mountain sites (like those shown in fig. 6.9), but more to the point, supersized calligraphy compelled the audience to pay close attention to the structure of the characters and to the quality of individual strokes.³⁹ The sheer drama of scale emphasizes form over



Figure 6.6. (above) Interior of Taitō Ward Calligraphy Museum. Source: *Sumi* 155 (March–April 2002): 144.

Figure 6.7. (below) Nakamura Fusetsu writing large-character calligraphy in garden. Source: *Sumi* 155 (March–April 2002): 142.

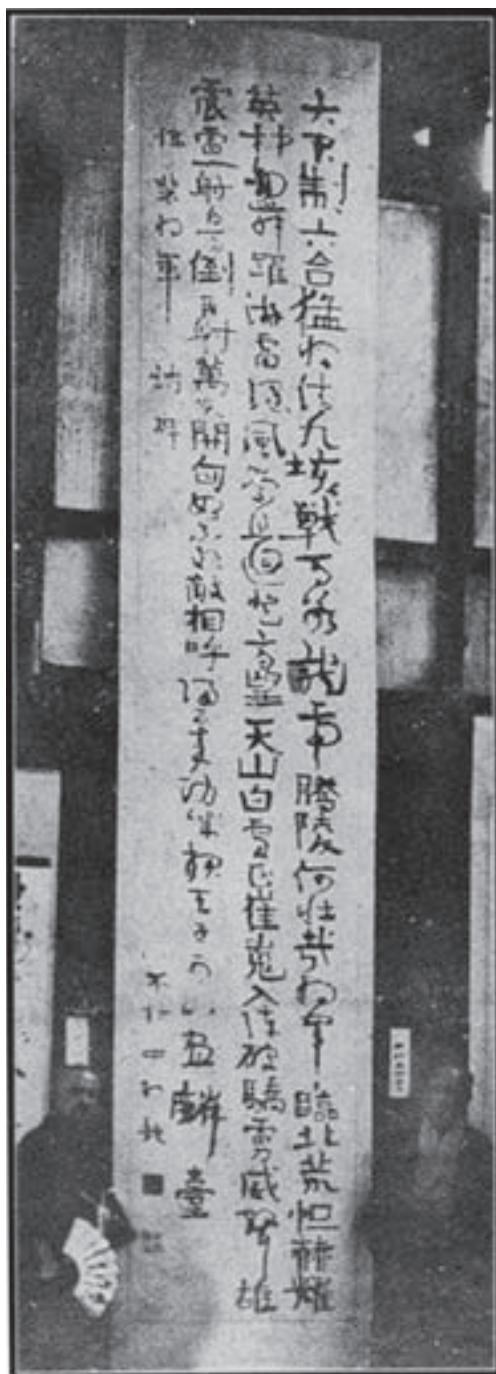


Figure 6.8. Nakamura Fusetsu and friend posing next to his supersized calligraphy. Source: *Sumi* 155 (March-April 2002): 142.

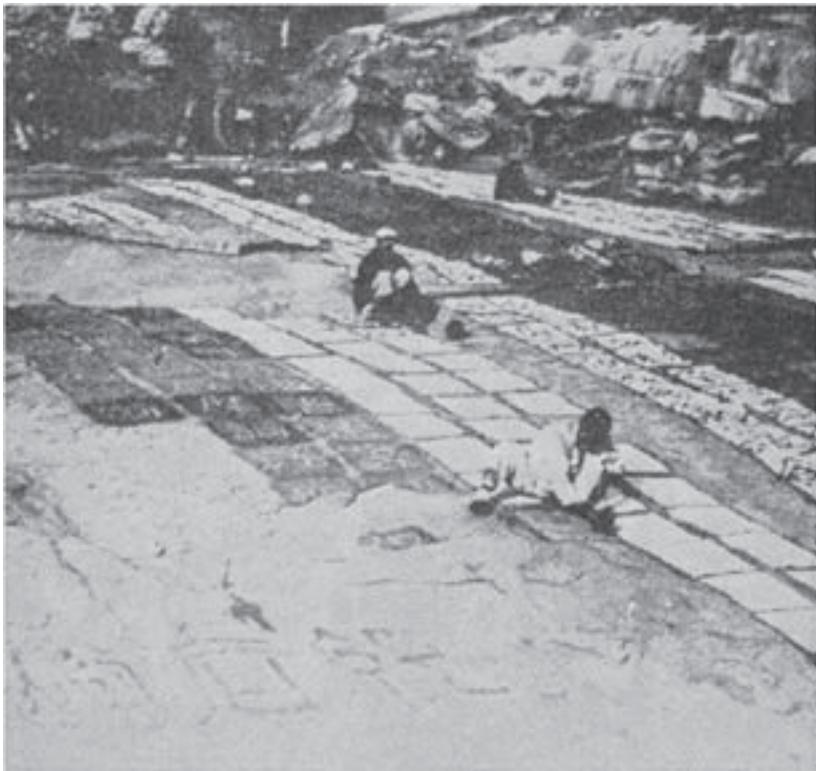


Figure 6.9. Rubbings taken of ancient sutra letters at Mt. Tai, undated photograph (ca. 1930s).

(or at least as much as) content. This was a critical move at a time when calligraphy was struggling to gain acceptance as something greater than linguistic signs. Fusetsu's large-character calligraphy reinforced the value of *sho* as *art* with great visual power and not just functionalist *words*.

In a daring piece titled *Ryūminjō* (1908), Fusetsu achieved an unprepossessing style akin to primitivism. It adopted an archaic form of the clerical script with remnants of the seal script. The linguist Jerry Norman has called the evolution of the clerical script from the seal script "the most important transition in the entire history of Chinese writing," one that "marks the change from the ancient form of writing in which . . . the essentially pictographic roots of the script could still be discerned, to a more purely conventionalized form of writing."⁴⁰ Whether such change occurred in a linear trajectory, as Norman seems to suggest, or was part of a polysemous development, remains debatable. The important point here

is that *Ryūminjō* reenacted a hybrid moment in Chinese calligraphy history with virtually no Japanese precedent. Some premodern specimens of the Chinese clerical script have been found in Japan, but they are few in number and most are second-rate copies made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).⁴¹ Only in the Edo period did Japanese such as Ishikawa Jōzan (1583–1672) develop the clerical script in a manner that could be called creative.⁴² At any rate, hardly any previous Japanese attempts stylistically anticipate *Ryūminjō*'s studied naïveté and its straddling of seal script and standard clerical script.

A magnum opus of 400 Chinese characters, only a detail of which is shown in fig. 6.10, *Ryūminjō* reproduces almost verbatim the words (but not the script style) of twenty poems inscribed by the eminent Song-dynasty scholar-official Su Che (1039–1112) on a picture scroll painted by Li Gonglin (1049–1106), Su's friend and a noted antiquarian.⁴³ Su's poems were verbal responses to and philosophical embellishments of Li's picture of his own hermitage on the Longmian (J., Ryūmin) Mountains in Anhui Province. The original eleventh-century painting and inscriptions have been lost, preserved only in later copies. Two of the three documented copies, including the one known to Fusetsu in Japan (destroyed in the 1930s), take the form of monoscopic album leaves with the poems written in the margins. Li's painting, titled *Mountain Villa* (*Shanzhuangtu*), is the subject of an in-depth study by Robert E. Harrist, Jr., who posits that the topography of dense cliffs, waterfalls, and streams represents "not simply a pictorial representation of the phenomenal world: It was an embodiment of [the painter's] mind and character."⁴⁴ Su Che's text is imbued with Buddhist notions that complement Li's theme of eremitism. The first two poems read:

龍眠淥淨中	The dragon sleeps amid pure waters;
微吟作雲雨	With a slight humming he produces clouds and rain.
幽人建德居	The hermit lives at Establishing Virtue:
知是清風主	I know he is lord of the pure winds.
此心初無住	This heart originally has no fixed dwelling;
每與物皆禪	Every encounter with things leads to meditation.
如何一丸墨	How is it that a single pellet of ink
舒卷化山川	Can expand into mountains and streams? ⁴⁵

Fusetsu preserves Su Che's content, but he supplants the running or standard script of Su's hand with what might be described as an "incipient clerical script." The characters have the rectilinear quality that is typical

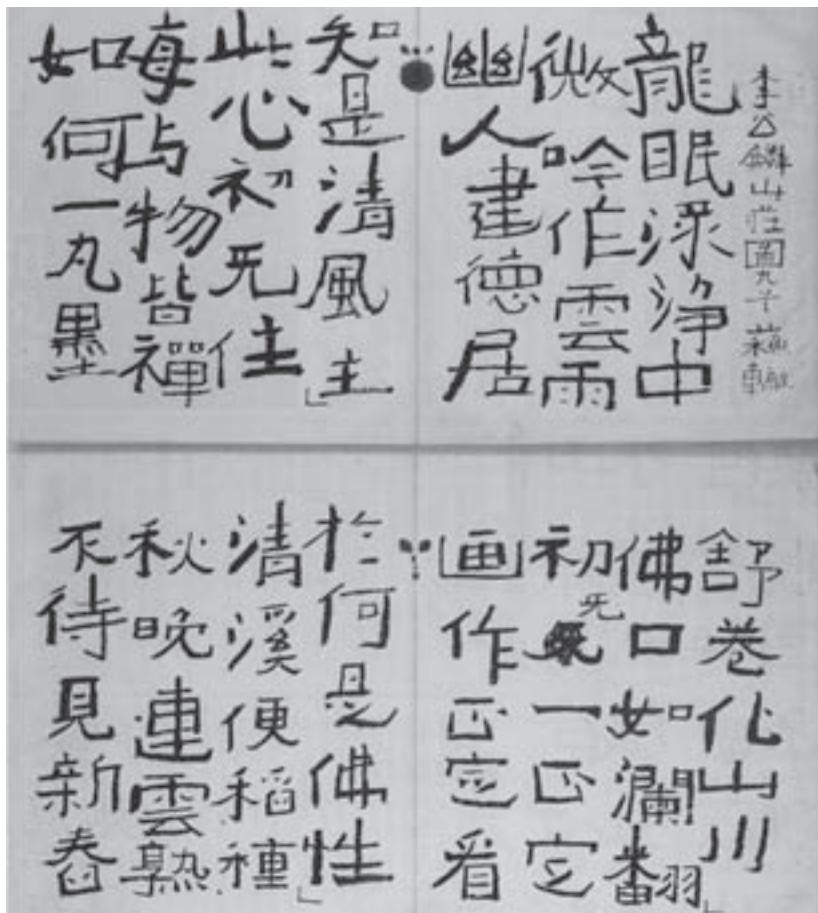


Figure 6.10. Nakamura Fusetsu, *Ryūminjō*, 1908, opening sections, collection of the Taitō Ward Calligraphy Museum, Tokyo.

of clerical script, but lack the undulant movement in the horizontal and rightward slanting basal strokes characteristic of mature clerical script. The random thickness of Fusetsu's strokes and looser spatial structure are reminiscent of the more ancient (great) seal script, with occasional pictographic elements added for archaic effect (e.g. in the first poem, the inner components of the character *you* are written as four mountain-shaped triangles). The composition of the entire work is dissonant, horizontally misaligned. To Fusetsu's contemporaries, *Ryūminjō* epitomized the rebellious spirit of Rikuchōha, with a style verging on heterodoxy even by the school's standards.⁴⁶

In terms of aesthetic theory, Rikuchōha and the Chinese Stele School had a common ancestry in the writings of Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) and Bao Shichen (1775–1855).⁴⁷ These two men advised against learning from copybooks, which they deemed at best a second remove from the essence of the form. In his treatises, *Nanbei shupai lun* (On Northern and Southern Schools of calligraphy) and *Beibei nantie lun* (On northern stelae and southern model letters), Ruan posited a dichotomy between a Northern School that sought to study original calligraphy on stelae and other antique artifacts, and a Southern School that adhered to re-engraved and re-copied styles from the traditional canon (i.e., the Copybook School).⁴⁸ Ruan, however, did not explain how the Northern Stele style could be achieved. That was a task that Bao Shichen took up in *Yizhou shuang ji* (Paired oars for the boat of art, 1844).⁴⁹ This text lays out specific qualities desired in the Northern Stele School, referring to structure, brush-work, and ink application. Moreover, Bao expanded Ruan's premise to include *moya* (inscribed rocks on mountains) and stone epitaphs. Fusetsu's *Ryūminjō*, as we shall see, is stylistically based on a rubbing of a Han-dynasty *moya* rock inscription.

The Stele School in China, which reached its apex in the mid- to late Qing dynasty, coincided with the burgeoning of *jinshixue* (study of metal and stone).⁵⁰ "Metal and stone" encompasses a spectrum of antique objects used by scholars as references in writing histories. More precisely, these objects—such as bronzes, jades, and coins—gained prestige as primary sources in *kaozheng* (evidential studies), which entailed philological and epistemological authentication of historical accounts.⁵¹ The unearthing of an unprecedented number of ancient bronzes and stone artifacts also fostered *jinshixue* in the Qing period. Meticulous study and documentation of these antiquities were carried out, advancing knowledge in epigraphy, nomenclature, and the decorative tradition.⁵² To this day, *jinshixue* remains a highly specialized practice associated with the most erudite Sinologists and antiquarians. It is worth noting that Li Gonglin was a passionate collector of "metal and stone" objects, indeed one of the most distinguished of his time. Fusetsu's attraction to the texts from Li's *Mountain Villa* might have stemmed from his admiration of and personal identification with the Song master. In addition to painting, Li had spent much of his time and fortune filling his house with precious objects. He asserted that characters cast on bronzes belonged to a time when "writing and painting had not yet separated,"⁵³ an idea that he also tried to express through his own calligraphy.

In 1998, archaeologists unearthed in Sumawan, Jiangsu Province, a



Figure 6.11. Anonymous, rubbing of stone engraving, 12 C.E., Sumawan, Jiangsu Province. Source: *Shufa zazhi* 1 (December 2003): 3.

slab of engraved stone dated 12 C.E. (during the Wang Mang interregnum, 8–23 C.E.) (fig. 6.11). It bears sixty characters exhibiting qualities similar to that of *Ryūminjō*. The calligraphy historian He Yinghui identified the Sumawan slab as an “intermediate style.” Indeed, the rectilinear character is reminiscent of the mature clerical script, but the controlled evenness of most strokes suggests (small) seal-script principles. The first three columns of the Sumawan slab are relatively orderly, but the following nine break into chaos; the characters vary from large to small, wide to narrow, straight to skewed. He Yinghui writes:

The spaces between characters or between rows are compact, but the spaces within each character can be generous at times or more restrained. Differences in size, length, disposition, and width do not follow a strict formula. Characters tightly interlock with no fixed organization. This is what we call “a road paved with irregular rocks” (*luanshi pujie*) over a wide area. This type of spatial arrangement emphasizes the entire composition as a single unit, resulting in a special visual effect. Creating a natural order is different to master, as though the work has been made by the heavens and not by deliberate human maneuver.⁵⁴

Today, the Sumawan slab is among the seventeen extant examples of Han-dynasty stelae. Its text is the lengthiest, adding to its historical significance. While most surviving Han stelae date from the Eastern Han (25–220 C.E.), especially its late years, the Sumawan specimen comes from the Western Han (206 B.C.E.–5 C.E.), when the practice of carving stelae was not yet prevalent. This rare find pushes the genesis of the “interme-

diate style" script back about half a century.⁵⁵ Before this discovery, the most representative and also the oldest known Han *moya* had been the *Kaitong baoxiedao keshi* (63–66 C.E., the Yongping reign of the Eastern Han). The *Kaitong baoxiedao keshi*, called the *Great Kaitong*, was discovered in 1194 (during the Southern Song) when partial rubbings were taken from it (see figs. 6.12a–6.12b). Knowledge about this *moya* lapsed in the ensuing six centuries as moss grew and concealed the text. Its rediscovery in the Qing dynasty triggered a resurgence of interest in this work among calligraphers and *jinshixue* scholars.⁵⁶ Fusetsu acquired one of the rare Song-period rubbings. The *Great Kaitong*, considered by Yang Shoujing as a work of the "divine class" (*shenpin*),⁵⁷ was adopted by Fusetsu as the primitivist foundation for *Ryūminjō*.

In the *Great Kaitong* most characters, despite being off-kilter, by and large follow a discernible pattern of verticals and recall the intermediate style. The same can be observed in Fusetsu's *Ryūminjō*. The rubbing of the *Great Kaitong* indicates that the original rock surface must have been rather rough; the myriad white veins in the background indicate a bumpy texture, the unburnished ground upon which the text was carved. Fusetsu internalized the esoteric nature of the Han *moya* and re-created its effects in the brush medium. His interpretation is executed on smooth sheets, but in the folds of the pages are occasional drops of ink to suggest induced accidents. But careful examination reveals a sophisticated command of calligraphic idiosyncrasies linking *Ryūminjō* to its Han prototype.

Analyzing the individual characters in *Ryūminjō* establishes the debt it owes to the *Great Kaitong*. The character *zhong* at the end of the first column, for example, approximates its counterpart in the second column of the *Great Kaitong*: both characters consist of a rectangle pierced by a median line which looks disproportionately short. There are also similarities that have more to do with the essence of the form than with demonstrable structural parallels. In the character *chu* from the second poem, the vertical stroke in the left-hand radical is thickened by a splashy glob to mimic the effect when an engraved line on a rock is partly eroded and loses clarity, something that would come out as a smudge in the rubbing—similar to what is seen in the character *jun* in the *Great Kaitong*. To approximate the weathered condition of an ancient stone, Fusetsu employs considerable dry, wavering, and broken brushwork throughout the work. Hence, what looks like careless scribbling at first glance is in fact a well-orchestrated formal exercise steeped in history.

A 2002 study of *Ryūminjō* illustrates many variations both in the characters' internal structure and in the relationship between adjacent



Figure 6.12a–6.12b. Anonymous, *Kaitongbaoxiedao keshi*, 63–66 C.E. (Eastern Han), details, collection of the Taitō Ward Calligraphy Museum, Tokyo.

words. Strokes from one character sometimes aggressively cut into the space of another, other times touching or almost touching (fig. 6.13).⁵⁸ Proximity, disruption, evasion, and penetration among the strokes and between characters generate intricate tensions, similar to the way motifs interact in a complex painting. This picture-like jigsaw is a far cry from Su Che's calligraphy on Li Gonglin's painting, as understood from extant copies. Fusetsu completed the work in August 1908 at a hot springs hotel in Isobe (in Jōmō, Gunma Prefecture), presumably for private pleasure, but after the work's publication two months later, it captivated the Japanese calligraphy community and elicited enough excitement to see at least six reprints within a few years.⁵⁹

Among the first to recognize the importance of *Ryūminjō* was Kawahigashi Hekigotō (1873–1937), the work's original publisher.⁶⁰ He was the leading disciple of "the father of modern haiku," Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902). An intimate of Shiki's circle, Fusetsu designed covers for their poetry journal *Hototogisu*, and his oil paintings were said to have contributed to the realist bent in Shiki's haiku.⁶¹ At the same time, Fusetsu introduced the haiku poets to the Stele School aesthetic. Some of them started to compose their pieces in a rigid, blocky calligraphy never before seen in the history of haiku (figs. 6.14–6.15).⁶²

In 1912, Fusetsu founded his own calligraphy group, the Ryūminkai, naming it after his popular masterpiece. To promote a liberal artistic agenda, each member was urged "to appreciate one's own calligraphy even if it were poorly executed."⁶³ It was the group's explicit policy that no one with an interest in calligraphy would be denied membership, and worthy examples of members' creations were published in the organization's newsletter (*Ryūmin*, 1912–1921). Distributed to paying members, the newsletter featured information about calligraphy-related events, articles by experts (including Fusetsu), and reproductions of rubbings and other study materials. As many as 1,000 people from around the country joined the Ryūminkai,⁶⁴ not just serious calligraphers but also collectors, politicians, and poets. Unlike the casual "elegant gatherings" of literati of bygone times, their meetings included critique sessions that compelled members to make constant improvements and to treat calligraphy as a serious art form.

Nakamura Fusetsu vitalized links between Japanese Rikuchōha and its Chinese counterpart, and brought *sho* closer to fashionable notions of *bijutsu* predicated on formal innovation and display. The question of how the age-old brush practice of calligraphy could turn into a modern "fine

熱何

7 「何」と「熱」

水山

1 「山」と「水」

得步

8 「歩」と「得」

逢辛

2 「新」と「逢」

団米且

9 「粗」と「団」

中搖

3 「搖」と「中」

泉壁

10 「壁」と「泉」

潭石

4 「石」と「潭」

紳金鐵

11 「鉄」と「紳」

見心

5 「心」と「見」

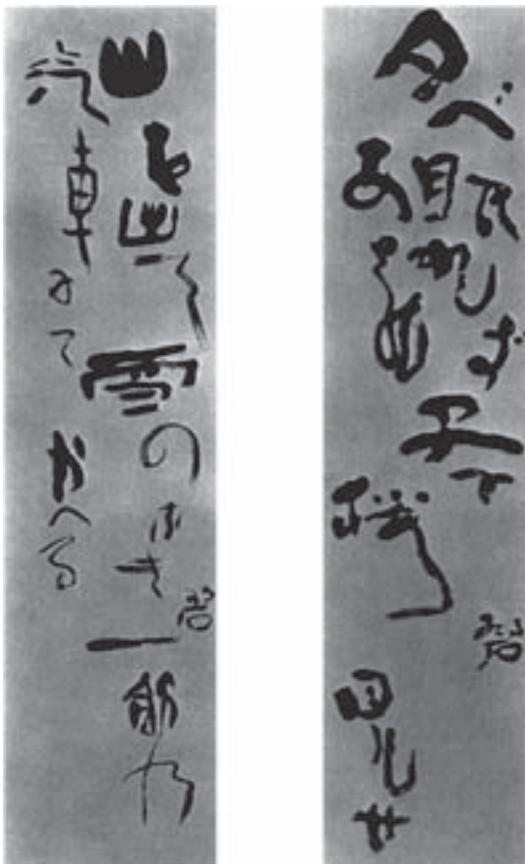
木椿

12 「椿」と「木」

足奥

6 「奥」と「足」

Figure 6.13. Select characters from *Ryūminjō*. Source: *Sumi* 155 (March–April 2002): 135.



Figures 6.14–6.15. Kawahigashi Hekigotō, Haiku calligraphy, 1910s–1920s. Source: *Bokubi* 159 (June 1966): 31.

art" was not completely resolved in Fusetsu's time. His work nevertheless foreshadowed a paradigm shift after World War II that erased the line between painting and calligraphy. In theory, this blurring of the boundaries had existed long ago in the Chinese expression *shuhua tongyuan* (calligraphy and painting stem from the same roots) enunciated by Zhang Yanyuan (ninth century), who saw brush expressions as tied to supernatural forces. Accounting for the origins of painting, Zhang wrote: "When the Sages of Antiquity and the First Kings accepted Heaven's command and received the [divine] tablets they thereby came to hold the magic power in the Tortoise characters and the proffered treasure of the Dragon

Chart. . . . Then Creation could no longer hide its secrets. . . . At that time writing and painting were still alike in form and had not yet been differentiated.⁶⁵ Here, the ninth-century writer was couching the concept of *shuhua tongyuan* in the transmission of heavenly patterns by the magic power of divination using oracle bones, as described by ancient texts such as the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou). Fusetsu's invocation of "calligraphy and painting stem from the same roots" had more to do with the literal creation of pictorialism with written characters than any metaphysical principles. Although calligraphy and painting are technically nonidentical, Fusetsu thought the two occupied the same level of creative consciousness.

The idea of calligraphy as *bijutsu* gained currency only after World War II. In 1946, the Nihon shodō bijutsuin (Japan Calligraphy Fine Arts Academy) came into being. This was the first time an organization's title linked calligraphy explicitly to "fine arts."⁶⁶ Two years later, the academy convinced the Japanese Diet to have the most prestigious national art exhibition, the Nihon bijutsu tenrankai (Nitten, successor to Bunten), include calligraphy as one of its five divisions (the other four being Japanese-style painting, Western-style painting, sculpture, and crafts).⁶⁷ Postwar Japanese avant-gardists experimented with abstract and figural compositions in ink that drew upon the brushwork of calligraphy without necessarily conceiving them as linguistic signs.⁶⁸ Whether as pictorial calligraphy⁶⁹ or calligraphic painting, the first attempts at such image-texts in the 1950s and 1960s coincided with the rise of abstract expressionism and gesture painting, and precipitated the absorption of the Japanese avant-garde into the Western mainstream.⁷⁰ However, the seeds for the postwar trend had already been planted in Fusetsu's art and writing.

Fusetsu's greatest legacy is his calligraphy collection, whose significance has been recognized in China, albeit belatedly. In the 1980s, Qi Gong (1912–2005, then president of the Chinese Calligraphers' Association) chanced upon a catalog of Fusetsu's acquisitions at a bookstore in Japan. This catalog, compiled by Fusetsu himself, featured many artifacts retrieved from the Silk Road (e.g., Gansu and Xinjiang Provinces) and provided detailed information on individual pieces (dates, dimensions, inscriptions, and sometimes comments on style), as well as information on history and provenance. Published in 1927 in limited edition, the catalog had appeared to be completely unknown in China. Qi Gong recommended a translation following his Japan trip. The translation was finally published in 2003 by Zhonghua shuju, under Fusetsu's original title, *Uiki shutsudo bokuhō shohō genryū kō* (C., *Yuyu chutu mobao shufa yuanliu kao*) (Investigation of the evolution of ink treasures and calligra-

phy excavated from Chinese territories).⁷¹ More recently, several of Fusetsu's prized objects, such as a Song rubbing of the *Taishan Stele*, were celebrated in an exhibition at the Shanghai Museum, which brought together other treasures of Chinese calligraphy from different Japanese collections.⁷² In the complex cultural matrix of art making, collecting, and exhibiting, Nakamura Fusetsu left an indelible mark on modern Japanese art history and on the history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange.

7. Sites of Visual Modernity

*Perceptions of Japanese Exhibitions
in Late Qing China*

Lisa Claypool

At the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, the world appeared to Chinese observers to be moving within exhibition forums toward a regulated global visual culture. The visuality—or the “world of the eye” (*yanjie*), as an 1872 advertisement in *Shenbao* put it,¹—at the exhibition was perceived to share some universal traits, made concrete through “conditions” and “regulations.” These terms were much bandied about and sometimes illustrated in mass media and literature on display culture of the era. Such legerdemain of exhibitionary science extended to cataloging, labeling, and guidebook literature as well, to endless lists of specimens, numbers of visitors, amounts of money spent constructing buildings for display, to records of the height of walls and the precise slant of rooflines, and even to categorizing exhibitions as professional or ordinary, short-term or long-term, domestic or international.² Numbers and naming loom large in this relatively new international visual arena.

For Chinese observers of exhibition forums, Japanese success in negotiating the “world of the eye” in this new display culture, cast against China’s repeated failures, was hard to take. For instance, a 1903 *Shenbao* article observed:

Although Japan, since the Meiji Restoration, has not hosted a world’s fair, still, it has held domestic “encouraging industry” exhibitions. This year it has already opened the fifth, in scale larger than ever, products and specimens increasing daily, so that Japanese culture is becoming increasingly open. The scale and nature of these domestic fairs in Japan are not far from world’s fairs and can rival those in the Occident (*qinxì*). In this light, it is really a shame that although China has the richest products and commodities in the world, there has been silence over the possibility of holding a world’s fair. As a result,

our great land and products remain unknown to the world, and the progress of our knowledge is also significantly hindered. Thus, not only are we unable to compete with Western countries but also pale in comparison to Japan. Isn't it a great pity! Isn't it a mystery!³

According to the article, the eyes of the world were turned toward the exhibition, where the Occident provided the standard scale and nature for the exhibition. The Occident, it might be said, dictated the rules and regulations of the exhibition, what that "world of the eye" *looked* like. Japan, by contrast, was chief competitor with China, and mysteriously, was far ahead.

Yet it was precisely for this reason that Japan provided Chinese observers with an opportunity for developing a critical understanding of the visuality of the new exhibitionary culture, and grasping the artful nature of the reality system at the exhibition that on the surface was rational, scientific, encoded, and above all, modern. This chapter asks how Japanese exhibitions—sites in which knowledge was being organized, represented, and presented—were understood during the final decades of the Qing dynasty leading up to the Osaka Fifth Domestic "Encouraging Industry" Exhibition of 1903, discussed in the *Shenbao* article cited above.⁴ Specifically, how did the order of things in Japanese display forums aid Chinese observers in questioning the universality of visual codes of modernity? How did display in Japan temper an understanding of the ways in which the plan and structure of the exhibition was or was not a universal means by which power relations were being worked out visually?

Approaching this subject is somewhat fraught. On the one hand, this case study may provide the unusual opportunity of considering how, in Martin Jay's words, "visual experience presents a challenge to the belief that it is 'culture all the way down.'"⁵ That is to say, we will take seriously the notion that there *was* something universal to exhibition plans, and that the exhibition was thought to encourage a shared visual experience for everyone. A 1904 map of an anthropological exhibit at Tokyo Imperial University, carefully marked by arrows providing directions to visitors on how to view it, and a 1908 British Museum gallery map similarly marked are evidence of a broader attempt to make the structure of visual experience itself clear, to transform it into a kind of measured, rational activity (figs. 7.1, 7.2).

On the other hand, there was a logic of comparison at play, one that "on the face of it is concerned with difference, [but] functions rather as a logic of identity in which the . . . subject is made intelligible only in opposition to the fundamental or privileged values of western modernity."⁶

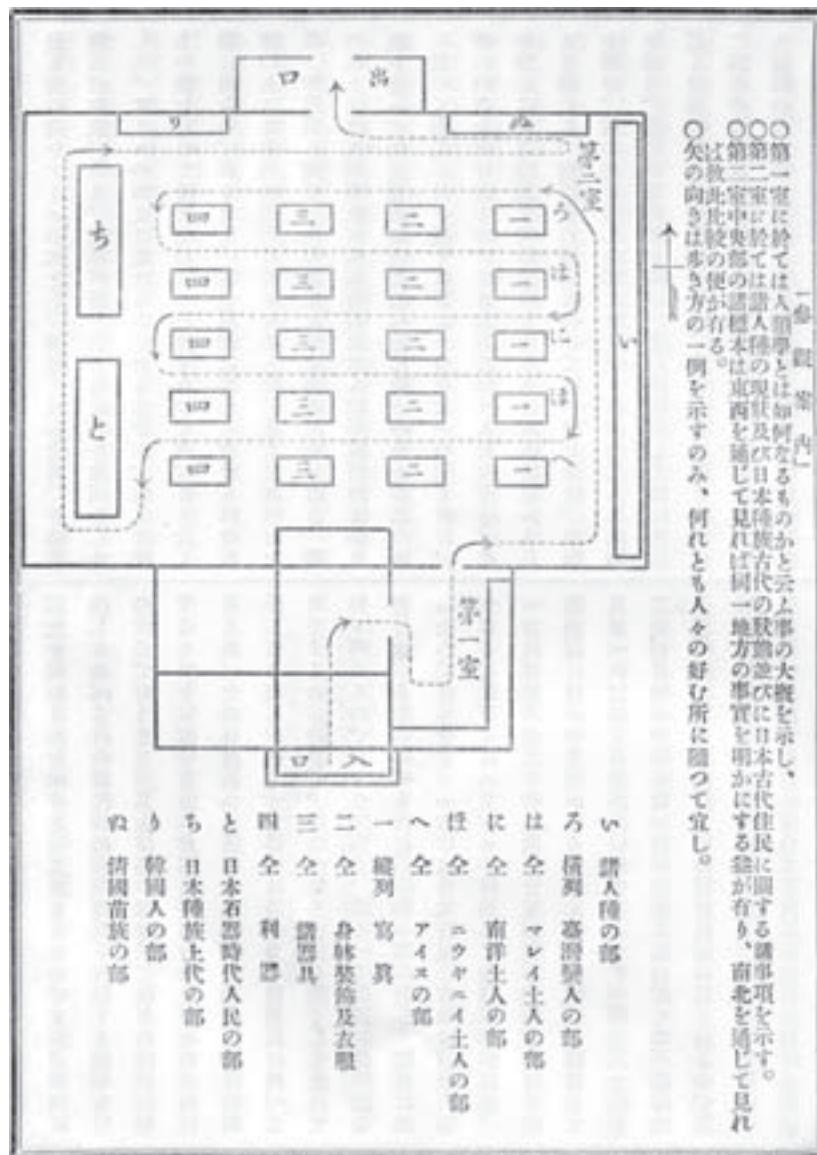


Figure 7.1. Diagram of the anthropological display curated by Prof. Tsuboi Shōgorō at Tokyo Imperial University (1904). From Tsuboi Shōgorō, "Jinruigaku hyōboku tenrankai kaisai shushi sekkei oyobi kōka," 338.

PLAN OF GALLERY.

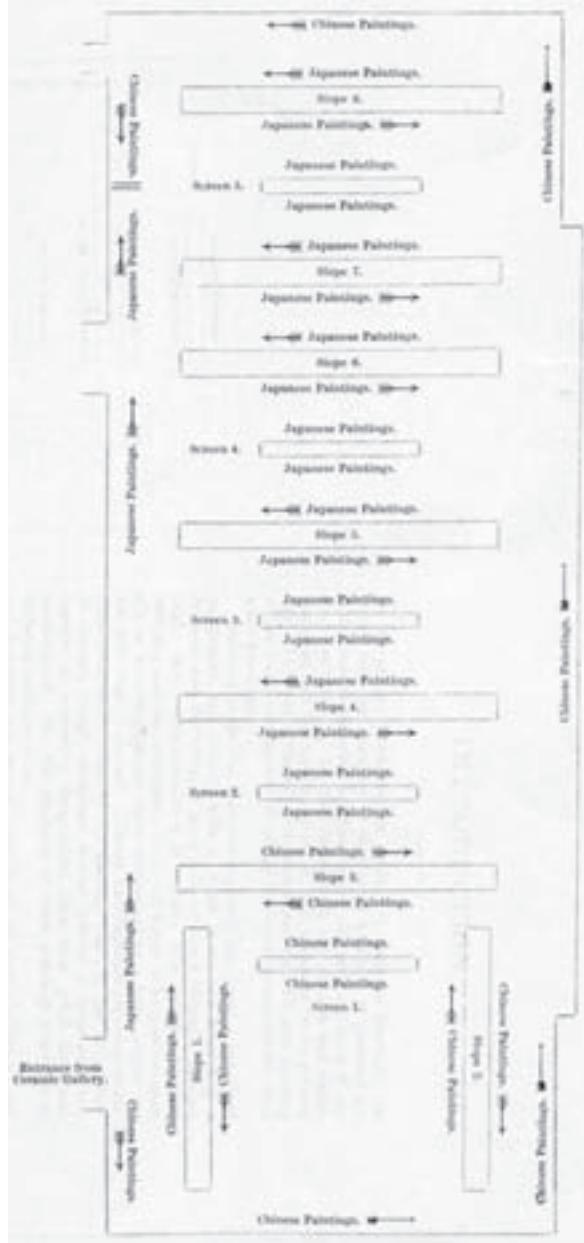


Figure 7.2. Plan of gallery, British Museum (1908). From *Guide to an Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings* (Stanford University Library).

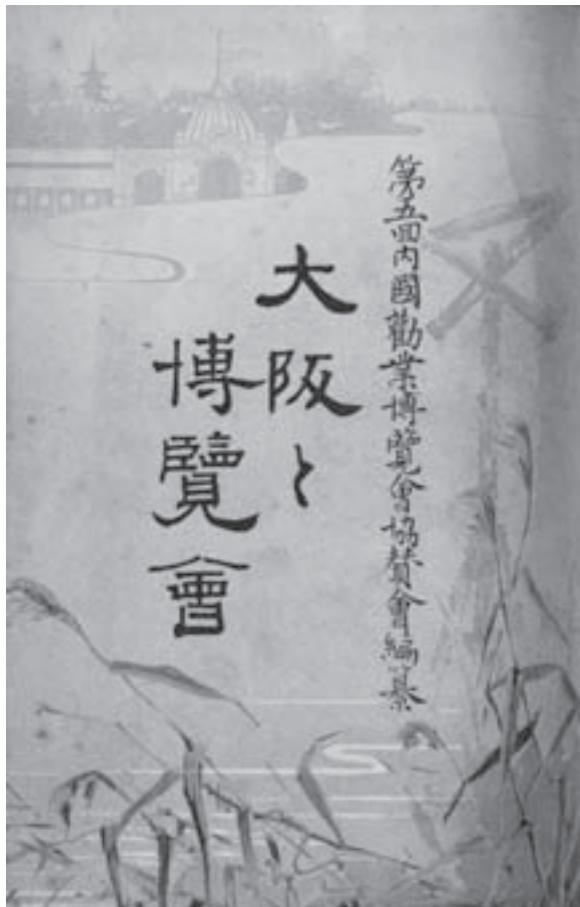


Figure 7.3. Japanese-language guidebook to the 1903 Osaka exhibition (St. Louis Public Library).

According to Chinese sources, as already indicated in the newspaper passage, the Occident serves throughout this period as the final arbiter of what ought to be included and modes of presentation at exhibitions; cultural commentators themselves engaged in such comparison. And organizers of expositions *did* pay attention to self-presentation and cultural difference. For instance, two covers to guidebooks to the Osaka exhibition show the main entrance in different views. The Japanese-language guidebook shows the dome of the gate, above which flies a pennant, and in the distance a view of the pagoda of Tennō Temple (fig. 7.3). On the

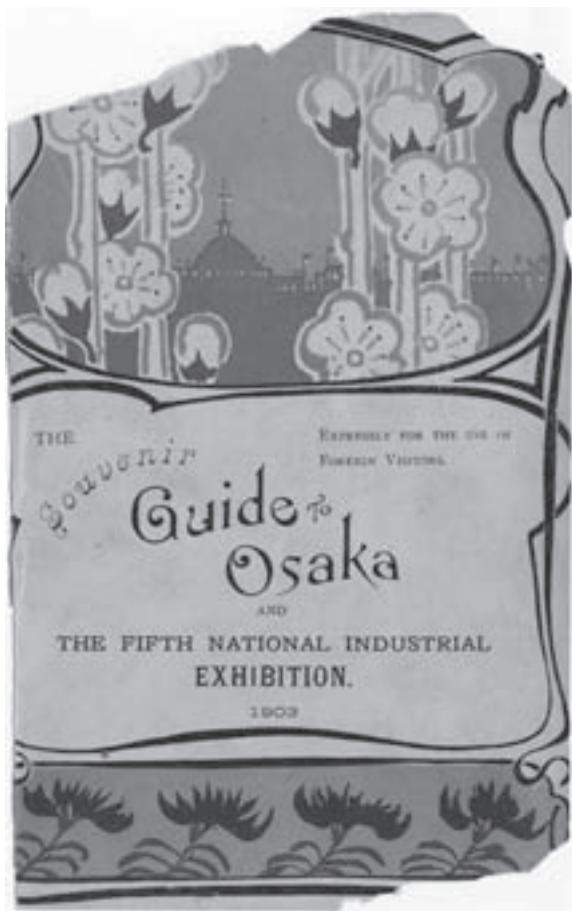


Figure 7.4. English-language guidebook to the 1903 Osaka exhibition (Library of the University of California, Berkeley).

English-language guidebook cover, much has been changed: the pennant has been transformed into a crucifix, framed with an ornamental Japonaiserie pattern of plum blossoms, and the pagoda has disappeared (fig. 7.4).

Our interpretive position, thus, will be one sensitive to the presence and absence of the pagoda and crucifix, so to speak. It will be to view the Occident to whom the one guidebook was addressed as much as a historical construction of China and Japan, and one that at some level cultural commentators at the time recognized as such. At the same time, there is

the imperative to take seriously rather than dismiss their claims about the universality of the exhibition forum. As this chapter is concerned with what might be called “national” vision at the exhibition forum, it does not delve into the mosaic of idiosyncratic responses of visitors to the exhibition forum, but rather remains at the level of the nation or “civilization,” as it was sometimes called, by looking mainly at formal pictures, articles, and other mass media publications produced for the event.

The chapter briefly reviews Chinese accounts of Japanese exhibitions from the late nineteenth century through 1903, indexing them to one early-twentieth-century Japanese account of the history of domestic exhibitions whenever possible. This brief survey leads to a relatively more in-depth case study of the Osaka Exhibition, hailed by the Japanese press and Chinese press alike as a site of modernity, and said to be as fine as any world’s fair in the official literature on the exhibition, including the official guide for Chinese visitors, the 1903 *Short Guide to the Osaka Exhibition* (*Daban bolanhui bianlan*).⁷ Yet within this model exhibition, two display halls provoked particularly troubling questions among Chinese visitors about the classifications used to investigate, sort, and tabulate the world on display—those classifications authorizing groupings of primitive peoples, including the Chinese,⁸ at the Taiwankan, or “Formosan Hall,” and the Jinruikan, or “Hall of Mankind.” It is the latter, a space for the new science of man called “anthropology” (*renleixue*), that this chapter takes up, considering its impact on understanding how the “world of the eye” worked at exhibitions in China, and concurrently its impact on the perceived place of the shared and “universal” visuality of the exhibition to a Chinese conception of modernity.⁹

ON EARLY MEIJI EXHIBITIONS

Chinese media focused its attention on exhibitions in Japan in the 1870s to the pleasures of tourism, entertainment, collecting and display. *Shenbao* articles looked to annual exhibitions in Nagasaki and at the Nishi-Honganji Temple in Kyoto (held every year until 1885, after which it continued as the Exhibition of the Arts, Trade, and General Products until 1926). Many provide practical information about how to travel to Japan cheaply. A *Shenbao* article of 1875, for example, reports decreased ticket prices on the Mitsubishi shipping lines to Kōbe, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, where an exhibition, which had drawn “masses of people in noisy festivities,” was just then taking place.¹⁰ Another in 1878 notes that passports were not needed to travel to Japan. It adds, as does almost every advertise-

ment about the annual exhibitions, that individuals who own treasured objects and machinery were invited to submit them to the local Japanese embassy *yamen* that in turn would mail them to the exhibition grounds. It concludes that if "you are someone who always longs for the exotic," then you can drink it in at the show, using this "marvelous occasion" to expand horizons and "at the same time study Japanese habits [*guiju*] and scenery."¹¹

Japan's attentiveness in the 1870s–1880s to exhibitions in Europe and the United States may have contributed to a conflation between Japan and the Occident at the exhibition that slowly began to take shape and grow in China.¹² Trying to map this perception is difficult, though by the late 1880s some visual evidence for it exists. Illustrations to the travel diary of the treaty-port intellectual Wang Tao, for instance, demonstrate a gap on the part of the anonymous workshop illustrators in Shanghai between real understanding of what a related exhibition forum—the European museum—was and how the mind's eye pictured it—as distinctly Japanese.¹³ The illustrations reveal the degree to which Japan could stand in for the Occident. Of his visit to the Edinburgh Museum, Wang writes that one of the most striking exhibits was a fish skeleton suspended from the ceiling of the main building, much in the way that an 1882 lithograph of the Edinburgh Industrial Museum shows the skeleton carefully hanging from the rafters inside the main building of the museum complex.¹⁴ The illustrators, no doubt scrambling to decode Wang's ideas, produced an image that slips from the boundaries of the text, though not too far. At the center of the picture, next to a cage holding an elephant and camel, is an enormous skeleton of a fish suspended in a pavilion (fig. 7.5). The image in the *Dianshizhai huabao* lithograph looks uncannily like the Tokyo Imperial Museum, where a whale skeleton was displayed in an exterior pavilion instead of as an interior focal point. Indeed, it seems to be a direct copy of a photograph of the pavilion at the Tokyo Imperial Museum that was published in a late Meiji newspaper. The visual translation of the European museum as "Japanese" for the *Dianshizhai* illustrators is underscored in a second illustration in which the fish skeleton has metamorphosed into one of the *ukiyo-e* carp of the famous print designer Hokusai (1760–1849) (fig. 7.6).

If the Chinese illustrator was busy seeing Japan as Europe, Japanese print designers and publishers were busy doing the same. Posters of a new kind of national exhibition in Japan featured European architecture and brass bands and visitors decked out in military uniforms or corsets and silk bustles. Beginning in 1877, and continuing roughly once every five to ten years, such major domestic national "encouraging industry"

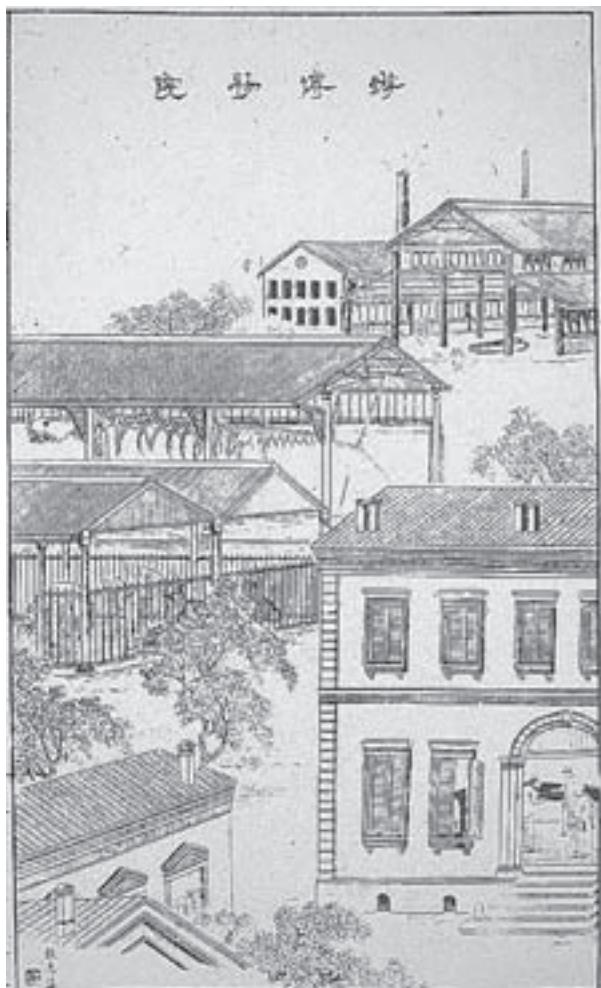


Figure 75. Visiting the Museum. Lithograph from Wang Tao, *Manyou suillu*, 2.18a, 1907.

exhibitions were held in Tokyo or Kyoto, aiming for an "international" scope. The 1903 Osaka guidebook puts it thus:

[T]he Government decided to hold every few years a series of National Industrial Exhibitions for the encouragement of the Nation's industries which were in an unsatisfactory condition at the time. The first exhibition of the series was opened at the New Park, Tokyo, in 1877. It happened to be coincidental with the outbreak of the Civil War known

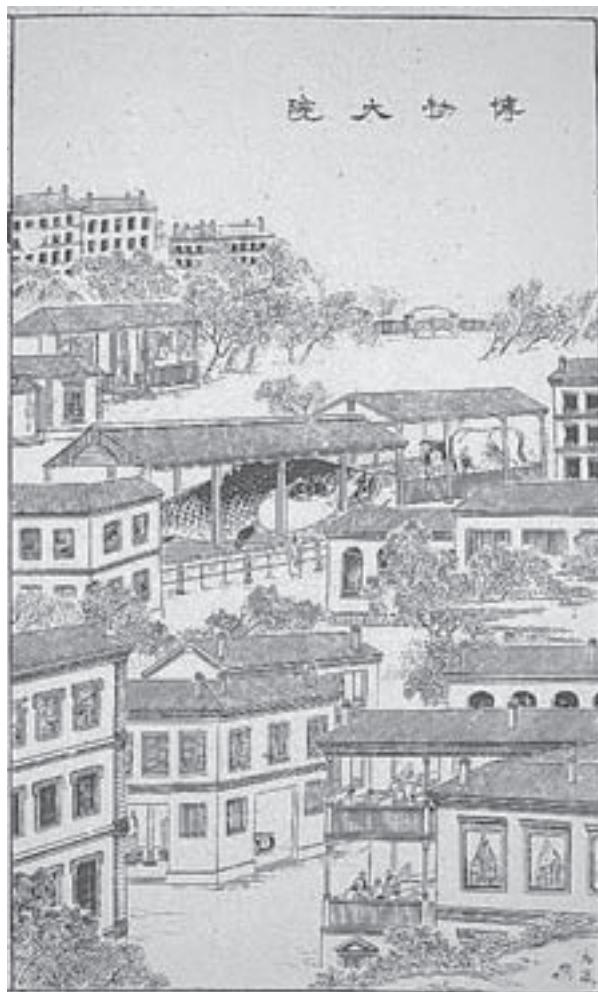


Figure 7.6. A broad look at museums. Lithograph from Wang Tao, *Manyou suilu*, 2.8a, 1907.

as Seinan Senso, but in spite of this it was a great success. In 1878 the Government participated in the Paris Exposition, and it was by the officials who were present there that the competitive exhibition system at present in force was originated, by which the various districts united in holding exhibitions from time to time, these taking place in different cities, in the intervals between the National Exhibitions. It was in 1881 that the second exhibition of the series was held in Tokyo; the third was also opened at Tokyo, in 1890, the year in which

the first Imperial Diet was convened in Japan. Again, in 1893, Japan was well represented in the World's Columbian Exposition held at Chicago, the efforts of this country meeting with great success. The Fourth National Exhibition was opened at Kyoto in 1895, in connection with the celebration of the eleven hundredth anniversary of the founding of that City, and the results were highly satisfactory, there being an increase of over 100,000 visitors compared with numbers paying for admission to the previous one, its success being no doubt due to a large extent to the great victory won in the Chino-Japan War.¹⁵

The guidebook account attributes exhibition attendance to celebration of nationality; it hints at seeing traces of territorial expansion on display. And indeed, seeing the display by this time in Japan was considered essential to education about the nation. Visitors to the second exhibition, Yamamoto Mitsuo observes, had been presented with notices instructing them on how to look, with the dire warning that "[i]f you wander about in the exhibition for several days looking only vaguely, you will learn nothing, using only your eyes in vain."¹⁶ Of that same exhibition, Huang Zunxian (1848–1905), the diplomatic counselor at the Imperial Chinese Legation in Tokyo from 1877 through 1882, dwells on commerce and industry:

In the tenth year of the Meiji era, the Japanese again opened a domestic exhibition for the purpose of encouraging industry, collecting together native products and labor in order to compare and appreciate them. The emperor, empress, and imperial relatives visited the meeting briefly in order to express the grandness of the occasion. In the States, in Philadelphia there has been a centennial celebration; in Austria an International Exhibition; and, in Paris, France an exhibition to which special appointed ministers were sent, with commodities, to participate. Thus, [the exhibition] fostered the people involved in business and commerce [and encouraged them] to send commodities [to it], and when they received a trophy they could return home much satisfied. . . . In order to export domestic products (such as cotton cloth, silk textiles, a cotton and silk blend, clothing, ceramics, porcelain, cloisonné, lacquerware, bamboo, bronzes, jeweled implements, paper folding fans, and round fans), the Meiji government in the twelfth year of the Meiji era [1879] announced that all export goods were tax-free. As long as there are ways of encouraging profit they will adopt them and one by one put them into effect. Thus in the world of commerce during the past ten or more years, with the exception of the first year of the era, in which imports were greater than exports, in all of the others years exports exceeded imports in great numbers.¹⁷

In sum, by the 1880s and 1890s, by Chinese accounts, exhibitionary display in Japan belonged more strictly within global economies. The Japanese participated in exhibitions as if at an Olympics of industry and commerce, purveying Japanese goods and products in a kind of programmatic competition for grandness and profit, and at the end, taking home the trophy. To that extent, the exhibition provided opportunity for national self-definition. Moreover, modern exhibition space—in Tokyo, Paris, Philadelphia, Austria—could easily stand for all exhibition spaces. What the Chinese observers such as Huang Zunxian appreciated was a point that the Japanese contemporaries and organizers of display also seemed to understand: the exhibition offered a neutral and foreign space for structure and display, along the lines of a market, though for Japanese counterparts the exhibition plan, if not the space, was more directly recognized for its impact on domestic political life by shaping and producing model citizens who saw things right.

THE 1903 OSAKA FIFTH DOMESTIC "ENCOURAGING INDUSTRY" EXHIBITION

The narrative history of exhibitions in the 1903 English-language guidebook culminates, as expected, with the fifth exhibition held that year. This description is translated practically verbatim into a contemporary Chinese-language guidebook as well, the 1903 *Short Guide to the Osaka Exhibition*:¹⁸

We now come to the present, and it is hardly necessary to mention that since the Kyoto Exhibition, Japan has made great strides both in commerce and industry, so that the Exhibition of 1903 will undoubtedly show a marked improvement in every direction over the preceding ones. There will be many entirely new features. Formerly, for instance, the exhibits were limited to those collected or produced by Japanese subjects only, but this time foreigners residing in the Empire may also participate; and another important addition is the establishment of a special building for foreign exhibits. Therefore, though in name national, the Osaka Exhibition it is [*sic.*] in reality semi-international; and the day is not far distant when Japan will be able to boast of a large International Exhibition which will compare favorably with those held in other parts of the world.¹⁹

The fifth exhibition took place at what today is called Tennōji Park in the southern Inamiya district of Osaka, opening on March 1, 1903, and lasting through July 31.²⁰ It was designed and built under the adminis-

tration of the national Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (Nōshō-mushō), nominally headed by Prince Kan'in, with substantial input and financial support from the Osaka city and the prefectural governments, as well as local business leaders. The municipality appointed an exhibition commission, and in Osaka two associations of businessmen formed to develop exhibition activities and govern the exhibition: the Hakurankai kyōsankai (called the Exhibition Auxiliary in English, numbering some 15,146 at the time of the exhibition's opening) and the Ōsaka shuppin kyōkai (called the Osaka Exhibits Association in English, 4,000 members strong). A local branch of the Kihinkai (Welcome Society of Japan) was opened, and an association known as the Taisei gakkan taikin ōshikai, or the Volunteer Welcome Club, also was established to work together with the Kyōsankai "to welcome foreigners and see that their visit to Osaka is both enjoyable and profitable."²¹

A poster for the exhibition published by the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* reveals how complicated the authorized presentation of the exhibition site was (fig. 7.7).²² Radiating around a central cluster of peonies are pictures of the Fine Arts Building, the Aquarium, the main gate, and a grid map of Osaka, identified in English and Japanese (similarly pastiche-like in its composition to the domed gate, sculpture, and animals on the cover of an 1893 guidebook entitled *Glimpses of the World's Fair: A Selection of Gems of the White City Seen through A Camera* representing the Columbian Exposition in Chicago).²³ There are some notable formal peculiarities. Botanical motifs thread through scroll shapes framing each picture much like those in the frames of *cartes-de-visite* scrapbooks (a design element used as well in the pages of the guidebooks). A map of Osaka drapes amorphically over the right half of the poster.²⁴ Although the map interferes in the symmetry of the poster design—its grids knock the peony to the left and encroach onto the articulated finials of the main gate, and the perspective shifts radically from a planar view of the buildings to an aerial view—the various compositional elements are integrated by the consistent quality of finely etched line and color. The peonies, for instance, are depicted as precisely as the map, not evocative so much as hyperrealistically rendered horticultural specimens. The dusty pink color of their flowers is echoed in the color of the turgidly rendered sky, and the color of the city blocks in the map denoting the space of the exhibition. Within the lowest frame a deeper red glow on the horizon seems to emanate from the stylized sun on one carefully positioned Japanese flag, rising at the top of a pole festooned with pennants and globes, and paired not with the moon in the sky but with a silvery weather balloon.

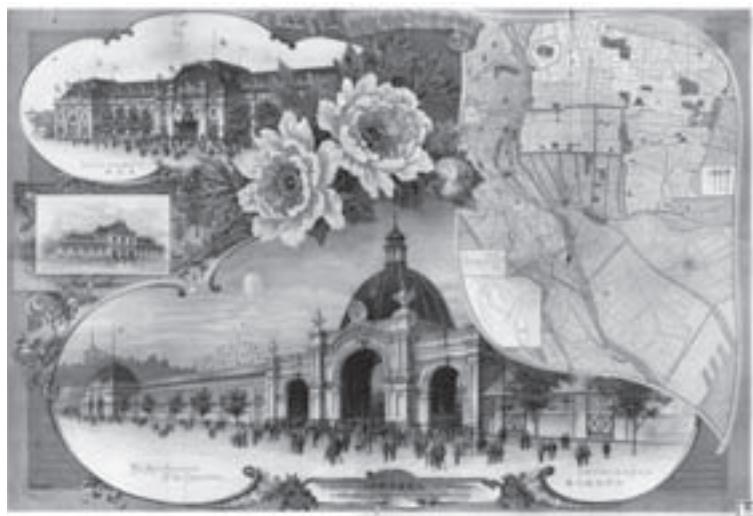


Figure 7.7. Poster of the Fifth Exhibition (1903). From *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*. Below, Main gate; upper right, map of Osaka; upper left, Fine Arts Building; central left, Aquarium.

The poster locates the exhibition in multilayered spaces: as the site of a nation (the flag) rising into the upper realms with technology (the balloon), as a place where the peony functions as a symbol of Japanese culture (through its central position) but also of botanical science (through its style), as a site where tourists could leisurely lose themselves (reference to guidebooks) and a place not to get lost (the map), and likewise as a site to tour individual halls and buildings as if a foreigner (*cartes-de-visite*) and a place connected to the streets of one particular local city (the map, again), as a bilingual space (the "labels" for the buildings). Nation, culture, natural science, technology, and modernity merge on the surface of the poster, sometimes in tension, but always in a way that marks the exhibition as consistent with the programs at overseas exhibitions. (Keep in mind that the guidebooks described the exhibition, tellingly, as "semi-international.")

There is in the poster a further ambition of presenting the exhibition as a place in which the architecture is a defining feature, pointing directly toward foreign exhibitionary spaces and world's fairs. The depicted architecture is distinctly European, and, specifically, French. The Fine Arts Hall, for instance, might be compared with the Louvre: a palatial expanse of elaborately worked facades above an arcade, topped at inter-

vals by decorative volutes and the pitched rooflines practically symbolic of Parisian architecture. The main gate reprises the main gate of the 1889 Paris Exposition, later reinvented at the White City in the 1893 Chicago Exposition: a fancifully decorated dome crowned with a lantern, massive ribs visible from the exterior, over an arched portal.

At the exhibition site, the two structures of the gate to the northwest and Fine Arts Hall to the southeast bracket a vast complex, covering an area of 320,000 square meters, which eighteen months earlier had been slums.²⁵ What the site looks like in one particular lithographic print published in many of the guidebooks is consistent with representations of earlier exhibitions in Paris (see fig. 7.8). A panoptic bird's-eye view reveals enclosed, regimental barracks-like sites in both Paris and in Osaka. The Osaka exhibition site is asymmetrical in plan, though an essential sameness is underscored through sharply defined courtyards and rooflines (it may also be noted that the color of the Osaka exhibition—all the buildings are white—is an obvious reference to the Columbian Exposition). Guidebook literature further emphasizes precision of plan through the usual lists of buildings (sometimes crowded with informative details, such as the helpful note in one, for instance, that one *tsubo*, by which buildings are measured, is equal to thirty-six square feet, underscoring once again the "scientific" element).²⁶ A typical passage reads:

Distributed on either side of the gate are the eleven exhibit buildings and many other smaller structures; namely, an aviary of domestic birds and a house for preparing food; a heating room; the Bureau of the Exhibition authorities; the examination hall; a place for unpacking; a house for boiling water; rooms for attendants and carriages; hall for entertaining members of the Exhibit Association from the different prefectures; building for advertisements; restaurants; and resting places. The rectangular building, which has four enclosed courts on the left of the gate, is the Industrial Section. The L shaped building on the right of the gate are [sic.] those of the Agricultural Section, the Forest Section and the Marine Products Section. On the south-east of the Industrial Section stands the Educational Section. On the southwest of the Agricultural Section are the Transportation Section, the Live Stock Section, the Heating Room, the Cool Store house etc. On the south of the Transportation section lie the Machinery Section and the Foreign Samples Section.²⁷

The logic of the layout of the eighteen foreign pavilions, interestingly, is determined in part by "the level of each nation's industrialization," starting with the British, American, and German, and finishing with the Turkish pavilion.²⁸



Figure 7.8. Map of the exhibition site (1902). From *Ōsaka to hakurankai*. Central axis: main entrance to the northwest, Fine Arts Hall to the southeast; Tennōji to east.

If the organization of the space, the architecture, and the overwhelming scale of the site is not enough to distinguish it from ordinary local landscapes and to connect it with overseas world expositions, visual technologies employed throughout further removed it from normal places of work and residence. Exhibition employees, for instance, wore photographic identification badges (the first time photography was used for such a purpose). At night, the latest electric technology sprayed light upward into the air from the vase held by the ancient-seeming Yōryū Kannon sculpture in the fountain in front of the Fine Arts Hall; tiny light bulbs glittered above the streets. The Hall of Marvels, or Le Palais de l'Optique (Fushigikan), in the northeastern corner of the grounds, "after the plan adopted at the Paris Exhibition . . . is equipped with wireless telegraphs, X Ray-apparatus, microscopes reflecting mirrors, Natural-color photograph lens, Kinematographs, graphophones, telescopes, and many other remarkable inventions."²⁹ Of it, one Chinese observer sighs that given the state and science of Japanese technology, it really ought to be called the Hall of Incomprehensible (*fei buke siyi guan*).³⁰ In his eyes, technology is not about pleasurable beholding as much as a sign of Japanese modernization (an accurate take on the authorized plan to showcase technology on the grounds).

Guidebooks for the exhibition—in Japanese, European, and Chinese languages—recommended touring courses based on the number of days of the visit (one, three, or five).³¹ The tour in the *Short Guide* begins with the Agriculture Pavilion; leading to the Pavilions of Forestry, Marine Products, Mining and Metallurgy, Chemical Engineering, Cloth Dying and Weaving, Carpentry, and Machinery; followed by the Education, Science, Hygiene, and Economics Pavilion; and ending with Fine Arts and Fine Arts Industries.³² The guidebook also lays out the types of things within each pavilion, further structuring the experience for its readers. And although it does not mention how visitors are supposed to look at the exhibits as they pass through them, article 16 in the regulations for exhibitors in the Foreign Samples Building, for instance, notes that “exhibitors shall have no right to object to the photographing or sketching of their exhibits or to the printing of such photographs and sketches by the Chief Commissioner’s Office.”³³ The kind of looking that is expected is attentive and absorbed, concerned with the position, angle of light, and sheer visibility of things.

In short, the exhibition evoked the ordered environment of European and American world’s fairs and copied elements common to many if not all of the most recent of them. The design did everything that exhibition design was supposed to do: it provided an alternative space in which everything was counted and accounted for, in which even the wayward pleasures of the tourist gaze might possibly be controlled and the visuality of the exhibition understood as simply one more aspect of modernity. The space is “scientific” in that it complies with a project to categorize, name, and visually order naturalia and artifactual objects so that they “fit” within epistemic systems constructed in Europe, mainly, to give rational and empirical support for the modern nation. An even closer examination of individual halls no doubt would go far in demonstrating how the architecture structured experience (and how the spectacle it produced may have disguised or distracted visitors from becoming aware that their movements had been choreographed). The point here, however, is that the promise of the exhibition poster matches up roughly with the promise of the real site: it possesses framing elements consistent with other world exhibitions.

It must be acknowledged, however, that within this grid-like exhibition design not everything pointed away from Osaka and the Japanese nation to ideal “universal” exhibition sites, even in official representations of it. The architect, Kuru Masamichi (1855–1914), was commissioned to design buildings that varied in appearance, “eclectically but neatly inter-

mingling," as one guidebook put it.³⁴ Thus, on the grounds we find next to French palaces miniaturized domestic castles housing the goods and commodities of Aichi Prefecture. Then, too, exhibition space extended beyond the more directly controlled physical boundaries of Tennōji Park into all of Japan through print media. Anticipation for the event is developed through pictures in circulation of geisha distracted and astonished by electric lights, and in different ways through postcards of the Fine Arts Building, songbooks for children and their parents, and the guidebooks that attempted to connect the demarcated space of the exhibition with the Kansai cities of Osaka, Kyoto and Kōbe.

Who were the visitors to the Osaka Expo? The historian Yan Ansheng observes that the show generated an intense amount of domestic interest and record attendance in part for its spectacle, "an opportunity for the typical Japanese citizen to see a huge exposition, a gorgeous illuminated show."³⁵ The population of Japan at the time was about 45 million, roughly ten percent of whom attended.³⁶ Within the city itself, a wide range of residents participated. The summer before the exhibition was to open, public lectures were held "for the purpose of creating as much interest as possible . . . among all classes of people," illustrated with lantern slides showing pictures of the Paris Exhibition.³⁷ Wealthier residents of Osaka engaged in "the Relics Exhibits in connection with Taiko, conducted by the Osaka Branch of the Japan Fine Arts Association, and the Ancient and Modern Fine Arts Exhibit . . . held in the Sempukan."³⁸ One guidebook reports fireworks, parades, boating parties on the Yodo river, concerts, and among other events, that "numerous scientific meetings held in the city during the time of the exhibition [which] will be one of the most prominent features of the adjuncts to the main affair."³⁹

As Yan further observes, the exhibition also was "an unparalleled, eye-opening experience for Chinese officials and society gentlemen, businessmen, and students, all of whom turned out in droves, caught up in the tide of 'following-the-leader Japan.' (By the end of July, a total of 9,000 [Chinese] visitors were recorded. This at a time when there were approximately 700 Chinese students residing in Japan)."⁴⁰ The expo, interestingly, was framed for Chinese visitors by the Japanese not as a commercial opportunity or as a spectacle, which would have played on Chinese understandings of the exhibition forums to date, but as a shared interest in "staying on good terms [*qinmu*] through regulation [*zhidu*] of cultural objects, education, and handicrafts."⁴¹ The Japanese state formally issued 4,130 invitations to Chinese officials and prominent businessmen and men of influence (*yūryokusha*) through the Chinese embassy, of whom

360 attended,⁴² and a significant number of Chinese exchange students made the long seventeen-hour train trip from Tokyo to Osaka to see the display.

REACTIONS OF CHINESE VISITORS TO THE EXPO

The businessmen included the prominent industrialist and reformer Zhang Jian (1853–1926).⁴³ Zhang chose to travel to Japan from his home in the south-central city of Nantong, near Shanghai, and to make a study of its industrial and educational institutions. He started his journey on May 28, and within the first two weeks of his sojourn in Kōbe and Osaka attended the exhibition four times or more. His diary offers tantalizing descriptions of the display. On June 17 he noted the size of the site and buildings, the ten subdivisions of goods on display (as indicated in the guidebook literature above), caviling at the contribution of six of China's provinces (Jiangsu, Hubei, Hunan, Shandong, Sichuan, Fujian) of Han-dynasty tiles and Tang-dynasty Buddhist carved rock *dharani*, for instance, because he thought that they might better be placed in a museum than displayed at an exhibition. Moreover, he wrote, "the six provinces of China that I am writing about did not compete with each other, and like six [individual] states, came [to Osaka] in an uncoordinated way and put up displays without thinking them through, and what's more the place wasn't big enough to show everything they had crammed in there."⁴⁴ The Qing state, in Zhang's view, had yet again failed at the exhibition by failing to coordinate the display.

Student opinion about the exhibition crystallized in student-edited periodicals published in Tokyo, including *Hubei xuesheng jie* (Hubei student world, eight issues published in 1903),⁴⁵ *Jiangsu* (twelve issues published over the course of 1903–04),⁴⁶ and *Zhejiang chao* (Tides of Zhejiang, twelve issues published over roughly the same period).⁴⁷ The last publication featured an article written in the same vein as Zhang Jian, dwelling on strengthening industry as a means to promote the health and independence of the state, signed by the Zhejiang native place association. After a few preliminary comments on the size of the site, comparing it with earlier domestic exhibitions in much the same language used in the Japanese publications above (and noting small details, incidentally, per emphasis on the precise language of regulations in exhibition literature), it continued with an exhaustive but general catalog of the things on display. In one of only a handful of interjected observations, it noted that the Fine Arts Building was the most beautiful of the structures at the site, displaying the work primarily of graduates of the Tokyo Fine Arts School; and that the

Taiwan Hall, in the architectural style of the Qing prefectoral governor's offices right around the corner from it, was the most painful to the Chinese (Taiwan having been ceded to Japan only a few years previously after the first Sino-Japanese war).⁴⁸ It ends with the observation that the light shows at night were so gorgeous that their beauty could not be captured with brush and ink.

In sum, the main thread of the description of the exhibition within Chinese sources dovetails neatly with the representation of the exhibition as modern in official Japanese publications and press. For visitors from China, the exhibition grounds offered object lessons on business and industry, neither of which, one Chinese student publication observed, had really flourished in China; if the situation did not change, the nation would not become wealthy, and then there would be no means of maintaining independence (*zili*).⁴⁹ It is worth underscoring the complexity of this understanding of the exhibition; it is discussed in rhetorical language that acknowledges and promotes politics while also observing that nationality is forged through commerce on display. In manufacturing things which could be formally studied within the regulated exhibition arena, the modern nation was said to be produced, promoted, and stabilized. At the same time, even the spectacle of the Osaka exhibition, formally confined mainly to the area just outside the main gate but which clearly extended into the urban and international arena through various means, which had been a preoccupation earlier, was accorded relatively little attention in Chinese sources. And the problem of vision within the exhibition grounds was not discussed at all. That is to say, the accounts of Chinese visitors to the exhibition tend to dwell on the universalizing aspects of the exhibition, even as they discuss its local political values and ignore how vision "works" in production of both, and we might wonder at that.

THE JINRUIKAN, OR "HALL OF MANKIND"

Like the maps of the exhibition grounds, official descriptions of the exhibition do *not* feature one major source of exasperation, anger, and incredulity for Chinese visitors to the exhibition: the Jinruikan (later its name was changed to the Gakujutsu jinruikan; entrance tickets called it the "World Native Building" in English, though it was typically translated as the "Hall of Mankind").⁵⁰ For a few short weeks in the spring of 1903, it became the center of attention among Chinese exchange students, overseas businessmen, officials such as Lin Zexu's grandson Lin Bingzhang (ca. 1875–1923), and a loosely defined public far away in Tianjin, Beijing,

and other major cities in China. The reformist educators Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) and Ma Junwu (1881–1939/40), for instance, spoke against the exhibition in the Zhang Garden in Shanghai.⁵¹

The exhibit was opened in the western precincts of the “entertainment district” (*yokyō*) in front of the main gate on March 10, 1903, ten days after the formal exhibition’s opening day. It was located across from a zoo, an “It’s a Small World After All” Hall, and forty-six prefectural bazaars selling local-place products.

The Jinruikan came to local Chinese attention several weeks before the exhibition was opened to the public and engendered some active protest. The newspaper article sparking debate was published in a February 10 issue of *Riben*, picked up the following day in the *Guomin xinbao*, and a few weeks later eventually printed in the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*. It proclaimed the Jinruikan as a hall at which representatives from

different races (from countries) nearby have been brought together, authentically expressing various forms of their customs, implements and tools, and life: Hokkaido Ainu (five people), Taiwan “raw” barbarians (four), Ryukyu Islands (two), Korea (two), China (three), India (three), Java (one). . . . Altogether twenty-one men and women are grouped together to show activities of everyday life, in each of their respective country’s dwellings according to a defined plan.⁵²

Illustrations of the exterior show a plain façade that looks like a saloon from the American Wild West, integrated into the larger exhibition complex through the two giant Japanese flags hanging above the doorway (fig. 7.9). The interior display, the “defined plan,” was designed by the noted anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1868–1913), a professor at Tokyo Imperial University. It was constructed with funding from Osaka industrialist Nishida Masatoshi (1880–1947).

My research has not yet uncovered a plan for the interior of the Jinruikan, but Tsuboi’s plan of the 1904 exhibition at Tokyo Imperial University is suggestive (see fig. 7.1). The hall is set up so that visitors are directed to follow a path through an introductory lobby to first view artifacts of the raw Taiwanese barbarians, Malaysians, and others, continuing on to view Japanese stone-age peoples, followed by Koreans, and at the very end, the Qing (Chinese) “yellow race.” The visual experience planned so carefully, the structure of the exhibit, with its lines and arrows directing the visitors through the space, supported the social structure as Tsuboi, the voice—and the eye—of anthropology in Japan, conceived it.

What was that “eye of anthropology?” Tsuboi’s definition of anthropol-



Figure 7.9. The exterior of the Jinruikan (Hall of Mankind). From *Asahi shinbun* (Osaka edition), May 11, 1903.

ogy, only institutionalized at the Tokyo Imperial University ten years earlier, in 1893, was heavily invested in scientific definitions of race. Unlike archaeology, a subfield of Tsuboi's academic department, anthropology was not history-oriented or concerned with collecting the detritus of the past and installing and putting it on display (although Tsuboi did borrow objects from the Imperial University to include in the 1903 exhibition).⁵³ Instead, anthropology was based in the study of zoology. Visually, it required diagrammatic representation of skin color, the shape of skulls, and bodily height.⁵⁴ The February 2, 1903, *Tōkyō jinrui gakkai zasshi* reports that the different races of peoples in the hall had been invited and gathered together so that each culture's inherent levels and standards of living, expression of human sentiment, customs, and so on, could be displayed in "actual appearance and form," and that such display provides reference material for anthropology. In other words, this new science turned on the training and acuity of the eye to register truth; it is more accurately anthropometric description, keeping in mind that physical anthropologists relied heavily on this method in their research and work.

A newspaper sketch of two Ryukyuan (Okinawan) women seated at a table inside the Jinruikan may indicate how at the national exhibition the display cases of the university exhibit in Tsuboi's map were replaced with such tables, along with mocked-up dwellings representing each of the primitive cultures on display. Lin Bingzhang notes of the pavilion after



Figure 7.10. Photograph of people on display in the Jinruikan (1903). From *Jinruikan fūin sareta tobira*.

seeing it firsthand that "as for those aboriginal tribesmen who cannot be put on display, photographs are hung in which they are portrayed as having barely recognizable human shape, but not really much different from beasts and animals."⁵⁵

While photographs could interestingly substitute for actual bodies, and in such a way point toward the nature of the exhibition space as an archive of representations, one black-and-white photograph of the peoples within the Jinruikan amplifies a different purpose to which the photograph was put: as a model of optical empiricism (fig. 7.10). The photograph shows eighteen figures seated or standing in three lines, six in each line, representatives of different cultures generally grouped together in pairs. With one exception, all face the camera, hands on knees or clasped together. The lighting of the studio is such that above a marked range of dress the faces appear almost two-dimensional, masklike, shadows indicating facial structure and underscoring a kind of emotional reticence. Hairstyle and dress are the primary markers of difference. In person, demeanor and self-presentation were more easily visible and distinctive: "People from Taiwan [the raw and the cooked barbarians] betray their embarrassment on their face," Lin Bingzhang observes, "but Indians seem not to be bothered by what they see at all and retain their cheerful man-

ner. Alas, do they truly have no sense of shame or conscience? Or have they also lost the way they have been taught?"⁵⁶

The tenor of Chinese response to the Hall was highly agitated. An article in the *Xinmin congbao* (New people's miscellany, the Yokohama-based journal of the Chinese opposition in Japanese exile), entitled "The Japanese insult us deeply: alerting Chinese exchange students," is worth reading in full:

In March this year Japan opened an exhibition in Osaka, which was of unprecedented scale for this country, and within it was the display of the so-called "anthropological society." It is said that it displayed uncivilized/primitive races from across the globe, hiring one person from each race and putting him or her in the exhibit in preparation for being viewed. This kind of thing is typical at all exhibitions around the world. But how could the Japanese have the audacity to put a Chinese person among them, picking up on one or two old customs to create an attitude of barbaric decadence in their representation of China? This really is a grave insult to us. Japan and China make up the yellow race. Even though in the past thirty years their politics and scholarship has progressed quickly, [Japan's] level of civilization is at best on par with us, if not inferior to us. Thus Japan has engaged in this uncouth act, which only shows the narrow-minded temperament of a primitive island people. Moreover, since [we are both the yellow race], how could desecrating our China add to the prestige of the Japanese race? And in this way harm the (mutual) regard of the citizens of both countries? It is both laughable and a pity.

The Japanese, in adding China to the names of the uncivilized, might have had their reasons. Yet does that mean that we should unwittingly submit to this "uncivilized" designation? To look on passively is to give tacit permission for it, to admit to the [rightness of this] insulting defamation from Japan. If the government had the slightest strength and the slightest sense of honor then it would devote full efforts to protest this defamation. But now the state cannot be counted on, thus we have no choice but to look outside the state.

You may have heard about an earlier exhibition at Chicago in the United States. It treated Japan the way Japan is treating us today. It hired a Japanese person to pull a rickshaw in order to represent Japanese customs. Japanese overseas exchange students there numbered more than one hundred and fully mobilized to protest the display, and as a result it was removed. Today our nation's students in Tokyo number several thousands. In view of an event of this importance, we have responded with no action, no demonstration of public anger, no struggle for the state's reputation. How can our generation have the face to live in this city? Students and gentlemen, students and gentlemen, are you listening? Are you thinking?⁵⁷

Several points are worth noting. First, the manifestation and codification of ethnicity was not perceived to be the crux of the problem. Japan, like China, after all, was part of the “yellow race.” *Zhejiang chao* interestingly took a similarly political stance, arguing: “Although we Chinese are inferior, why would we have to be classified together with these six races?”⁵⁸ Second, the true source of discontent was Japanese manipulation of the exhibition forum, regardless of the reasons. This was not the first time that such staging of “other” cultures had happened within exhibitions, and, in fact, these kinds of events are acknowledged to be “typical” at world’s fairs, just as an agitated response to them is not deemed unusual. Politics are not so divorced from the reality system of the exhibition arena; the struggle for representation through scientific, commercial, or aesthetic objects is threaded through with anxiety about stereotyping and simplification of high-order “civilizations.” That is to say, ethnic labeling—naming—was not inconsistent with generalized discourses on race at the time, especially within anthropology, or with the imperative to catalog the world in the exhibitions, to create a three-dimensional archive of race and culture. And yet it was at this moment, I would argue, that it was recognized that the system of display itself at the exhibition—the modes of seeing it encouraged—came to possess the power to construct the very civilizations it was intended to interpret. “Chineseness” thus had to be defended, and the exhibition questioned.

The protestors prevailed. The events that unfolded in the final weeks of February and early March before the Chinese models were removed from the Hall are too complicated to go into here, though it is worth noting that the debate steamed up again when some of the Chinese objects that had been on display in the Jinruikan found their way into the Taiwankan, and strong suspicion existed that one of the models representing Taiwanese women there was from Hubei Province. What counted as Taiwanese was what the Japanese said counted as Taiwanese, in spite of all evidence to the contrary. The fact of the exhibition, the need for a visual accounting and cataloging of peoples of the world, however, was never questioned.

It seems clear that the protest against the exhibition was not about racism per se, but about the attempts of the Japanese exhibition organizers to use the visuality of the exhibition for political purposes. The Chinese students’ call was not for the Jinruikan to be closed, but for the display to be modified, to maintain what they viewed as the legitimacy of Chinese culture, on the one hand, but perhaps more significantly to maintain the

visual experience encouraged of the anonymous viewing public. (Indeed, after the imbroglio had been resolved, Tsuboi continued to be respected within Chinese academic circles to the extent that he was quoted in *Jiangsu* on the subject of race⁵⁹ and later also contributed an article to the periodical entitled "Hewei renleixue" [What is anthropology?]. The article features physiognomic representations of four races.)⁶⁰ That is to say, the kind of visual narrative suggested by the arrows in the display maps and the call for a kind of optical empiricism comes under scrutiny, and as far as it is a problem, it is deconstructed. Yet it is also viewed as positive.

Unease at the inclusion of China in the Jinruikan, regardless of its source, underscores a new importance of the science of display as more than a neutral framing device for Chinese observers—it shifted, under the pressures put on it by the new science of anthropology, somewhat paradoxically, to being constitutive of the real itself. In the first years of the twentieth century, as "anthropology became the discourse in which the policing of tradition . . . was transformed into the knowledge of tradition,"⁶¹ the regulatory underpinnings of the exhibition were similarly assuming a new status in China. The Osaka exhibition marked a new perception on the part of Chinese observers that the nation, which heretofore had been defined straightforwardly by the presence of cultural objects placed in a clear, planned order of display at exhibitions, was instead going to be constituted as modern by an unspecified eye. That is, instead of commodities and products giving a sense of the state, subject, and social order, the plan itself—the codes of vision, the regulations of how to move through the hall, the literal taking in of the primitive through the eye—defined the subject of display.

Modernity is dominated by the sense of sight; panoramas, wax museums, photography, and new technologies of vision mark the modern moment, and some of these technologies of vision indeed are present at the exhibition itself, as I have been arguing, a modern "scientific" and rational arena for seeing. The new visual encoding of information at the Jinruikan points toward the conundrum of visual modernity as "having been waged along a central axis between investment in the positive certainty of visual facts and ambivalence regarding the illusiveness of mere appearances."⁶² But ambivalence here does not go far enough in describing the response of Chinese visitors and those who paid attention to the Jinruikan long distance. The limning of that line between visual fact and illusion within discourse about ethnicity and other categories through which the world was ordered and set into place had to be confronted, rather

than simply acknowledged. The upshot was that rather than rejecting the universality underlying the codes of vision at the Osaka exhibition, the perceived abuse of them encouraged an even deeper and at the same time even more critical embrace of them.

I am suggesting that such display at the Osaka exhibition matters not just because it emblematises Japanese imperialism or a breakdown in or reestablishment of China-Japan relations. It helped to focus the signal importance of the visual within national culture. In the years immediately after the Osaka exhibition, the Society for Preservation of the National Essence (*Guocui baocun hui*), for example, relied heavily on creation of exhibitionary spaces of visual representation in their journals as one powerful means to define themselves and to produce the nation, although visual representation in their journals is almost entirely overlooked in scholarship today. And debate about the national eye within discourses of race and ethnicity as part of a universal modern visuality was to continue for decades after the exhibition, informing definition of art itself. In short, if vision is the "ubiquitous sense of the modern era," then Chinese response to the Osaka exhibition, and the emergent appreciation for the ways in which display of culture produces culture, constitutes a self-reflective defining modern moment in its history.

8. Japanese Oil Paintings in the First Chinese National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929 and the Development of Asian Modernism

Julia F. Andrews

Reflecting upon the achievements of the 1929 Chinese National Fine Arts Exhibition, the venerable aesthetician and educator Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) wrote:

Horizontally [the exhibition] included works from the Japanese Imperial Fine Arts Academy, the Nikakai, the Shun'yōkai, and the Kokugakai, as well as recent works by European and American artists living in Shanghai. Vertically it also displayed the ancient art works loaned by private collectors, as well as masterpieces by recently deceased artists, all of which were rotated on a daily basis. These works were all displayed as reference works. Therefore, we can say that this exhibition included all that should be included, without limitation.¹

This event was the first official exhibition to present high-quality Japanese oil paintings to the Chinese viewing public, and Cai Yuanpei was suggesting its significance by naming the four Japanese art groups whose members showed their paintings. Two prime gallery spaces on the second floor of the exhibition building, the Xin puyutang (New Mass Education Hall) in Shanghai's old city were hung with eighty-two Japanese works of art. Why, in this crucial moment in China's modern cultural history, were Japanese artists given such prominence? What might have been the effects?

The exhibition, which took place in Shanghai and was organized under the auspices of the Chinese Ministry of Education, was an enormously ambitious undertaking that aimed to summarize the progress of the Chinese art world in the years following the establishment of the new Republic in 1911. At the same time, it laid out directions for the further development of modern art in a country only recently reunited, after more than a decade of warlord strife, by the Nanjing government. The

eighteen years since the fall of the Qing dynasty was one of substantial modernization in art and education, as in other aspects of Chinese life and culture. Hindered by uncertain finances and frequently changing governments, however, progress had proceeded at an unpredictable pace. Many of the most significant art activities, such as the nine exhibitions of Shanghai's oil painting society, the Tianmahui (Heavenly Horse Society), held between 1919 and 1928, were initiated and implemented by private citizens and groups, and were sheltered during the warlord era by the treaty port economy and political structure.² The 1929 exhibition, a remarkably comprehensive event, thus marked for art the close of the warlord era and the inauguration of a modern state, laying out many of the cultural world's hopes for China's era of national reawakening.

One of twentieth-century China's most important educational leaders, Cai Yuanpei, was closely involved between 1912 and 1929 with many of the artists and educators who would organize the exhibition. His authorship of the catalog's preface and his early support for the exhibition proposal made its accomplishment one of the most important educational projects of his career, along with the modernization of Peking University, the establishment of the National Art Academy in Hangzhou, and the founding of Academia Sinica.³ His summary of the event, dated October 15, 1929, which was published in the catalog the following year, may be one of the clearest descriptions of its goals and structure. He listed seven sections devoted to contemporary Chinese art: (1) painting and calligraphy, (2) epigraphy and seal-carving, (3) Western painting, (4) sculpture, (5) architecture, (6) arts and crafts, and (7) art photography. He then described, as we have seen, two categories of reference works, one displaying in synchronic form the cosmopolitan and international art of the day, as represented primarily by Japan, and the other diachronically exhibiting the art of China's long history. Cai continued to describe the published and therefore more permanent products of the exhibition—its journal and catalog.

Upon the opening of the exhibition, the three-day periodical *Meizhan* began publication. It published all sorts of introductions and criticism and also photographs of selected exhibits. Now, after the exhibition has concluded, the exhibits have been compiled into two volumes, ancient and modern, in commemoration of the exhibition. Ten or twenty years from now, . . . when our art has achieved progress, we will see this as a very well-made record. We will need to look at this as a reference and know what hard work and good results have been accomplished. There is no doubt that future generations will see this as valuable material in Chinese art history.⁴

It is difficult at this distance in time to fully reconstruct the experience of participating in the exhibition, whether as viewer, exhibitor, or member of the large and constantly shifting team of art lovers and educators who designed and implemented the exhibition plan. Indeed, as in the organization of any event of this size, the motivations and perceptions of those who sponsored and funded the exhibition, those who curated and administered it, and those who visited it were far from uniform. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education's National Fine Arts Exhibition, a variety of activities took place, from operatic performances to political commemorations, while exhibits were rotated on an almost daily basis, and many different kinds of art, from calligraphy to oil painting to photography, appeared in the galleries. Press reports were necessarily selective, but their prolific quantity gives some sense of the extraordinary scale and ambition of the event, which was intended to mark a watershed in the development of China's modern art world.⁵ The media reported 2,266 works on display at the opening.⁶ A Japanese consular report submitted a few days later counted 3,047 Chinese works of art.⁷ Not only in scale but in its goals and its accomplishments, the significance of the 1929 exhibition cannot be overemphasized.

In previous work I have begun to examine the institutional foundations of this exhibition in the privately organized art society exhibitions of the 1920s, culminating in the assumption of responsibility by the Ministry of Education in 1929, as well as the significance for the practice of contemporary art of the reference section on antique Chinese painting and calligraphy.⁸ Not only love of art but patriotism, idealism, and cultural nationalism formed the glue that united the diverse personalities who came together, in rather difficult circumstances, to bring the 1929 exhibition to fruition.⁹ Appropriately, eight days into the exhibition's run, on April 18, 1929, a celebration of the second anniversary of the new government's capital at Nanjing took place in the auditorium at the National Exhibition site, the former orphanage known as Xin puyutang in Shanghai's old city.¹⁰ Yet the full complexity of the organizers' motivations, their final curatorial results, and the responses of the rather varied audiences to the exhibition remain to be fully explored. Particularly striking, given that a major purpose of the exhibition was to demonstrate national optimism and pride, was the inclusion in the Chinese national art exhibition of two galleries devoted to contemporary Japanese oil paintings.¹¹ With our retrospective knowledge of the bitter military strife that would soon poison relations between China and Japan, and the resulting dearth of research about Sino-Japanese artistic exchanges of the prewar period, this part of

the exhibition seems particularly anomalous. This essay considers the significance of this neglected element of the exhibition project in light of both the fraternal bonds that existed between the two East Asian nations in the first decades of the twentieth century, and the devastating split that led them to be forgotten.

When the exhibition's elegant string-bound catalog, beautifully published in collotype on "art paper" by Di Baoxian's Youzheng Book Company, appeared in the fall of 1930, it reflected the monumental nature of the effort, with 290 contemporary works chosen for reproduction.¹² Nevertheless, only a fraction of the thousands of works announced on the exhibition's opening day, which subsequent press reports suggest was even further supplemented as displays were rotated and changed throughout the show, could be included.

The catalog has, as Cai Yuanpei hoped, served as a record consulted by subsequent generations of scholars, but primarily as a source of reproductions of the important antiquities then in private hands.¹³ It has been far less frequently consulted for its primary subject, its contemporary paintings, virtually none of which appear to survive.¹⁴ Divided into two volumes, modern (*jin*) and ancient (or premodern, *gu*), the first included all seven modern sections plus the "foreign," i.e., Japanese, paintings in the reference section, while the second volume was devoted solely to the premodern works in the reference section. The resulting publication gives the casual user an impression that may be misleading, that the exhibition as a whole was overwhelmingly an examination of and confirmation of the value of traditional painting. By contrast, the Japanese section has been the subject of almost no attention.

Cai Yuanpei's catalog preface indeed places greater emphasis on the Japanese paintings than does the book itself, which reproduces only six works, two per page (figs. 8.1–8.3). In the end, only six Japanese oil paintings appeared in the catalog, and all but one, that of Terauchi Manjirō (1890–1964), were paintings by members of the Japanese organizing committee: Wada Eisaku (1874–1959), Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958), Mitsutani Kunishirō (1874–1936), Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), and Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888–1986). All the works chosen for reproduction were figure paintings—four were depictions of female nudes, those by Wada Eisaku, Mitsutani, Terauchi, and Umehara, and two, by Ishii and Wada Sanzō, were paintings of children. Although the selection was artfully varied to span the range from polished academic painting (Wada Eisaku's female nude, now entitled *Tulips*, in the Bridgestone Museum, Tokyo) to a rough, seemingly spontaneous rendering that suggests Matisse (Ume-



Figure 8.1. (left)
Wada Eisaku, *Nude*;
(below) Ishii Hakutei,
Mahjong, from
Meizhan tekan.





Figure 8.2. (right) Mitsu-tani Kunishirō, *Nude* [sic],
(below) Wada Sanzō,
Nude; from *Meizhan tekan*.





Figure 8.3. (left)
Terauchi Manjirō,
Nude, published as
Mirror in *Meizhan* 5
(April 22, 1929: 2;
(below) Umehara
Ryūzaburō, *Woman*,
from *Meizhan tekan*.



hara Ryūzaburō's *Woman*), this focus on the human figure, and particularly the female nude, as subject presents an extremely limited if not distorted view of the exhibition. The theme of the female nude, however, which was considered liberal and modern by the mainstream Chinese art world, may have had a particular appeal to Chinese organizers, artists, and critics as a confirmation of the abolition of conservative cultural policies in the new Republic. Only a few years earlier, in 1925 and 1926, a controversy stirred up by the director of the Shanghai Art Academy led to the banning of nude models in the city's art school curricula. This moralistic stance had only been overturned with the overthrow of the warlord Sun Chuanfang (1885–1935) by Nationalist troops in 1927 and the appointment of Cai Yuanpei to lead the educational world.¹⁵

The exhibition's three-day journal (*sanrikan*) *Meizhan* (The Art Exhibition), published by the organizing committee in a tabloid newspaper format, reproduced some additional Japanese works, along with exhibition news and theoretical treatises, but adopted similar preferences in subject matter. While extremely important for understanding curatorial views of the Chinese exhibition, *Meizhan* did comparatively little to expand public perception of the Japanese work. In addition to the Wada Eisaku and Terauchi Manjirō nudes that would appear in the catalog, Ishikawa Toraji's (1875–1964) *After the Bath*, reproduced in *Meizhan*, carried on the same theme, albeit in a distinctively different style (fig. 8.4). Kobayashi Tokusaburō's (1884–1949) slightly modernist still-life (fig. 8.5) and Nakamura Fusetsu's (1866–1943) academic history painting (fig. 8.6) completed the representation of contemporary Japanese art found in the pages of the journal.¹⁶

Yet, perhaps full coverage was considered unnecessary. Unlike the main exhibition, which published only postcards and the three-day newspaper, the Japanese organizers produced a fully illustrated catalog that was completed and ready for distribution precisely one month before the exhibition opening.¹⁷ In addition to presenting a stylistically and thematically varied selection of works that might be of interest to Chinese art lovers and students, the Japanese section, in its role as "reference," might also be viewed as a model of timely and efficient exhibition organization. According to the catalog, the Japan exhibition's organizing committee was headquartered in the archive of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and the school director, Masaki Naohiko (1862–1940), chaired the committee. The catalog was published March 10, 1929, and distribution was slated to begin on March 13. The Japanese catalog reproduced all eighty-two of the Japanese oil paintings exhibited, along with brief standardized biog-



Figure 8.4. (above) Ishikawa Toraji, *After the Bath*. *Meizhan* 8 (June 1, 1929): 7.

Figure 8.5. (below) Kobayashi Tokusaburō, *Still Life with Fish*, published as *Sardines and Narcissi in Chūka Minkoku Kyōikubu Bijutsu tenrankai Nihon shuppin gasatsu*.



Figure 8.6. Nakamura Fusetsu, *Obtaining the Lanting Sutra by Trickery*, oil on canvas, 137 × 151.6 cm (1920), Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art (exhibited in Second Teiten). *Meizhan* 6 (April 25, 1929): 2.

raphies of the artists, prepared in the format of the *Art Annual* (*Bijutsu nenkan*) published by Asahi shinbunsha (Asahi Newspaper Company).¹⁸ It might be expected that some of the artists represented in the show, including several from the organizing committee, were particularly interested in China, but it is even more striking to see how many of the artists included in this 1929 catalog remain central figures in the postwar canon of modern Japanese oil painting, even after such concerns have become largely irrelevant to the Japanese art world. Moreover, unlike the situation of the Chinese artworks in the exhibition, most of which have disappeared, a number of the Japanese works sent to Shanghai not only survive in Japanese museum collections, but remain canonical examples of the artists' oeuvres.

The catalog's biographies presented limited and sharply focused kinds of information: the artist's birthplace, where he or she studied, mention of study in Europe, and membership status in one of the four Japanese art

societies that organized the show. Thus, as Cai Yuanpei suggested, the state institution and three private clubs that participated in organizing the Japanese submissions—the Imperial Fine Arts Academy, the Nikakai (Second Division Society), the Shun'yōkai (Spring Sun Society), and the Kokugakai (National Painting Society)—were emphasized above other criteria, and the catalog reproduced the works sequentially according to those four groups. The Academy (*Teikoku bijutsuin*), organizer of the regular Imperial Exhibition in Japan, the Teiten, enjoyed pride of place in the 1929 Shanghai exhibition. Six of the eleven members of the organizing committee were members of this academy, while eighteen more participating artists are listed as Teiten jurors, and six more enjoyed the right to recommend exhibitors for the Teiten. Thus, thirty artists, led by Okada Saburōsuke (1869–1939), Wada Eisaku, Fujishima Takeji (1867–1943), Nakamura Fusetsu, Mitsutani Kunishirō, and Wada Sanzō represented the Imperial Fine Arts Academy.

The second major constituent organization of the Japanese show, the Nikakai, was established in 1914 by a small group of recently returned students from Europe, in reaction against the conservative official salon of the day, the Bunten. The Nikakai was represented in the 1929 exhibition by twenty-six artists, thirteen full members and thirteen associates.¹⁹ Two of the organization's founders, Yamashita Shintarō (1881–1966) and Ishii Hakutei were members of the organizing committee for the Shanghai exhibition.

The smaller and more recently established Shun'yōkai and Kokugakai sent works by eight and six artists, respectively, including group leaders Kosugi Hōan (Misei, 1881–1964) and Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946) of the Shun'yōkai, and Umehara Ryūzaburō of the Kokugakai, all of whom were members of the organizing committee of the 1929 exhibition. Some young artists in the Shun'yōkai and Kokugakai, although overshadowed at the time by the older and better established artists, are today considered among the most interesting and important painters of their day. Japanese artists chosen for the exhibition were the elite of the era—graduation from Tokyo School of Fine Arts and study in Europe seem to have been particularly important criteria—and those who lacked these credentials were a small minority.

Indeed, the high quality of the Japanese submission was recognized in its time by some Chinese critics. Li Yuyi, reporting on the exhibition in a special issue of *Funü zazhi* (Ladies journal), a venerable monthly published by the Commercial Press, launched his essay by commenting that the show included not only ancient and modern art, but also art from dis-

tant lands, including several dozen great masterpieces from Japan's four leading art societies.²⁰ He further noted that, although the practice of holding major exhibitions had its roots in the French Salon, the Japanese Bunten and Teiten were more famous in the East and to be considered models.

The superb quality of the Japanese exhibition was indeed no accident. On September 25, 1928, the Cultural Affairs Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo received a notice from the Chinese embassy that the Chinese Daxueyuan (University Council) was planning to hold a major exhibition, beginning on January 1, 1929. The missive announced the formation of an exhibition planning office at the West Lake National Art Academy in Hangzhou, and the initiation of exhibit selection procedures, along with an invitation for Japanese artists to participate in the show. The Chinese side further informed Japanese officials of the application procedures developed for all those who wished to submit work for selection.²¹ Two weeks later, on October 12, the Japanese acting consul in Hangzhou, Yonaiyama Tsuneo (b. 1888), sent the ministry his favorable analysis of the exhibition invitation. He portrayed the Chinese mood of the era as guided by a mission to build their new nation, and the exhibition organizers possessing a corresponding ambition to create a sensational national exhibition. Strongly advocating Japanese participation in the show, Yonaiyama transmitted the organizers' intention to display works by China's most important artists. He sent a detailed list of the personnel planning the show, with Cai Yuanpei as director and Hangzhou academy professor Lin Wenzheng (1903–90) as secretary, and a host of significant national figures from the worlds of art, art education, and art publishing assuming responsibility for this major collective cultural undertaking (see appendix 1). Yonaiyama, cognizant of the potential cultural and political significance of the exhibition, argued that Japan could not afford to miss this diplomatic opportunity. In an undertone, he suggested a warning about popular Chinese political sensitivity of the time, and cautioned against the possibility of diplomatic damage an inappropriate response to the invitation might cause. Specifically, he recommended that the ministry recognize the new situation in China, in light of China's strongly increasing national self-respect, and pay particularly careful attention to the Japanese selection of works for the exhibition to avoid any misunderstanding.²²

In this period, Japanese cultural officials were involved with a number of other collaborative endeavors. For example, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts director, Masaki Naohiko, who would soon also serve as director of

the Japanese display at the Chinese National Exhibition, noted in his diary on October 12 a visit from two officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the director of the Cultural Affairs Department, Okabe Nagakage (1884–1970),²³ and Secretary Iwamura Shigemitsu (1876–1943) to discuss plans for the Tang-Song-Yuan-Ming painting exhibition, and an agreement with the ministry was signed five days later.²⁴ At 8 A.M. on November 21, 1928, Masaki received a delegation of more than twenty Shanghai-based cultural figures, most notably Wang Yiting (1867–1938), Wang Chuantao (1903–77), Di Baoxian (Pingzi, 1873–1941), and Pang Yuanji (Laichen, 1864–1949), and then spent the remainder of that day and the following one viewing the paintings they had brought from China.²⁵ The exhibition itself, "Famous Masterpieces of Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming Painting" (*Tō-Sō-Gen-Min meigaten*), opened on November 24, and the formal reception for the Chinese delegation was held the following day.²⁶ As testimony to the great importance of such events, on December 12 the Emperor and Empress visited the show, which later travelled to Osaka.²⁷

Negotiations about the Chinese National Art Exhibition proceeded simultaneously. On October 21, Acting Consul Yonaiyama Tsuneo reported that Lin Wenzheng and his Hangzhou colleague Wang Daizhi (fl. 1920s), both of whom had organized exhibitions during their student days in France, paid him a call to reiterate their invitation to Japanese artists.²⁸ They explained that because the schedule was so tight, easily obtainable artwork, even if it had previously been exhibited elsewhere, was welcome. Yonaiyama emphasized the timeliness of this diplomatic encounter for promoting positive relations. Specifically, because China had suffered a long period of civil war, its citizenry longed for change, and the promotion of cultural affairs by the new Nanjing government thus received a particularly warm welcome. In advocating Japanese involvement, Yonaiyama made the important argument that it would introduce to the Chinese people Japan's modern culture, and that it would be highly meaningful in strengthening cultural communication between the two nations. He further urged the ministry specifically to consider sending works that had been shown in the Imperial Fine Arts Exhibition.²⁹ Two weeks later, on November 6, Yonaiyama reported that the exhibition sites in Nanjing were to be at Jinling University and National Central University, and that the Chinese side had agreed that the Japanese submissions need not be juried in China.³⁰ Shortly after, Iwamura Shigemitsu forwarded exhibition-related materials to Masaki, with copies to five prominent colleagues who had been active in Sino-Japanese artistic exchanges in the past.³¹ Inclusion of Nihonga (modern Japanese painting in ink and color)

painters as well as oil painters in the preliminary communication suggests that initial ideas of how Japan wished to present itself were broader than the Yōga (Western-style) exhibition as finally implemented.

Although the exhibition did not take place on January 1, as initially scheduled, Yonaiyama continued to submit favorable reports on the project to Minister of Foreign Affairs Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929). On January 10 and 11 Secretary Lin (probably Lin Wenzheng) visited him with updates, describing the strong support for the exhibition from all quarters in China and reiterating the planning committee's invitation to Japanese artists. What Lin may have underemphasized was the massive bureaucratic reorganization that took formal authority out the hands of the prominent artists who had initiated the show. He told Yonaiyama that structural changes in the Nanjing government had led to modifications in the exhibition plan. Lin Fengmian (1900–1991), the director of the Hangzhou Academy, had previously supervised planning efforts, but with replacement of the University Council by the new Ministry of Education, its minister, Jiang Menglin (1886–1964), would take over the exhibition. Cai Yuanpei would remain honorary director. Furthermore, because the planned exhibition hall in Nanjing could not be completed in time, the exhibition would be held instead in Shanghai, at a venue in the old Chinese city that had recently housed a national products exhibition. The Chinese organizers hoped very much that Japanese artists would participate and promised them about 500 linear feet of wall space. Yonaiyama was informed that the exhibition plan would be organized regionally, with particular mention of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Hangzhou, in order to represent the best of China's artists. Time constraints would preclude loans from Europe or America.³²

As though in response to Yonaiyama's report, prominent artists in Tokyo were called to a critical planning meeting by head of the Cultural Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Okabe Nagakage, on the evening of January 13, 1929.³³ In attendance, besides Okabe and two colleagues from the ministry, were the director of Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Masaki Naohiko, along with the head of its archive, Kitaura Daisuke; five senior oil painters affiliated with the Imperial Fine Arts Academy, namely Okada Saburōsuke, Wada Eisaku, Fujishima Takeji, Mitsutani Kunishirō, and Nakamura Fusetsu; and one leader of the Nikakai, Ishii Hakutei. At the meeting the decisions that formalized the Japanese exhibition in its eventual form were made. According to Masaki's diary, the Minister of Foreign Affairs supported the Chinese request for Japanese participation in the show, believing that it would be

a good opportunity to exhibit Yōga.³⁴ Submissions other than Yōga were deemed "inconvenient," an acute diplomatic predetermination that presumably eliminated Nihonga painters from the invitation list. In many regards, particularly the prominence of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy, the plan followed the earnest suggestions of the Japanese consular official in Hangzhou. The seriousness with which all, from officials to artists, approached the exhibition firmly guaranteed its quality.

Masaki Naohiko was asked to direct the project, and the archive of the Tokyo School of Art, along with the nearby Tokyo Municipal Art Gallery, was designated as offices for the organizing committee. Perhaps most important, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs committed money to the project. Packing, shipping, and transit insurance costs would be covered by the ministry and administered by the organizing committee. Okabe even contacted shipping companies on January 21 for help in meeting the tight opening schedule, then set for February 25, describing the goal of the project as to advance Japan's diplomatic relations and harmonize Chinese and Japanese culture.³⁵ At the January 13 meeting, all participants agreed to gather the exhibits, approximately 100 in number, within the following month, each from his own network.³⁶ It was further agreed that a number of Japanese artists would attend the exhibition at ministry expense.

About a dozen representatives of the four major painting groups that ultimately participated were charged to serve as the organizing committee and assigned to solicit the submission of works from the members of their own networks. Wada Sanzō was added as a delegate from the Imperial Fine Arts Academy, while Yamashita Shintarō was listed along with Ishii Hakutei as a delegate for the Nikakai. The Shun'yōkai was to be represented by Kosugi Hōan and Yamamoto Kanae, and the Kokugakai by Umehara Ryūzaburō. It was stipulated that the Japanese exhibition would consist of only Yōga, and exhibitors would be strictly limited to such quality and seniority that they were qualified to exhibit *hors concours* (on an unjuried basis) in their own group's exhibitions.³⁷ In a report to the ministry two days later, the organizing committee repeated these stipulations, along with instructions for assembling the works for shipping in Kyoto and Tokyo and description of insurance coverage. Works could be offered for sale at the exhibition, with a 10 percent commission returned to the exhibition.³⁸

The price list that was ultimately published was structured, as was the catalog, according to each of the four organizations whose members lent their work to the show. Many of the senior artists and committee members, including Nakamura, Fujishima, Ishii, Wada Sanzō, and Umehara

listed their works as “not for sale.” Several of the other senior artists posted the highest prices in the show, however.³⁹ Of the high-priced works, only one sold, a landscape by Mitsutani Kunishirō, who was a member of the organizing committee. Indeed, of the eighty-two works in the exhibition, only seven were sold. In contrast to the figurative paintings that were reproduced in the press and in the Chinese catalogs, collectors bought only landscapes and still-lifes.⁴⁰

This organizing committee, assembled specifically to implement the Japanese submission to the Chinese Ministry of Education Art Exhibition, consisted of some of the most important Japanese oil painters of the day, and particularly men with friendly ties to the Chinese art world. Although there were other networks by which these individuals might have been labeled, particularly because many taught together at Tokyo School of Art, for this event all committee members were associated instead with one of the four participating groups.

Nakamura, Fujishima, Okada Saburōsuke (fig. 8.7), and Wada Eisaku were members of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy and also professors at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Mitsutani and Wada Sanzō are both listed as members of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy. Nakamura, who had studied in France, developed a highly polished mode of history painting in the late 1910s and 1920s that he exhibited with the Pacific Yōga Society (fig. 8.6). Such work shows a clear conceptual debt to his teacher in France, Jean-Paul Laurens (1838–1921), one of the most gifted history painters of the era,⁴¹ but adopted new themes—stories from Chinese history and legend. Oil history painting, which emerged in Japan in the nineteenth century, was less common among Japanese artists in the Taishō period, but Nakamura remained one of its best practitioners. Increasingly passionate about collecting Chinese calligraphy and epigraphic materials during this period and profoundly committed to the teaching of art, Nakamura sent three of his best-known history paintings to the exhibition in China. The one most commonly reproduced, a work of 1920, now in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art, is based upon a story in the collecting history of one of China’s most famous pieces of calligraphy, the Lanting Sutra preface by Wang Xizhi (303–61, fig. 8.6).⁴²

According to legend, the Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–49) obtained this masterpiece from its protector, the monk Biancai (fl. 600–649), through trickery, and then so treasured it that he took it to his grave. The story of the emperor’s passion for Wang Xizhi’s calligraphy may have had both personal and philosophical importance for Nakamura, who was himself an ardent collector and practitioner of Chinese calligraphy.⁴³



Figure 8.7. Okada Saburōsuke, *Silver Harmony*, in Kitaura Daisuke, ed., *Chūka Minkoku Kyōikubu Bijutsu tenrankai Nihon shuppin gasatsu*.

Further, and perhaps more significant in the context of this Sino-Japanese exchange, his works demonstrate the possibility of representing Chinese historical and legendary themes in the European academic manner, thus imbuing them with an air of modernity. At the same time, the Japanese artist seemed to lay claim to a common cultural, intellectual, and spiritual ancestry with his Chinese colleagues.

The more modern oil painter Fujishima taught many Chinese students in Japan and visited China often. He was known for his early paintings in the style of Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), with whom he had studied in France, and subsequently for a freer and more exuberant landscape style that was developing at just the time of the exhibition. Wada Eisaku, a Tokyo School of Fine Arts graduate who had also studied abroad, was represented in the exhibition by an exquisitely graceful and polished academic nude that remains one of his iconic paintings (fig. 8.8). Okada and Mitsutani also both lent paintings in this most academic of genres, the female nude (figs. 8.7 and 8.2). Although Mitsutani had studied abroad, unlike his fellow organizers, he was not a graduate of Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He had by this time developed a more modern and slightly whimsical style that distinguished his work in this genre.



Figure 8.8. Wada Eisaku, *Tulips*, oil on canvas, 80 × 65 cm, 1927, Bridgestone Museum. Published as *Flower in Meizhan* 5 (April 22, 1929): 4.

A subject almost completely ignored by the Chinese press, perhaps because the compositions depend so heavily on coloristic effects that were completely lost in black and white reproduction, was the Yōga landscapes, of which many were exhibited in Shanghai. Among the exhibition organizers, landscapes by both Fujishima and Wada Sanzō were included in the Japanese catalog, but Wada's picture of children napping on tatami was instead selected for the Chinese catalog. A work of 1926 by Kojima Torajirō (1881–1929), who died on March 8, two days before the catalog was printed, was one of a series of images of Suzhou scenery that he painted on his two late trips to China (fig. 8.9). *Autumn at Tianpingshan, Suzhou*, now in the collection of the Ohara Museum in Kurashiki, may have been less exciting to some Chinese viewers than a more exotic subject, such as the Yosemite landscape by Yoshida Hiroshi or the many scenes of Europe by his colleagues. Nevertheless, Kojima's work can only have contributed to codifying a relatively new practice in China of painting local scenery in styles developed from those of European masters.⁴⁴

Ishii Hakutei and Yamashita Shintarō are both listed as members of the Nikakai, a society that once had played a somewhat iconoclastic role in its opposition to the official exhibition. Ishii had lectured in China on new trends in European oil painting as early as 1919. As a founder of both *Hōsun* magazine in 1907 and of the Nikakai itself, he was an extremely influential figure in the East Asian art world. He exhibited



Figure 8.9. Kojima Torajirō, *Autumn at Tianpingshan, Suzhou*, 38 × 70 cm (1926), Ohara Museum of Art.

in the exhibition both a painting of girls playing mahjong (fig. 8.1) and *Waterwheel*, while Yamashita showed a Kyoto landscape of Kinkakuji (Golden Pavilion).

Kosugi and Yamamoto Kanae were founders of the Shun'yōkai, intended, in the words of J. Thomas Rimer, as "a free and open association of painters" that was "beyond manifestos, ideologies, and fixed styles."⁴⁵ Yamamoto, editor of *Hōsun*, was later to be known as a founder of the creative print movement. Kosugi displayed a sweet image of an ox herder, which was typical of one aspect of his personality as a painter,⁴⁶ while Yamamoto's work was a still-life flower painting. The ebullient Umehara Ryūzaburō had previously belonged to various of the other societies, but appeared in 1929 as a leader representing the newly reorganized Kokugakai. The work reproduced in the Chinese catalog was a free Matisse-like painting depicting a nude seated before a mirror (fig. 8.3). His brightly colored landscape, which looks somewhat vague and murky in black-and-white reproduction, was not mentioned in Chinese sources.

In addition to the celebrated senior artists, among whom the most technically skilled, if stylistically conservative, may have been Nakamura and Wada Eisaku, some younger Nikakai artists of distinctly progressive artistic inclination showed in Shanghai. This kind of painting was nowhere reproduced in the Chinese publications. One can only speculate as to the reasons for its absence—most probable are the comparative youth and lack of status of its creators, as well as the poor results of printing their vivid coloristic works in black and white. Equally significant, however, may be that they were simply ahead of trends acceptable in the Chinese art world of the period. In this regard, their inclusion in the exhibition offered models to young viewers—school children and art students, rather than to painters of more firmly established personal style. The opportunity to view such paintings may have played a small role in the appearance of much more intensely modernist work in China in the 1930s.

Many of these artists are today a crucial part of the narrative of Japanese modernism as evidenced in exhibitions and publications by major Japanese museums. Among them would be numbered Koga Harue (1895–1933), Nakagawa Kigen (1892–1972), and Tōgō Seiji (1897–1978). Several others, including Kojima Zenzaburō (1893–1962), Satomi Katsuzō (1895–1981), and Hayashi Takeshi (1896–1975), withdrew from the Nikakai the year following the China exhibition in order to found a modernist painting group called the Independent Artists Association. Satomi's bright and seemingly carelessly painted nude would have been hard to miss in the exhibition. In the mid-1930s Satomi served as mentor and friend to a group of Chinese art students who established a similarly named group devoted to surrealism.⁴⁷ Although the present locations of works these artists exhibited in Shanghai in 1929 remains to be identified, similar paintings in major museum collections give some idea of the strongly individualistic trends of these younger artists and their potential appeal for young painters as "reference works." The Shanghai press reported that on the sixteenth day of the show, art school students from all schools came to copy works, so they certainly had a chance to examine, if not to formally model themselves on, the modernist works in the show.⁴⁸

The effects of this exhibition, both short and long term, were many. In the absence of high-quality European works from the exhibition, the Japanese paintings had to serve not only as exemplars of "Oriental art," in the words of Umebara Ryūzaburō, but also as models of the entire cosmopolitan art scene. The organizers reached the highest standard possible in the Japanese works they presented, which spanned the styles

from elderly academics to young individualists.⁴⁹ On this basis, I would suggest that the Japanese works served as a catalyst for the eruption of one of the most controversial products of the exhibition, the debate on modernism between "the two Xus," which appeared in the affiliated special journal, *Meizhan*. In the journal's pages, the French-trained realist Xu Beihong (1895–1953), who had withdrawn from the exhibition's organizing committee in protest and did not exhibit his own work in the show, launched an attack on modernism entitled "I Am Confused."⁵⁰ His rambling but passionate proclamation was countered sharply by the journal editor Xu Zhimo (1897–1931), who defended modernist painting. Xu Zhimo began his rebuttal with a quotation in English from Bertrand Russell (1872–1970): "The opinions that are held with passion are always those for which no good ground exists; indeed the passion is the measure of the holder's lack of rational conviction."⁵¹

Both men were foreign educated, so neither had a monopoly on knowledge of Western painting; the exchange thus provoked many responses by prominent artists and provided a lively theme for the journal's ongoing publication. Accompanying the first essays by the two Xus were nudes by Terauchi Manjirō and Wada Eisaku (fig. 8.8). The following issue ran part two of Xu Zhimo's essay and reproduced an important painting that did not appear in the 1930 catalog, Nakamura Fusetsu's *Obtaining the Lanting Sutra by Trickery* (fig. 8.6).⁵² The debate continued into the following month, after the conclusion of the exhibition, when, in issue 8, the French-trained conservative oil painter Li Yishi (1886–1942) jumped into the fray on the antimodernist side with "I Am Not Confused."⁵³ That issue reproduced another work not included in the catalog, Ishikawa Toraji's *After the Bath* (fig. 8.4).⁵⁴ Xu Beihong's "My Confusion Remains Unresolved," addressed in deeply personal terms to journal editor Xu Zhimo, appeared in issue 9, no longer accompanied by Japanese paintings.⁵⁵ Despite Xu Zhimo's enthusiasm for modernism, in general, the selection of Japanese works for *Meizhan* was academic and conservative.

This debate, which crystallized questions about the right styles of European painting to be adapted to the Chinese situation, remained vibrant until matters of life and death intervened with the Japanese military invasion of 1937. The Communist victory in 1949 delivered an artificial victory to the realist side when modernism was banned from above as a bourgeois form of art.

As China's modernist past has been rediscovered in the postsocialist era, these debates have attracted renewed attention.⁵⁶ In most accounts, however, the mediation of Japan in the evolution of Chinese forms of

Western art has been ignored. Publication of Nakamura Fusetsu's academic history painting in the pages of the Chinese journal, in the same context as the two Xus debate, seems striking. Nakamura's project was one with which Xu Beihong undoubtedly came into contact during his 1917 visit to Japan. Xu did not acknowledge a debt to Japanese masters, but he seems to have internalized Nakamura's approach to creating an Asian classicism by adapting European history painting to Chinese historical and cultural themes. Xu began one of his own most significant ventures in history painting, *Tian Heng and the 500 Warriors*, before the 1929 exhibition, but did not finish it in time to exhibit it. Throughout his career Xu continually tried to create thematic paintings on the European academic mode, a practice that served his students well once socialist realism was imposed, with its similar demands. As a young man, he clearly felt the need to go to the authentic source, Paris, and once he had received his degree from the École des Beaux Arts, he would never have thought to look back to the Japanese models that had initially inspired him. Nevertheless, whether acknowledged or not, his pursuit of a project Nakamura and others had begun years earlier cannot be imagined to have taken place in a vacuum.

Thus, as suggested earlier, this exhibition served as a model for Asian modernism, in its rich proliferation of styles. More conservative approaches, such as that of Xu Beihong, are more prevalent in the Chinese exhibition catalog, but examination of the Japanese catalog and diplomatic archives makes clear the serious ambitions of the organizers and the full range of styles to which Chinese artists were exposed.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE 1929 NATIONAL ART EXHIBITION

The 1929 National Fine Arts Exhibition, including its Japanese exhibits, may be viewed first as a summation of developments of the previous decades. As suggested by the primacy given to these works in Cai Yuanpei's exhibition preface, and clearly apparent in the context of the exhibition and the art world of the era, was the foundational importance of Meiji-period Japanese artistic developments to the formation of Chinese views of modernity in art. From implementation of educational practices, development of aesthetic theories, and even teacher-student relationships, Japan's crucial role in the development of China's modern art world is confirmed by this exhibition.⁵⁷

Second, although the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, just

about a year after publication of the National Exhibition catalog, and the Shanghai war of early 1932 dramatically altered many of the friendly, collaborative relationships between China and Japan and made reliance on Japanese models ideologically dubious, the roots of the artistic exchanges were too deeply established to sever at one blow. Indeed, many basic structural patterns, including the ideology of Asian cultural nationalism and the structure of art education, were not immediately, or in some cases ever, eradicated. There are strong suggestions as well that friendships and collegial relationships between Chinese and Japanese artists that developed so robustly during the 1920s continued for some time after 1931, despite increasing strains. Japan had solidly established its reputation as a site of Asian modernity, and Japan in the early 1930s still attracted Chinese art students, ranging from the ink painter and art historian Fu Baoshi (1904–65), who was inspired by Kosugi Hōan's painting style, the printmakers Li Hua (1907–94) and Liu Lun (b. 1913), inspired to turn away from oil painting to print-making as had their mentors in Tokyo, and the young Cantonese oil painters mentored by Satomi Katsuzō who would form the Chinese Independent Artists Association. The diverse responses by individual artists and private groups on both sides of the conflict to the catastrophe of the Sino-Japanese War is one that deserves a great deal more attention.

Finally, in its role as "reference work," the Japanese section of the 1929 National Fine Arts Exhibition laid out some important directions for the future of Chinese art. It would certainly be an exaggeration to claim that the cultural world operated separately from the military or diplomatic spheres, for Chinese fears of Japanese military intentions in China are evident throughout the cultural world of the 1930s. However, many of the latent or even explicit developments modeled by the Japanese submission to the 1929 exhibition were carried on in China during and after the war, some in acknowledgement of Japan's more advanced cultural state and some because they seemed such a natural Asian response to modernity.

Of extraordinary significance, both in furthering the cultural aspirations of the Nanjing regime but also in subsequent subversion of some of its political ends, was that the prominent role of private Japanese painting societies in organizing the exhibition, along with the near invisibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, confirmed the significance of this non-governmental institutional structure. During the warlord period, and particularly under the mandate of Cai Yuanpei's explicitly independent role for scholarship and education, private Chinese societies and schools largely maintained art's independence from political power. They pro-

vided not only the art, but also the expertise, resources, and willpower that made it possible to hold a national art exhibition before the fledgling Republican government was administratively and financially ready to administer it. Veterans of the privately organized Tianmahui, which held nine exhibitions of oil paintings, ink paintings, sculpture, and eventually photography in Shanghai between 1919 and 1928, provided much of the talent and experience needed to organize the National Art Exhibition of 1929.⁵⁸ This ambitious group of oil painters, some of whom taught at the private Shanghai Art Academy, had early on determined the path to visibility and reputation required multimedia exhibitions. Working outside any official cultural or educational structure for more than a decade, they had developed considerable experience in administering exhibitions and a network of artists, advisors, jurors, and critics who could be called upon to implement the show.

The development of painting societies in China accelerated rapidly after 1929, thus reconfirming the nongovernmental social structure as essential to the evolution of the Chinese art world. Indeed, the Chinese Painting Society explicitly acknowledged the importance of such organizations in Japan and the West in its 1931 manifesto.⁵⁹

The presence in the Japanese exhibition of future founders of the surrealist Independent Artists Association in Tokyo is one such example. Although they do not seem to have received much attention in the Chinese press of the time, three young artists designated as "friends" or associates of the Nikakai, Hayashi Takeshi, Kojima Zentarō (fig. 8.10), and Satomi Katsuzō, exhibited work in 1929 that was particularly eye-catching in its color, composition, and concept. Two of the three had recently returned from Europe and had clearly absorbed the latest modernist trends in European painting. The following year, 1930, they withdrew from the Nikakai, arguing that Japanese oil painting had become like a colonial product of the French art world, and took as their mission establishment of Japan's own form of oil painting.⁶⁰ With this goal in mind, they founded the Independent Artists Association. Satomi soon became mentor and friend for a group of Chinese art students, among them Zhao Shou (1912–2003), Liang Xihong (1912–82), Li Dongping, Li Zhongsheng (1911–84), and Fang Rending (1901–75), who thereafter returned to China to hold several important exhibitions of their own modernist work in the Chinese Independent Artists Association.⁶¹

The impact of the Japanese oil paintings in the 1929 exhibition may even have gone farther than the actual scope of the works shown. The



Figure 8.10. Kojima Zentarō, *Weaving*, 90.9 × 116.7 cm, 1927 (Fourteenth Nikaten), in Kitaura Daisuke, ed., *Chūka Minkoku Kyōikubu Bijutsu tenrankai Nihon shuppin gasatsu*.

"creative" or "modern" prints that emerged in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century were considered to be part of the same "Western" art milieu in which Japanese oil painters worked, and many modern print-makers received their academic training in oil painting and drawing. Thus, the 1929 national art exhibition, even though it included no print section, should certainly not be ignored as a stimulus to the boom in Chinese print-making societies with a cosmopolitan orientation in the 1930s. Although the involvement of Lu Xun (1881–1936) in establishing the creative print movement in China, which he launched in 1931 with a strong left-wing and anti-Guomindang orientation, has been well studied and should not be downplayed, rapid development of this art form was possible only with nourishment from other sources, most notably Japanese print-making circles.⁶² Ishii Hakutei, one of the Japanese artists with closest relationships to the Chinese art world, along with other artists who exhibited in the 1929 National Exhibition, such as Yamamoto Kanae, Kosugi, and Yoshida Hiroshi, were pioneers in the

Japanese "Creative Print" and "New Print" movements of the early twentieth century. Ishii and Kosugi, along with Sakamoto Hanjirō (1882–1969), were important not only as artists but also as critics, writing for such magazines as *Hōsun* that promoted the new print movement in the first decade of the twentieth century. It is therefore not surprising that active exchanges developed in the mid-1930s between China's most energetic new print group, the Guangzhou-based Creative Print Society, centered around Li Hua, and colleagues in the Japanese Shiro to Kuro Society (White and Black Society), which included Ryōji Chōmei (1899–1982), Hiratsuka Un'ichi (1895–1997), and Maekawa Senpan (1888–1960).⁶³

Thus, Japanese involvement in the first national exhibition seems to have yielded wave after wave of impact on the Chinese art world, as the subsequent generation of graduates emerged into the art realm over the next decade. The Shanghai exhibition of works by Japanese masters presented not only specific paintings and styles to the Chinese audience, but was part of a larger phenomenon, bringing attention to the reputations and careers of these painters that lasted far beyond the exhibition. The exhibition's impact was thus not limited to that of the particular objects transported to Shanghai, but had the potential for continued growth that followed the subsequent artistic trajectories and careers of the Japanese artists.⁶⁴ Many of those on the exhibition's organizing committee, as well as some other exhibitors, played an important role in art education in Japan, and the attraction to Tokyo for Chinese students continued strong, even after the events of 1931 and 1932, with the national exhibition undoubtedly playing an important role in the decisions of art students to go abroad. Such travel is almost always mentioned in the biographies of Chinese artists.

In general, travel to China has become of minor significance to writers of Japanese art history, unlike records of Japanese artists' travels to Europe. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find mention of their participation in the 1929 Shanghai National Fine Arts Exhibition in the standard chronologies, although Masaki Naohiko's diary lists the names of artists assigned by the Cultural Affairs Department on March 1 to attend. Mitsutani Kunishirō and Umehara Ryūzaburō were scheduled to leave on March 20 for the exhibition opening and Wada Eisaku, Okada Saburōsuke, Fujishima Takeji, and Wada Sanzō on April 20 for the exhibition closing.⁶⁵

The major Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* reported on April 11, the day after the opening, that Umehara indeed visited the exhibition as the Japanese representative and was quoted as praising it highly as the best

of Oriental art.⁶⁶ Two days later, along with more than 6,000 other visitors, a six-man Japanese delegation led by Mitsutani of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy arrived for the exhibition.⁶⁷ The biographies of a few of the other Japanese participants list visits to China in the same year, so it is possible that others not identified in the Chinese media were also on site during the exhibition.

The 1929 Ministry of Culture's National Exhibition of Fine Arts in Shanghai was an event taken extremely seriously by the artists and government officials in both China and Japan. The Chinese invitation to foreign exhibitors, issued under the directorship of Cai Yuanpei and Lin Fengmian, was clearly part of a cosmopolitan artistic and cultural agenda. Optimistic that, after years of civil war, the new government might permit China's modernization and restore the nation to its proper international stature, the Chinese organizers sought to fulfill multiple aims. Chinese achievements in the modern era would be displayed through selection of a wide range of high quality works of art from China's major artists. At the same time, the exhibition would provide fuel for future improvement, as an educational experience that demonstrated artistic possibilities that they might never have encountered before. This, the first Chinese national exhibition, would hang the works of Chinese artists in the company of their modern international colleagues.

The Japanese government's support for sending the best works by its most famous artists to the exhibition met the goals of the Chinese organizers in both regards. In one sense, it was deferential, an act of political recognition of the new government. By the same token, it was a gesture of artistic respect made by the Japanese art world toward their Chinese colleagues. At the same time, the high quality of the artwork sent to China was explicitly intended for another purpose, to demonstrate the success of Japan's nineteenth and twentieth century modernization, and therefore, implicitly, to emphasize Japan's position as Asia's great modern culture.

The Japanese decision to submit only *Yōga* clearly recognized the delicacy of China's response to the historical situation in which she had lost her leadership role in East Asian culture. Exhibition of Nihonga would lay overt claim to superiority in China's own traditional artistic medium and format, a politically inflammatory possibility. Instead, by exhibiting *Yōga*, the European form believed in both nations to represent modernity, such delicate cultural confrontations were avoided and Japan's achievements acknowledged with few questions.

Attempting to reconstruct the outlines of this event raises many questions about interpreting artistic efforts in the period. Postcolonial theory has tended to place Japanese painters in a position, one assumed to be ideologically virtuous, of tension or resistance against their European models. The dangerously close similarity of such views to the Pan-Asian ideology promoted during the war, for which such virtue cannot be assumed, is generally ignored. At the same time, the high degree of nationalism in China today has made it difficult to consider Japanese involvement in Chinese culture of the period as anything other than ideological preparation for the invasion.

From an art historical perspective, the impact on Chinese painters and students of directly engaging with the actual works of art exhibited by Japanese painters in China was powerful, and in particular the experience of seeing for themselves the rich palette and often superb brush handling of a generation of highly trained Japanese masters. However, as I have attempted to demonstrate here, the impact of the cultural interaction extended beyond the physical borders of any one painting, and was not limited by the space of the Shanghai exhibition hall that housed the event or the temporal span of the exhibition. Chinese and Japanese organizers alike seem to have intended that Chinese viewers approach the Japanese works as windows through which they might see modernity. As windows, their near invisibility may have, in the end, been an advantage—it was much more difficult to stick ideological banners to slippery glass. Japanese styles and approaches became an integral part of modern Chinese art, and their sources forgotten.

APPENDIX 1: PREFACE TO *MEIZHAN TEKAN*, VOLUME 1

The ancients always emphasized Rites and Music; we moderns emphasize science and art. The broad definition of art can include music, but the narrow definition in our country refers to painting and calligraphy (*shuhua*). In Europe, it refers to architecture, sculpture, and painting (*tuhua*). In the past decade, in our country, we have followed the system of European art schools to establish specialized schools for art. No matter whether public or private, they all place painting (*tuhua*) at the core of the curriculum, but also include sculpture. No school yet includes architecture. People who went to Europe to study also mainly studied painting (*tuhua*). Only a few studied sculpture and architecture. Similarly, in our country, no matter whether a solo or group exhibition, most of them only

show painting and calligraphy. This is the result of thousands of years of history, and is not something we can change in a short time.

In 1928 the Daxueyuan accepted the request of the Art Education Committee and decided to hold a national art exhibition. Before the preparation was complete, the Daxueyuan reorganized as the Ministry of Education, so the preparatory work was continued by the new ministry. On April 10, 1929, the show opened and lasted for twenty days. Before this exhibition opened, because of limited budget and complicated structures, we all worried that it could not happen. Fortunately, because of the support of the Minister of Education and his staff, along with the artists who served on the organizing committees, with very frank, forthright, and constructive attitudes, and very carefully and well-considered procedures, this unprecedented large-scale exhibition took place smoothly.

The works displayed in the exhibition were very broad in scope: (1) painting and calligraphy, (2) epigraphy and seal-carving, (3) Western painting, (4) sculpture, (5) architecture, (6) arts and crafts, (7) art photography. Horizontally it included works from the Japanese Imperial Fine Arts Academy; the Nikakai; the Shun'yōkai; and the Kokugakai, as well as recent works by European and American artists living in Shanghai. Vertically it also displayed the ancient art works loaned by private collectors as well as masterpieces by recently deceased artists, all of which were rotated on a daily basis. These works were all displayed as reference works. Therefore we can say that this exhibition included all that should be included, without limitation.

Upon the opening of the exhibition, the three-day periodical *Meizhan* began publication. It published all sorts of introductions and criticism and also photographs of selected exhibits. Now, after the exhibition has concluded, the exhibits have been compiled into two volumes, ancient and modern, as a commemoration of the exhibition. Ten or twenty years from now, . . . when our art has achieved progress, we will see this as a very well made record. We will need to look at this as a reference and know what hard work and good results have been accomplished. There is no doubt that future generations will see this as valuable material in Chinese art history. I was one of the initiators of this exhibition and here I want to express my gratitude to the people who carried out the exhibition and edited this volume.

Cai Yuanpei
Oct. 15, 1929

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF JAPANESE EXHIBITORS,
 1929 CHINESE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION NATIONAL
 ART EXHIBITION

Organizing Committee⁶⁸

Committee Chair: Masaki Naohiko

Members: Nakamura Fusetsu, Fujishima Takeji, Okada Saburōsuke, Mitsutani Kunishiro, Wada Eisaku, Yamashita Shintarō, Kosugi Misei (Hōan), Ishii Hakutei, Yamamoto Kanae, Wada Sanzō, Umehara Ryūzaburō

Participating Artists

Imperial Fine Arts Academy

[Six fellows of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy and also organizers of the exhibition:]

Okada Saburōsuke, Wada Eisaku, Fujishima Takeji,
 Nakamura Fusetsu, Mitsutani Kunishirō, Wada Sanzō

[Eighteen artists, all jurors for the Teiten:]

Nagatochi Hideta (1873–1942), Nagahara Kōtarō (1864–1930), Kobayashi Mango (1870–1947), Tanabe Itaru (1886–1968), Ishikawa Toraji, Ōta Kijirō (1883–1951), Ōkubo Sakujirō (1890–1973), Kanayama Heizō (1883–1964), Katada Tokurō (1889–1934), Yoshida Hiroshi (1876–1950), Tsuji Hisashi (1884–1974), Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874–1964), Minami Kunzō (1883–1950), Shirataki Ikonosuke (1873–1950), Yunoki Hisata (1885–1970), Shimizu Yoshio (1871–1954), Kojima Torajirō (1881–1929), Aoyama Kumaji (1886–1932)

[Eight artists, "Recommenders" for the Teiten:]

Ōta Saburō (1884–1969), Ōno Takanori (1886–1945), Yoshimura Yoshimatsu (1886–1965), Yoshida Shigeru (1883–1953), Takamura Masao (1876–1954), Sōma Kiichi (1885–1966), Terauchi Manjirō, Okuse Eizō (1891–1975)

Nikakai [thirteen members and thirteen associates:]

Ishii Hakutei, Yamashita Shintarō, Koide Narashige (1887–1931), Kumagai Morikazu (1880–1977), Kuroda Jūtarō (1887–1970), Masamune Tokusaburō (1883–1962), Nabei Katsuyuki (1888–1969), Nakagawa Kigen (1892–1972), Sakamoto

Hanjirō (1882–1969), Tsuda Seifū (1880–1978), Yasui Sōtarō (1888–1955), Yokoi Reiichi, Yuasa Ichirō (1868–1931)

Below are thirteen associate members:

Hanihara Kuwayo (1876–1934, female), Hayashi Takeshi, Kawakami Sakyō (1889–1971), Koga Harue, Kojima Zentarō, Satomi Katsuzō, Shiizuka Ichio, Suzuki Tsuguo (1894–1984), Suzuki Yasunori (1891–1974), Taguchi Seigo (1897–1943), Yoshida Takashi (1897–1929), Kojima Zenzaburō, Tōgō Seiji (1897–1978)

Shun'yōkai [8 members:]

Kosugi Misei (Hōan), Yamamoto Kanae, Adachi Gen'ichirō (1889–1973), Koyama Keizō (1897–1987), Yamazaki Shōzō (1896–1945), Kitō Kamejirō (1897–1952), Kobayashi Tokusaburō, Okamoto Ippei (1886–1948)

Kokugakai [6 members:]

Umehara Ryūzaburō, Yamawaki Shintoku (1886–1952), Kawashima Riichirō (1886–1971), Tsubaki Sadao (1896–1957), Kōno Michisei (1895–1950), Ōhashi Kōkichi (1898–1984)

PART III

Defining the Canon

9. (Re-)Canonizing Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century

The Kyoto Circle

Tamaki Maeda

If, at the beginning of the twentieth century, literati painting fell from the mainstream of Chinese art, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed its rejuvenation as the core of *guohua* (national painting).¹ The fall coincided with the removal of Confucianism from the educational system in the 1900s, followed by the extinction of the scholar-official class with the demise of the Qing dynasty in 1911.² The resurgence began around the time of the establishment of “Chinese” painting and art history as major subjects in art schools.³ To be sure, literati painting was not limited to the world of scholar-officials during the Qing, but the vanishing of that class was a significant loss. Its rejuvenation, therefore, at least in part, required restructuring of the age-old “scholars’ art” into part of the new “national painting” in Republican-period China.

Japan played a critical role in this restructuring, and this chapter aims to provide insights into this role by investigating a Sinophile circle centered in Kyoto. This circle, including scholars, publishers, and industrialists, propagated Chinese art during the decades following the fall of the Qing. They imported and collected antiquities from China, authenticated, displayed, and published them, and also lectured and wrote histories on Chinese art. This chapter focuses on three leading figures in the circle. Harada Gorō (1893–1980), who owned the Hakubundo publishing company, was a dealer engaged in the large-scale importation of Chinese paintings to Japan. The Qing loyalist Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), who fled to Kyoto at the fall of the dynasty, brought a vast number of paintings to Japan and helped to spread the literati painting paradigm favored by Qing scholar-connoisseurs. And the Sinologist Naitō Konan (1866–1934) authored the *Shina kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting) and promoted literati painting as the core of East Asian art. The Kyoto circle, repre-

sented here by Harada, Luo, and Naitō, helped to first canonize literati painting in Japan and then re-canonicalize it in its birthplace, China.⁴

HARADA GORŌ

Japan had a long history of importing cultural artifacts from China, dating back at least to the first century C.E. and with its latest surge during the decades following the 1911 Revolution.⁵ Harada Gorō was arguably the most prolific Japanese dealer in Chinese paintings ever. He first came in contact with paintings owned by former Qing scholar-officials through his father's (Shōzaemon, active ca. 1890s–1930s) close connections with Naitō Konan and Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932), a Sinophile diplomat and future prime minister.⁶ After the fall of the Qing dynasty, its scholar-officials tried to find a way to sell their art collections. Some contacted art dealers in Tokyo, but they were indifferent. Others consulted with Naitō. Still others contacted Japanese foreign affairs officials, who brought the matter to Inukai. Both Naitō and Inukai recommended that the former Qing officials send their precious objects to the Hakubundō, the publishing company that the Harada family owned. Soon big boxes filled with paintings and works of calligraphy began to arrive at the Hakubundō from China, without any warning to them.

The Haradas sold the first shipment of artworks to their close associates in the publishing industry, Ueno Riichi (1848–1919) of the *Asahi shinbun* and Motoyama Hikoichi (1853–1932) of the *Mainichi shinbun* and *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*. Ogawa Tamejirō (1852–1926), a banker and the president of the Hanshin Railway Company, who had published his books with Hakubundō, also bought some works of art. Much to the Haradas' surprise, no sooner had the initial batch been sold than more shipments from China arrived. The Haradas thus became dealers in Chinese artwork, mostly paintings and works of calligraphy.⁷

Some of the former Qing officials who sent artworks to the Haradas had access to the Qing Imperial Collection. Chen Baochen (1848–1935) was a *shifu* (educator of princes) for the last emperor of China, Pu-yi (1906–67, r. 1908–12). Chen was possibly looking for money to support the young Pu-yi, who was only five when his dynasty fell. Chen's shipment arrived at the Hakubundō accompanied by a letter; deeply concerned that the Imperial Collection would be scattered and lost, Chen hoped that the treasures would remain in East Asia.⁸ Chen's shipment included such works as *Listening to a Pipa Lute* by Wen Jia (1501–83) (first purchased by Yamamoto Teijirō and now in the Abe Collection). Chen's

nephew Liu Xiangye was a frequent visitor to Japan who from time to time pawned paintings on the Haradas. The famous *Orchid* by Zheng Sixiao (1241–1318) was one such painting Liu pawned (now in the Abe Collection).⁹

Some of the Chinese who sold paintings in Japan sought to raise large amounts of money. Sometime in the 1910s, Luo Zhenyu held an exhibition of paintings of his collection in Kyoto in order to help victims of a flood in the Yangzi River Valley. *In the Spirit of the Autumn Sound Rhapsody* by Hua Yan (1682–1756) was purchased by Naitō at that time (now in the Abe Collection).¹⁰ Lin Changmin (1874–1925) of the Democratic Party (Minzhudang) sought financial aid for military campaigns in China, and he continued to send boxes full of treasures to the Haradas, demanding huge sums in return. Emerging from one of Lin's boxes was *Growing Fungi at the Cenwei Dwelling* by Wu Li (1632–1718) (now in the Ueno Collection of the Kyoto National Museum).¹¹

After a dozen years of selling Chinese art, Harada Gorō assumed a more active role as a dealer. Beginning in 1926, he went to China more than ten times to purchase paintings.¹² Harada later recalled that he occasionally looked at more than a thousand paintings in a single day.¹³ Among his contacts in China was the painter Jin Kaifan (1895–1946), from whom Harada bought *Lean Horse* by Gong Kai (1222–1307) (now in the Abe Collection).¹⁴ A set of four hanging scrolls, *Fruits of the Four Seasons* by Zhao Zhiqian (1829–84) (now in the Abe Collection), was purchased from Jin Songqing of Shanghai, a scholar who had contacts with Naitō.¹⁵

Harada sometimes went to great trouble to acquire renowned works. Inukai once told him to look for *Farewell to Wu Kuan* by Shen Zhou (1427–1509) (now in a private collection in Tokyo).¹⁶ After visiting many collectors and encountering many copies, Harada finally located the original. It had been owned by the former Qing scholar-official Bao-xi (1871–1930), who was reluctant to disclose that he had pawned the painting. Harada bought the deposit receipt from Bao-xi (for twice what Bao-xi owed) and acquired the painting. Bao-xi later sent Harada a colophon to be appended to it.

Harada began dealing in Chinese paintings after 1911; then why did he not make purchasing trips to China until the mid-1920s? Apparently, Harada initially had difficulty finding buyers. Despite the long history of cultural imports from China and the growing number of Japanese visitors, especially to Shanghai, starting in the mid-nineteenth century,¹⁷ the Japanese had little understanding of the significance to the Chinese of the paintings with which Harada was dealing.

Thirteen Emperors from the Han to the Sui Dynasty, a rare masterpiece ascribed to the Tang-dynasty painter Yan Liben (d. 673), for example, could not be sold in Japan; it later entered the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹⁸ The scroll was shipped to the Haradas twice, but it remained unsold. It was brought for a third time by the owner, Liang Hongzhi (1883–46), a former Qing official and future head of the Japanese puppet government in Nanjing (est. 1938). Liang had debts of 30,000 *yen*, and that was the price he asked for. Harada tried many potential buyers but without success. Sumitomo Kan'ichi (1896–1956) of the Sumitomo Financial Clique, though renowned for his collection of Chinese paintings, declined, stating that he could not understand such an old painting. The prominent Nihonga painter Yasuda Yukihiko (1884–1978) refused to even look at the scroll, declaring that he did not understand Chinese painting at all. At last, Harada went to Abe Fusajirō (1868–1937) of the Tōyō Bōseki Textile Company, another famous collector of Chinese paintings, who negotiated on the price, insisting on ten percent less, 27,000 *yen*. The price was too low for Harada to even propose to Liang.

The Japanese were generally ignorant about the mainstream of Chinese painting defined by Chinese scholars and were particularly uninterested in newly imported ones. The majority of the paintings received by the Haradas were works by Ming and Qing literati painters, many famous in China but almost unknown in Japan. Before the Haradas' time, there were some Ming and Qing paintings imported to Japan. Sinophiles of the Edo period, for example, cherished works by *raiaku gajin*, or painters who visited Japan, chiefly from China.¹⁹ Many were merchants and little known in China as painters. To make matters more difficult for the Haradas, those who collected newly imported art were more interested in European Impressionism and Post-Impressionism than Chinese art.²⁰

The possibility for Harada to find buyers in Tokyo was particularly low. Many entrepreneurs in the areas around Tokyo competed to own *kowatari* (literally, old migration), *objets d'art* imported from the continent before the seventeenth century.²¹ They were practitioners of *chadō* (or *sadō*, way of tea) and were eager to acquire the objects that had been used and/or displayed in famous tea ceremonies, sponsored by shoguns or daimyo (local lords).²² The most revered were objects from the Ashikaga Shogunate Collection, featuring paintings ascribed to academy professionals and Chan (Zen) priests of the Song and Yuan periods. Those ascribed to Song Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25), the Academy artist Ma Yuan (1190–1279), and the monk-painter Muqi (latter half of the thirteenth century), among others, were especially desired.

The lack of understanding in Japan about Chinese scholars' views of Chinese painting required that Harada educate potential buyers, most of whom were entrepreneurs in Kansai (the area in and around Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe).²³ Working with Luo Zhenyu, Naitō Konan, and two other scholars, Nagao Uzan (1864–1942) and Tomioka Kenzō (1873–1937), Harada put together lectures, exhibitions, and publications.

In 1916 Hakubundō launched a series of catalogs of Chinese calligraphy and painting, *Nanshū ihatsu* (Legacy of the Southern School, 5 vols., 1916–27), edited by the publishers themselves, with the accompanying *Nanshū ihatsui batsubi* (Commentary on the Legacy of the Southern School, 2 vols., 1916) written by Luo Zhenyu and translated by Nagao Uzan. This was followed by *Shinchō shogafu* (Catalog of Qing dynasty calligraphy and painting, 1917), edited by Naitō Konan; *Shi-Ō Go Un* (Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun, 1919), edited by Tomioka Kenzō; *Min shi taika gafu* (Catalog of works by the four great masters of the Ming, 1924),²⁴ edited by Naitō; *Nanga engen* (The origin of the Southern School of painting, 1928), by Harada Gorō; *Tōan zō shogafu* (Catalog of works of calligraphy and paintings in the Tōan Collection, 1928), edited by Saitō Tōan; and *Sōraikan kinshō* (Pleasure of the Sōraikan Collection, 1930–39), by Abe Fusajirō et al.

Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun, like other publications by Hakubundō, provides insights into the collaboration between members of the Kyoto circle in propagating literati painting.²⁵ This catalog was put together by Tomioka Kenzō, Naitō's colleague at Kyoto Imperial University and a specialist in ancient Chinese mirrors, and was published in 1919, a year after Kenzō's early death. The book deals with the six orthodox masters of the late Qing and early Ming periods,²⁶ who were artistic and theoretical descendants of Dong Qichang (1555–1636). The first page has calligraphy by Luo Zhenyu, which reads *Wuhui xinchuan*, or the "transmission of the way of Wuhui." Wuhui refers to Jiangsu Province where Dong and the six masters were active. Next is a painting of Kenzō's residence by his father, the renowned painter Tomioka Tessai (1836–1924), then prefaces by Naitō and Nagao, the table of contents, and the text by Kenzō. Reproduced in the book were fifty-one paintings and one work of calligraphy ascribed to the six orthodox masters, all owned by Japanese collectors in the Kansai region, except for eight works possessed by the Luo Zhenyu, who then lived in Kyoto.

The aforementioned Hakubundō catalogs, including the *Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun*, featured collotype reproductions, contributing enormously to the dissemination of images of Chinese paintings in Japan (and also

in China).²⁷ Collotype was a relatively new printing technology, brought to Japan from the United States by the photographer Ogawa Kazumasa (1860–1929), an uncle of Harada Gorō, who established the first collotype printing shop in Tokyo in 1889.²⁸ Although collotype printing is slow and its plates last only for a few thousand copies, it permits fine reproduction with subtle details. The arrival of the new technology was particularly timely for the growing field of art history.²⁹ Ogawa's student Kobayashi Chūjirō (1869–1951) opened a collotype shop in Kyoto and worked for Hakubundō.

LUO ZHENYU

Luo Zhenyu was the Chinese scholar who contributed enormously to the importation of Chinese paintings and the transmission of the literati ideal to Japan. A former high-ranking Qing official, Luo was also a revered calligrapher and a scholar, pioneering in the study of ancient Chinese script.³⁰

Luo's long connection with Japan went back to the late nineteenth century, when he established the Nongbaoguan (Office of Agricultural Information) in Shanghai. One of the missions of the Nongbaoguan was to translate and publish Japanese and European books on agriculture. In 1896 Luo invited the Sinologist Fujita Toyohachi (1869–1929) to Shanghai as a translator. It was through Fujita that Luo met, in Shanghai, Sinologists from the Kyoto Imperial University: Naitō Konan, Tomioka Kenzō, and Kano Naoki (1868–1947).³¹ Luo first went to Japan in 1901 to study its educational system, and again in 1909 to conduct research on agriculture.

Following the 1911 Revolution, Luo fled to Japan.³² When revolution broke out in Wuchang in October of that year, Luo was immediately invited to Japan by Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948)—the head of the temple Nishi Honganji, who had traveled in Central Asia to explore the Silk Road.³³ Concerned about the dangers facing Qing loyalists, Ōtani urged Luo to escape. Luo, however, had no recollection of having met him and made no plans to move. More invitations reached Luo from his close associates, Naitō, Kano, and Kenzō, all calling for him to come to Kyoto, where they had already prepared a residence for him. In December Luo left for Japan in a group of twenty people: Luo, his student and the literature scholar Wang Guowei (1877–1927), Luo's son-in-law Liu Dakun, and their three families.

Luo brought a vast number of precious objects to Japan. He was an

obsessive collector of ancient things, including seals, bronzes, mirrors, rubbings of stelae, *mingqi* (funerary objects), coins, roof tiles, *fubei*,³⁴ and oracle bones.³⁵ He also had at least several hundred thousand books. Most important here, he was an ardent collector of the painting and calligraphy of all periods. Luo transported much of his possessions to Japan. He later recalled:

The rebels rose in the Wuhan region and the chief culprit seized the country.³⁶ I could no longer bear to watch the nation in turmoil. Promptly selling clothes and jewelry for traveling money, I crossed the sea, accompanied by my family. It took over a month to complete the transportation of more than one hundred boxes filled with books and other goods. I threw away those whose value was not worth the trouble. Having arrived east of the sea [to Japan], there was no one to serve. I gradually sold my antique vessels for rice.³⁷

The estate prepared for him in Kyoto was apparently too small for the three families and all their belongings. Luo immediately rented two other houses.³⁸ After a year, he built a new residence, with a neighboring archival storage building called the Great Cloud Library (*Dayun shuku*). There, together with Wang Guowei, he spent his time writing. Most of Luo's publications during his years in Japan were about ancient script, and the primary sources were objects in his collection.³⁹ To raise money for living and publishing, Luo sold off "300,000 books in the Great Cloud Library, several thousand rubbings of ancient bronzes and stone stele, over 1,000 pieces of old *yiqi* ware,⁴⁰ and other ancient objects."⁴¹ Above all Luo sold many paintings.

Exactly how many paintings Luo brought to Japan is not known, perhaps a few hundred. Even before he left China in December 1911, he had sent more than one hundred paintings to Kyoto Imperial University. The August 1911 issue of *Shoga kottō zasshi* reports:

Paintings owned by Luo Zhenyu, one of the best known collectors in Beijing, China, have arrived at Kyoto Imperial University. More than one hundred superb works were selected from them and exhibited. The show was held in the middle of the last month, at the city's Special School of Painting,⁴² to be viewed by request. To display so many excellent Chinese paintings in this country is virtually unprecedented, and its benefit for [Japanese] artists is substantial. The main works in the exhibition were: from the Song and Yuan periods, *Villagers' Wedding Procession* by Li Tang [1131–62] and *Pheasant and Loquats* by Meng Yurun [fl. 14th century]; and from the Ming and the Qing periods, the long handscroll *Landscape* by Chen Jiasui [1563–1687], *Wind and Forest Handscroll* by Shen Shitian [Shen Zhou],

Bamboo by Wen Zhengmeng [1585–1645], a joint work, *Six Beauties* by Qiu Ying [early 16th century] and Lu Zhi [1496–1576], *Sunset on a Spring Bank* by Yun Nantian [Shouping, 1633–90], and *Landscape* by Wang Shigu [Wang Hui, 1632–1717], among others.⁴³

Luo shipped these paintings to Japan apparently to fund the purchase of archaeological sites in Anyang.⁴⁴ In 1899 oracle bones had been brought to scholars' attention for the first time, and thereafter he planned to devote himself to research on the ancient form of writing on them.⁴⁵ When the revolution broke out in 1911, Luo was in the midst of negotiation with the government to purchase the sites. Instead of secluding himself in Anyang, however, he ended up going to Japan, bringing with him 17,000 oracle bones.

Another attempt to sell paintings in the Luo Collection in Japan was the abovementioned exhibition organized to raise funds for the victims of a flood in the Yangzi Valley. It was held while Luo was living in Kyoto, sometime between 1911 and 1919.⁴⁶ In addition, thirteen works owned by him were shown at the Orchid Pavilion (Lanting) Gathering, held in Kyoto in 1913,⁴⁷ in commemoration of the 1,560th anniversary of the original Orchid Pavilion Gathering held in China in 353.⁴⁸

Besides these exhibitions Luo likely sold paintings through Hakubundō, with whom he had many ties.⁴⁹ Hakubundō published some of Luo's books. Those and other books by Luo published in Japan tend to feature collotypes produced by Kobayashi Chūjirō, who worked for the Haradas. Joining Naitō and Nagao, Luo often authenticated paintings for the Haradas.⁵⁰ One of the works Luo authenticated for them may have been *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Zan*, ascribed to Dong Qichang, advertised by the Kyoto dealer Kimondō in the 2001 issue of the calligraphy journal *Shoron*.⁵¹ This advertisement includes Luo's box inscription (and Nagao's colophon), attesting Luo's authentication.⁵²

Aside from displaying, selling, and authenticating paintings, Luo promoted Chinese art, especially literati painting, through his publications. As already mentioned, Hakubundō launched a series of collotype catalogs on Chinese art in 1916 with *Legacy of the Southern School* and an accompanying two-volume commentary written by Luo.⁵³ The commentary introduced twenty-two works ascribed to seventeen artists in chronological order. The artists were two anonymous painters of the Six Dynasties and Tang Dynasty, Wang Wei (ca. 701–61), Jing Hao (ca. 855–915), Dong Yuan (d. 962), Juran (fl. ca. 960–85), Li Cheng (919–67), Guo Xi (ca. 1020–ca. 1090), Zhao Lingrang (ca. 1070–1100), Mi Fu (1051–1107), Mi Youren (1072–1151), Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62), Ma Hezhi (fl. second half of

thirteenth century), Qian Xuan (1235–1305), Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), Gao Kegong (1248–1322), and Zhu Darun (1294–1365).⁵⁴ The works discussed in the commentary were all landscapes, except for a joint work by Gaozong and Ma, *Illustrated Scroll of the Book of Odes in a Tang Style*.⁵⁵

Through the commentary, Luo intended to spread Dong Qichang's theory of the Southern School of painting in Japan. Among the scholars' writings to which the commentary refers, Dong was by far the most frequent.⁵⁶ Luo also presented in the commentary the idea that collector-connoisseurs were a vital part of the Southern School. In his discussion of a given painting, generally more important than the painting itself was who owned the painting, who wrote the colophons, and who authenticated it, and he frequently quoted such scholar-connoisseurs as Mi Fu, Zhao Mengfu, and Dong Qichang. Following scholarly tradition, Luo also presented himself as a connoisseur-collector. Seventeen of the twenty-two paintings discussed in the book came from his collection.⁵⁷ He made new attributions for four works that he owned, ascribing one each to Jing Hao, Dong Yuan, Li Cheng, and Mi Fu.⁵⁸

Shortly before his return to China in 1919, Luo sold off a group of his paintings and works of calligraphy to the Osaka-based collector Saitō Tōan.⁵⁹ They were reproduced in *Tōan zō shogafu*, published by Hakubundō in 1928. The book has reproductions of fourteen calligraphy pieces and thirty-nine paintings, covering the period from the Six Dynasties to the Qing period. (In this instance the Six Dynasties was represented by Wang Xizhi [303–61] but not by his original work. Instead, the book reproduced a second-generation copy—namely, a copy ascribed to an anonymous Song calligrapher of the Tang calligrapher Chu Suiliang's [596–659] copy of Wang Xizhi's *Orchid Pavilion*.)

Returning to China, Luo served as *shifu* to Pu-yi. Luo maintained a close relationship with Japan and later became a high-ranking official of the Japanese puppet government of Manchukuo (1932–45). The last exhibition in Japan of paintings in Luo's collection was held in 1938, two years before his death.⁶⁰

NAITŌ KONAN

A leading figure in the field of Sinology, Naitō Konan provided a theoretical basis for the Kyoto circle to promote literati painting. Elsewhere I have analyzed Naitō's publications concerning art history extensively,⁶¹ and here shall provide a brief summary. I then consider his scholarship in relation to the history of Chinese art as viewed in Japan, as well as in

China. An ardent promoter of newly imported antiquities from China, Naitō offered lectures in 1922 and 1923 on the history of Chinese painting. Subsequently, from 1926 to 1931, he published a series of articles, covering Chinese painting from the pre-historic to early Ming eras. These articles and several other essays by Naitō were put together as *Shina kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting), first published in 1938, four years after the author's death.⁶²

The principal sources for Naitō's *Shina kaiga shi* were works imported to Japan in the 1910s and 1920s, and a vast array of writings by Chinese scholars, from sixth-century Xie He (ca. 500-ca. 535) to Luo Zhenyu himself, ranging from biographies of artists, to commentaries on paintings, and to theories of painting. Naitō put these sources into a narrative of artistic progress with ink landscapes and expressionism as its central foci. In this framework, he argued that the period from the Song era through the Ming and Qing was the golden-age of Chinese painting, marked by a series of advances in literati painting. When arguing for progress, Naitō had in mind Western civilization—as opposed to East Asian. In his 1922 lecture at the *Nangain* (Nanga Academy), he claimed that literati painting was the core of East Asian art and was the most advanced genre of painting in the world.⁶³

What position did Naitō occupy in the developing study of art history in Japan at that time? Art history was a relatively new academic discipline; its "beginning" has been credited to Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin, 1862–1913), who had given a series of lectures on Japanese and Chinese art at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō) in the 1890s.⁶⁴ Following Okakura's lead, the Japanese government published the first periodized survey of Japanese art, in French, for the Paris Exposition of 1900 (*Histoire de l'Art du Japon*), and the next year released a Japanese version (*Kōhon Nihon bijutsu ryakushi*).⁶⁵ Once this basic narrative of national art was laid out, Japanese art historians expanded their research from Japanese to "Eastern" art—although this "Eastern" art was largely limited to Chinese and Japanese objects.⁶⁶ Political ramifications of their research aside, scholars at the time were motivated by a search for Japan's artistic origins, inasmuch as Japanese art had developed from continental models.

Not surprisingly, Japanese historians of East Asian art first focused on what was available in Japan. Okakura, who died in 1913, still considered the "old migration" as the canon of Chinese painting. As noted above, the core of the old migration was the Ashikaga Shogunate Collection. Consisting mostly of works ascribed to members of the Song Academy and twelfth- and thirteenth-century Chan (Zen) monks, this collection

was (and still is) the basis for the Japanese elevation of Song and Yuan painting (known collectively in Japan as “Sō-Genga”).⁶⁷ Okakura’s view was consistent with Ernest Fenollosa’s (1853–1908) famous attack on literati painting in 1882.⁶⁸

The flourishing artistic exchange with China in the early twentieth century brought about a shift in the perception of Chinese painting in Japan. Nakamura Fusetsu (1868–1943) and Oga Seiun (also known as Kojika Seiun), in their *Shina kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting), published in 1913, gave equal emphasis to the old migration and new migration (i.e., paintings imported to Japan in the early twentieth century), and in this sense presented a more holistic view of Chinese art.⁶⁹ Hakubundō began publishing on Chinese art—with books by Luo, Tomioka Kenzō, and Naitō—in the mid-1910s, and these (and subsequent publications) almost exclusively focused on the new migration, with a strong emphasis on literati painting. The trend toward literati painting soon reached Tokyo, generating the widespread movement known as new literati painting (*shin nanga*). The art historian Ōmura Seigai (1868–1927) published *Bunjinga no fukkō* (The revival of literati painting) in 1921, and with this Ōmura reversed his teacher Okakura’s view.⁷⁰ Naitō Konan, who had led the Kyoto circle from the beginning, was completing his vision of canonizing literati painting in the 1920s, with the aforementioned series of articles later published as *Shina kaigashi*. (By 1930, Naitō’s productivity declined perhaps due to health problems.)

Consider the Kyoto circle in relation to the status of literati painting in China at that time. Luo Zhenyu, who fled to Kyoto in 1911, represented Qing loyalists who exported paintings from China to Japan. In the late 1910s, precisely at the time in which Tomioka Kenzō’s *Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun* was published in Japan, the “Four Wangs” featured in this work, exemplars of orthodox literati painting, were being attacked in China by such political activists as Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Chen Duxiu (1879–1942) as “symbols of the decadence of the Qing period.”⁷¹

Subsequent developments in the field of art history in China suggest that the re-canonicalization of literati painting was linked to Japan.⁷² Chen Shizeng (Chen Hengke, 1876–1923) translated Ōmura’s *Revival of Literati Painting*, to be included in his *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu* (Research in Chinese literati painting), published in 1922.⁷³ In 1926, Pan Tianshou (1886–1971) adapted Nakamura and Oga’s work, and published *Zhongguo huihua shi* (History of Chinese painting).⁷⁴ Although the text does not particularly focus on literati painting, it was a part of a restructuring of the history of Chinese painting into a narrative of periodized progress.

Perhaps more important in re-canonicalizing literati painting in China was *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi* (Complete history of Chinese painting) by Zheng Chang (Wuchang, 1894–1952), published in 1929.⁷⁵ To establish a direct link between Zheng's work and Japanese scholarship is difficult, although he was well informed about it.⁷⁶ There is a possibility that Naitō and Zheng were simultaneously working on similar ideas. Both viewed literati painting as the most advanced genre of Chinese art, and from the Song to the Qing period to be the height of Chinese painting. Both did not deal with art in the Republican period, and their arguments were open-ended. Also, like many other Chinese and Japanese intellectuals, both Naitō and Zheng thought China, by and large, represented the origin of East Asian art.

The Kyoto circle, when considered along with developments in art history in the early twentieth century, spearheaded the canonization of literati painting in Japan and the subsequent re-canonicalization in China. Their activities, on the whole, began with the importation of antiquities from the Qing Imperial Collection and various scholar-officials' collections, which well presented the later development of literati painting. In a sense, it can be said that the Kyoto circle provided a kind of refuge for literati painting, at the time when it was attacked as a symbol of the Manchu court, and a center of literati art (temporarily) shifted from China to Japan. It is possible that the dispersion of the Qing collections in the foreign land helped to shake off the association of literati painting with the Manchus, and thereby made it easier later to re-import it, as the core of China's "national painting."

The Kyoto circle were active at the critical moment in which established scholar-connoisseurs' views were woven into a new history of Chinese art, characterized by periodization and artistic progression. Many dispersed objects, which went through the Kyoto circle, were entered into museums and displayed to the public, and a large number of these paintings were reproduced in publications.⁷⁷ The easy access to a wide range of images, in the long run, brought about a change in art historical practice, from one based largely on painting treatises, to one with more emphasis on visual analysis. This change helped to shape the still dominant narrative of the history of Chinese painting, which was based on stylistic progression and whose core was literati painting. Naitō's scholarship can be viewed as the beginning of that narrative. It should be noted that, in retrospect, this change also helped to de-authenticate the works previously thought authentic. Ironically, Naitō is today viewed by scholars

as “naïve” as an art historian due to his inclusion of many “inauthentic” works in his *History*. Some even use the phrase “Luo Zhenyu painting” to indicate a dubious work.⁷⁸

Finally, national boundaries, marked largely by politics and geography, were in fact much more in flux in the world of art. Japanese ideas about “East Asia” in modern times were famously imperialistic, and recent postcolonial theories have emphasized that point—such that in cultural studies any interpretations other than culture serving the political end of the colonizer (Japan) would seem to be utterly incorrect. This view tends to focus only on ways in which the Japanese manipulated the cultures of the continent. At least in the art world, however, as attested by Naitō’s research, some Japanese scholars who envisioned East Asia as one cultural entity understood and promoted Chinese scholars’ views of Chinese art, much more so than perhaps any of the Japanese had previously been able to. There was a strong urge among Japanese intellectuals to explore Chinese art, as the origins of Japanese culture—an idea consistent with Chinese intellectuals who claimed China as the originator of East Asian art. Supported by this nexus of their ideas about East Asia, developments in art history in early-twentieth-century China and Japan were in large part mutually dependent. It was this bonding that brought about the (re-)canonization of literati painting in the Sino-Japanese art world.

10. The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field

A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi

Kuiyi Shen

Recent efforts in Chinese art history to question, reformulate, or reconstruct the canon of Chinese painting are based upon an understanding in the discipline that we share a commonly accepted structure of ideas and works of art. The canon of Chinese painting is the product of the critical judgments, historical research, and, sometimes, the practical needs of our predecessors, each of which has built a part of the edifice. A major part of the reformulation effort that has been under way in the 1980s and 1990s is aimed, directly or indirectly, at bringing together the divergent views of the canon, be they Marxist or formalist, that developed in China and the West respectively between 1950 and 1980. What we may not always remember is that those alternative canons share the same foundations, the textbooks on Chinese art history written during the first half of the twentieth century. A major change in the field of art history over the past two decades has been the expansion of its canon to include the art of twentieth-century China. What has not been recognized, however, is that the birth and development of the discipline of Chinese art history itself is intimately tied to the contentious issues in play as a modern Chinese art world was formed in the early decades of the last century.¹

Based on a study of modern programs of art education in the 1920s and comparisons among key art-historical texts, this chapter makes two linked arguments: that the newly defined art-historical structure of the period owed an overwhelming and now forgotten debt to Japanese scholarship and that it altered previous understandings of China's artistic past in significant ways. The Japanese art-historical model provided such a practical and intellectually satisfying solution to the challenges confronted by the May Fourth generation that it has survived in China to the present day.

In the early twentieth century, China acutely needed rapid modernization. Japan, which was believed by Chinese to be close to China in customs and history, had already succeeded in modernizing. In that period, such Japanese scholars as Ōmura Seigai (1868–1927) shared with men such as Chen Shizeng (1876–1923) a passion for Confucian scholarship and literati aesthetics. If Japan borrowed Western art-historical formulations, and through their initial application by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin, 1863–1913) and Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853–1908) to the arts of Japan, absorbed them, China in turn borrowed the Japanese reworking of those Occidental structures. Art history as a modern discipline thus came into existence in China in less than a decade during the 1920s based upon organizational frameworks developed in Japan. The rapid deployment in China of this form of art history was initially based on expediency, but the framework, once erected, so thoroughly suited Chinese needs that it remains in place today. By its condemnation of late Qing artistic stagnation and praise of the glories of Tang, Song, and Yuan painting, it helped Chinese art historians of the 1920s redefine their culture and tradition in a way that would raise its stature in the world. By the 1930s, major exhibitions of both premodern art and contemporary ink painting had been successfully displayed in Europe, bringing Chinese painting and its history into the context of the modern Western world. Finally, regardless of whether the scholarly, pedagogical, and ideological goals of the Japanese writers and their Chinese interpreters differed or converged, the Chinese found what they needed to rapidly develop their own, sometimes nationalistic, discourse. This cross-cultural interchange became an essential part of the construction of the field of Chinese art history.

If we say that in the 1920s the initial stage of the field of Chinese art history was established by Chen Shizeng, Pan Tianshou (1898–1971), and Zheng Wuchang (1894–1952), with a strong influence from Japanese scholarship, this field was strengthened by two scholars, Teng Gu (1901–41) and Fu Baoshi (1904–65), who gained prominence in the 1930s. Both men had studied in Japan.

Teng Gu was born in Baoshan County, Jiangsu, now part of Shanghai, and in 1918 graduated from the Shanghai Art Academy (Shanghai tuhua meishu xuexiao) at the age of seventeen. Two years later, in 1920, he went to Japan to study.² In Japan he became involved with a group of Chinese cultural figures, including Tian Han (1898–1968), Guo Moruo (1892–1978), Yu Dafu (1896–1945), and Zhang Ziping (1893–1959), all members of the Creation Society (Chuangzaoshe), and threw himself into literary activities. During this period he wrote many different kinds of articles on

topics in poetry, painting, philosophy, theater, and literature for periodicals published in China and Japan, such as *Meishu* (Art), *Xiju* (Drama), *Dongfang zazhi* ("Eastern miscellany"), *Chuangzao jikan* (Creation quarterly), *Xueyi zazhi* (Literature and art), and *Shishi xinbao* (News of current events). In 1921, he and thirteen friends, including Shen Yanbing (Mao Dun, 1896–1981), Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958), and Ouyang Yuqian (1889–1962), established the Masses Drama Society (Minzhong xijushe), which published the first drama monthly issued in China, *Xiju*. At the invitation of his friend Yu Jifan (1891–1968), professor at the Shanghai Art Academy, he returned to Shanghai during the summer vacations of 1922 and 1923 to teach aesthetics and art theory classes at his alma mater. In 1924 he completed his studies in Japan and was formally hired by the Shanghai Art Academy as professor of aesthetics and art theory.

The following year, as a faculty member at the academy, he participated in the Seventh Exhibition of the Tianmahui (Heavenly Horse Society) and published an article, "Tianmahui zhi xintiao" (Principles of the Tianmahui), in *Yishu*'s special issue on this group. In 1926, he was recommended by the Art Research Association of Jiangsu Provincial Education Association (Jiangsusheng jiaoyuhui meishu yanjiuhui) to go to Japan to investigate Japanese art education and to invite Japanese elementary schools to send a children's painting exhibition to China for the reference of Chinese elementary school art teachers. On February 6, 1926, Teng Gu, Wang Jiyuan (1893–1975), Yang Qingqing (1893–1957), Zhang Chenbo, and Xue Zhen embarked on the *Shanhaimaru* for Japan. During the month they spent there, they visited the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum and other exhibitions, paid calls on Fujishima Takeji (1867–1943), Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958), Kosugi Höan (Misei, 1881–1964), and other well-known Japanese art professors, and examined various facilities for art, such as schools and galleries, in Tokyo and Kyoto. After he returned from Japan, Teng Gu was frequently involved in activities of the Art Research Association of the Jiangsu Provincial Education Association, including organizing lectures and programs. His group reported on what they had found in Japan and produced a clear proposal for the provincial authorities: (1) establish a provincial art exhibition; (2) expand the existing antiquities display center (*guwu chenliesuo*) into a provincial art museum; (3) add a special supervisor for art within the Provincial Education Department; and (4) reform public entertainment. Obviously, the purpose of this visit to Japan was to bring the most up-to-date Japanese arts policies and models of primary and secondary art education to Jiangsu.

In March of 1926, Teng Gu, along with Liu Haisu (1896–1994), Wang Yachen (1894–1983), Ni Yide (1901–70), Zhang Yuguang (1885–1968), Zhu Yingpeng (b. 1895), Yu Jifan, and other colleagues, organized the Shanghai Art League (*Shanghai yishu xuehui*), which incorporated more than ten existing schools, art clubs, and societies. Among them were the Aurora Art Society (*Chenguang yishuhui*), China Arts College (*Zhonghua yishu daxue*), Shanghai Arts College (*Shanghai yishu daxue*), Pacific Painting Society (*Taipingyang huahui*), Eastern Painting Society (*Dongfang huahui*), and China Art Photography Association (*Zhonghua meishu sheying xiehui*).

One particularly significant publication for the present study is his *Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi* (Concise history of Chinese art) of 1926. According to the introduction, before going to Japan he was strongly influenced by the theory of evolution as popularized in China by Liang Qichao (1873–1929). He started to collect art-historical materials five years earlier in preparation for writing this text, but lost most of them during the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 and the warlord battles in China. His very brief text (only twenty pages in modern reprint) was divided into four organically progressing periods: (1) birth and development (prehistory to Han); (2) interchange (Han, Wei-Jin, and Six Dynasties); (3) efflorescence (Tang through Song); and (4) decline (Yuan through Qing).³ This periodization differs from others' writings, such as those of Pan Tianshou and Chen Shizeng, which followed Nakamura Fusetsu (1868–1943) and Oga Seiun, and are roughly chronological. Pan and Chen divided Chinese painting into three large periods: early, medieval, and early modern.⁴ Their periodization also differed from Zheng Wuchang's in his *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi* (Complete history of Chinese painting), published in 1929. Although Zheng's writing still heavily relied on his Japanese predecessors and colleagues, he creatively restructured the chronology to further emphasize the social uses of art by dividing Chinese art history into four periods: (1) functional (prehistoric), (2) ritual (Xia-Han), (3) religious (Six Dynasties-Tang), and (4) literary (Song-Qing).⁵

Teng Gu's short art history book, which included not only painting but also sculpture and architecture, was distinctive in its more comprehensive view of the visual arts and in its more philosophical approach. We should, however, note that Teng Gu's general structure for Chinese art history was also strongly influenced by that of Japanese scholars at the time, although perhaps founded on different perceptions of what it meant. Designating Tang and Song as the most glorious period, but read-

ing the Yuan, and particularly the Ming and Qing, in a highly negative light, he wrote: "Therefore, from the Yuan to the Qing, the painters' artistic state of mind became steadily more shallow and narrow, to a death sentence from which they could not save themselves. In this period of decline the unique spirit of our nation fell into oblivion."⁶ The moment at which he wrote this small book was the most chaotic of the fifteen-year warlord period that followed the overthrow of the last imperial court. The twenty-five-year-old Teng Gu, distressed at the apparent failure of China's Republican Revolution to save the nation, sought urgently to revive Chinese art with his strong words.

In 1929, after a conflict with the national government in Nanjing, Teng Gu was expelled from the Nationalist party and a warrant issued for his arrest. He hid for a time in the Shanghai home of his writer-friend Shao Xunmei (1898–1975) before traveling to Germany to pursue graduate study. He studied in the philosophy department at Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin, passing his oral examination in 1932, and completing his Ph.D. dissertation in 1935;⁷ many important publications appeared in the last decade of his life, during and after his study in Germany. He published his best-known work, *Tang-Song huihua shi* (A history of Tang and Song painting), which was based on his doctoral thesis, in 1933. This book was related to his earlier *Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi*, expanding upon the chapter devoted to Tang and Song painting in the earlier work, but now using the research approach he had acquired in Germany. His writing was strongly influenced by the methodology of Heinrich Wölfflin (1847–1945), who had earlier taught in Berlin, and therefore focused on works of art rather than artists. The periodization, moreover, was based primarily on stylistic analysis. On this basis, then, Teng declared himself dissatisfied with the periodization proposed by the German scholar Friedrich Hirth (1845–1927) in his 1896 book *Über fremde Einflüsse in der chinesischen Kunst* (Chinese art under foreign influence) in which Hirth divided Chinese painting into three periods based solely upon the absence or presence of foreign influence. The first was from prehistory to 115 B.C.E., a period defined as one of indigenous Chinese artistic development, with no outside influence. The second dated from 115 B.C.E. to 67 B.C.E., when, he claimed, painting styles from the West invaded China. The final period of Hirth's interest was that of the importation of Buddhism.⁸

Besides Hirth, Teng Gu also compared his periodization to that of two other Western scholars, the Frenchman Maurice Paléologue (1859–1944) and the Englishman Stephen W. Bushell.⁹ Teng considered the periodization proposed in the former to be inaccurate on some counts and to ignore

stylistic evolution in favor of simple dynastic divisions on others. The latter he considered somewhat more accurate, but still too broad and general, and thus inadequate to differentiate stylistic characteristics of each era. By contrast, Teng waxed enthusiastic about a book he had only recently discovered by the Japanese scholar Ise Sen'ichirō (1891–1948). In his *Shina no kaiga* (Chinese painting), Ise divided the periods of Chinese painting into three periods: antiquity (*kodai*), from prehistory to 712; the medieval period (*chūsei*), from 713 to 1320; and, early modern (*kinsei*), from 1321 to the present.¹⁰ Teng Gu admired Ise's division, in which he broke down the concept of dynasties in favor of a periodization based more on artistic considerations, and praised it as superior to the categorizations of the aforementioned scholars.

Although when Teng wrote his earlier work, *Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi*, he had not yet read Ise's book, he was delighted to discover Ise's periodization largely confirmed his own earlier schema. The only major difference was that Teng divided antiquity, a single section in Ise's book, into two parts, namely birth and development (prehistory to Han) and interchange (Han, Wei-Jin, and Six Dynasties). His 1933 book *Tang-Song huibhua shi* covered the same period as Ise's medieval period, what Teng had earlier dubbed the "period of efflorescence." In this later book Teng also referred to Ōmura Seigai's *Shina bijutsu shi* (History of Chinese art) and many works of art in Japanese collections. Highly important in this later publication is Teng Gu's effort to develop a new way of looking at literati painting (*wenrenhua*). He tried to put the development of literati painting back into its historical context. Perhaps most dramatically, in the context of his time, he pointed out the weaknesses of Dong Qichang's (1555–1636) theory of the Northern and Southern schools (*nanbeizong lun*) and attempted to develop alternative definitions and categorizations. Most significantly, Teng argued that the painting traditions of Li Sixun and Wang Wei of the Tang period, which Dong Qichang took as the roots of two opposing lineages, professional painting and literati painting, respectively, were in fact merely two trends within literati painting. Similarly, the subsequent development of court painting in the Song period was simply a current within literati painting, not its opposite. After thus debunking the foundations of Dong Qichang's theory, he further declared its ahistoricity by describing the Northern and Southern School theory as a "movement" of the late Ming period intended to define the position of the Four Masters of the Yuan period.¹¹ Unfortunately, Teng Gu died before writing his book on Yuan, Ming, and Qing painting, in which he intended to further elaborate this provocative view of literati

painting. *Tang Song huihua shi* was Teng Gu's most original publication, one inspired by both the German formalist approach to works of art and Japanese scholarship on periodization.

In the following years many of his writings focused on thematic topics, such as the 1934 "Tangdai bihua kaolüe" (A brief investigation of Tang mural paintings) and "Huo Qubing mushang shiji ji Handai diaoke zhi shicha" (Preliminary views on the Huo Qubing stone sculptures and Han dynasty sculpture), the 1935 "Liuchao lingmu shiji shulüe" (A brief introduction to Six Dynasties tomb sculptures), and the 1937 "Nanyang Han huaxiang shike zhi lishi jiqi fengge de yanbian" (Historical and stylistic evolution of Nanyang stone reliefs of the Han dynasty). In addition, he also translated many Western scholars' writings and introduced their research approaches to Chinese readers.

In 1937 he edited the anthology published in conjunction with the Second National Art Exhibition, which was reprinted in the same year by the Commercial Press as *Zhongguo yishu luncong* (Collected essays on Chinese art). He also became head of the Chinese Research Association for the History of Arts in 1937, and was chosen director of the combined wartime National Art Schools as they moved inland in 1939 and 1940. Teng Gu died in 1941 in Chongqing at the age of forty.

Another important person in the 1930s who had a powerful impact on the development of art history in China was Fu Baoshi. In contrast to the writings of Teng Gu, which were more philosophical, rationalist, and formalist in approach, Fu Baoshi's works published in the 1930s were more emotional. On the one hand, they were more general, such as his *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang* (An outline history of the evolution of Chinese painting), but he also wrote several monographs, such as his studies of Shitao (including his chronological biography, *Shitao nianpu*) and of landscape painting, "Lun Gu Kaizhi zhi Jing Hao zhi shanshui huashi wenti" (On the problem of the history of landscape painting from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao).¹²

Fu received his education in his hometown of Nanchang, Jiangxi. In 1922 he entered the Jiangxi First Normal School and the following year enrolled in the art major. After he graduated, in 1926, he worked for the Nationalist Party's Jiangxi headquarters doing propaganda in conjunction with the Northern Expedition. In 1928 he started to teach at the Model Elementary School in Nanchang and also taught classes in the history of Chinese painting at First Normal School. Based on his lecture notes, he compiled his first art history book, *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang*. In this small book, finally published in September 1931 by Nanjing Book

Company (Nanjing shudian) in Shanghai, the young Fu Baoshi adopted a fervently nationalistic point of view. In the preface, he compared his text with those of Chen Shizeng (*Zhongguo huihua shi*), Pan Tianshou (*Zhongguo huihua shi*), Zheng Wuchang (*Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*), and Zhu Yingpeng (*Guohua ABC* [The rudiments of national painting]). He believed that Chinese art history should not be periodized and should be looked at in terms of a holistic system. Furthermore, the Southern School should be promoted over the Northern School. Art history should be considered based upon painting theory, painting methods, and theme.

Possibly because of a lack of visual evidence at his disposal, his writing was purely based on textual material. The book was divided into eight chapters. The first concerned three essential elements in the study of Chinese painting, the second dealt with pictograms and early painting, the third looked at the influence of Buddhism, and the fourth concerned art produced with (Northern School) and without (Southern School) patronage of the Tang court. The fifth chapter dealt with the power and influence of the imperial painting academy, and the sixth was devoted to the efflorescence of the Southern School (literati painting). Next he discussed the revival of the painting academy and the division of painting schools, while the final chapter was a rather tedious listing of the artists and art texts of the 270 years of Qing rule. In the end, he concluded that the Southern School unified and dominated art of the Qing dynasty.

The book itself is naïve and premature as a work of scholarship. It could not compete with Zheng Wuchang's *Zhongguo huihua quanshi* or the books based on Nakamura Fusetsu and Oga Seiun's *Shina kaiga shi*, such as those of Chen Shizeng and Pan Tianshou. In his own book, however, Fu demonstrated a strong sense of anxiety about China's lack of its own art history and theory in the modern era. Japanese scholars, he argued, had made much greater advances in this field than anyone in China. He considered the current situation, in which Chinese needed to ask their neighbor about themselves, to be truly shameful and equal to a kind of suicide. He then asked: "How many books on Chinese painting have been published in China? How many scholars are researching this topic? What is their status? What is the attitude of the Chinese populace toward these scholars? The situation is so pathetic it leads to tears."¹³ This sharply nationalistic tone was understandable, even if the text itself was flawed, because the period between 1929, when he wrote it, and 1931, when it was published, was a time during which Japan gradually occupied China's northeastern provinces.

A turning point in Fu Baoshi's life came when Xu Beihong (1895–1953),

then the art department chair at National Central University, visited Nanchang in 1931. Xu appreciated Fu's artistic talent and recommended to the provincial governor that he be sent to France for further study. When financial considerations made this impossible, Fu revised his suggestion and proposed that he study arts and crafts in Japan with the aim of improving Jingdezhen ceramics.¹⁴

On September 6, 1932, with Xu Beihong's support, Fu arrived in Japan, his trip supported by both the central government and the provincial government. During the nine months that followed, he went to many art schools, museums, and libraries to study Japanese arts and crafts, especially ceramics. In this period he came to know a person who would help him greatly at a later time, Guo Moruo, who was in exile in Japan as a result of the Nationalist government's purge of its former Communist allies. Guo introduced him to Tanaka Keitarō (1880–1951), a Japanese art collector and owner of the Bunkydō, an art and book store. In June 1933, due to a shortage of funds, Fu returned to China for two months. In October he went back to Japan.

The following year, he wrote his article "Lun Gu Kaizhi zhi Jing Hao zhi shanshui huashi wenti"¹⁵ in immediate response to a book published by Ise Sen'ichirō, entitled *Ko Gaishi yori Kei Kō ni itaru: Shina sansui gashi* (History of Chinese landscape painting, from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao) in December 1933.¹⁶ This book was part of Ise's larger project called *Sō Gen o chūshin to suru Chūgoku kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting with a focus on the Song and Yuan) conducted from 1929 to 1931 at the Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo (Kyoto research center of the Eastern Cultural Academy). Ise's work was highly praised by Naitō Konan (1866–1934) in a poem that served as a foreword for the book. In his own article, Fu Baoshi ardently criticized Ise's point of view, first doubting whether Gu Kaizhi could be considered a founder of landscape painting; second, questioning Ise's view of the relationship between Chinese artists and representation of "nature"; third, disputing the dates given for Wang Wei (701–61); fourth, arguing for his own views concerning the Southern and Northern Schools; and fifth, disputing Ise's quotations, interpretations, and punctuation of classical texts. Fu eagerly pointed out some factual errors in Ise's writing, but his haste to show flaws in Japanese scholarship caused him to make mistakes of his own. For example, he corrected himself in his own later writing regarding the relationship between Gu Kaizhi and the origins of landscape painting in China, after studying art history with Kinbara Seigo (1888–1958). This article may thus be considered a product of his early, immature years.

In 1935 he decided that he wanted to study with the famous China art historian Kinbara Seigo. Kinbara Seigo was then professor at Nihon teikoku bijutsu gakkō (Japan Imperial Art School; today's Musashino Art University), which he helped to found in 1929. He published dozens of books on East Asian art, including *Shina jōdai garon kenkyū* (Studies of ancient Chinese painting theory),¹⁷ *Tōyō ga gairon* (General studies on Asian painting),¹⁸ *Tōdai no kaiga* (Painting of the Tang), *Sōdai no kaiga* (Painting of the Song), and *Shina kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting),¹⁹ among others. Fu enrolled in the postgraduate program in April 1934 to study art theory and East Asian art history with Kinbara Seigo and to study sculpture with Shimizu Takashi (1897–1981) and painting and crafts with Kawasaki Shōko (1886–1977).²⁰ According to Kinbara's diary for March 30, 1934, "Mr. Fu Baoshi arrived. He applied to the post-graduate program. He brought his *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang* and *Fu Baoshi suozaoyin'gao* (Fu Baoshi's seal carving). . . . He has two goals. One is to study painting history. The other is to study sculpture. My first disciple is a Chinese. That is really marvelous luck!"²¹

That year Fu began to translate his teacher's books, combining *Tōdai no kaiga* and *Sōdai no kaiga* into a single work, *Tang-Song zhi huihua* (Paintings of the Tang and Song). This translation was published in 1935 by the Commercial Press, and Kinbara himself wrote a preface for the Chinese edition. The book systematically introduced Kinbara's theories on Chinese painting. It should be noted that Fu Baoshi was not the first person to introduce Kinbara's work to China. In 1930 Feng Zikai (1898–1975) wrote an article entitled "Zhongguo de huihua sixiang" (Chinese painting theory), with the subtitle, "Jinyuan Shengwu de hua liufalun" (Kinbara Seigo on the six laws of Chinese painting), which was published in *Dongfang zazhi*.²² That article was basically a translation of chapters two and four of Kinbara's *Shina jōdai garon kenkyū*, covering Gu Kaizhi and Xie He.²³ Another article by Feng Zikai in the same issue, titled "Dongyang hua de liufa lilun de yanjiu" (Research on the six laws of Asian painting) was also a translation of the seventh chapter of the same book by Kinbara.

The year 1935 was particularly productive for Fu Baoshi. In that year he published many important articles, such as "Zhonghua minzu meishu zhi zhanwang yu jianshe" (The future and reconstruction of Chinese national art),²⁴ which discussed important Chinese works of art in foreign collections and advocated following the Japanese model to protect cultural properties, and "Riben gongyi meishu zhi jidian baogao" (Several reports on Japanese art and crafts),²⁵ a result of his investigation of Japanese

arts and crafts, which strongly urged the Chinese government to follow the Japanese model to give awards to excellent traditional craftspeople, hold regular exhibitions on arts and crafts, with lectures, and encourage improvement in crafts techniques. Another article that was subsequently appreciated by many scholars was "Zhongguo guominxing yu yishu sichao: Jinyuan Shengwu shi zhi Dongyang meishu lun" (China's national character and art trends: Kinbara Seigo's theory of Asian art).²⁶ This essay discussed seven aesthetic concepts (*tian, lao, wu, ming, zhong, yin, dan*) and actually ought to be considered a translation of the first chapter of Kinbara Seigo's *Tōyō bijutsu ron*.²⁷ That year he also published "Kuka oshō nenpyō" (A chronology of Shitao), in Japanese in *Bi no kuni* (Land of beauty), and in Shanghai a translation of a book on Wang Wei by Umezawa Waken (1871–1931).²⁸

In August of 1934 he also published *Zhongguo huihua lilun* (Chinese painting theory) with Commercial Press. The book is divided into three parts: broad discussion, general discussion, and specific discussion. The first part discussed the essentials of Chinese painting, which he considered to be the spirit of Chinese painting and its influence on brushwork. The second concerned the practical theory that influenced the production of painting. The last dealt with painting techniques, particularly brushwork. The book also compiled early theoretical texts of relevance to the author's topics. Although it claimed to be a direct discussion of early writings on the history of Chinese painting, perhaps because Fu Baoshi was in Japan and the material he collected and references on which he relied were from Japanese sources, the interpretation of these classical texts tended to follow Japanese scholars' points of view, especially that of his teacher, Kinbara Seigo. After having translated many of Kinbara Seigo's writings on Chinese painting, it was natural that he absorbed some of his way of thinking as well. Besides Kinbara, he cited many other Japanese scholars here, such as Kosugi Hōan's ideas on Nanga and Ishikawa Kōsai's (1833–1918) ideas on brushwork. Therefore, as Chen Zhenlian has written: "This book should be considered an anthology of texts compiled under the guidance of his teacher, Kinbara Seigo, when Fu Baoshi studied in Tokyo."²⁹

Fu's other writing published in the same year, *Zhongguo meishu nianbiao* (A chronicle of Chinese art), also belied clear influences from Japan. In almost every category of this book, he relied on Japanese scholarship, quoting from almost every major Japanese scholar of Chinese art. They included Omura Seigai (1868–1927), Nakamura Fusetsu, Kinbara, Ise Sen'ichirō, Sawamura Sentarō (1884–1930), Itō Chūta (1867–1954),

Sekino Tadashi (1868–1935), Taki Seiichi (1873–1945), and many others. Among the total of seventy-one books he listed in his references, fifty-four were Japanese. Only seventeen of his references were Chinese. He did not include writings by many of his contemporaries, such as Chen Shizeng, Pan Tianshou, Zheng Wuchang, or Teng Gu. As a chronicle of Chinese art, many events listed seem much more important to Japanese art history than to Chinese.³⁰

On June 24, 1935, Fu Baoshi returned to China because of his mother's illness. After her death, he remained active in both writing and painting. Xu Beihong recruited him as lecturer in the Art Department of the National Central University's College of Education in September 1935. Until the war began he continued to publish many articles and translate many Japanese scholars' writings into Chinese, concluding his translations with Taki Seiichi's *Bunjinga gairon* (General studies of literati painting) in June 1937. Taki Seiichi was long-time editor-in-chief of *Kokka*, a highly influential art magazine. His writing on Chinese art history and theory covered a wide range of topics, including several articles which must have strongly influenced Fu Baoshi's study of literati painting. Among them are "Ryō Kai hitsu odori Hotei no e ni tsuite" (Liang Kai's painting *Dancing Monk Hotei*),³¹ "Kaku Ki to Sōchō no sansui ga" (Guo Xi and landscape painting of the Song dynasty),³² and "Kō Kōbo no Kozan shōran zukan ni tsuite" (Huang Gongwang's hand scroll *Landscape Sceneries*).³³

In April 1938, after the Sino-Japanese war had begun, Fu Baoshi was called by Guo Moruo to join him serving at the Third Bureau of the Political Section of the Nationalist army. He, however, did not stay in this position for long. After the Nationalist government's move to Chongqing, the temporary capital during the war, he decided to return to teach at the National Central University, which also moved to Chongqing at the time. During this difficult period, he continued writing prolifically. One of his major accomplishments of 1939 was completing his *Zhongguo meishu shi: gudai pian* (History of Chinese art: Ancient period), which covered the era from antiquity to the Six Dynasties.

His *Zhongguo gudai huihua zhi yanjiu* (Studies on early Chinese painting), which he wrote in Chongqing in 1940, may be counted among his most scholarly publications. In this book Fu listed four different types of periodization. The first two types came from Stephen W. Bushell's *Chinese Art*, published in a Chinese translation by Dai Yue in 1923.³⁴ One was that of the German scholar Friedrich Hirth, as mentioned above, and the second was that of French scholar Paléologue.³⁵ The third model was represented by Ōmura Seigai's *Tōyō bijutsu shi* (History of Asian art)

and Nakamura Fusetsu's *Shina kaiga shi*. Fu seemed to appreciate most his fourth model, represented by the Chinese scholars Zheng Wuchang and Teng Gu. He rejected the Japanese scholars' periodization by dynasty. Therefore, his own periodization was a combination of those of Western scholars mentioned in Bushell's book and those of Zheng and Teng.

Following the previous wave of art-historical writing in the 1920s by Chen Shizeng, Pan Tianshou, and Zheng Wuchang, the two scholars Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi had a significant impact on the construction of Chinese art history in the 1930s. Their scholarship was strongly influenced by the writing of their contemporaries in Japan, a debt that has rarely been acknowledged, and then, only recently, by a few scholars.

Although in his later period, after studying in Germany, Teng Gu's research approach was strongly influenced by the formalist theories of German scholars, his appreciation of Japanese scholarship, particularly that of Ise Sen'ichirō remains notable. His intellectual journey developed naturally from his interests and experiences.

Fu Baoshi's case was more complicated. His early writing is marked by a strongly nationalistic and anti-Japanese point of view. After he settled in Japan, however, especially after beginning his studies with Kinbara Seigo, he adopted a point of view deeply influenced by the writings of Japanese scholars, and he enthusiastically translated and introduced them to China. He was so deeply influenced that he revised some of his earlier opinions. After the war formally began in 1937, as patriotic sentiments in support of the National Salvation Movement swept China, the art world was no exception. Fu began in his writings to distance himself from Japan. His *Zhongguo huihua lilun* may be a typical example. An interesting case is his *Zhongguo Mingmo minzu yiren zhuan* (*Biographies of late-Ming Chinese artists*), published in 1939 by the Commercial Press. According to Fu's preface, the book was intended to assist in publicizing the resistance against Japan and inspiring the people's patriotic spirit. The text was excerpted and translated from *Sō Gen Min Shin shoga meiken hyōden* (*Critical biographies of notable painters and calligraphers of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods*), a book by two Japanese writers, Yamamoto Teijirō (1870–1937) and Kinari Toraichi.³⁶

As has been frequently noted, adoption of the Meiji model of modernization occurred in many fields of Chinese endeavor in the early decades of the twentieth century. It is not surprising that in the arts, where Japan had been particularly successful in gaining a place on the international stage and in defining an Asian modernity that might compete with that of the West, Chinese art educators found instructive institutional patterns.³⁷

Yet the Japanese art-historical model, as defined by Japanese Sinologists in the early twentieth century, offered Chinese intellectuals of the period something that could be deployed for new, specifically Chinese, ends. However, the discourse of the construction of Chinese art history as a modern discipline differed from what transpired in Japan. According to Satō Dōshin, the establishment of Japanese art history stemmed from four roots. The first was official Japanese art history, the second was the art research magazine *Kokka*, the third was a series of publications by Shinbi shoin, from *Shinbi taikan* to *Tōyō bijiutsu taikan*, and the fourth were individual scholars' writings, such as *Nihon bijutsu shi* (History of Japanese art).³⁸ In China the process of constructing Chinese art history did not receive any state support in its early days. Although there were comparatively short-lived publications such as *Shenzhou guoguangji* and other magazines to introduce traditional art, there was certainly no continuously published art history magazine such as *Kokka* to systematically publish art-historical writings. The entire process relied upon a few enthusiastic and committed individuals, erratically funded by central and local governmental agencies for study abroad. The best period in the development of Chinese art history in China was encouraged by the establishment of the Nanjing government, and the national exhibition and museum system and a regularized system of higher education. Throughout the prewar period, this cross-cultural exchange between China and Japan was an essential part of the construction of Chinese art history as a modern field.

PART IV

Printing and Publishing Art



Figure 11.1. Di Baoxian
(Di Pingzi) in 1900,
from *Pingdengge biji*.



Figure 11.2. Di Baoxian in
1932, from *Pingdengge biji*.

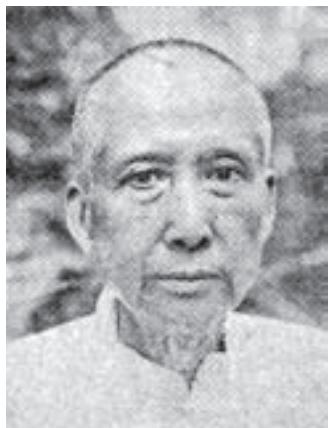


Figure 11.3. Di Baoxian
in 1934, from "Xiandai
Zhongguo guohua
xuan zhi jiu."

II. Patrimonies in Press

Art Publishing, Cultural Politics, and Canon Construction in the Career of Di Baoxian

Richard Vinograd

In a biographical preface to a two-volume compilation of *Zhongguo ming-hua ji* (Famous Chinese paintings) published in 1930, the author, one Kung-chen Koo, editor at the *Shibao* newspaper, traces a complex and colorful trajectory for the career of the collector-publisher Di Baoxian (also known as Di Pingzi, 1873–1941).¹ Included in his account are Di's failed efforts as a revolutionary and political activist during the late years of the Qing dynasty, his role as a newspaper and art publisher, and his efforts to disseminate Buddhist religious texts.² It may be tempting to read this biography as a record of Di's gradual withdrawal from the public realm and the turmoil of worldly politics, into the realm of culture—art collecting, but also literary criticism, poetry composition, and painting practice—and ultimately into the otherworldly sphere of religion and specifically Buddhist spirituality. Three surviving photographic portraits of Di evoke various facets of his career and identities. In a photograph from 1900, about age twenty-seven, he appears as a serious young man dressed in a Western suit and tie (fig. II.1).³ The photograph probably was taken during Di's second period of political exile in Japan following his involvement in a failed military plot against the Qing court at the time of the Boxer Uprising. A more genial Di Pingzi dressed in a Chinese style jacket appears in a photograph dated 1932, when Di was turning sixty and was established as a senior luminary in the newspaper and art publishing world (fig. II.2). Like the earlier photograph, it accompanies a published edition of Di's essays. A third photograph of Di from 1934 accompanied a publication of his own lyrical landscape painting in the pictorial journal *Liangyou* (Young companion), where he is identified with professed Buddhist and vegetarian beliefs (figs. II.3 and II.4). A closer examination of his biographical account, however, makes it clear that there was a public or political dimension to all facets of Di's activities:



Figure 11.4. Di Baoxian, *Weeping Willows* (1934). After *Liangyou* 94 (September 15, 1934): 9, "Series of Contemporary Painting by Chinese Artists."

Mr. Dih Ping Tsze, whose style name is Pao-hsien, was from his early youthhood a champion of the revolutionary cause, his mind being filled with indignation over the maladministrations of the imperial Tsing dynasty. On his return from Japan where he made an educational tour, he became closely identified with the movement of political reform. In company with Tang Tsai-chang, Editor of the *Hsueh Pao* in Hunan, they founded the China Independence Association with the object of bringing about radical changes in the country.

To avoid the suspicions of the authorities, the activities of the association were directed from a nominal translation agency known as the Japanese Translation Bureau. This organization lacked the necessary funds, and in order to defray expenses, Mr. Dih cheerfully accepted the sacrifice of selling some of the art treasures of his family in the form of famous paintings and celebrated hand-writings. It was his aim to bind together the scattered revolutionary elements for a *coup d'état* in Peking, the then capital, but his plans were frustrated by unexpected developments.

The Boxers' Uprising began to spread like wild fire, and the imperial household had to take flight to Sian [Shensi]. At this critical stage Mr. Dih was one of the promoters in the formation of the National Assembly in which delegates from the different provinces participated. The Assembly through which the people's voice was expressed with regard to China's foreign relations, appointed Yang Kwei, one of the first batch of American returned students, and Yen Fu to serve as Speaker and Vice-Speaker of the Assembly. In the meantime, preparations were in progress for the acquisition of arms and ammunition in the hope of occupying Hankow as a cradle of the new revolutionary movement. It is much to be regretted that this plot was not guarded with sufficient secrecy, and that, as a result of this, Tang Tsai-chang died a martyr's death.

In the belief that further attempts along the line of a military offensive would not be crowned with success, Mr. Dih turned his attention to the field of current literature and art. He established *Shih Pao* [Eastern Times], and made energetic efforts to advocate revolutionary reforms through the power of the press. He also founded the Yu Cheng Book Company for the preservation of China's national culture, by advancing the cause of Chinese art, although an enterprise of this kind held out little financial inducement. It was under circumstances such as these that he embarked upon the expensive undertaking of bringing out this first collection of famous Chinese paintings.

Mr. Dih's father distinguished himself as a connoisseur of Chinese paintings. When he was magistrate, he was requested by his official superior to part with one of his treasured paintings. To refuse would mean the loss of his official position. He chose to cling on to his paint-

ing, and to say goodbye to the magistracy. This historic painting is to be found in the present collection, and is known as "The Masterpiece of the famous artist, Wang Su-ming."

Mr. Dih is not only a scholar of profound attainments but is an art-connoisseur of a high order, the Dih family being famous for its cultural and artistic traditions. Combining in himself the triple qualifications of calligraphist, artist, and poet, Mr. Dih is a confirmed vegetarian and a devout worshipper of Buddha. His publication entitled "A Buddhist's Jottings" has been referred to as a classic of philosophy. It is, however, a great exposition of the doctrine of Buddhism. Its main object is to reveal man's true and inner nature.

Recently at Mr. Dih's request Mr. Huang Mao-lin translated into English the Sutra spoken by the Sixth Patriarch. This work has been in great demand both in Europe and America. In France a French edition has also appeared. The Sutra in question is an easy guide to the doctrine of Buddhism.

It is Mr. Dih's belief that the day is not far off when Patriarchs of foreign nationalities will come forward to enrich the ranks of Buddhist leaders, and when that day comes the Sutra under reference will, in Mr. Dih's opinion, be more widely recognised as a meritorious publication.

Mr. Dih's many-sided contributions to the Chinese world of art will no doubt do much to enhance the international prestige of Republican China, and will in time win for him a host of foreign friends in every land.

As I have been privileged to be associated with Mr. Dih in his cultural activities, it is with great pleasure that I write these few lines of introduction to an art production of lasting value, a production with a history of art romance, as it were, behind it.⁴

In Koo's biographical account, almost all of Di's activities are imbued with public or political purpose. Di's status as a reform-minded newspaper publisher has been the focus of most modern scholarly attention. This has centered on his activism and his politically motivated publishing activities as the founder of *Shibao*, a newspaper partly allied with the Constitutional faction of political reformers led by Liang Qichao (1873–1929), as illuminated in Joan Judge's book *Print and Politics on Shibao*.⁵

Art historians know Di Baoxian best as a collector of Chinese paintings and as a publisher of a different sort, the founder of the Youzheng shuju publishing house in Shanghai, with many painting reproduction volumes on its list. The most significant of these are the *Zhongguo minghua ji* series in various formats, and a large output of reproduction

albums of historical Chinese paintings. Koo's biography describes this side of Di's publishing activities as aimed at the preservation of China's national culture, and enhancing the international prestige of Republican China. Thus the specific focus for these acts of preservation and promotion was on the new nation-state of the Republic of China, rather than some larger horizon of historical Chinese culture.

There are a number of other narrative threads intertwined in this biographical account of Di Baoxian. The story of Di's father, Di Xuegeng (Mannong, active late nineteenth century), a district magistrate in Jiangxi and collector of paintings who suffering a reversal in his official career because of his failure to transfer one of his most prized paintings to a politically powerful collector, is of particular interest. The account refers to Wang Meng's hanging scroll of 1366, *Dwelling in Reclusion in the Qingbian Mountains*, and the episode was the subject of an essay in Di Baoxian's literary collection and of Di's inscription preserved with the extant scroll (fig. 11.5).⁶ Di inherited the painting along with others and became the owner of a significant family/personal collection of Chinese paintings, many of which were featured in his art publications. The story is a significant foreshadowing of Di's own intermingling of art and politics, but while his father held on to this collected masterpiece (while relinquishing another) at the cost of his career, Di Baoxian willingly sold off some of his art collection to support his revolutionary activities around 1900. The anecdote suggests an underlying rivalry between Di and his father in terms of their values and cultural politics, even while he accepted his patrimony in the form of the family collection. Di Baoxian was also a painter and calligrapher of some repute, as well as a poet, writer, literary critic, and theorist.

Thus, the multifarious aspects of Di's career are not so easily disentangled or separated into personal, cultural, and political periods or arenas of activity. His collecting and art publications were founded on a family tradition, but he also viewed them in the context of a humiliating dispersal of China's artistic patrimony at the time of the Boxer Uprising and the multinational expeditionary forces that occupied parts of China at that time. Further, Di's personal patrimony in the form of his family art collection became intermingled with the national cultural patrimony in some of his publication projects.

Along with a pervasive political dimension, another way of bridging the diverse sites of Di Baoxian's activities is through the transitive notion of translation. Di's early revolutionary activities were disguised under the cover of a Japanese Translation Bureau. His art publications were often



Figure 11.5. Wang Meng, *Dwelling in Reclusion in the Qingbian Mountains* (1366), with Di Baoxian's inscription, after *Zhongguo minghuaji* (1930), vol. 1.

bilingual, including the biographical preface cited above, which appears in English in the two-volume *Zhongguo minghua ji*, along with identifying captions and texts. The announcement of related art publications at the end of the 1930 *Famous Chinese Paintings* catalogs also appeared in English, with book prices denominated in pounds. Di's Buddhist activities were also bound up with translation, sponsoring English and, indirectly, French versions of the Chan Buddhist Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch.

Within Di Baoxian's intertwined activities in arenas of political activism, art collecting, and publishing, Japan played a crucial but highly ambivalent role. Di's early sojourns in Japan shaped both his radical reformist views and his awareness of the role of the arts in constructing national identity. Along with colleagues such as Zhang Jian (1853–1926), he saw in Japan a model for a deeply acculturated form of modernization potentially applicable to the Chinese case. Even while he admired Japan's preservation of an artistic "national essence," Di deeply resented Japanese participation in the looting of China's cultural patrimony. It was especially in the arena of art publishing that Japan played a formative role in Di's activities. Di used collotype printing techniques developed in Japan for his own Shanghai publications. He found in Japanese publications models for collections of famous paintings and other media that could serve, in the absence of a developed museum culture, to disseminate artistic canons that could take part in constituting an emerging national cultural identity.

JAPAN AS AN UNCERTAIN MODEL FOR CULTURAL POLITICS

There is much more to unpack even within Koo's brief biographical sketch, but in the present context we might focus on the question of Di Baoxian's engagements with Japan and on issues surrounding canon formation. The biography suggests that Di's political activism emerged after his return from Japan, when he and his associates used the nominal cover of the Japanese Translation Bureau to hide their subversive activities. Di's political activism was more deep-rooted than this account suggests, since his first period as a fugitive in Japan followed the coup suppressing the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898, with Di implicated by his association with Kang Youwei (1858–1927).⁷ Di also brought Japanese printing technicians to Shanghai to introduce collotype printing techniques to his Youzheng Press.⁸ Di's entanglements with Japan were part of a complex of Sino-Japanese political and cultural relations in this period, overlap-

ping with what Douglas Reynolds has called the Xinzhen Revolution (1898–1912), which he credits almost completely to Japanese interchange. Reynolds emphasizes the importance of translation activities as “brokers of modernity,” including specific political terms but also larger cultural projects such as encyclopedias and Western political philosophy mediated through Japanese translations.⁹

Translation offers one mode of linking the political and the cultural, and Kung-chen Koo’s biographical preface indicates that Di’s newspaper and art publishing also were modes of political activism, minus the militancy. Another preface to the two-volume *Famous Chinese Paintings* publication, reproduced only in Chinese, is Zhang Jian’s 1908 note introducing the entire project (fig. 11.6). *Famous Chinese Paintings* had a complicated publication history, with a bimonthly series of forty periodical issues, to which Zhang Jian’s preface originally belonged, beginning in 1908 (fig. 11.6), followed by reprints of the periodicals in the 1910s and 1920s, and by the two-volume compilation in 1930.¹⁰ Zhang was an industrialist, educator, publisher, museum founder, political activist, and modernizer, who was a supporter of and frequent contributor to Di Baoxian’s *Shibao* newspaper founded in 1904.¹¹ His preface reads:

The Master of the Equality Pavilion [i.e., Di Baoxian and his *Pingdengge*] has broadly accumulated famous paintings, ancient and modern. Using glass plate printing, for the last several months he has continued to produce four series [of reproductions]. His intent is to use the fine arts [*meishu*] as a fresh atmosphere for practical arts/industrial education. It is of profound significance. Last year when I was sojourning in Japan and hadn’t yet returned, I said: Japanese customs study the Occident, and compared with China, they are closer [to the Occident], more modernized. There are two reasons for this: the first is their esteem of beauty [*mei*]; the second is their love of cleanliness [hygiene]. From high officials to ordinary people all are like this. It’s not that departing from the Chinese model will inevitably result in riches and achievement, but that their people possess these habits. If this kind of political acculturation is not transformed into custom, we can’t obtain this kind of great achievement. If we reach this achievement, then the traces of the ways and means of this political acculturation are nowhere to be found [because internalized as custom]. However the knowledge of how to rule is not easy to articulate. This [i.e., Di Baoxian’s] effort to compile and disseminate [paintings] cannot be said to be unrelated to the course of contemporary events.¹²

Like other political-cultural reformers such as Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), the minister of education since 1912 in the new Republic of China,

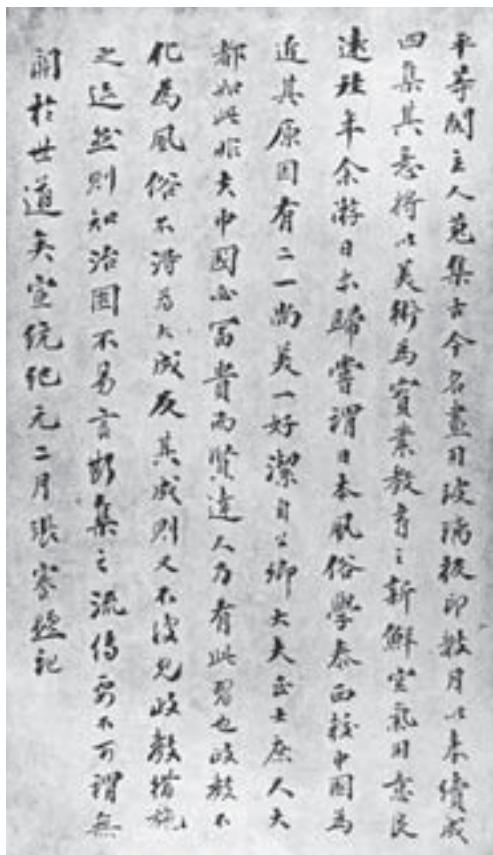


Figure 11.6. Zhang Jian's introduction to *Famous Chinese Paintings*, after *Zhongguo minghuaji* (1930), vol. 1.

Zhang Jian links aesthetic education to modernization and to the formation of a new national political citizenry.¹³ Zhang goes further in some respects, tying politics and modernization not only to high artistic or literary culture, but also to customs and deeply embedded social practices, cultural in the anthropological sense. His analysis also suggests the difficulties of the path of modernization, which involves changing fundamental social values and practices across the broad spectrum of the populace, rather than merely achieving political institutional reform or even educational and high culture changes. Zhang characterizes Di Baoxian's efforts at art publication and dissemination as a form of practical arts education, an understanding consonant with Di's utilitarian views on the function of literature from a few years earlier, in 1903: "Literature is to be taken as having a function; it must not be taken as a plaything, but as a staple."¹⁴

Art publication could be seen as partaking in the process of political acculturation by helping to cultivate a widespread "esteem of beauty" analogous to that which Zhang Jian had observed among the Japanese. The larger framework for this program would seem to call for a very deep-seated revision of Chinese social practices that could probably only be approached through a version of Zhang Jian's holistic, multifaceted approach to urban planning, economic and industrial reform, education through museums, and publishing as exemplified in his programs for Nantong.¹⁵ Zhang's endorsement of Di's project is embodied in this dedicatory essay and more prominently in his contribution of the signed title calligraphy, which appears on the covers of the periodical versions of *Zhongguo minghua ji*, along with his earlier editorial contributions to Di's *Shibao* newspaper.¹⁶ But Zhang's comments also beg a number of further questions. What kind of beauty is to be cultivated and promoted? Embodied in what forms? Who has the authority to make those kinds of choices?

We might address the last question by suggesting that, in a manner analogous to his earlier revolutionary political activities, Di moved by positive and unauthorized action, seizing the cultural high ground by producing his publications, in effect filling a vacuum of cultural authority or providing a structure within an extremely unsettled cultural environment. Judge's discussion of the history of *Shibao* outlines a more complex field of negotiation and shifting alliances for such cultural initiatives, with a spectrum of collaborators and contributors ranging all the way from relatively pragmatic and conservative figures such as Zhang Jian, to more moderate reformists and constitutionalists such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, and on to semiradical, revolutionary factions all involved financially and editorially at various times.¹⁷

Zhang Jian uses the term *mei* to denote his concept of politically useful beauty. It is a term that primarily belongs to the world of modern-era internationalized aesthetics, and to neologistic loan terms like "fine arts" (*meishu*) transmitted through Japanese intermediary sources, and also adopted by educators such as Cai Yuanpei as part of their internationally derived programs of politically beneficial aesthetic education for the citizens of the new Chinese nation.¹⁸ *Mei* as a historical Chinese term was more likely to convey an ambivalent "prettiness" linked to feminine beauty rather than to a pure realm of aesthetic approval or abstract Beauty. Di Baoxian occasionally employs the term, as in describing the beautiful colors of a painting. Although in the early twentieth century it would have been unlikely for a term like *mei* to have been used unin-

flected by such contemporary internationalized discourses, Di's aesthetic vocabulary tends to be somewhat conservative. The paintings that he personally produced and promoted through his *Famous Chinese Paintings* art publications belong fairly straightforwardly to the realm of notable Chinese painting masters in their focus on famous names and styles, with an emphasis on the Southern School scholar-painters, but including more technically accomplished and decorative styles as well.

Di's own paintings and calligraphy mostly adhere to literati standards, though his later works include some relatively lyrical and decorative efforts (fig. 11.4).¹⁹ The contents of his primary art publications, *Famous Chinese Paintings* in its various formats and reprints, as well as a large body of reproduction albums of paintings and calligraphy, were shaped by complex and somewhat adventitious factors, including his father's collecting interests and the fate of that family collection; Di's own focus as a collector and as a painter; and the tastes and collecting interests of contemporaries such as Pang Yuanji (Laichen, 1864–1949) whose holdings were included in the periodical and catalog forms of the compilation. Southern School literati painting stood at the core of these intersecting interests, but the range of paintings that Di Baoxian published was quite diverse.

Rather than a generalized concept of beauty or aesthetics like those that operated in Zhang Jian's or Cai Yuanpei's theories of art in the public arena, however, Di seems to have been primarily concerned with the concept of *ming* as fame or importance. In the context of a modestly mass medium such as the collotype-illustrated periodical or reproduction album, however, the notion of fame was double edged. It drew upon the historical reputation of artists and painted or calligraphic works constituted by catalogs, colophons, biographies and other art writing, as well as on the accumulation of identified references and imitations in later works that together might confer a canonical status on the cited work.²⁰ At the same time, Di Baoxian and other art publishers were almost uniquely well positioned to *create* fame for favored or selected works. Famous paintings in this sense were not just inherited or identified but actively celebrated and publicized.

Zhang Jian had a strongly positive, though not wholly uncritical, attitude toward Japanese institutions and policies, based on his travel to Japan in 1903, where he investigated schools, publishing houses, libraries, and museums.²¹ Di Baoxian's attitudes toward Japan were more ambivalent. In an undated passage from his literary collection, Di attributed some of the inspiration for his art publishing activities to the models he encountered during his sojourn in Japan:

My late father had an abundant love of antiquities, but for his ordinary disposition it was a wasted achievement. He once spoke of . . . wanting later men to know that such an object had passed through his collection as the same kind of foolish stupidity as seeking descendants for ten thousand generations to forever treasure it. In his late years he passed through an era of transformation, and consequently said it wasn't fitting for objects to be long collected. With collecting there must be calamity. At that time what was dispersed and lost was nearly half of what he owned. Coming on to the years after 1900 [Boxer Uprising], again not a little was dispersed and lost. At this juncture I too took amusing myself with *objets d'art* as sufficient to destroy my ambitions. And further they were tiresome and encumbered my person. When it came to the failure [of my rebellious political activities] and my traveling east [to Japan], I examined how in Japan they preserved their national essence [*guocui*] for the present state of affairs. I somewhat awoke to a sense of wrongdoing and repentance. Consequently I set forth in my mind to plan to take hold of famous artistic traces within the nation, searched them out and arranged them and photolithographically published them. It was nearly a matter of taking hidden treasures and making them public for the people of the nation [*guoren*]. At that time I was publishing the *Shibao* newspaper, and once promulgated this doctrine in it. Not long after there came the plan for the Youzheng Book Publishers, where for thirty years we photographically published more than a thousand kinds of steles, rubbings, calligraphies, and paintings. For the most part they were the powerful remnants of that era. This also is a kind of fulfillment of one's heart's desire within an age.²²

Di twice lived in exile in Japan, after the coup that ended the Hundred Days' Reforms in 1898 and again in 1900 after the failed military uprising associated with the Chinese Independence Association.²³ The account above probably referred primarily to his second period in Japan, after the abortive uprising that saw the assassination of Tang Caichang (1867–1900), and after he had helped fund the Chinese Independent Association by selling off some his art collection. He juxtaposed his personal and family history of disillusionment with the burdens and distractions of art collecting with his discovery in Japan of the possibility of nationalistic purposes for art. It is worth noting that once again Di ended up holding a position divergent from that of his father. Di framed the artistic preservation ethic he observed in Japan within the heavily freighted terminology of National Essence (*guocui*). Its counterpart National Essence Movement in late Qing and early Republican China combined anti-Manchu sentiment with the goal of preserving Chinese civilization and culture against

the tide of an uncritical Westernization and modernization. The National Essence Movement conveyed implications of a conservative elitism and was criticized in *Shibao* editorials.²⁴ Di Baoxian's essay above suggests some further affinities with the movement in its focus on monuments of high literati culture: steles, rubbings, calligraphies, and paintings. His emphasis on making these monuments accessible to the public and to the people (*guoren*), however, is in keeping with a more pragmatic, mixed agenda of a universal education in a new canon that combined cultural preservation with modern technologies and cultural institutions. Di's experiences in Japan clearly provided a useful model for preserving an artistic patrimony for the purposes of the emerging modern nation-state, with art publications such as *Kokka* and art institutions such as the Imperial Museum (later Tokyo National Museum, first founded in 1872 and named the Imperial Museum in 1886) already in place. However Di's activities were also powerfully shaped by his personal history, with its horizons of accumulation and loss, and by his experiences both of personal political disappointment and of national political humiliation, where Japan played a prominent but much more negative role:

During the *gengzi* war [Boxer Uprising], the capital's accumulations of hundreds and thousands of years were completely acquired by foreigners. The Great Interior [Imperial Palace] was guarded by Japanese troops. Important objects from successive generations within the Palace could be obtained without indisposition. Of its small articles that could be easily carried away, each country's men who entered the palace to sightsee often stole them. I calculate that more than half [of the contents] were lost in this way.

At that time the "Three Seas" [sectors of the Western Lakes zones of the Forbidden City] were seized and divided among the various countries. The North Sea corridor of the Beiyuanlang . . . was seized and guarded by French troops. Each place in the northeast section was seized by England. The Germans took the corridor southwest of the Middle Sea Jade Rainbow Bridge, such as the Purple Radiant Pavilion [Ziguang ge] and other places. The Yiluan Palace was seized by Japan. The objects of the Three Seas were wasted entirely. Only the important objects from the Yiluan Palace all still exist. In the sixth month of the summer of 1901 a certain (taboo name) commander requested of the Japanese to borrow this palace to escape the summer heat. The Japanese made a difficulty of withdrawing from it. That month it was then set on fire. At that time there were many Chinese people murdered like slaves and servants. It was said their plundered objects were set fire to, according to the Japanese reports. I said: "The important objects among them were absconded and moved away by others

beforehand." The removed objects and those set on fire are exterminated traces [of the past]. I liken them to the murdered Chinese. Both can be called an oppressive injustice.²⁵

With the Japanese thus identified, accurately or not, as the chief culprits in the plunder of imperial treasures and killing surrounding the suppression of the Boxer Uprising, Japan occupied for Di Baoxian the intersection of contradictory horizons, of national cultural preservation and destruction.²⁶ Japan also offered models of art publications that would offer an avenue for Di to escape both the personal disappointments and public limitations of his revolutionary politics.

CANONS IN COMPETITION

The significant tensions within Di Baoxian's attitudes toward Japan—on the one hand a model for national culture preservation and aesthetic acculturation, and on the other a culturally destructive and exploitative force—are paralleled by larger fields of tension and competition within Di's involvement with processes of canon construction. I use the term *canon* loosely to describe sets of art objects that claim cultural authority and a status as models for imitation, with an emphasis on the contingency of such claims, especially in culturally and politically unsettled eras such as early-twentieth-century China.²⁷ While Di's choices of "famous Chinese paintings" seem in some ways uncontentious, referencing names and lineages long sanctioned by Chinese art-historical and critical writing, he was operating within a highly dynamic and unstable environment of cultural authority. Some of the elements in play in this period (roughly 1908 to 1930) include the emergence of modern museum institutions, the appearance of photographically based art publications, the formation of national cultural institutions such as the Ministry of Education, and the organization of public and international exhibitions, along with the recognition of Japan as a congenial model for negotiating the transition from imperial-elite to relatively modern and public modes of art "management," for want of a better overarching term. All of these fundamental changes in the art world and its institutions took place against the background of the ongoing efficacy of older forms of private elite collecting and connoisseurship in which Di Baoxian was heavily invested through his family and personal history.

When fully developed—a long, tentative, and uncertain process in the period under consideration—the emerging institutional and media envi-

ronments for Chinese art could offer new functions for artistic canons and at the same time open old canonical formations to critical examination. With functioning cultural and educational institutions and policies, a national government could promulgate artistic canons as curricula for general aesthetic and more specialized arts education. Artistic canons could serve as the framework for national cultural narratives, in museum exhibitions and publications. Canonical works might serve as national symbols, or be incorporated into official art, including the design and decoration of public buildings and monuments.

New media and cultural institutions could combine propagation and critical functions. Photographically based collotype reproductions could disseminate and publicize works of art accurately to broad audiences, but also provided a broadly based and fairly objective platform for comparison and critical judgment of attributions. Museums similarly provided a double-edged opportunity for public education and public critique. National cultural institutions opened the private or independent art world to considerations of public policy and political debates. Japanese models offered alternative constructions of canons and tastes, opening the formerly relatively circumscribed Chinese art world to international perspectives.

For most of the period 1908–30, the environment of weak or incompletely developed art institutions meant that artistic canons could not be viewed as fixed and static things ready to be deployed for various contexts and purposes, but rather should be seen as the emerging products of typically dynamic and contentious processes of formation. Here as elsewhere canons were constructed by art publications (and to a lesser degree by museum displays) fully as much as they were represented by them. It is in this sense that we can speak of patrimonies and canons as being “in press,” in terms of their dependence on art publications as their primary vehicles of archiving and dissemination, and with all the implications of contingency and mutability conveyed by that phrase.

Many of the competing centers of artistic authority and their accompanying media vehicles of dissemination did not become fully operational until the late 1920s. The Palace Museum, which might have been expected to assume a leading role in defining artistic canons and constructing exhibitionary narratives of art history, did not fully function as a public museum until 1925, and its early illustrated art periodical *Gugong* was published monthly starting only in 1929, while *Gugong zhukan* (later published as *Gugong xunkan*) was first issued on October 10, 1929, as a weekly or thrice monthly publication.²⁸

In the same year of 1929, the first National Fine Arts Exhibition was

organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and selections from it published as a catalog (also titled in Chinese *Meizhan tekan*) that was distributed and sold by Di Baoxian's Youzheng Press among others; an advertisement in the 1930 *Famous Chinese Paintings* claims the catalog as a Youzheng Press publication.²⁹ The catalog, with a preface by Cai Yuanpei, modeled a modern notion of a possible Chinese artistic canon, based in a nation-state with a bureaucratic cultural authority, and incorporating a conceptual distinction between contemporary and ancient work and an inclusive notion of fine arts that accommodated architectural plans and commercial art. Cai's preface was specifically concerned with broadening the Chinese conception of fine art beyond calligraphy and painting. The scope was expansive in terms of both media and nationality, with ink paintings both ancient and modern, metal and stone antiquities and seals, oil paintings by Chinese and foreign artists, architectural plans, commercial art drawings, and art photography all included. Although ancient paintings and antiquities were included, most of the work in the exhibition did not have the historical stature or associated cultural authority that could claim an achieved canonical status. Instead the exhibition embodied a possible architecture for a modern national canon, that could accommodate ancient and contemporary, Chinese and foreign, fine and applied arts all together. Cai Yuanpei's preface signaled the canonical potential of the exhibition, looking forward a generation to a future era of progress in national arts when the 1929 catalog would be seen as a valuable resource.

In the following year, 1930, Di's Youzheng Press published a large and lavish two-volume version of *Famous Chinese Paintings*, including many color reproductions. While there was considerable overlap with the contents of the forty-issue *Famous Chinese Paintings* periodicals from 1908 and after in various series and reprints, the two-volume edition may be seen as a substantially separate project, with its own circumstances and competitive environment. At the very least, the scale and scope of the two-volume set permitted an unfolding of an implicit but coherent art-historical narrative, not easily realizable among the sets of reproduced paintings spread over many issues in the periodical version. The two volumes included a total of 260 paintings, announced as "the most complete collection of Chinese old paintings," "reproduced after years of research" and having passed through the collections of renowned connoisseurs, thus making an implicit claim to canonical status. The first volume comprised works from Di's personal family collection, and the second included paintings from the former Qing palace collection, along

with those from various private collections. Thus, there was a blurring of Di Baoxian's familial patrimony with that of the Qing imperial family, inherited by the national Republican government. The advertisement notice following the catalog claimed that most of the works were "the treasures from the imperial household of the preceding dynasty and the private collections of renowned connoisseurs," somewhat eliding Di's personal stake in the project. The fusing of the two was more pronounced because the scope of the second volume was not clearly labeled, and included works from Di's *Pingdengge* personal collection as well as other private holdings. Moreover, Di's collection also infiltrated the National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929, despite its markedly more innovative and expansive scope when compared to *Famous Chinese Paintings*. The first half-dozen paintings in the ancient water color painting section of the National Fine Arts Exhibition catalog are drawn from the hand-colored collotype plates in *Famous Chinese Paintings*, perhaps due as much to the availability of these relatively high quality and visually appealing reproductions prepared for Di Baoxian's publication as to connoisseurial or art-historical judgments of their worth and importance. Indeed, the color retouching detracts from the documentary value of the reproductions, returning them to a partially pictorial-artistic rather than photographic-documentary status, and none of these first six purportedly ancient paintings, credited variously to famous names including Zhou Wenju (fl. 942–61, fig. 11.7) of the tenth century and the late Northern Song painter-emperor Huizong (1082–1135, r. 1100–1126), are credible attributions by current standards.

The two-volume version of *Famous Chinese Paintings* might be seen as a response to the publications sponsored by the Palace Museum and the Ministry of Education. *Famous Chinese Paintings* offered an alternative canon of Chinese art, focused on painting in historical formats rather than the diverse media represented in the other two institutional spheres. It embodied more conservative and elite values than the expansive and modern National Fine Arts Exhibition, but still could be seen as appropriate to new national art institutions in its separation from purely imperial collecting practices and inclusion of paintings from various private collections.

Before the appearance of these publications in 1929–30, the cultural space of general Chinese art publications was left largely to various Japanese compilations and to illustrated periodicals such as the forty-issue bimonthly version of *Zhongguo minghua ji* starting in 1908, or the contemporary *Shenzhou guoguang ji* (Chinese national glory, in twenty-



Figure 11.7. Attributed to Zhou Wenju (tenth century), *A Happy Retreat in the Floating Villa*, in *Famous Chinese Paintings* (1930), vol. 1; also in *National Exhibition of Fine Arts of 1929 catalog*, vol. 1.

one issues, 1908–12, with its successor *Shenzhou daguan* in sixteen issues, 1912–22).³⁰ Among the possible models for the *Famous Chinese Paintings* project was a Japanese publication, the Shinbi shoin version of *Shina meiga shū* (Collection of famous Chinese paintings), published in 1908, the same year that Zhang Jian's preface signaled the beginning of the *Zhongguo minghua ji* periodical project.³¹ *Shina meiga shū* utilized a similarly large format as the eventual two-volume version of *Famous Chinese Paintings*, and included many color woodblock reproductions using a photo-woodcut process. Both publications included cover pages for each reproduced painting as a way of highlighting their individual importance. *Shina meiga shū* contained far more extensive notes on its reproduced paintings, which were drawn variously from the Imperial Museum, as well as temple and prestigious private collections in Japan. Most of the Chinese paintings included were high-quality works, or at least ones that have stood the test of time and of changing art-historical judgments and have retained a canonical status in Japan down to the present. Before the mid-1920s Japanese publications such as *Shina meiga shū* probably served better than any extant Chinese illustrated publications the purpose of constructing and documenting a comprehensive high-art canon of Chinese painting. The authority of Japanese imperial, temple, and distinguished private collections backed the assembled canon, but with the obvious drawback, in Chinese culturally nationalistic terms, of being entirely Japan-based. *Shina meiga shū* embodied specific historical Japanese collecting practices and tastes in its emphasis on Southern Song and Ming court painting and on Chan Buddhist paintings and thus constructed a distinctively Japanese Chinese painting canon.

The juxtaposition of *Zhongguo minghua ji* with *Shina meiga shū* underscores a tension between traditions of personal connoisseurship by collectors and an emerging professionalization of art experts, curators, and art historians that in Japan had the institutional underpinnings of functioning museums such as the Imperial Museum and illustrated scholarly art journals such as *Kokka* (first published in 1889, with its founding declaration of "art is the quintessence of the Nation"). The early counterpart Chinese periodicals *Shenzhou guoguang ji* and the forty-issue version *Zhongguo minghua ji*, both of which started publication in 1908, were distinct from one another in scope and emphases, but both document a transition from private antiquarian and collecting practices toward more public and institutional modes.

Shenzhou guoguang ji included a broad scope of art media based on antiquarian standards, including painting, calligraphy, rubbings, inscribed

stone stelae, Buddhist sculptures, and bronze vessels. The title calligraphy on the covers of some issues of *Shenzhou guoguang ji* was written by Wu Changshi (1844–1927, fig. 11.8), and the journal conveyed some affinities with associations of antiquarians, epigraphers, and artists such as the Xiling Seal Society (Xiling yinshe), based in Hangzhou's West Lake, of which Wu Changshi was a leading member and sometime director.³² Wu was also a founder of the Yu Garden Charitable Association of Painters and Calligraphers (Yuyuan shuhua shanhui), an organization that served as a semipublic exhibition and art marketing site, as well as a mutual benefit association for artists.³³ Such organizations helped to bridge the transition from family or clan-based to governmental social welfare organizations, and from private art appreciation groups to public exhibition and museums. *Shenzhou guoguang ji* included many reproductions of paintings, and usually gave details about collections and dimensions for the objects illustrated in its pages. The periodical version of *Famous Chinese Paintings* also usually identified the collection, or collectors, of its included objects, but was less consistent about particulars like dimensions. It did include some interesting anecdotal information—for example, that the objects in a given issue were exhibited at the Yu Garden in Shanghai, and had been judged as the finest works of the "Chinese Metal and Stone, Calligraphy and Painting Exhibition" (Zhongguo jinshi shuhua zhan). Another such note records that a painting attributed to Guan Daosheng (1262–1319) also exhibited at the Yu Garden sold for a high price to a Japanese collector, who then took it back to Japan and resold it for ten times that original purchase price (fig. 11.9).³⁴ This is presented as evidence of the degree to which paintings in local exhibitions were treasured by those from afar.³⁵

These episodic records of selection committees, exhibitions in public spaces, and international art markets outline a transitional phase in the Chinese art world of the early twentieth century, coinciding with the more profound political transition from imperial to national systems. Zhang Jian, who wrote the title calligraphy used on the *Zhongguo ming-hua ji* periodical versions, was involved with an internationally derived modernizing agenda of industrialization, culture, and science in Nantong, including the founding there of a modern museum emphasizing natural science and archaeology.³⁶ Di Baoxian was very much a transitional figure, with family and personal roots in the culture of elite private art connoisseurship and collecting, and at the same time a pioneer of the emerging photographically based culture of mass media and publicity.

While scholars tend to focus on the novel and modern aspects of Di



Figure 11.8. *Shenzhou guo guangji* (Chinese national glory) 10 (August 1909), with cover page calligraphy designed by Wu Changshih.

Baoxian's early-twentieth-century years, it is useful to recall that many of the modern era's cultural sites and activities had counterparts in earlier times. Groups of literati connoisseurs and authenticators in the Ming and Qing performed some of the same roles that would be fulfilled by committees of art experts and, later, curators, in the early twentieth century.³⁷ Textual catalogs of painting and other art media, illustrated *huapu* (manuals/catalogs), and portable painting albums of model compositions and styles served some of the same purposes as modern-era illustrated art publications (fig. 11.10).³⁸ We might push these parallelisms a bit further and see in literati gatherings anticipations of public art exhibitions, but this would involve a greater and probably distorting stretch of any



Figure 11.9. Attributed to Guan Daosheng (1262–1319), *Guanyin with a Fish Basket*, with inscriptions by Zhao Mengfu and Zhongfeng Mingben, after *Zhongguo minghuaji* 19.



Figure 11.10. Su Hanchen, *Palace Lady Bathing a Child*, after Gu Bing's *Gushi huapu* (Master Gu's painting catalog, 1603), fascicle 2.

useful conception of the "public." In any case, versions of many of those late imperial media and practices continued to operate in Di Baoxian's time, and some of the tensions we can observe in his attitudes and activities are by-products of his negotiation of the sometimes awkward gaps between native-historical and international-contemporary formations.

Di Baoxian's witness and commentary on the transition from an imperial system of collecting and display to an emerging modern museologi-

cal culture is documented in his essay on "Record of Viewing Paintings at the Wenhua Hall."³⁹ The undated essay probably refers to events in 1914, when a "Bureau of Exhibition of Antiquities" (Guwu chenliesuo) began holding public (though limited audience) displays of palace objects in halls such as the Wuying Dian (Hall of Military Brilliance) and the Wenhua dian (Hall of Literary Splendor).⁴⁰

RECORD OF VIEWING PAINTINGS AT THE WENHUA HALL

What is on display at the Wuying Hall is mostly porcelain, bronzes, metal and jade, like a museum. The Wenhua Hall displays paintings like a painting gallery. There were two guards, who not only forbade copying, but also wouldn't even let one use a pencil to make notes in a notebook. How strange! After returning from there I tried to remember it. There were some excellent pieces among them, like Song-dynasty Lin Chun's "Flowers and Birds of the Four Seasons" handscroll. The colors were fresh, like new, incomparably fine. The form of the signature looked like Song calligraphy—genuine without doubt. There was also a handscroll of "Fruits" by Li Jie of the Song, of branches with purple melons sort of thing, also very fine and skillful. It was about the same dimensions as the Lin Chun. If one compares them side by side, it is only in the brushwork and use of colors fairly compared that Lin's scroll must yield a little. . . .

There were relatively few genuine Qiu Ying paintings. If one totally calculated the genuine and fine Qiu Ying paintings in the nation, there are not more than ten of them. . . .

Also a Northern Song painting of "Travelers in Autumn Mountains." The brushwork is strong and outstanding, extremely refined. The arrangement of scenery and coloring is antique and untrammeled. It could be called the greatest, most wonderful work in the exhibition. This painting formerly belonged to the Rehe [Jehol] Detached Palace collection. In the second year of the Republican period it was moved to the Wuying Hall, and now it is displayed in the Wenhua Hall.

Di's account reveals a nuanced awareness of different exhibition venues, such as comprehensive art museums and painting galleries, complete with expressions of the museumgoer's perennial annoyances such as overly punctilious guards and limited visibility for some works. His lapses in memory and incomplete notes convey by implication the potential value of photographically illustrated publications and catalogs that permitted photographic versions of the side-by-side comparisons he found so useful, inasmuch as this exhibition occurred well before the appearance of the Palace Museum's *Gugong* and *Gugong zhoukan* journals in 1929. Di's essay combines connoisseurial and historical dimensions. He is interested

in the quality and authenticity of particular objects but also records the full trajectory of what was included in the exhibition, as a de facto set of canonical paintings that he might have viewed as competitive with his own publications. Di seems connoisseurially attentive and discerning in this account. Given the wide range of quality of the paintings he published from his family collection, his motivation for that personal publication may have been filial or financial as much as educative or political.

The former Qing palace collections constituted potentially the most powerful canonical assemblage of Chinese art, backed by the weight of accumulated imperial authority and by the comprehensive collecting and archival ambitions of the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–96).⁴¹ Up to the time Di Baoxian saw the exhibitions he recorded in his essay, however, and indeed for most of the nineteenth century and down to the opening of a fully functioning Palace Museum in 1925, the palace collections had remained largely inert in terms of functioning within public culture. More troublingly, they had suffered diminishment and loss at the hands of both foreign invaders and palace residents and functionaries.⁴² Di's "Viewing Paintings" essay reveals his interest in the passage of paintings from various Qing palaces to more publicly visible locations, and his consciousness of the extent of national holdings of certain artists could be seen as a concept of national artistic patrimony or conceptual national museum. The *Famous Chinese Paintings* periodical series that began in 1908 reproduced a number of paintings from the Qing palace collections, sometimes commingling them with paintings from Di's *Pingdengge* private collection, perhaps implying an equation of the two collections in terms of importance.⁴³

The palace collections, alone or in conjunction with such elite private collections, offered the new Republic the possibility of an artistic legacy or patrimony that could serve as the focus of national cultural identity, in the fashion of the "national essence" preservation strategies that had inspired Di Baoxian during his periods of exile in Japan. The National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929 offered a more expansive template for an artistic canon that combined historical and contemporary eras and media, native and foreign, fine and design arts, and that was open to international circuits and public functions for art, constructing a national artistic image not bound to the past. The two models of artistic canon formation were in part competitive with one another, in part complementary. The comparable case of textual canons is in some ways instructive. Textual canons had a long history of providing curricula for the official examination system and in that way shaped education and a shared ethos for liter-

ate elites. The felt need for a “new canon” of Chinese culture as formulated by the editors of Di Baoxian’s *Shibao*, was, as Joan Judge describes, aimed at promoting a mixture of Western civic educational texts and selected established Chinese works, in order to mold the new citizen.⁴⁴

Textual canons could be enforced through the examination system and scriptural dissemination, but artistic, and in particular pictorial, canons in imperial China had more complex mechanisms of authority. To offer only the briefest of outlines, while architectural canons might be maintained through sumptuary regulations and collections of building standards, and calligraphic canons disseminated in stele monuments and collections of rubbings, painting canons were promulgated from complex combinations of patronage, collecting, persuasion, institutions, history writing, theorization, and reproduction. Sets of famous paintings and painters were identified in historical texts from as early as the Tang and Song periods, and imperial collections and painting academies, loosely defined, or court patronage in general, could promote fairly consistent standards of evaluation and production.⁴⁵ From at least the eleventh century on, however, elite private collecting and scholar-official aesthetics and tastes produced competitive canonical formations to court-centered ones.⁴⁶ Alternative canons could also be constituted through theorization (Dong Qichang’s Northern and Southern School Theory), pictorialization (projects such as the *To See Large within Small* [*Xiaozhong xianda*] album of reduced-sized copies of famous masterworks from antiquity), and publication, as in Gu Bing’s *Gushi huapu* of 1603, a woodblock printed compilation of compositions, real or invented, associated with famous painters from ancient until contemporary times (fig. 11.10).⁴⁷ The late Ming was particularly rich in such efforts, perhaps because of the relative evacuation of cultural authority and patronage at the imperial court. Canonical images and artists constituted recommended or prescribed models for imitation or emulation, more through building a climate of taste and persuasion than through any formal mechanisms of enforcement. A textual apparatus of accumulated seals, colophons, and catalog records could strongly reinforce the prestige of particular paintings, and a subset of masterworks, such as Huang Gongwang’s *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (*Fuchun shanju tu*) that passed through the hands or under the appreciative eyes of other canonical masters could enter into a kind of supercanonical or metacanonical status.⁴⁸

Many of these competing strands of existing canon formation were effectively gathered up by the eighteenth-century Qianlong court, which co-opted the so-called Southern School lineages outlined by Dong

Qichang into a court-sponsored orthodoxy as a means of conjoining political and cultural authority. The massive accumulation of collections and cultural capital at the Qianlong court did not achieve full canonical synthesis, despite claims of a "great unification." Along with the Orthodox mode and its associations with elite literati culture, two other distinctive modes of painting were promulgated at the Qing court. Copies of Buddhist paintings and a Sino-Tibetan style used for Lamaist Buddhist paintings constituted a mode that might be termed canonical in terms of their religious underpinnings and purposes, focused on the Manchu rulers' religious practices and also directed at Tibetan and Mongol constituencies.⁴⁹ A hybrid Sino-European style characterized a third court painting mode, utilized for persuasive, sometimes grand-scale paintings that asserted the material splendor and this-worldly command of the Qing court, combined with a subtext of expansionism and cultural synthesis. While the Sino-European mode lacked the direct historical underpinnings usually associated with canonical status, it shared qualities of technical finish and attention to descriptive detail with earlier court paintings of figural, historical, and ideological themes in the Song and Ming periods.

The situation of alternative and sometimes competitive canonical formations observable in early-twentieth-century China thus had deep historical roots. While modes of print reproduction and social networks had played important roles in the promulgation of earlier pictorial canons, new factors such as widespread photographically based reproductions, national or public educational, museum, and publication systems, and international sites of canon formation and reception shaped the early-twentieth-century process of canon competition. The historical weight and institutional coherence of the Qing palace and later Palace Museum collections lent them great advantages in such a situation, realized for example in the centrality of the Palace collections to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London in 1935–36, certified as a canonical collection by the authority of the Chinese government and a selection committee of international experts.⁵⁰ The later threats to preservation and bifurcation of the Palace collections during the Sino-Japanese and Chinese civil wars in the late 1930s and 1940s mirror in some respects the horizons of dispersal and loss that surrounded the Palace collection in the early decades of the century, and reveal the fragile status of even so deeply rooted a cultural formation.⁵¹ The International Exhibition in London had some precedents in a series of six Sino-Japanese international art exhibitions held between 1921 and 1931, discussed in detail by Aida Yuen Wong.⁵² These included two exhibitions in Japan of Chinese

painting masterworks from dynastic eras, and four joint exhibitions of contemporary Japanese and Chinese national-style painting, including two held in Beijing in 1921 and 1924. Sponsored and organized by various art societies, commercial organizations, and quasi-governmental entities, the exhibitions commingled cultural, commercial, and diplomatic purposes. The Ministry of Education's 1929 National Fine Arts Exhibition experiment with a syncretic and expansive model for a national art canon, officially sponsored, diverse in media forms, partly ancient and partly modern, international, and practical, did not, despite its great promise, have an ongoing institutional or political basis in the ideologically divisive and practically disrupted conditions of post-1930 China. Di Baoxian's efforts to link his personal collection with the Palace collections through his art publications, and his insinuation into the National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929 as a collector, painter, and calligrapher suggest his ongoing concern with asserting a canonical status for his personal work and familial patrimony alike. Although the reputation of some paintings in Di's collection fell victim to the very photography-based technology that promoted them, his own and others' art publications from the 1908–30 era remain of great interest, as documents and constructive sites of emerging art systems.

12. New Printing Technology and Heritage Preservation

*Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities
in Modern China, circa 1908 – 1917*

Cheng-hua Wang

Invented in Germany in the late 1860s, collotype is a photomechanical process developed to print fine reproductions. As early as photography's inception in 1839, reproducing faithful images of time-honored objects, such as works of art and antiquities,¹ was expected to be an important application of this new technological innovation.² Collotype was the result of continuous experiments to this end. Compared to woodblock printing and lithography, the techniques that preceded collotype in reproducing artwork and antiquities, collotype was superior in terms of its capacity for showing delicate tones and grayscale gradations. The subtle ink wash of Chinese painting, for example, is impossible to capture with woodblock printing or lithography but can be successfully reproduced with collotype (see fig. 12.1 for an example). More important, while earlier technologies required that an initial copy of the original object be made by hand, collotype captured the original image of the object using photographic technology, thereby creating an effect that better approximated the actual visual impression.³

As one of the Western printing technologies introduced into modern China, collotype (*keluoban* or *boliban*) was recognized and eagerly sought by publishing houses in the first years of the twentieth century. Starting from 1908, picture books reproducing antiquities with little accompanying text emerged in considerable quantities as a new genre of publications on China's book market. First appearing in Shanghai, the printing capital of modern China from the late nineteenth century, and then spreading to other cities in the early Republican period,⁴ these books made accessible many Chinese antiquities in contemporary private collections, as well as some from the imperial collections of the Qing (1644–1911), China's last imperial dynasty.⁵ The technology provided an eyewitness experi-

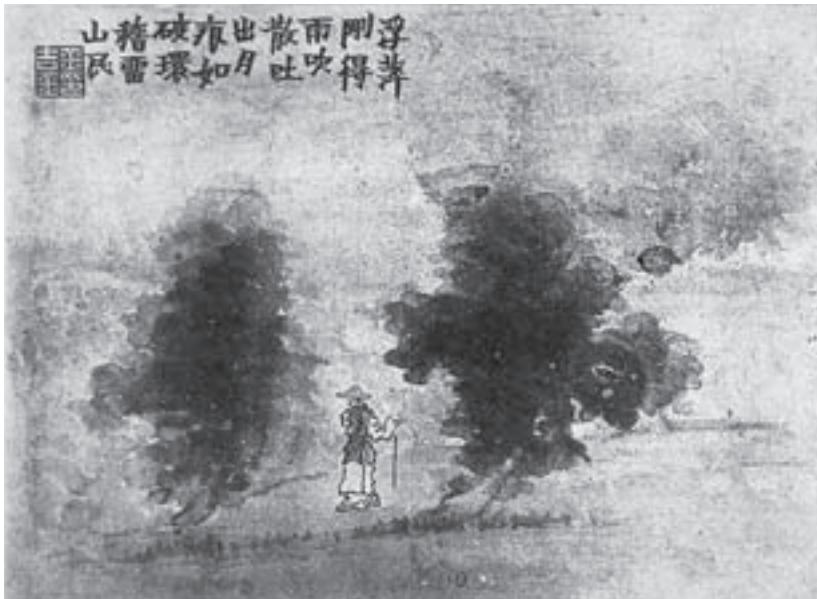


Figure 12.1. Jin Nong, *Figure in Landscape*, a collotype reproduction, from *Jin Dongxin hua renwu ce*.

ence that enabled the viewer to examine reproduced antiquities as if they were physically present. Its development marked the first time in Chinese printing history that a general reading public could garner a glimpse into a world of artifacts that was originally the exclusive domain of a privileged few. This visibility and materiality gave rise to an unprecedented degree of publicity and immediacy for antiquities in a public space formed by the publishers and anonymous readers. As with the formation of a public space for antiquities, the recategorization of antiquities was also undertaken in print.

This chapter focuses on the earliest two series of collotype books devoted to reproduction of antiquities through the use of collotype technology: *Zhongguo minghua ji* (Famous Chinese paintings) and *Shenzhou guoguangji* (Chinese national glory). Both made their debut on Shanghai's book market in 1908 as bimonthly periodicals published by famous historical figures whose influence went far beyond the realm of commercial publishing. The editors of these two periodicals stated that their agenda was to raise awareness of heritage preservation among the educated classes by exposing them to genuine antiquities. The initial success of these two publications in the last years of the Qing dynasty guaranteed their own

persistence well into the early 1930s, either as reprints or under different titles,⁶ and betokened a flourishing market for collotype picture books throughout the Republican era. However, these later collotype books had their own publishing context, one whose premier, if not exclusive, purpose was commercial profit. This distinguished them from the two initial series that I shall consider here. For the sake of clarity, this chapter focuses on the first decade of collotype reproduction, which predated the peak of the New Culture Movement, a watershed moment in modern Chinese history, in 1919. By examining the publication of these two periodicals and their sociocultural ramifications, we may be able to answer the broad question of how a newly introduced technology engaged in and even shaped China's discourses and practices of heritage preservation.

SURVEYING THE FIELD AND FRAMING THE ISSUES

The issues regarding collotype reproduction of antiquities lie at the intersection of art history and print culture. For art history, while photography has long been a subject of scholarly research, it was not until the mid-1990s that scholars started to reflect upon how the new technology influenced the way in which people thought of artwork. For example, a book on photographing art in nineteenth-century England argues that the technology "acted as the catalyst that transformed the study of art from a form of connoisseurship into what today is called art history."⁷ This self-reflexive exploration into art-historical discipline building, however, has not resulted in further research on the photographic reproduction of art.⁸ Even more marginal is the study of photographic technology and its use in art publications in modern China, which would barely exist were it not for a number of articles on certain publications by Japanese scholars.⁹

While Western art historians share the view that photography played a catalytic role in the transformation of art history from connoisseurship,¹⁰ the Chinese case does not follow the same linear progression. In modern China, between the time-honored connoisseurship of art and the emergent professional field of art-historical research, there were other entangled threads of sociocultural elements involved in art publications. The establishment of art history in China is but one of the ways that the subject of the photographic reproduction of art manifests itself as a meaningful scholarly endeavor.

Art history as a profession did not make a major impression upon Chinese academia until the 1930s, as attested by the sudden increase in the number of scholarly publications on art at that time.¹¹ By the 1930s,

most of the modern Chinese publications of art were picture books devoted to illustrating antiquities. Even though these books contained almost no contemporary scholarly research on artists and artworks, their popularity had artistic and sociocultural ramifications.¹² For example, the degree to which they influenced contemporary art creations, especially calligraphy and painting, is an important but yet unstudied topic, to be left to future investigation.

As this overview thus demonstrates, a satisfactory body of secondary literature has yet to materialize. The study of print culture hardly yields more rewarding results, a regrettable fact especially given that in recent years modern Chinese print culture has become a vigorous subfield of historical and literary studies. For example, the translation and publication of Western literary, social, and economic writings have received consistent scholarly attention for more than forty years.¹³ More recently, this evolving body of scholarship has been reoriented to integrate the perspective of print culture into the study of the intellectual and literary trends that attended China's modern transformation. For literary scholars, the venues in which literary works were published and circulated are essential to understanding their socioeconomic characteristics and ramifications. Taking into consideration the print culture of literature, this new approach examines literary works in terms of their materiality manifested as a medium carrying social and cultural messages.¹⁴ For historians, printing is interesting not only as a successful business in and of itself but, more important, for its role as a new channel for disseminating knowledge and forging a new sociocultural climate.¹⁵ Print culture thus provides an approach for historians to investigate the major transformations of modern China not from the views of cultural and intellectual power-holders operating in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, but from those of the average, educated classes nationwide with access to new sources of knowledge and authority.

Thriving as it may be, the study of modern Chinese print culture is not particularly wide-ranging. Its attention has been focused on three aspects of the printing and publishing business in Shanghai. First, the leading player in the Shanghai book market, the Commercial Press, has remained the most, or even only, thoroughly studied publisher in modern China.¹⁶ The second focus has been on translated works from the West. Third, technological breakthroughs in the printing process, such as lithography and the letterpress, have long been in the spotlight. We will leave the third focus to the next section on technological competition in the modern Chinese book market and, for the moment, elaborate on the second.

The issue of translated works has earned its popularity among scholars mostly because of the presupposition that new intellectual ideas and trends from the West formed the dominant sociocultural forces that triggered China's transformation into a modern nation. In this narrative strategy, which may be termed the "enlightenment project of Western influence," China's modern fate is believed to lie in the introduction and dissemination of Western ideas that were to "enlighten" the educated classes, who in turn would spread the message of enlightenment to the masses. This narrative has continued the key rhetoric of the New Culture Movement, whose legacy still shapes contemporary China. The leading actors in this movement professed an agenda modeled after the Western Enlightenment to save the nation from imperialist aggression. Until recent scholarship challenged this self-proclamation, the movement was long considered a positive and progressive sociocultural trend without paradoxes, conflicts, regression, or twisted realities.¹⁷

The enlightenment project treats Western influence as having a direct impact on Chinese tradition and society while being unable to articulate the complicated situation of cultural interactions. The approach, for example, neglects Japan's pivotal role in the introduction of Western ideas and things to China—the cultural interactions taking place in modern China were not bilateral but multilateral—and the dimension of negotiation in each interaction.¹⁸ The situation of collotype books in China does not conform to the ideal of Chinese enlightenment through Western influence. The case of collotype books that only presented "old things" from China's past by using the Japanese approach to the most advanced Western printing technology is much more complicated than mainstream modern Chinese history has demonstrated to date. It thus helps us reflect on how sociocultural elements from diverse sources were negotiated within modern Chinese cultural practices.

Although the editors of the *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory* series can be easily cast as part of the enlightenment project for their attempt to educate the Chinese people about heritage preservation by using Western technology, the story of these publications is ill represented by the master narrative of the New Culture Movement. That story involves not only the application of new technology in China but also the "old things" themselves that were given new life through this new technology. The idea and practice of heritage preservation brought China's past to the foreground, a political and sociocultural act with which New Culture rhetoric cannot be easily reconciled.

Influenced by New Culture rhetoric, some early-twentieth-century

discussions of China's fate held that antiquities were trite and useless objects that should have been destroyed or at least put away and "frozen" in museums, lest they pollute a renewed, forward-looking China. Some scholars have conceived this utopian and purist vision as the most influential perspective on antiquities in early-twentieth-century China.¹⁹ This chapter aims to prove otherwise. In fact, new and old constituents of modern Chinese culture can no longer be considered antithetical or even clear-cut. Nonetheless, the counter-discourse to, or at least a richer and more complicated picture of, the "enlightenment project" awaits a full-scale study.

Since the 1990s, scholars have paid increasing attention to the allegedly "conservative" intellectual trends that examined Chinese tradition more sympathetically.²⁰ This research has opened a discussion of the formation of national culture and heritage, an issue that has blurred the once-bright dividing line between the New Culture anti-traditionalists and their rivals, the "conservatives." For instance, even the so-called conservative intellectuals did not confine their attention to Chinese tradition.²¹ Similarly, collotype books illuminate the complicated socio-cultural context in which conflicting ideas and social practices were intertwined. These books, while illustrating treasured objects from China's past, simultaneously placed Chinese tradition in a new perspective of global relevance. For example, the issue of heritage preservation was at that time reverberating around the modern world;²² to use modern inventions such as collotype for the purpose of heritage preservation was also a phenomenon not limited to early-twentieth-century China. In China, the fact that the collotype technique was introduced from abroad raises intriguing questions about the relationships among the past, present, and future. It is clear that in the early twentieth century, antiquities did not only address the contemporary cultural crisis or refer back to China's long history, but also pointed to its future as a modern nation.

This conflated sense of tenses was a common characteristic of the heritage preservation project generally, but Chinese elite publishers had their own subjectivity in applying collotype printing to heritage preservation. In China, a heightened sense of heritage preservation that took antiquities as the object of concern prevailed, especially in the early years of collotype publications. Publishers proclaimed that they were motivated by a feeling of cultural crisis to reproduce objects that they treasured for their historical meaning or artistic value. They considered these objects as linked to the Chinese nation, an inheritance from history and imperiled by foreign imperialist aggression. Collotype books fulfilled intellectuals'

aspiration for heritage preservation while reifying their sense of cultural crisis.

In the meantime, a culture of exhibition brought both works of art and historical objects a hitherto unknown public visibility. They either appeared in exhibitions in public spaces such as museums and parks or were reproduced in publications such as collotype books. These books made manifest a change in the source of social status for collectors—one's cultural capital came from the publicity of one's collection, not from the aura accrued by its inaccessibility to the public. These collotype books also served as a new medium by which the educated classes approached antiquities and thus created a social space in which readers gained knowledge about antiquities and imagined China's past from the perspective of concrete artifacts, not texts.

TECHNOLOGICAL COMPETITION: COLLOTYPE TECHNIQUE AND ITS USE IN EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY SHANGHAI

In 1916, while celebrating the opening of its new building, Zhonghua Publishers (Zhonghua shuju), one of the "three legs of the tripod" in the printing and publishing business of early-twentieth-century Shanghai, issued a report on its present state and future development.²³ In it, the publisher noted that its future lay in new printing technology to be introduced by purchasing advanced machines and hiring professional technicians. More important, the report elevated printing to the status of "a sharp weapon of civilization, upon which a nation's culture hinges" (*wenming liqi, yiguo zhi wenhua xiyan*).²⁴ It then went on to emphasize that advanced printing technology not only enhanced the publisher's reputation but demonstrated to the world that Chinese national culture was progressive.

Despite the long history of Chinese printing, the notion of a link between printing and national culture or advanced civilization was still novel in China. At the same time, a similar mode of rhetoric was widely employed in discussions of museums and art, indicating a broad socio-cultural trend that was highly self-conscious of the formation of China's national culture and the standing of Chinese civilization in the world.²⁵ Given this situation, printing assumed a completely new meaning—it was no longer a traditional and time-honored trade but rather a touchstone of China's position in world civilization.

Advanced printing technology testified to China's high level of civilization and national culture in an internationalized context in which

every aspect of Chinese culture was under reassessment. Technological developments in printing and publishing thus became symbols of China's search for modernization and for high status in the civilized world. It is no wonder that, as mentioned above, many writings since the 1930s on modern Chinese printing have revolved around various waves of technological transmission from abroad.²⁶ Lithography, the technique put into commercial use in Shanghai in the 1870s, has received the most attention.²⁷ Most of the literature regards lithography as a turning point in the tradition of Chinese printing and thus as the perfect symbol of China's modernization. After all, lithography put an end to the thousand-year domination of woodblock printing.

A combination of commercial profit and Chinese traditional book aesthetics explains the popularity of lithography in Shanghai during the period between the 1870s and 1905. Lithographers worked with brushes and ink directly on a prepared slab of stone. This procedure was much speedier and simpler than woodblock printing, as it rendered carving unnecessary. Moreover, the lithographic process retained traces of brushwork, a quality valued by the Chinese literati and an advantage with which letterpresses could not compete. Lithography was widely used to reproduce ancient books, mostly for the civil service examinations, paintings and calligraphic works, and the newly rising medium of pictorial magazines, the most famous being the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* (*Dianshizhai huabao*) (fig. 12.2).²⁸

While lithography dominated the history of modern Chinese printing, most histories, at best, only mention collotype in passing, even if their focus is technological breakthrough.²⁹ Aside from lithography's importance as the first widely used Western printing and publishing technology in China, the comparative neglect of collotype in historical research may also result from the wider applications of lithography, especially for the reproduction of rare ancient books.

Even though collotype had limited applications, the quantity of collotype books in important Sinological libraries and their continued use in pedagogical and research contexts demands their consideration.³⁰ In fact, collotype was the commonly used technology for printing picture books illustrating art and antiquities ever since the commercial publishers in Shanghai learned the technique in the first years of the twentieth century. Several publishers, including the Commercial Press, vied to control the reproduction technology by either employing Japanese technicians or sending workers to Japan for training.³¹ At the time Japan had already applied collotype technology to a wide range of printing projects for approximately twenty years, as demonstrated by the high-quality



Figure 12.2. Lithographic plate from *Dianshizhai huabao, maoji* (Guangzhou rpt.: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983), 28–29.

reproductions of Japanese art in every issue of the art magazine *Kokka* since its inception in 1889.³² These black-and-white plates were proof of the efficacy of collotype technology in reproducing both two- and three-dimensional artwork, the latter of which are rendered with an impressive sense of spatiality (see fig. 12.3 for an example).³³

Compared to lithography, collotype technology also had disadvantages. First, the gelatin nature of the printing surface limited the number of prints that could be obtained from a plate (mostly made of glass), which made collotype more expensive than lithography.³⁴ Second, lithography was capable of reducing the size of the object reproduced in exact proportion, and, accordingly, enabled the placement of several objects on one plate for the sake of comparison. Collotype, by contrast, was unable to show the proportion of different objects, as each plate contained one object regardless of its dimensions. This advantage of lithography was fully utilized by Japanese antiquarians in the mid-nineteenth century in juxtaposing lithographic images to research groups of collected objects or archaeological discoveries like those shown in figure 12.4. In Japan this was an age that witnessed the rise of antiquarianism and heritage preser-



Figure 12.3. A collotype image from *Kokka* 1 (October 1889): n.p.

vation, and the lithographic technique appeared at the right moment for scholarly research.³⁵

Despite these disadvantages, collotype became an immediate success, quickly supplanting lithography. In the words of an early-twentieth-century Shanghai publishing veteran, collotype was perceived as the harbinger of photomechanical process, and its use in China an important breakthrough in printing technology and for art publication.³⁶ Its capacity for reproducing faithful images, the primary aim of heritage preservation and exhibition culture, made it irreplaceable. In addition, technological competition between Shanghai's commercial presses proved to be an important factor in the rush to develop collotype.

In Shanghai advances in printing not only pointed to practical commercial gains but also highlighted publishers' achievements. One can discern a technological competition among publishing houses in the advertisements they ran in both newspapers and their own publications. These ads displayed the publisher's newest printing technology,



Figure 12.4. Lithographic reproduction of Japanese archaeological finds.
Source: Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no jūkyū seiki: Bakumatsu Meiji ni okeru "mono" no arukeororjii*, fig. 30.

with an emphasis on its prowess and its transmission from technologically advanced countries. In some cases, they even described the details of the printing process. This demonstrates the importance of printing technology for marketing books, and also incidentally helped to make the techniques common knowledge among the educated elite. Take the example of the advertisements in the volumes of *Chinese National Glory*: in one issue, an advertisement lists the key technological details involved in printing the periodical—including ink, plate, photography appliances, and printing machines—in order to emphasize the incomparably refined, faithful, and indelible qualities of the pictures inside. It also proclaims that these effects did not come easily but were achieved through persistent research.³⁷

Of the earlier publishers of collotype books, Youzheng Publishers (Youzheng shuju) and the Society of Chinese National Glory (Shenzhou guoguangshe) are worthy of special attention because they not only were devoted to reproducing antiquities but also regularly published series of collotype books beginning in 1908. The former belonged to Di Baoxian (1873–1939),³⁸ also the editor of *Famous Chinese Paintings*. Deng Shi (1877–1951) was the editor and publisher of *Chinese National Glory*, the official publication of its namesake society. In addition to these two

publishers, the Commercial Press and Wenming Publishers (*Wenming shuju*) also made their names in collotype publication. The Commercial Press, however, soon expanded into a full-range publishing business and did not specialize in picture books. Wenming Publishers, perhaps the earliest commercial publisher of collotype books in China, produced separate volumes that are, unfortunately, now scattered in different libraries and difficult to assemble for scholarly discussion. Furthermore, because Wenming Publishers was integrated into Zhonghua Publishers in 1915, its independent contribution to the history of collotype publication was relatively limited.³⁹

FORGING A PUBLIC SPACE FOR ANTIQUITIES

Di Baoxian and Deng Shi contributed to the formation of a new solidarity among art collectors in the name of heritage preservation. In their editorial statements, both men highlighted a sense of cultural crisis triggered by the destruction or loss of antiquities, emphasizing the imperative to exhibit them for the sake of preservation and public education. Their strategy was first to publish their own collections and those of members of their social circles, while encouraging anonymous collectors to send in their collections or photographs of their collections for publication. Even though the invocation of traditional artistic tastes and claims of authenticity in their statements appealed to art connoisseurs as potential buyers, the primary proclaimed motivation for such rallying lay in the new circumstances confronting China and its cultural heritage.⁴⁰ These circumstances mainly resulted from the diaspora of Chinese antiquities created during the war-torn late Qing dynasty and from the international trend toward heritage preservation. Each nation's heritage preservation project, either national or elite-directed, gave a new definition to objects from the past. By the time Di Baoxian and Deng Shi had launched their collotype periodicals in 1908, antiquities had clearly become the essential focus for heritage preservation, and exhibiting them through publications was considered one of the most important steps in raising public consciousness of their irreplaceable status in national culture.

The solidarity among art collectors that developed in the space created by the two collotype periodicals cut across politics, family background, and geographical location. This kind of solidarity linked art collectors not only by friendship, pedigree, and political coalition, the three most recurrent horizontal factors for forming a special group of collectors in traditional China, but by the volunteerism involved in making their col-

lections accessible to a general reading public. Mediated through publications, this solidarity forged a public space in which antiquities became the common interest of the educated classes and ideas regarding Chinese national heritage were disseminated. The collective endeavors that made antiquities topics for rumination and discussion involved the publishers, the art collectors who provided their collections for publishing, and those who had access to these two periodicals.

As the head of Youzheng Publishers (est. 1904), Di Baoxian's interest in art and photography must have accounted for Youzheng's specialization in photomechanical processes. Its collotype repertoire of art publications included picture books and individual mounted frames of Chinese painting and calligraphy, the latter providing a taste of art for those who could not afford originals.⁴¹ By the mid-1930s, Youzheng had published over 1,000 picture books on painting and calligraphy, a record difficult for other publishers to achieve.⁴² In addition to art reproduction, Youzheng also carried photo albums with images of contemporary celebrities such as the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929), the Boxer Uprising of 1900, and famous courtesans in Shanghai.⁴³ Even though modern Chinese commercial photography is not at issue here, it is apparent that Di Baoxian's publishing career incorporated a wide range of products that employed the advanced technology of collotype printing, and in this respect, he was meaningful for modern Chinese history beyond his importance as the publisher of the influential Shanghai newspaper *Shibao*.⁴⁴

Born into a scholar-official family of the Jiangsu area, Di passed the civil service examination with the rank of *juren* and thereby gained entrance into elite circles of the late Qing. He was an active reformer and revolutionary, twice exiled to Japan, and familiar with such famous historical figures as Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao.⁴⁵ Di's experience in Japan and his social connections with elites later proved to be instrumental in his enthusiasm for and success in collotype publishing.

In early-twentieth-century China, owners of publishing houses specializing in collotype reproduction of art were often art collectors themselves, including Di Baoxian and Deng Shi.⁴⁶ Di's love for art made his experience of accompanying Japanese friends to the Qing palaces and imperial gardens wrecked by foreign troops in the wake of the Boxer Uprising particularly poignant. The miserable fact that the artwork in the imperial collections was damaged or looted and lost to foreign hands was a recurring theme in his memoir of this traumatic incident. In Di's words, these art objects were the "essence of the entire nation" (*quanguo*

zhi jingcui), and their irredeemable fate was even worse than the loss of human lives.⁴⁷

It is highly likely that Di's experience of imperialist pillaging influenced his concept of art and his engagement in heritage preservation. Also, the Japanese cultural trend of advocating the preservation of a "national essence" sharpened his consciousness of China's cultural heritage.⁴⁸ He claimed in 1910 that art together with literature constituted the essence of China as a nation: one who did not appreciate art from China's past did not have a sense of national identity. In this sense, art was not solely for the sake of connoisseurship but, like literature, a pillar of national culture by which Chinese nationals (*guomin*) identified themselves through proper education.⁴⁹

The publication of the bimonthly *Famous Chinese Paintings* helped give shape to Di's consciousness by preserving China's national art, at least in printed form. The formal characteristics of these volumes, such as their size and use of a piece of transparent paper to protect each plate, recall those of *Kokka*. His familiarity with Japanese cultural preservation seems to have led him to adopt the Japanese practice of preserving national art by photographic means. Beginning in the 1870s, the Japanese government started to employ photography to inventory all kinds of artwork as a crucial step in heritage preservation. The photographer who assumed this responsibility, Ogawa Kazumasa (1860–1929), was also the one behind the high-quality collotype images of such reputed art magazines as *Kokka*.⁵⁰ In fact, despite its prestigious status, *Kokka* was but one of the art magazines in turn-of-the-century Japan that demonstrated the importance of collotype as a vehicle for heritage preservation.⁵¹ This mission on behalf of collotype reproduction can be seen clearly in the publishing statement of *Kokka*, whose general rhetorical mode and specific phrases remind us of Di's own writings on art, national culture, and the education of *guomin*.

On the cover of the first ten issues of *Famous Chinese Paintings* was the title inscribed by Zhang Jian (1853–1926), who also contributed a preface to the inaugural issue, as did Di Baoxian and Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940).⁵² Di's social circle, as revealed by the names cited in the periodical, seems to have included many famous late Qing officials and collectors. The appearance of such familiar names as Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916), Zheng Xiaoxu (1860–1938), Duan-fang (1861–1911), and Luo Zhenyu sheds doubt on the long-accepted distinction between late Qing revolutionaries and officials.

More interesting, the social networking behind the publication of

Famous Chinese Paintings, on the one hand, observed the time-honored solidarity of art and epigraphy collectors who occasionally exchanged their collections or viewed treasured objects together;⁵³ on the other hand, the names of Di Baoxian, Zhang Jian, and Luo Zhenyu were connected through an unconventional social and cultural channel in which popular involvement was valued. Although there is no doubt of Di's friendship with some of the collectors, *Famous Chinese Paintings*, as mentioned above, was more of a public forum that, in the name of heritage preservation, consolidated a new sense of fellowship between collectors and involved the readership of the periodical.

Meanwhile, at this time art associations in Shanghai began to organize exhibitions in public spaces such as parks.⁵⁴ The fifth issue of *Famous Chinese Paintings* reproduced some paintings displayed in one of the exhibitions held in Yu Gardens (Yuyuan).⁵⁵ Exhibitions in a public space and in printed form thereby became two sides of a coin, by means of which art collectors developed new expressions for their solidarity.

Zhang Jian himself was a powerful advocate of public exhibitions, and part of his vision came to fruition with the museum he established in 1905 in his native city of Nantong.⁵⁶ His preface to *Famous Chinese Paintings* shared Di Baoxian's conviction that there were two avenues to preserving Chinese national art—establishing museums and publishing books. Both worked to educate the Chinese people in the appreciation of their own tradition.

While the rhetoric of connoisseurship still retained its relevance in the realm of art, the social status of art collectors seemed to undergo a transformation. For the collectors who publicized their collections, involvement in a "popular" publication seemed to enhance their social status. Duan-fang, one of the collectors listed in the periodical, even had his bronze and ceramics collection displayed in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, an international public space that was foreign to Chinese viewing experiences.⁵⁷ He became an art and epigraphy collector because collecting was itself a source of cultural authority and political alliance,⁵⁸ not unusual for the history of collecting in China. What distinguished Duan-fang (as well as many of his fellow collectors), however, was that, because of the contemporary linkage between popular education and heritage preservation prevailing among educated elites, acquisition of the cultural capital of collecting occurred in the public forums of art exposition and publication.

Even though there is no record of their direct acquaintance,⁵⁹ Di Baoxian and Deng Shi shared an enthusiasm for late Qing political and

social activism. Their collotype periodicals used the same mechanisms of publication and circulation, as mentioned above, and occasionally relied on the same group of collectors, such as Luo Zhenyu and Duan-fang. In contrast to Di Baoxian, Deng Shi exerted influence not only in the realm of politics but also in the intellectual sphere, as one of the editors and writers of *Journal of National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao*), as well as the other important publications that promoted intellectual change for China's educated populace. While there are scant sources for Deng Shi's early life, his involvement in antiquities and art was one of his lifelong commitments. One example is the compendium of historical writings on art and crafts that he and Huang BinHong (1865–1955), the famous painter and art commentator, published in 1911.⁶⁰

The collectors associated with *Chinese National Glory* included the deceased paragons of epigraphy collection, such as Chen Jieqi (1813–84), Pan Zuyin (1830–90), and Wu Dacheng (1835–1902), as well as several contemporary collectors whose focus was more on painting, such as Pang Yuanji (Laichen, 1864–1949) and Huang BinHong. Some of the collectors contributing to *Chinese National Glory* seem not to have enjoyed national fame but would have been known at the provincial level.⁶¹ It was highly likely that Deng Shi did not have a personal relationship with most of the collectors whose names appeared in his collotype periodicals. It was nonetheless so important to Deng Shi that the collectors' names be indicated on *Chinese National Glory* that he reserved a place under the image of each artifact for their names, a practice also seen in *Famous Chinese Paintings*. This phenomenon further attests to the significance of publicity for one's collection, to the consequence of having one's name shown as an art collector, and to the sense of solidarity among art collectors mediated by publications. The modern practice of identifying an object with its owner in a public space of exhibition not only reflects the concept of an art collection as property but also reveals how the publicity of a collectors' network strengthened the sense of collectivity with a lofty cause. This networking was also open ended, since its linking factors were not necessarily personal and its boundary of connections was not rigid but more fluid than that of the group of traditional collectors.

Deng Shi organized an enormous group of antiquities in *Chinese National Glory*, ranging from paintings and epigraphy to bronzes and stelae, and, along with juxtaposing these historical objects, he also identified their owners by way of the rubric of collectors who contributed to the preservation of China's national culture. While limited to the category of painting, *Famous Chinese Paintings* achieved a similar goal. In terms of

readership, these two periodicals also point in the same direction. Difficult as it may be to effectively gauge their circulation, ample clues lead us to a conjecture of their popularity and a possible profile of their readers.

First, the multiple reprints of *Famous Chinese Paintings* definitely bespeak its success as a publication. Moreover, as mentioned by the famous journalist Bao Tianxiao (1876–1973), Youzheng's profit from its collotype reproductions of antiquities compensated for *Shibao*'s loss of money, allowing Di Baoxian to keep his newspaper viable.⁶² Second, when John Dewey (1859–1952), the American philosopher well known to educated Chinese, visited China in 1919, he went to Youzheng Publishers to purchase reproductions of antiquities as souvenirs. This interesting episode demonstrates that Youzheng's publications on antiquities had become the embodiment of Chinese culture, an appropriate memento for a learned person such as Dewey to bring home.⁶³ Third, such famous historical figures as Lu Xun (1881–1936), Shen Yinmo (1883–1971), Fu Sinian (1896–1950), and Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958) apparently acquired collotype books in their collections.⁶⁴ Even though there is no indication that any of their collotype books included the two periodicals in question, that collotype books constituted a category of collectible items for many elite intellectuals is well established.

The second and third clues to the books' readership involve elite intellectuals, rather than a general reading public that barely left their names to history. However, the sustainability and efflorescence of collotype books in the modern Chinese book market, as evidenced by regular reprinting, cannot have been achieved solely through the support of the top echelon of China's literate population. As the appreciation of artwork and antiquities had long been a corollary of civil service education in traditional China, there must have been a huge number of the educated people who would cherish the chance of being able to see a faithful reproduction of ancient treasures. Even after the abolition of the civil service examination in 1905, the sociocultural impact of the traditional educational system, such as its capacity to familiarize the educated classes with art, were far from a bygone history.

Moreover, given the price of each issue of *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory* around 1908, 1.5 Mexican dollars, these two collotype periodicals would not have been considered luxury items by those who could afford cultural products. For example, around 1912, the monthly salary of Lu Xun, a middle-level government employee, was 250 Mexican dollars, while a manual worker earned at most 7 Mexican dollars a month.⁶⁵ As such, spending 1.5 Mexican dollars to purchase

one collotype book was impossible for lower class people but affordable for the upper and middle classes. Also, around 1916, touring the newly established fine arts museum inside the Forbidden City cost 2.3 Mexican dollars, which means that the price of the collotype periodicals was not above the average cost of cultural commodities.⁶⁶

Famous Chinese Paintings and *Chinese National Glory*, though lacking long scholarly essays, visually carved out a public space for antiquities. In this space, all educated people were potential participants contributing to the formation of a discursive practice focused on antiquities. In other words, antiquities constituted a category upon which the educated could comment and through which they could engage their political and sociocultural commitments. The collotype pictures in *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory* ushered in a new era for antiquities, an era in which they were transformed from personal collections to China's national heritage and culture.

By the same token, the traditional discourse on art, which mostly focused on connoisseurship, still wielded its influence over potential buyers. In hindsight, *Famous Chinese Paintings* included many fake paintings, a reality that would seem to eviscerate its claim of authenticity. What is more interesting is that the antiquities assumed various roles and generated multiple discourses in the era when they first became national heritage. Around 1908, when Di and Deng stated the intent of their collotype publications, the new discourse that held antiquities equivalent to heritage preservation seems not to have collided with the traditional connoisseurial one. They simply coexisted without dialogue in the public space created by late Qing collotype periodicals. But even in this incipient stage of heritage preservation, the new current gushed into the public space for antiquities with great power, particularly in its redefinition and realignment of the different categories of antiquities and artwork.

THE CONCEPTION AND CATEGORIZATION OF ART AND ANTIQUITY

Starting from its first issue in 1905, the *Journal of National Essence*, sister publication to *Chinese National Glory*, contained a large quantity of illustrations of historical figures and objects that were perceived as integral to the national essence and culture.⁶⁷ The journal deserves attention as a forerunner of antiquity reproduction, though not necessarily employing collotype. It was the official publication of the Society for Preserving National Learning (Guoxue baocun hui) in the last years of the Qing dynasty, promoting the formation of a Chinese national culture with an



Figure 12.5a. Image of ivory sculpture, from *Guocui xuebao* 38 (1908), 70.

anti-Manchu and anti-imperial slant. Other than the images that advocated its political stance, such as the portraits of the so-called renowned ancestors of the Han people, the journal also included the historical objects that may offer some insight into its conception of art and antiquity in late Qing China.

First appearing in the journal in 1907, these historical objects were uniformly termed "Chinese artworks" (*Zhongguo meishupin*) without any distinction between provenance, genre, or quality. As each page contained one or two images without a clear editorial agenda or hierarchical order, each illustrated historical object was correspondingly assigned an equal status, regardless of whether it was a bronze mirror, literati painting, or ancient seal.⁶⁸ A miniature ivory building, two embroidered paintings, and a blue-and-white ceramic plate provide examples for further exploration (fig. 12.5).



Figure 12.5b. Image of ceramic plate, from *Guocui xuebao* 38 (1908), 64.

The traditional Chinese canon of connoisseurship, primarily established in the Southern Song and Ming dynasties with sophisticated aesthetic discourses for bronzes, ceramics, calligraphy, and painting,⁶⁹ offered virtually no criteria for the appreciation of ivory sculptures or works of embroidery. They were certainly collectibles for the literati—the traditionally educated class who left substantial writings on connoisseurship—but not among the prestigious categories of artwork seen as deserving a history of literati taste and a system of distinction. Moreover, most of the ivories mentioned in the literature on connoisseurship were seals and miscellaneous items for studio use, not the objects intended for the conspicuous display of craftsmanship such as the ivory building featured in the journal. This was apparently intended for export, not the appreciation of Chinese literati collectors.⁷⁰ The ceramic plate, likely a late Qing

export product, further points to the inclusion of folk objects within the category of "Chinese artworks,"⁷¹ one that encompassed many kinds of historical objects without distinguishing between high and folk art.

If we proceed from connoisseurship to the traditional study of antiquities, an even more intriguing picture emerges. While high-quality ceramics started to enter the literati horizon of connoisseurship by the Northern Song dynasty,⁷² ceramics were not included in the traditional study of historical objects, known as the "studies of metal and stone" (*jinshixue*). This scholarly tradition, whose major concern was to investigate ancient Chinese history through the paleographical analysis of inscribed bronzes, jade, and stone, did not take into consideration ceramics—which, as utilitarian objects, mostly lacked inscriptions. The undifferentiated inclusion of objects such as ivory and ceramics alongside the more pedigreed bronzes, calligraphy, and paintings in the journal signaled a new set of criteria for historical objects different from that of both traditional connoisseurship and *jinshixue*. Furthermore, as the term *meishu* (fine arts) was a neologism borrowed from Japan around 1900,⁷³ the label "Chinese artworks" demonstrated a new epistemological foundation for conceptualizing historical objects in their entirety; the category of *meishu*, which embraced all manner of antiquities as equally important, was modified within the nationalistic framework of *Zhongguo* (Chinese).

Chinese National Glory, launched by Deng Shi in 1908 to project a stronger sense of cultural preservation than that of the *Journal of National Essence*, further helps clarify the conception of art and antiquity in the last years of the Qing dynasty when many neologisms and much foreign thinking poured into China. For example, its editorial statement rendered *meishu*, an all-embracing category of historical objects directly linked to China as a nation, interchangeable with the terms *guwu* (antiquities) and *wenwu* (cultural relics). This interchangeability among such terms as *meishu*, *wenwu*, *guwu*, and *guobao* (national treasures) was a common practice in the transitional period between the late Qing and the early Republic, as the neologism *meishu* had not been generally adapted to the Western field of "fine arts," namely, painting, sculpture, and architecture.⁷⁴ For example, Deng Shi's editorial preface to *Chinese National Glory* drew only a thin and blurred line between the aesthetic and historical values of the objects that were considered *meishu*. The term's Japanese counterpart—*bijutsu*, a term borrowed from the German *Kunst* in 1872, the year in which Japan participated in the universal exposition held in Vienna—was later codified as an organic integration of Japanese and Western traditions of categorizing aesthetic and histori-

cal objects. In the meantime, concepts associated with *bijutsu* played a key role in Japanese sociopolitical trends toward cultural preservation and art exhibitions.⁷⁵ As with *bijutsu*, *meishu* in early-twentieth-century China went through a series of transformations before it developed a commonly acknowledged meaning identical to "fine arts" in the West. In the first decade of its introduction to China, *meishu* appeared frequently in newspapers and magazines, scholarly writings, and the titles of art exhibitions and societies, a fashionable neologism that indicated the emergence of the new discourses of art, heritage preservation, and exhibition culture.

However, the wide circulation of the term produced little discussion of its signifiers, and it remained polysemous at best, occasionally ambiguous and contradictory. Generally speaking, as far as the early 1900s are concerned, for Chinese intellectuals interested in German philosophy as propounded by Kant and Schopenhauer, the term *meishu* included painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry, and was closely connected to aesthetics that emphasized the indispensability of art in life. This understanding coexisted with two other important definitions of *meishu*; first, the Western concept of "fine arts"—painting, sculpture, and architecture—and second, a wide range of historical objects traditionally termed *guwu* (as in Deng Shi's preface).⁷⁶

Deng Shi, as well as Di Baoxian, employed *meishu* as a neologism that formed the kernel of the conception of heritage preservation and exhibition culture within the framework of nationalism. *Meishu* could be easily converted into such time-honored Chinese terms as *guwu* and *wenwu* without further explanation or scholarly discussion. It could embrace any type of historical object whose preservation was deemed important. While *wenwu* had multiple meanings that extended beyond the conventional rubric of "antiquities," the term *guwu*, which had been in use for a millennium or more, conventionally referred to a wide range of historical objects that included ritual vessels, excavated objects, and items for measuring weight and length.⁷⁷ The term *guwu* seems to have become the keyword for the discourse of heritage preservation around 1914, in the first years of the Republican era. In commercial publications, government documents, and the titles of public institutions, *guwu* as a standardized term conveyed a sociopolitical agenda of heritage preservation and public exhibition, the proper way to treat objects made in the long course of Chinese history.⁷⁸ In the meantime, *meishu* gradually settled on visual arts as its principle meaning, either as "fine arts" or as "art" (*yishu*), a term

which originally encompassed all manual skills in classical Chinese but was borrowed from Japanese in the early twentieth century to denote all varieties of artwork, including the decorative arts.⁷⁹

While the above discussion demonstrates that the terms used for art and antiquities underwent a process of negotiation as they mediated Chinese, Japanese, and Western conceptions, *Chinese National Glory* further reveals the detailed realignment of the categories for historical objects in the last years of the Qing dynasty. Similar to the *Journal of National Essence*, *Chinese National Glory* included objects that went beyond the traditional boundaries of the collectible and researchable. In general, this bimonthly divided the objects illustrated into two main categories—*jinshi* (antiquities made of metals or stone) and *shuhua* (calligraphy and painting). The category *shuhua* has remained constant since the Six Dynasties, with the brush as its common tool and the scroll as its common format.⁸⁰ *Jinshi* established itself as a respected category of inquiry in the Song dynasty. However, the objects contained in the category of *jinshi* were not fixed. In the Song, bronzes, jade, and stele rubbings constituted the category. It was not until the revival and efflorescence of the studies of metal and stone in the mid-Qing dynasty that the category was expanded to include tiles and bricks. In the early twentieth century, when archaeological objects appeared in great numbers, the boundaries of *jinshi* further expanded to encompass these newly discovered objects, coming to include oracle bones, ancient pottery, and mortuary items.⁸¹

The collotype images in *Chinese National Glory* attest to the ever-broadening category of *jinshi* and antiquities in general in the discourse of heritage preservation. At first, the bimonthly contained many bronze and stele rubbings that were the conventional objects of concern for the studies of metal and stone when original bronzes were not available. However, the appearance of actual bronzes and stelae demonstrated that the tradition was undergoing a transformation from concentrating on paleography to emphasizing whole objects in their three-dimensional materiality.⁸² Moreover, it is important to investigate how the newly discovered objects were categorized in a system mainly composed of *jinshi* and *shuhua*. Several were placed in the category *jinshi*, such as the stele with Buddhist icons. Inasmuch as traditional stele rubbings included Buddhist reliefs, this categorization was not without grounding, even though original stelae were less frequently collected than rubbings.⁸³ On the other hand, some similar stelae, together with a bronze statue of

the Buddha, were categorized as *zaoxiang*, a traditional term for all sorts of three-dimensional religious icons. The other newly excavated three-dimensional objects, primarily mortuary figurines, were categorized as *ni* (clay), a new invention based on the raw material involved.⁸⁴

This complexity surrounding the categorization of these newly discovered objects indicates that they exceeded the traditional Chinese boundaries of the collectible and the researchable. It also meant that the traditional Chinese categorization of historical objects did not include a conception identical to that of the Western term “sculpture,” which could easily include all of these objects. This provides us with further evidence that the Western notion of “fine arts” had not taken firm root in China during the first decade following the introduction of the term *meishu*.

The mortuary figurines mentioned above, totaling five in number, were traditionally termed *yong* as part of the category of *mingqi*, objects that were made intentionally for burial (fig. 12.6). Considered inauspicious, unappreciable, and irrelevant to statecraft, these taboo objects rarely entered literati writings, let alone collections.⁸⁵ However, the modern conception of heritage preservation, articulated in *Chinese National Glory*, changed the traditional view of mortuary objects. It bestowed new meanings to all kinds of historical objects, just as *Famous Chinese Paintings*, though focused on one category of artwork, transformed Chinese painting from aesthetic objects for personal appreciation into national heritage items. When mortuary objects, the most extreme example in the modern transformation of Chinese antiquities, broke free of their funereal connotations and were realigned into the grand category of *meishu* or *guwu*, all of the artifacts from China’s past became fair game and were given a new epistemological foundation for their existence.

The newly emerging framework of nationalism provided a ground on which antiquities went through their modern transformation. The “nation” was the conceptual parameter within which the discourse of the heritage preservation project decided its boundaries and configurations. Meanwhile, the nation, as an authority with political power and administrative jurisdiction, shaped the project by implementing and enforcing relevant policies. On a par with the collotype periodicals that used pictures to forge a public space for antiquities, the state apparatus that utilized surveys and the other modern techniques of governmentality played an important role in the heritage preservation project.

The major players in the collotype reproduction of antiquities, as mentioned above, were high officials or those who befriended or worked



Figure 12.6. Collotype images of mortuary figurines from *Chinese National Glory* 5 (1908): 14.

for high officials.⁸⁶ The public space for antiquities that they forged did not endeavor to challenge state ideology or policies but rather fit antiquities into the conceptual parameters of the “nation” and promoted the establishment of museums, both national and private.⁸⁷ The Qing and Republican regimes, notwithstanding their contrasting political systems, demonstrated continuity in heritage preservation policy. It would appear that the political rupture of the 1911 Revolution did not have a dramatic effect on the cultural policies that concerned many educated people.

The national survey of antiquities conducted in 1916 completed an unfinished project initiated in the final years of the Qing, at least in the

元黃鶴山樵天下第一真蹟

是卷所收之畫皆為中國歷代名畫，惟此幅乃元黃公望所作，其筆墨雄奇，氣韻超脫，實為古今絕妙。此幅畫於元末，時年八十二歲，故題曰「天下第一」。

西子湖上風景圖

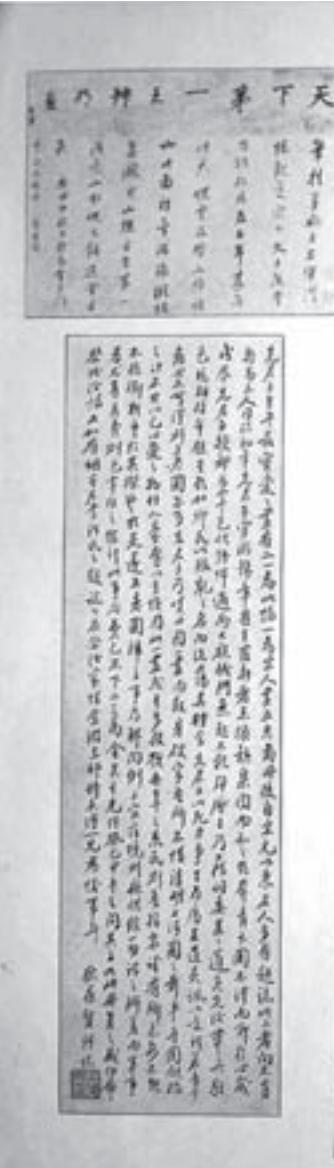


Figure 12.7. Collotype image of Wang Meng's painting *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains*, from *Famous Chinese Paintings* 1 (1908): n.p.

provinces effectively controlled by the Beijing government.⁸⁸ The survey represented the realization of the late Qing heritage preservation project whose conceptual outline was first proposed by *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory*. For example, the rhetoric employed in the foreword to the 1916 national survey issued by the Ministry of the Interior (Neiwbu) expressed attitudes toward heritage preservation similar to those of Di Baoxian and Deng Shi. The survey used the province as the principal unit of division, employing a standardized form that listed the title, date, location, and the person or office in charge of the specific antiquity. According to the form, each item was assigned equal value without reference to its aesthetic quality or historical pedigree. Such egalitarianism was already present in the aforementioned collotype periodicals. In the inaugural issue of *Famous Chinese Paintings*, for example, paintings by an obscure artist appeared alongside the most important painting in Di Baoxian's collection and one of the great masterpieces of Chinese literati art—*Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (*Qingbian yinju*) by Wang Meng (1308–85) (fig. 12.7).⁸⁹ This nondiscriminatory attitude reflected the basic premise of nationalism: the principle of preservation was applied to all antiquities recognized as part of the national heritage. The survey, moreover, included private collections within the purview of national heritage. This redefinition of the personal collection also steered the editorial policies of *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory*.

In spite of its insufficiency, the categories employed in *Chinese National Glory* represented an initial attempt to incorporate all manner of antiquities into a consistent and manageable taxonomy. Furthermore, *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory* provided a conceptual framework for the heritage preservation project through their editorial philosophy, principles, and policies. They clearly paved the way for the codification of the conception and categorization of antiquities in early-twentieth-century China.

VISUALITY AND MATERIALITY

The greatest transformation in antiquities that occurred in modern China was the development of a nationalism that turned objects from China's past into its national heritage, a process that involved both publicly and privately held antiquities. In the heritage preservation project, particularly during its inception, collotype technology engendered a social space for the exhibition of antiquities, which was at that time considered the

first and foremost step in heritage preservation. More important, collotype helped enliven the concept of heritage preservation by presenting the very object that was worth preserving to the eyes of the public.

Because the central idea of heritage preservation is to preserve the antiquity per se, the issue of authenticity has long underlined the modern project of safeguarding national heritage. As David Lowenthal and Randolph Starn have aptly noted, the premier status of authenticity in heritage preservation constructs a modern myth, a myth that is premised on the value judgment that empowers the concept of "true to the object itself."⁹⁰ In a sense, this "authentic" value relies on the irreducibly unique existence of the preserved object, understood most importantly through its qualities of visuality and materiality. For example, a rubbing, despite its faithfulness to the traces of time and ability to convey an aesthetic sense of historical fluctuations,⁹¹ could not exhibit the concrete shape of the object and its materiality as if seen with the eye. The materiality it acquired through the act of rubbing inscribed characters onto a piece of paper is more haptic than optic. Instead, the promoters of the modern heritage preservation project, such as Di Baoxian, Deng Shi, and the other collotype enthusiasts, took stock of the entire object as it was placed before them.

The combination of visuality and materiality epitomized the tremendous gap between the traditional and modern concepts of antiquities. As national heritage, antiquities became agents of historical continuity in the modern period that kept the nation's history seamless and ceaseless from remote to most recent times. In general, excepting some special periods in Chinese history, such as the late Ming, texts assumed a much more prominent role in the process of historical transmission.⁹² It was the text that organized and integrated disrupted and chaotic senses of time into a coherent historical consciousness. Categorically speaking, antiquities that existed in three-dimensional materiality, as well as their images in paintings and woodblock prints, had less historical agency than texts, let alone any specific antiquity whose existence, from the standpoint of modern heritage preservation, was unique and irreplaceable. There is no denying that certain bronzes were held by Song scholars to carry the meaning of ancient rituals, from which the essence of statecraft in China's golden age could be ascertained.⁹³ However, these specific bronzes were not realigned and recategorized into the framework of a nation-state and taken as reifications of its continuous history.

Furthermore, as is widely known, what made historical sites such as Red Cliff (Chibi) and Yellow Crane Pavilion (Huanghe lou) vehicles for

historical consciousness was not an authenticity acquired by the act of preserving the sites themselves. Rather, the agents that enacted and re-enacted Chinese historical sites as part of historical memory were the famous words that commented on the associations of these sites in the forms of verse and prose. Even for a spurious site, historical memory could be transmitted by words themselves, and the authenticity of the material symbol did not lend a mythical aura to the site and its associated memory.⁹⁴ It seems obvious that the modern heritage preservation project has operated on the basis of visuality and materiality that contradicts the above text-oriented attitude of Chinese historical consciousness.⁹⁵

But how did collotype convey a sense of three-dimensional materiality to the eye, and how did this sense generate the new perspective on antiquities that characterized the heritage preservation project? The visual effect of the plates in *Famous Chinese Paintings*, while far inferior to that of *Kokka*, offered an eyewitness experience to the viewer. Some other features of the periodical, such as the listing of the exact dimensions of each painting, also helped create a sense of the painting as a substantive, real object. It was the first time in the history of Chinese painting that reproduction succeeded in visually retaining the effect of the original without any change, except for the reduced size. For example, the late Ming illustrated book *Gushi huapu* (Master Gu's pictorial album), while claiming to be modeled on paintings by previous masters, still had to adjust, and more often distort, each painting's size to meet the format of a book and transform hand brushwork into carved lines.⁹⁶ Even if the original styles of certain masters were retained in the album, the visuality and materiality of the original paintings were definitely lost through the conversion from scroll to print. In the album leaves *Xiaozhong xianda* (Within small see large) attributed to the landscapist Wang Shimin (1592–1680), the meticulous copies of landscape paintings by previous masters still could not reproduce the composition and brushwork of the originals.⁹⁷

The practice of reproducing a painting or a calligraphic work through various kinds of copying processes, such as trace copying, is central to the issue of art-making and the transmission of art traditions in China. The complicated and multilayered conceptualization of copying would take an entire book to clarify. Nevertheless, regardless of the specifics of the copying process, prior to the modern period, copies of Chinese painting and calligraphy could not retain intact all of the visual features of the original. It was only after the introduction of collotype that a truly faithful reproduction of painting was possible.

Generally speaking, copies in the history of Chinese painting and calligraphy served as models for art creations, as substitute objects for art appreciation, as primers for acquiring artistic knowledge and connoisseurship, and as replicas for physically preserving the originals. This last function of traditional copies allowed premium artwork in imperial collections to exist in more than one version. Collotype reproductions of paintings were also meant to preserve the originals, but within the framework of heritage preservation and exhibition, while they simultaneously facilitated the wide circulation necessary for popular education. Quantity is not the only point of reference, however, for the quality of collotype reproductions of painting, such as their eyewitness effect and high-level fidelity, also highlight the importance of materiality and visibility in the modern discourse of heritage preservation and exhibition.

Chinese National Glory contained not only paintings and rubbings but also bronzes and Buddhist icons, and the images of the latter two categories demonstrated the way in which collotype reproduced diverse antiquities. The Buddhist stelae and statues in *Chinese National Glory* were all presented full frontal without a suggestion of spatial depth. Kokka, by comparison, presented a Buddhist statue in three-quarter view, with a diagonal perspective that granted a sense of spatial depth to the object and its surroundings (see fig. 12.3). That said, the light and shadow cast on the Buddhist icons in *Chinese National Glory* certainly rendered these objects three dimensional. Also, a full frontal view offers the viewer the most comprehensive angle of the object in sight, an angle that commands the viewer's direct response and detailed examination (fig. 12.8).⁹⁸ The bronze *jue* included in the periodical was also presented from a comprehensive angle that revealed its profile, decorations, and texture. With the grip of the studies of metal and stone still vividly felt around 1911, the ancient characters inscribed inside the wine vessel were reproduced as rubbings beside the image of the entire vessel (fig. 12.9).

Juxtaposing the image of inscribed characters with that of the entire bronze was an old practice frequently seen in the illustrated books of bronzes from the Northern Song dynasty (fig. 12.10). The combination of the new collotype image and the traditional representation of a bronze vessel demonstrates that some time-honored practices still wielded power despite the introduction of new technology. However, with collotype, the bronze's three-dimensional materiality and its authenticity were impossible to miss, especially given the reflection shown on the top part of the handle. This eyewitness effect is made more manifest by comparing the collotype image to an image of a similar bronze *jue* from one illus-



Figure 12.8. Collotype image of a stele with Buddhist reliefs from *Chinese National Glory* 20 (1911): 8.

trated book of the Song period.⁹⁹ The Song image, which also attempted to display a comprehensive view of the object, distorted the perspective to show the inside of the vessel and the major decorative motif on the middle part of its body, both of which would not be seen if the vessel was viewed frontally and horizontally (fig. 12.11).

The extent to which collotype brought visuality and materiality to the fore in China's heritage preservation can be further seen in composite rubbings (*quanxingtu*). The technique of composite rubbings, which emerged in the late Qing period, could ideally transcribe a three-dimen-



Figure 12.9. Collotype image of a bronze *jue* from *Chinese National Glory* 21 (1912): 5.

sional bronze, including its entire shape, inscribed characters, and traces of time, onto a single sheet of paper. This new technique notwithstanding, most composite rubbings still followed the time-honored pictorial convention of representing bronzes, in the sense that they frequently displayed more of the inner part of the vessel than the eye could reach. For example, some composite rubbings revealed the inside of the vessels to the point that their inscribed characters could be fully seen and located at the center of the rubbings (fig. 12.12). The emphasis placed on the paleographical value of the vessel demonstrates that the dominant status of the studies of metal and stone had not changed or been challenged in the late Qing period, even with the invention of composite rubbings.

Moreover, composite rubbings were held to be an art form that had their own potential for appreciation and collection, and their aesthetic value made them independent from the original objects from which they derived their shape and texture.¹⁰⁰ In comparison, the collotype

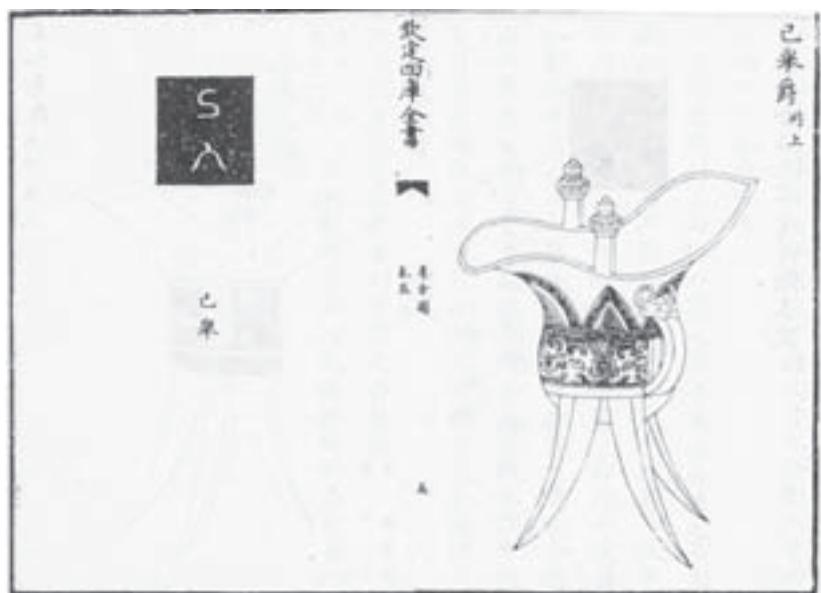


Figure 12.10. (above) Bronze *dun*, woodblock print, from *Kaogutu*, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–86), 840:133.

Figure 12.11. (below) Bronze *jue*, woodblock print, from *Kaogutu*, in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 840:192.



Figure 12.12. A composite rubbing of a bronze *ding*, from Zou An, *Zhou Jinwen cun*, *juan* 2, p. 61a.

technology, intended to visually reproduce the very object that was worth preserving, did not create a new art form of independent status. A collotype image of an antiquity served as a reminder or as the most faithful replica of the original object, one that could stimulate the sense in a manner similar to the original because of its high fidelity. As such, the major transformation of antiquities came with the introduction of collotype technology, which was able to reproduce the shape, texture, and decorative details of antiquities, regardless of whether they were bronzes, ceramics, or stelae.

The above comparison of collotype images, woodblock prints, and composite rubbings is not intended to demonstrate the neutrality of the modern photomechanical process as a means of representing objects as such. The Japanese Buddhist statue is a good example of how modern

technology manipulated the way in which the viewer saw the image. The visual impact of the statue as national treasure was strengthened with the mystical atmosphere created by the dramatic light and shadow cast on the statue and its background. The close view of the upper part of the statue, particularly the face, also gave the image a moving effect by showing its piously religious gesture and facial expression (see fig. 12.3). The Chinese images of Buddhist icons, with their front orientation and lower resolution, did not achieve these effects, but the fully frontal view shot horizontally at eye level bestowed upon the viewer a sense of immediacy and security, which was not diminished even by the new and unfamiliar modern technology of collotype (see fig. 12.8).

The other characteristics that made Chinese collotype images different from those of Japan is illustrated in *Famous Chinese Paintings* by the intentionally enlarged inscriptions written on the margin of the painting frame as complementary images to the painting itself (see fig. 12.7). In comparison, Japanese art magazines of this time did not reproduce those inscriptions that were not written within the painting proper. In these magazines, the clearly cropped images focused on the pictorial elements of the painting, without the diversions of the mounting and the inscriptions, reminding us of the manner in which most Western easel paintings have been reproduced in picture books.¹⁰¹ The Chinese tradition of connoisseurship, on the contrary, paid much attention to the inscriptions written on the painting, regardless of whether they lay within the boundaries of the painted surface itself. The inscriptions written by famous scholar-officials and cultural paragons were particularly appreciated as the very means by which the historical and aesthetic status of the painting was understood.

In employing the new technology, Chinese collotype enthusiasts adopted their own representational modes, independent of those used in Japan. Furthermore, editors such as Di Baoxian and Deng Shi introduced collotype with their own heritage preservation agenda, similar to that of *Kokka* but different from that of the two older Western art journals that frequently used collotype. The *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, established in France in 1859, was the first art journal in the world, and it began including collotype images in the early 1880s. The *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, published in Great Britain, appeared only in 1903 but utilized collotype from the outset. These two Western art journals were explicitly not devoted to heritage preservation.¹⁰² By contrast, the editorial statement of *Kokka* clearly declared its agenda to be heritage preservation, and *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory*

followed suit. However, this does not mean that Di and Deng lacked autonomy in applying collotype to heritage preservation. With less variation in representational modes, the collotype images in *Famous Chinese Paintings* and *Chinese National Glory* expressed no artistic tendency but addressed the urgency of heritage preservation in a more direct and unpolished way. The above discussion of the paintings, Buddhist icons, and bronze vessels illustrated in these two periodicals sheds further light on the characteristics that distinguished Chinese from Japanese representations of antiquities.

The trajectory of collotype in China changed its route and shifted its priority from heritage preservation to commercial success in the first years of the Republican era. The commercial profits gained through this new technology did not push collotype technologically forward to produce images in higher quality. On the contrary, once the new technology perfectly fit the Chinese book market, its progress stopped. But this later history is not our concern here. What intrigues us is that, in the political transition from the imperial to Republican era, collotype periodicals played an important role in teaching educated Chinese how to view and define antiquities. The importance of visuality and materiality to heritage preservation that came with the use of collotype images forever transformed the meaning of antiquities as a category in modern China.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Known in Chinese as *Yipan meiyou xiawan de qi* (The unfinished game of *qi* [go]) and in Japanese as *Mikan no taikyoku* (The unfinished match).
2. See, for example, Paul Berry, *Unexplored Avenues of Japanese Painting: The Hakutakuan Collection*; Joshua A. Fogel, "Lust for Still Life: Chinese Painters in Japan and Japanese Painters in China in the 1860s and 1870s."
3. Although we are dealing with artists here, this phenomenon of migration to Shanghai in the face of the Taiping assaults was true of many other groups as well. For a discussion of the impact on the world of regional theater, see Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*.
4. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Ō Kokusan to Jo Utei, raihaku gajin kenkyū roku"; Paul Berry, "The Meeting of Chinese and Japanese Literati: Hu Gongshou, Yasuda Rōzan, and the Controversy over National Style."
5. For an earlier essay in English that discusses some of the same figures, though in nothing like the depth of this essay, see Wang Baoping, "Chinese in Japan in the Late Qing: How They Lived and Whom They Knew."
6. Writing many years ago (and in a foreign language), one of Naitō's students, the scholar of Chinese religion especially in the Six Dynasties era, Miyakawa Hisayuki (1913–2006), noted that Naitō was particularly considered a specialist in Chinese art history, but beyond that intriguing suggestion he offered no further evaluation. See his "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and Its Effects on Japanese Studies of China."
7. Naitō wrote about this in many places, such as "Cultural Life in Modern China," a translation of his "Kindai Chūgoku no bunka seikatsu" of 1928. See my *Naitō Konan and the Development of the Conception of Modernity in China History*, pp. 100–119. See also my *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)*.

CHAPTER 1

1. Tsuruta Takeyoshi has produced a series of articles on "Raihaku gajin," concerned with the activities of Chinese painters and calligraphers in Japan

from the Edo period onward. Among his studies of painters active in Japan from the middle of the nineteenth century, see "Chin Isshū to Chin Shiitsu, raihaku gajin kenkyū yon"; "Ō Kokusan to Jo Utei, raihaku gajin kenkyū roku"; "Kin Hin ni tsuite, raihaku gajin kenkyū"; "Ō In ni tsuite, raihaku gajin kenkyū"; "Ra Setsukoku to Ko Tetsubai, raihaku gajin kenkyū."

2. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Raihaku gajin kenkyū: Sai Kan, Sha Jichū, Ō Kosan."

3. Concerning the activities of Chinese painters in Nagasaki at this time, see the studies by Tsuruta cited in note 1.

4. See Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*. Concerning this diary, see my essay, "Okada Kōsho no *Ko Go nikki* ni tsuite."

5. On the development of modern Japanese shipping in Asia, see Katayama Kunio, *Kindai Nihon kaiun to Ajia*; and Matsuura Akira, *Kindai Nihon Chūgoku Taiwan kōro no kenkyū*.

6. Take the example of Feng Jingru from Nanhai, Guangdong Province. He traveled to Nagasaki during the Taiping fighting, and there he engaged in painting and calligraphic exchanges with Japanese painters and calligraphers who had traveled to Nagasaki. He later moved to Yokohama where he opened the Wenjing shangdian (also known as Wenjing huobansuo), and there sold foreign writing materials and printed works. In later years he aided Liang Qichao in publishing *Qingyi bao*, and he supported Sun Zhongshan's revolutionary movement, assuming the position of head of the Yokohama Xing-Zhonghui (Rise China Association).

7. See Okada Kōsho, *Kōgo nikki*, 2: 4b–5a, 34b, *passim*; see also Chen, "Okada Kōsho no *Ko Go nikki* ni tsuite," p. 236.

8. On Jin Bin's activities in Japan, see Tsuruta, "Kin Hin ni tsuite, raihaku gajin kenkyū."

9. Ye Wei's predecessor, Zhou Yu (Youmei), was also a painter from Suzhou. He taught from July 1873 to January 1874 at the Tokyo Foreign Languages School; after being dismissed, he stayed on in Japan. When he met Sun Dian, about whom we shall have more to say, in Tokyo in 1887, he said that he had been "living in Japan for twenty years and was now old and bent." Zhou partook of the debilitating practice of opium smoking, and Japanese had a rather low estimation of his level of learning.

10. On Ye Wei's activities in Japan and the associations he made with Japanese men of letters, see my work, *Meiji zenki Nit-Chū gakujutsu kōryū no kenkyū: Shinkoku chū-Nichi Kōshikan no bunka katsudō*.

11. On Luo Qing, see Sanetō Keishū, *Kindai Nit-Chū kōshū shiwa*, p. 122; Tsuruta, "Ra Setsukoku to Ko Tetsubai, raihaku gajin kenkyū." On his taking up residence at the home of Morita Rokusaburō on the grounds of the old Asakusa Temple, see *Toshi kiyō* (4): *Tsukiji kyoryūchi*, appendix A: "List of foreigners living outside the residential area from 1871 to the end of 1976."

12. Yamamoto Shōgetsu, *Meiji sesō hyakuwa*, p. 306.

13. See *Tōkyō akebono shinbun* (May 19, 1882). My own research reveals that this Sugawa Sessai also edited a work entitled *Shinano shiryaku* (Short

chronicle of Shinano) from which it is clear that he had a fair degree of historical and geographic knowledge.

14. Based on the facts that Wang Yin contributed a colophon to a painting by Kumagai Kokō, proprietor of the Kyūkyodō in Kyoto, in 1889 ("Twelve years ago, I traveled to Kyoto, Japan and became close to Master Kokō, . . . and I was profoundly moved by his solicitous care, something I shall never forget") and that he executed the "Duyi xingle tu" (Illustration of an excursion for [Ōka] Atsuyoshi) in 1877 in Shanghai, Tsuruta surmises that Wang's first trip to Japan must have been in 1877. See his "Ō In ni tsuite, raihaku gajin kenkyū."

15. Kishida Ginkō, "Shanghai no Kishida Ginkō ō yori Ryūhoku e okurishi shokan," editorial column.

16. Ibid.

17. In Chen Honghao's inscription to Ye Wei's *Fusang lichang ji* (Collection of poems on my departure from Japan), there is the phrase: "He has been laughing at me behind my back as I have year in and year out disappointed him, wondering if I would ever realize plans for distant travel." Ye's own note: "Honghao has time and again laid out plans to travel to Japan, but has not realized them as yet." A poem published in *Shenbao* and several works collected in the *Yemei huaguan shichao*, a collection of poetry printed in Japan, convey the idea of his pressing desire to go to Japan and his ardent frame of mind about compensation there.

18. Kishida Ginkō, "Shanghai no Kishida Ginkō ō yori Ryūhoku e okurishi shokan."

19. Kishida Ginkō, "Tantansha (kyū Ichien ginsha) shokun e no shokan."

20. Kishida Ginkō, "Gochū kikō." Within this period, he published "Soshū kikō" on March 12–13, 1883.

21. Kishida Ginkō, "Ginkō ō yori Ryūhoku e no shokan," miscellany column.

22. See Takasugi Shinsaku, *Yū-Shin goroku*; Nagura Inata, "Kaigai nichiroku"; Takahashi Yuichi, "Shanghai nikki" and "Shanghai zakki"; Hibino Teruhiro, "Zeiyūroku"; and Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*. For the diary of Ueda Kyūbee, see Chen Jie, "Yiwei Riben wushi yanzhong de Zhongguo: Shangtian Jiubingwei de Zhongguo lüxingji."

23. *Chōya shinbun* (February 21, 1880).

24. Ibid.

25. Kishida Ginkō, "Shanghai no Kishida Ginkō ō yori Ryūhoku e okurishi shokan" (April 14, 1880).

26. *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*, illustration 33, pp. 65–66.

27. Kishida Ginkō, "Koyū zappō." Both Mitsui and the Kōgyō shōkai had the support of the Japanese government, and thus their circumstances were different from ordinary businessmen.

28. *Chōya shinbun* (February 22, 1880).

29. Ibid.

30. *Chōya shinbun* (March 14, 1880).

31. Kishida Ginkō, "Kishida ō shokan no zoku," editorial column.
 32. Li Xiaopu in his *Riben jiyou* remarks:

On the third day of the fourth lunar month, Zhu Jifang of the Dingtaihao [antique shop] and Wei Zhusheng of Changshu came to visit with me. Zhusheng is an expert calligrapher who traveled here. . . . That night I lodged in Osaka. On the fourth I ate breakfast and traveled by vehicle with Hu Xiaopin to Kyoto. . . . We stayed at the Matsumuraya at No. 31 Kawaramachi-Sanjō, Jōge Maruyachō. We met Feng Yun (Yunqing) from Cixi, Zhejiang. He is a calligrapher here. . . . That evening we lodged at the Matsumuraya. It had no tables or chairs. They had woolen rugs on the floor, and people sat and slept on them. The rooms were decorated and clean without any dust. Also staying here was Wang Yemei of Jiangning, and next door was Chen Manshou of Jiaxing. Both are expert calligraphers and fine painters living abroad. The only Chinese living in Kyoto, Japan are Feng, Wang, and Chen."

Li Xiaopu's aim in traveling to Japan was sightseeing. His *Riben jiyou* was published in Shanghai in the third lunar month of 1877, three days before he returned to Nagasaki and after that by ship to Kōbe, Yokohama, and finally Tokyo.

33. Ema Tenkō, "Postface," in *Yemei huaguan shichao*.
 34. Yoda Gakkai, *Gakkai gamu*, two fascicles, with reading punctuation added by Katagiri Masaki.
 35. Based on the original documents containing brush conversation between Mori Kinseki and Chinese calligraphers. I am planning to write an essay delineating these materials in detail.
 36. Letter from Hu Zhang to Mori Kinseki, dated June 1, 1896. I am also planning an essay that will offer details on these sorts of letters.
 37. Sun Dian, *Mengmei huaguan riji*, manuscript.
 38. Ibid.
 39. Ōkōchi monjo *Shitsuen hitsuwa*, held at Waseda University Library.
 40. *Xiehou biyu* (October 1880).
 41. In this period, a large number of albums of Chinese calligraphers and painters were edited and published in Japan, such as Chen Yunsheng's *Renzhai huasheng* by Akashi Chūgadō in Osaka in March 1880; the *Qing-ren Zhang Zixiang huapu* by Ōta Tokujirō in Tokyo in March 1881; Nagao Muboku's collection of model works, *Chō Shishō Ko Kōju ryō sensei gafu*, published by Takagi Wasuke in Tokyo in June 1881; and Wu Ganzang's *Hudie quuzhai suoziang huace* printed by Akashi Chūshichi in October 1882. These all testify both to the demand in Japanese society of the time for works by Chinese painters and calligraphers and to the demand for published albums of their works.
 42. Founder of the Hōbunken (also known as the Hōbunkan shoten) located next to Shinsaibashi in Osaka.

43. Such as Sano Motoyasu's (*Wa-Kan taishō sōga*) *Meiji shin yō bun taisei*, published by Yoshioka Heisuke on May 30, 1881. With an inscription by Nawa Taigetsu, copperplate illustrations created at Mori Kinseki's Kyōsendō in Osaka, with such selling points as examples of models for writing appropriate to life in the new era as well as calligraphy and fine illustrations—it became quite a big seller.

44. After Wang Yin returned to China, he published *Yemei meipu* in Shanghai in 1891.

CHAPTER 2

1. See, for example, Stella Yu Lee, "Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century"; Joshua A. Fogel, "Prostitutes and Painters: Early Japanese Migrants to Shanghai"; and Yu-chih Lai, "Surreptitious Appropriation: Ren Bonian and Japanese Culture in Shanghai, 1842–1895"—to name a few. Kuiyi Shen has also presented several papers at different conferences on Sino-Japanese ties in the art world from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

2. The catalog I use here is in the collection of the Shanghai Library. It actually appears in the advertisements in *Shenbao* no later than 1886. For example, it was sold by various bookstores, such as the Fuying Bookstore and Weiwen Pavilion in Shanghai. For the book advertisements in *Shenbao*, see *Shenbao*, June 8, 1886, p. 4; June 19, 1886, p. 4; February 6, 1892, p. 3; February 22, 1892, p. 3; February 29, 1892, p. 4; February 15, 1892, p. 2; March 7, 1892, p. 3; and March 14, 1892, p. 3, among others.

3. The Shanghai Library has one copy of this catalog, although it is not known whether it has been in Shanghai since the days when the Shanghai artists, such as Hu Gongshou, Zhang Xiong, and Wang Dao, wrote the prefaces for it. See Yamanaka Kichirobee, ed., *Seiwan meien zushi*.

4. For the background of the Yamanaka family, see the dedicatory essay written by Teranishi Ekidō (1826–1916) in the *Seiwan meien zushi* and the biography of Yamanaka Shunkō written by Yamada Tokutashiki in another catalog of a tea gathering in memory of Yamanaka Kichirobee, entitled *Tsunoyama Shunkō ō senji zuroku* (Yamada Tokutashiki, "Yamanaka Shunkō ō shōden"). Recently, the increasing interest of art historians and historians in the international trade in art and its interplay with various issues such as the emergence of the modern nation-state, nationalism, globalization, and cultural exchange have encouraged scholars to undertake in-depth studies of the history of the Yamanaka family and their business operations. The most significant one is Tomita Noboru's series of articles and his book on Yamanaka & Company's exhibition catalogs and Yamanaka & Company's role in exporting Chinese treasures to an international art market in the early twentieth century. A recent study by Yamamoto Masako dealing with the prehistory of Yamanaka & Company also sheds a great deal of light on our understanding of the operations of the Yamanaka family business. For secondary studies, see Tomita Noboru, "Yamanaka shōkai tenkan moku-

roku kenkyū, Nihon hen: Chūgoku kindai ni okeru bunbutsu ryūshutsu to Nihon"; Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 108–10; Yamamoto Masako, "Bijutsushō Yamanaka shōkai, kaigai shinshutsu izen no katsudō o megutte"; and Thomas Lawton, "Yamanaka Sadajirō: Advocate for Asian Art." For first-hand materials, see *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 9a–b; Yamada Tokutashiki, "Yamanaka Shunkō ō shōden."

5. For studies on Yamanaka Sadajirō, see Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 108–10; Thomas Lawton, "Yamanaka Sadajirō."

6. On Okakura Tenshin's contribution to Chinese art collecting in America, see Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts, ed., *Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*.

7. See Thomas Lawton, "Yamanaka Sadajirō."

8. Ibid.

9. See Thomas Lawton, "Yamanaka Sadajirō"; and Yamanaka Masako, "Bijutsushō Yamanaka shōkai, kaigai shinshutsu izen no katsudō o megutte."

10. See Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 108–10.

11. *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 9a–b.

12. Yamamoto Masako, "Bijutsushō Yamanaka shōkai, kaigai shinshutsu izen no katsudō o megutte."

13. Chō Sanshū was born in Hita and studied with Hirose Tansō (1782–1856). He befriended many reformists in the Osaka area and later joined the cavalry. In 1870, he started to serve the government in various ministerial positions. His calligraphy mainly followed the style of the Tang master Yan Zhenqing (709–85). Nakata Yūjirō categorized him as a conservative in the Meiji calligraphy world that was overwhelmingly fascinated by the newly imported Stele School from China. See Naritasan shodō bijutsukan ed., *Kindai bunjin no itonami*, p. 72; and Nakata Yūjirō, "Meiji jidai no sho ni okeru dentō to kakushin."

14. See *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 1a–2b.

15. For example, Ye Songshi was invited to be a visiting professor at a Japanese school between 1874 and 1876. See Ye Wei, *Fusang lichang ji*, in the collection of the Shanghai Library.

16. Wang Dao probably began his Japanese connections as early as 1867, when the artist Nagai Unpei of Echigo visited Shanghai with an American missionary born in the Netherlands, Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830–98). See Umesawa Seiichi, *Nihon Nanga shi*. For this trip, see Takatsu Saijirō, *Gajin Unpei; William Elliot Griffis, Verbeck of Japan*.

17. See *Seiwan meien zushi*, 1: 5b.

18. See ibid., vol. 1, preface, pp. 5b–6a.

19. See ibid., vol. 1, preface, p. 6b.

20. Yu-chih Lai, "Fu liu qian jie—1870 niandai Shanghai de Riben wang-luo yu Ren Bonian zuopin zhong de Riben yangfen."

21. Hu Gongshou and Zhang Xiong were very well known in Nagasaki artistic circles; see Koga Jūjirō, *Nagasaki gashi iden*, pp. 547–50, 551–53; and Yu-chih Lai, "Cong Molin jinhua de bianji kan Zhong-Ri wenhuaquan de wanglai."

22. For Teranishi Ekidō's background, see Iijima Shunkei, ed., *Shodō jiten*, p. 542.
23. *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 9a–b.
24. Ibid., vol. 1, preface, p. 10a.
25. See Naritasan shodō bijutsukan, ed., *Kindai bunjin no itonami*, pp. 28–29.
26. See *Seiwan meien zushi*, 3: 14b–15a.
27. Ibid., 3: 9b–10a.
28. Ibid., 4: 3a–4b.
29. Judging from the advertisement in *Shenbao*, this painting manual was immediately sold in various bookstores in Shanghai in 1882; see *Shenbao*, January 1, 1882, p. 5; January 3, 1882, p. 6; January 4, 1882, p. 6; January 5, 1882, p. 6, and others. This book is also in the former Qing court collection; see Beijing Palace Museum, ed., *Gugong cang Riben wenwu zhanlan tulu*, p. 112.
30. See Yu-chih Lai, "Fu liu qian jie—1870 niandai Shanghai de Riben wangluo yu Ren Bonian zuopin zhong de Riben yangfen."
31. Judging from his own signature as "Longzhun, the Recluse of Guangdong, style-name Boqian, Liang Wenwan," it is entirely plausible that he was a Guangdong merchant. See *Seiwan meien zushi*, 3: 9b–10a.
32. Kyūkyodō was established in 1663 by Kumagai Jikishin in Kyoto, first as a Chinese pharmacy and then as an incense maker. Members of the Kumagai family were direct descendants of the famous samurai of the early Kamakura period, Kumagai Naozane (1141–1208). Because their herbal materials were usually imported from China, they also came to import writing accessories, such as ink, paper, and brushes. Their shop had the tradition of being generous sponsors of artists and literati. It is still running in Kyoto and has a branch in Tokyo. For its history, see its website: <http://www.kyukyodo.co.jp/index.html>.
33. For the inscription, see Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Ō In ni tsuite, raihaku gajin kenkyū."
34. For his biography, see Koga Jūjirō, *Nagasaki gashi iden*, pp. 293–94.
35. Wang Jianzhang was a second-tier artist in late Ming China who had never been to Japan. His works were, however, highly appreciated there. Research by the Japanese scholar Itakura Masaaki has shown that it is partially because his reputation was expanded by Japanese connoisseurs to the extent that he became known as a late-Ming *yimin* (migrant) painter and a Chinese expatriate working in Japan. This transformed life resonated with the psychological need of Japanese in the turmoil of an age of transformation. See Itakura Masaaki, "Japanese Connoisseurship of Chinese Painting and the Changing Perceptions of Painters: The Case of the Late Ming-Early Qing Painter Wang Jianzhang." For the collecting of Wang Jianzhang's works in Japan and related *sencha* gatherings, see Kobayashi Yūko, "Akogare no bunjin gaka."
36. See Patricia J. Graham, "Edo jidai ni okeru sencha bijutsu to Chūgoku bunjin shumi"; Tsukuda Ikki, "Bunjin to sencha"; Kumakura Isao, "Chanoyu

to shitaifu"; and Nishijima Shin'ichi, "Sencha shumi to shoga bungan no kanshō." For a comprehensive study of *sencha* culture, see Patricia J. Graham, *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha*.

37. For the arts associated with the tea ceremony, see Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Cha no bijutsu*.

38. For a study of this collection, see Nezu bijutsukan and Tokugawa bijutsukan, eds., *Higashiyama gyobutsu: "Zakkashitsu in" ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni*.

39. See Tamamushi Satoko, "Dōgu to bijutsu no aida, cha sekai ni okeru zōkei sakuhin no kanshō ni tsuite."

40. See Tamamushi Satoko, "Min Shin bunbutsu shōgan no fukei to Seikadō korekushon."

41. The reasons these late-Ming artists were their favorites are complicated. Studies by Itakura and Nishijima Shin'ichi both associate the popularity of these late Ming artists and their renewed images as *yimin* with the support of royalists and reformists in the Meiji period. See Nishijima Shin'ichi, "Sencha shumi to shoga bungan no kanshō," pp. 172–75; Itakura Masaaki, "Japanese Connoisseurship of Chinese Painting and the Changing Perceptions of Painters."

42. Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 170–73.

43. Patricia J. Graham, *Tea of the Sages*, pp. 144–48.

44. See *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 5b–6a.

45. Ibid., vol. 1, preface, pp. 1a–2b.

46. Okita Hajime, *Nihon to Shanghai*, p. 254.

47. See Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*, entry for the twelfth day of the third lunar month in the fifth year of the Meiji era (1872), pp. 5a–8a.

48. Ibid.

49. *Seiwan meien zushi*, vol. 1, preface, pp. 3a–4b.

50. For the history of *chakaiki*, see Tani Akira, *Chakaiki no kenkyū*.

51. See Miyazaki Shūta, "Meien zuroku no jidai."

52. Ibid.

53. Xiangguo toutuo, ed., *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*, pp. 63b–64a.

54. For his trip, see Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*.

55. Eiju refers to Matsuura Eiju. *Molin jinhua xubian* records that "Matsuura is good at connoisseurship." *Nagasaki gashi iden* states that he was also known as Matsuura Kanbee and used to study with Tetsuō, Yazuda Rōzan's teacher. See Kurano Kōen, ed., *Tetsuō gadan*, in *Tōyō garon shūsei*, 2: 631–32; see also Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*, p. 1a; Koga Jūjirō, *Nagasaki gashi iden*, p. 550; and Jiang Chensheng, *Molin jinhua xubian*, pp. 14a–b.

56. See *Molin jinhua xubian*; p. 746.

57. See Hirose Tōsuke, ed., *Shinchō shoga ichiran*.

58. I was able to locate a large pamphlet entitled *Shinchō shoga ichiran*, published in 1879 and now in the collection the National Diet Library in Tokyo. In the format of a large table, it simply lists the artists' names, sobriquets, native places, and specialties, similar to a quick beginner's guide or

"who's who" to Chinese art of the Qing dynasty. At the bottom of the table are two rows that list the names of dealers for further information for those interested in making purchases.

59. Miyazaki Shūta, "Meien zuroku no jidai," pp. 34–35.
60. This was a term of disdain usually referring to Japanese women who married foreigners. See Shinmura Izuru, *Kōjen* (electronic version).
61. Excerpt from *Chōya shinbun*, February 20–22, 1880.
62. Matsudaya Hankichi, *Tōkoku tokai nikki*, in *Bakumatsu Meiji Chūgoku kenbunroku shūsei*, vol. 11, p. 43.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
64. See, for example, *Chōya shinbun*, September 1, 1886.
65. The close relationship of *sencha* gatherings with dealers is also shown in an essay in *Ōsaka jiji shinpō*, entitled "Matcha to sencha no taikō" (The rivalry between *matcha* and *sencha*). See *Ōsaka jiji shinpō*, January 15, 1909, also cited partially in Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 195–96.
66. Besides the Seiwan tea gathering, his Yamanaka shunkōdō also organized two other important *sencha* tea gatherings in 1908 and 1919, respectively, as noted in *Denkō meien zuroku* (Illustrated record of a tea gathering by the Yodo River) and *Tsunoyama Shunkō ō senji zuroku*. The latter was to commemorate the third anniversary of the death of Yamanaka Shunkō. See Miyazaki Shūta, "Meien zuroku no jidai."
67. This history is indicated in the inscription on a Wang Yin painting, *Smoky Rain and Plain Forest*, dated 1889, in the Hashimoto Collection. For Wang Yin's experiences in Japan, see Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Ō In ni tsuite, rai-haku gajin kenkyū."
68. See Kumagai Kyūbee, ed., *Maruyama shōkai zuroku*, 3 vols., in the collection of National Diet Library, Tokyo.
69. Shih Shou-chien has done a study of the Japanese monk Sakugen Shūryō of the Rinzai Sect in the sixteenth century: "Shiliu zhi shiqi shiji Zhongguo du-Ri huihua zhi yanjiu."
70. Take the visit of Okada Kōsho and Matsuura Eiju to Shanghai and Suzhou as an example. Many locals reportedly kept requesting their paintings or writings; see Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*, February 15, 1872, p. 2b; February 26, 1872, p. 14a; March 18, 1872, pp. 14a–14b; March 19, 1872, p. 14b; March 20, 1872, p. 19a, and others.
71. See Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*, February 17, 1872, pp. 3b–4a.
72. Xiangguo toutuo, ed., *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo*, pp. 63b–64a.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Okada Kōsho, *Ko Go nikki*, Meiji 5/2/30, p. 17b.
75. See Okamoto Kōseki, *Kōsekisai shishū*, 5: 1, 14a.
76. *Chōya shinbun*, May 19, 1880.
77. Even before the opening of Japan and the beginning of trade with Western countries, the *bakufu* witnessed their power and realized it was imperative to understand them. In 1858, the Institute for Investigating Barbarian Books (Bansho shirabesho) was established for the purpose of studying Western

technology with an eye to future military and foreign relations. This was also the first time that Western oil painting was studied and taught in a Japanese institution. Along with this tradition, the Kōbu bijutsu gakkō (Industrial art school), Japan's first art school, was later established in 1876 under the Ministry of Industries, a government bureau managing the development of industry, such as railroads, telecommunications, mining, and shipbuilding. In this emerging stage of oil painting in Japan, with its quasi-scientific rendering in realism, oil paintings were deemed a tool for potential practical use. It was overwhelmingly well received even after the early Meiji period. Corresponding to the popularity of this Westernized product, *Nihonga*, or Japanese painting, as a new genre emphasized executing paintings that could represent the Japanese tradition, and it was created through the promotion of the American scholar Ernest Francisco Fenollosa. In this context, Chinese-style paintings, or *Kanga* in Japanese, was only one of the many painting genres, like *Yōga* (oil [lit., Western] paintings), *Nihonga*, and others. For the relationship between the arts and industry in Japan, see Satō Dōshin, "Tenrankai geijutsu ni tsuite."

78. Nagao Muboku, *Chō Shishō Ko Kōju ryō sensei gafu*, frontispiece.
79. Yamanaka Shunkō, *Seiwan meien zushi*, 1: 1b–2a.
80. Ibid, 3: 33b–34a.
81. Nagao Muboku, *Chō Shishō Ko Kōju ryō sensei gafu*, preface.
82. Thomas Lawton, "Yamanaka Sadajirō: Advocate for Asian Art."
83. See Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*, pp. 194–203.

CHAPTER 3

1. Chen Jie, "Yō Shukei to Miyajima Seiichirō no hitsudan roku," p. 106.
2. Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, esp. pp. 74–79.
3. Mike Goode, "Dryasdust Antiquarianism and Soppy Masculinity: The Waverley Novels and the Gender of History," esp. pp. 55–56.
4. Momigliano, *Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, p. 58.
5. Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*, 42–43.
6. Zhang Zhidong, *Zhang Zhidong quanji*, 12: 10101–4.
7. Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu*, p. 12.
8. Ibid., p. 17.
9. Ibid., p. 25.
10. Ibid., p. 15.
11. Benjamin Wai-Ming Ng, "Yao Wendong (1852–1927) and Japanology in Late Qing China," pp. 12–13.
12. Christiane Reinhold, *Studying the Enemy: Japan Hands in Republican China and Their Quest for National Identity*, pp. 14–15; see also Douglas R. Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization: Geography and History at Empire's End*.
13. Reinhold, *Studying the Enemy*, p. 16
14. Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu*, p. 6

15. Xie Chengren, "Chongyin 'Shui jing zhu shu' qianyan," pp. 7–10.
16. Ng, "Yao Wendong," pp. 12–13; Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu*, p. 33.
17. Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu*, p. 33.
18. Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," esp. pp. 108–9.
19. Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, *passim*.
20. Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878–79, 1882–1883, Volume II*, p. 106; Fumiko Ikawa-Smith, "Co-Traditions in Japanese Archaeology," pp. 297–98.
21. Ninagawa Noritane, *Kwan-ko-dzu-setsu: notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais: art céramique*, 1: 1–4. See also Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no 19-seiki: Bakumatsu Meiji ni okeru "mono" no arukeorozii*. Ninagawa was an inspector in 1872 of artifacts belonging to the Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–49) and his court at the Shōsōin, the "treasure house" archive on the grounds of Tōdaiji in Nara. See W. Wayne Farris, "Pieces in a Puzzle: Changing Approaches to the Shōsōin Documents," p. 407.
22. Xia Rixin, "Yang Shoujing Riben fangshu chenggong yuanyin chutan," pp. 70–71.
23. Chen Jie, "Yō Shukei to Miyajima Seiichirō no hitsudan roku," p. 105. See also Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, p. 401.
24. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 316–17.
25. Yang Shoujing, *yuanqi* (introduction) to his *Riben fangshu zhi*, p. 4.
26. Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, *passim*.
27. Kenneth B. Pyle discusses the backlash against Westernization in "Meiji Conservatism," in Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, ed., *Modern Japanese Thought*.
28. Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no 19-seiki*. See also Kanayama Yoshiaki, *Nihon no hakubutsukan shi*, pp. 49–57.
29. Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, pp. 24–25; Takata Tokio, "Jindai Riben zhi Hanji shoucang yu bianmu."
30. Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China*, p. 45.
31. Nōtomi Kaijirō, "Shanghai zakki," in *Bakumatsu Meiji Chūgoku kenbunroku shūsei*, 1: 21–24.
32. Zheng Ziyu and Sanetō Keishū, eds., *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yi gao*, in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian*, 94: 303.
33. Yi Huili, "Zhong-Ri zhishijie jiaoliu shilu—Gang Qianren yu Shanghai shuyuan shizi de bihua," p. 66; Fogel, *The Literature of Travel*, pp. 74–82; Feng Tianyu, "Riben shituan dui Qingmo Shanghai sheqing de guancha," p. 5; Wang Qingjia, "Zhongguo jindai 'xin shixue' de Riben beijing—Qing mo de 'shijie geming' he Riben de 'wenming shixue,'" p. 200.

34. Oka Senjin, *Kankō kiyū*, pp. 181–82.
35. Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, pp. 81–82.
36. Richard John Lynn, "Huang Zunxian (1848–1905) and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (Bunjin)," p. 82.
37. If fact, many of the *hitsudan* between Yang Shoujing and his Japanese friends did bring up the Ryukyu crisis, but it was usually not Yang Shoujing who initiated those conversations.
38. Ng, "Yao Wendong," p. 10.
39. Reinhold, *Studying the Enemy*, p. 11.
40. Richard John Lynn, "This Culture of Ours' and Huang Zunxian's Literary Experiences in Japan (1877–82)," p. 121.
41. Ibid., p. 122.
42. Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu*, pp. 30–31.
43. Chen Shangmin, "Yang Shoujing de shufa yu shuxue ji qi zai Riben de yingxiang," p. 42.
44. Wang Qingjia, "Zhongguo jindai 'xin shixue,'" p. 216.
45. Chi Zhiqun and Zhou Xiaobo, "Qianyan," 7: 11–12.
46. Mu Yi, "Yang Shoujing yu Yangu Yiliu zhi bitan," pp. 286–87; Xia Rixin, "Yang Shoujing Riben fangshu," p. 69.
47. Mu Yi, "Yang Shoujing yu Yangu Yiliu," pp. 286–87; Xia Rixin, "Yang Shoujing Riben fangshu," p. 69.
48. Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*, p. 1.
49. Richard John Lynn, "This Culture of Ours' and Huang Zunxian's Literary Experiences in Japan (1877–82)," pp. 119–20.
50. Li Shuchang, *xu* (preface) to *Guyi congshu*, 1: 1a–1b.
51. Wang Baoping, "Li Shuchang Dongying fangshu shiliao er ze," p. 55.
52. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 309–10. See also Ōba Osamu, "Sino-Japanese Relations in the Edo Period (Part Eleven: Shipmasters and Crewmen)," pp. 36–37.
53. Yang Shoujing, *Riben fangshu zhi*, p. 1.
54. Ibid., pp. 4, 13.
55. Chen Jie, "Qianyan," p. 515. Chen compiled and edited the brush conversations between Yang Shoujing and Mori Tateyuki from the notes, name cards, receipts, and other ephemera that Mori preserved.
56. Yang Shoujing, *Riben fangshu zhi*, p. 4.
57. Machi Senjurō, "Kojima Hōso, Kaiho Gyoson no Tenpō jūsannen no Kyōto hōshokō, Keiseki hōkoshi seiritsu no katei," p. 9.
58. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 443–44; Yang Shoujing, "Qingke bihua," p. 521.
59. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp. 443–44.
60. Even though he began their second exchange by commenting on the work's errors, Yang offered to help publish it in China (which he did in 1885): Yang Shoujing, "Qingke bihua," pp. 521–22.
61. Ibid., pp. 519–21.

62. The librarian's surname was Iwaya (probably no relation to Iwaya Osamu).
63. Yang Shoujing, *Riben fangshu zhi*, p. 8; Wang Baoping, "Li Shuchang Dongying fangshu shiliao er ze," pp. 57–60.
64. Wu Tianren, ed., *Yang Xingwu xiānshèng nianpu*, p. 34.
65. Meng, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*, pp. 41–43.
66. Sugimura Kunihiko, "Yang Shoujing yu Riben shuxue yanjiu," p. 56.
67. Chen Shangmin, "Yang Shoujing de shufa," p. 45; Keizan Uozumi, "Discourse Between China and Japan on Calligraphy," p. 101; Mu Yi, "Yang Shoujing yu Yangu Yiliu," p. 282.
68. Sugimura Kunihiko, "Yang Shoujing yu Riben shuxue yanjiu," p. 61.
69. Mu Yi, "Yang Shoujing yu Yangu Yiliu," p. 282.
70. Keizan Uozumi, "Discourse Between China and Japan," p. 101.
71. Chen Shangmin, "Yang Shoujing de shufa," p. 47
72. Ibid., pp. 42–44.
73. Christine Flint Sato, "The Rise of Avant-Garde Calligraphy in Japan," pp. 19–20.
74. Yang Shoujing, *xu*, p. 2a.
75. Cited in Xia Rixin, "Yang Shoujing Riben fangshu," p. 71.
76. Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

1. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Nik-Ka (Chū-Nichi) kaiga rengō tenrankai ni tsuite: kin hyakunen rai Chūgoku kaiga shi kenkyū 7"; Aida Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, chap. 5.
2. Hsing-yuan Tsao, "A Forgotten Celebrity: Wang Zhen (1867–1938), Businessman, Philanthropist, and Artist," p. 94.
3. For perspectives on Wang Yiting's biography and art, see Tsao, "A Forgotten Celebrity," pp. 94–109; Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, eds., *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-century China*, pp. 82–85; He Xinchang, "Haishang wenren Wang Yiting"; Xiao Fenqi, *Wang Yiting*; Kuiyi Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Network of 1910s–1930s Shanghai."
4. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai," pp. 83, 85, 87; Kuiyi Shen, "A Debate on the Reform of Chinese Painting in Early Republican China"; Wong, *Parting the Mists*, p. 115.
5. Kohama Masako, "Minkokuki Shanhai no toshi shakai to jizen jigyō"; Kohama Masako, *Kindai Shanhai no kōkyōsei to kokka*, pp. 77–81.
6. Kuiyi Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Network of 1910s–1930s Shanghai," pp. 55–57; Wing-tsit Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China*, p. 86; You Youwei, *Shanghai jindai Fojiao jianshi*, pp. 64, 86, 112; Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, pp. 43, 54, 101–2, 166.
7. Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*:

Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890–1930, p. 117; Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911–1937*, pp. 135, 138, 195, 239, 277.

8. Wang appears repeatedly in the papers making up a recent conference volume on the subject: Nara Dillon and Jean C. Oi, eds., *At the Crossroads of Empires: Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican Shanghai*.

9. He Xinchang, "Haishang wenren Wang Yiting," p. 55; Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 30; Andrea Lee McElderry, *Shanghai Old-Style Banks (Ch'ien-chuang), 1800–1935: A Traditional Institution in a Changing Society*, chap. 1.

10. Although scholars remain divided over what language Wang studied, it is likely that he learned one of the two languages that were included in the school's curriculum—English and French. Wang Senran, *Jindai ershi jia pingzhuhan*, pp. 255, 259n1; He Xinchang, "Haishang wenren Wang Yiting," p. 55; Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 30n1; Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, chap. 3.

11. Wang also served as the comprador for the Osaka Postal Shipping Corporation, and he was both the comprador and president of the Shanghai Spun Silk Corporation, a division of the Tokyo textile manufacturer Kanebō and thus a component of the Mitsui combine. He Xinchang, "Haishang wenren Wang Yiting," pp. 56–58; Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, pp. 63–65; Wang Renze, "Wang Yiting," p. 256; Tsuchiya Keizō, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou: Nis-Shi geijutsu kōkan ni tsukushita kazukazu," p. 32; Kanebō kabushiki gaisha shashi hensanshitsu, ed., *Kanebō hyakunenshi*, pp. 177–79; Hao Yen-p'ing, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge between East and West*, pp. 24–32.

12. Hayashi Yasushige, "Ko Bundō Hori Keijirō ō no omokage," p. 240; Murata Shōzō, "Jijoden," pp. 309–10.

13. Although the paintings themselves do not mention the name of Wang's colleague at Osaka Shipping, Hayashi Yasushige, an inscription in Wang's hand on the lid of the box in which they are preserved records both Hayashi's name and the date written on the paintings—autumn of the *jisi* year (1929). The paintings are currently in the collection of the Fukuyama Calligraphy Museum, Fukuyama, Japan. They are reproduced in Fukuyama shodō bijutsukan, ed., *Seitan hyakurokujū nen: Go Shōseki to sono shūhen*, pp. 98–99.

14. Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 65.

15. Xiao Fenqi reproduces the undated photograph and identifies two of its sitters—Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi. Comparison of the unidentified figures standing in the group's back row with portrait photographs of several of Wang's colleagues in a company history of Nisshin suggests that Okada Eitarō, Murata Shōzō (1878–1957), and Hori Keijirō were present. The photograph was probably taken in 1927, for a cropped version of it was published in a February 1927 issue of the newspaper *Shanghai huabao* (Pictorial Shanghai), which identifies most of the figures. See Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 74;

Asai Seiichi, ed., *Nis-Shin kisen kabushiki gaisha sanjūnen shi oyobi tsuiho*, unpaginated figure; *Shanghai huabao*, February 2, 1927.

16. Wang's rise in business and his involvement in politics is recounted in Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, pp. 29–34; Kuiyi Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Network of 1910s–1930s Shanghai," pp. 46–49.

17. Mark Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905–1914," pp. 246–62.

18. The company, which was legally incorporated in Japan, later became the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company (*Chū-Nichi jitsugyō kabushiki gaisha*). The creation of the company is described in Noguchi Yonejirō, *Chū-Nichi jitsugyō kabushiki gaisha sanjūnen shi*, chap. 2. See also Nakamura Tetsuo, *Ijōkaku ibun: Son Bun to Go Kindō*, pp. 24–33; Asai, ed., *Nis-Shin kisen*, p. 327.

19. For Shibusawa's career in business, see Tsuchiya Takao, *Shibusawa Eiichi*, pp. 154–210; Shibusawa Eiichi, *The Autobiography of Shibusawa Eiichi*, pp. ix–xx.

20. Richard Louis Edmonds, "The Legacy of Sun Yat-sen's Railway Plans," *The China Quarterly* 111 (September 1987), pp. 421ff.

21. Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, pp. 216–18.

22. Nakamura, *Ijōkaku ibun*, p. 28; Shibusawa Eiichi, *Shibusawa Eiichi denki shiryō*, 54: 529; Noguchi, *Chū-Nichi jitsugyō*, p. 45.

23. Ariyoshi Akira, to Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Makino Nobuaki, handwritten report from Shanghai, dated August 9, 1913.

24. If an anecdote by the Shanghai essayist Zheng Yimei (1895–1992) is to be believed, Wang Yiting and Wu Changshi met with Saionji's mentor, the Japanese Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909), at least a decade before meeting Saionji. However, as Aida Wong has noted, because Itō was assassinated several years before Wang became Wu's student in 1913, the account is not particularly credible. Zheng Yimei, *Yilin shiqu*, pp. 81–82; Wong, *Parting the Mists*, p. 87.

25. For Saionji's participation in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Versailles, see Oka Yoshitake, *Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan: Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Hara Takashi, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and Saionji Kinmochi*, pp. 192–93.

26. The meeting is recalled in Ikeda Tōsen, "Tōan kō to Go ō."

27. Sawamura Yukio, "Ō Ittei," in *Shanghai jinbutsu inshōki*, 1: 21.

28. Tsuchiya Keizō, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou."

29. *Kanbun* and *Kanshi* were taught throughout the Meiji period as veritable prerequisites of success in the Japanese civil service and university entrance exams, and numerous schools existed to train students in these fields of study and literary expression. Ching-mao Cheng, "Nagai Kafū and Chinese Tradition," pp. 26–30.

30. Yoshitake Oka, *Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan*, pp. 125–26.

31. See, for example, Shibusawa Eiichi, ed., *Rongo*.

32. Yoshitake Oka, *Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan*, p. 126; Fukaya kyōdō ibokushū kankōkai, ed., *Seien Shibusawa Eiichi no sho*.

33. For an introduction to Nihonga, see Ellen P. Conant, *Nihonga, Transcending the Past: Japanese Style Painting, 1868–1968*.
34. For the national essence movement in China, see Laurence A. Schneider, "National Essence and the New Intelligentsia"; Kuiyi Shen, "A Debate on the Reform of Chinese Painting."
35. Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 135.
36. Yu Lingbo, *Zhongguo jinxian dai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 348; Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Network of 1910s–1930s Shanghai," p. 56; Feng Meichun, "Pushan shanzhuang"; You Youwei, *Shanghai jindai Fojiao jianshi*, pp. 64, 86, 112.
37. Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 66.
38. For characterization of the East Asian Buddhist Conference, see Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, pp. 166–68. The proceedings of the conference and details of the Chinese delegation's tour of Japan are recorded in *Bukkyō rengōkai, Tō-A Bukkyō Taikai kiyō*.
39. Wang and Shibusawa were both well known for their success in business and their philanthropic efforts. Kasagi Yoshiaki recounts his trip in "Pekin Shanhai bekken ki," p. 43 (rpt. *Tōhō Bukkyō kyōkai honbu*, p. 877).
40. Shigahara Ryōsai, "Ō Ittei koji no inshō."
41. Luo Jialun, ed., *Son Bun sensei to Nihon kankei gashi*, p. 34.
42. For Wang and Wu's relationship with the Rokusanen and its proprietor, see Matsumura Shigeki, "Go Shōseki to Shiraishi Rokusaburō, kindai Nit-Chū bunka kōryū no ichisokumen."
43. Kuiyi Shen, "Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," p. 115.
44. Tsuchiya Keizō, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou."
45. Danian Hu, *China and Albert Einstein: The Reception of the Physicist and His Theory in China 1917–1979*, pp. 71–72.
46. In his remarks at the occasion, Einstein noted his particular appreciation for the paintings by Wang Yiting. See Hu, *China and Albert Einstein*, p. 72.
47. Watanabe Shinpo, *Nik-Ka rengō kaiga tenrankai daisankai kaisai hōkoku* (May 31, 1923); Mizuno Baigyō, "Shina Bukkyō no genjō ni tsuite," p. 51.
48. Michiyo Morioka and Paul Berry, *Modern Masters of Kyoto: The Transformation of Japanese Painting Traditions, Nihonga from the Griffith and Patricia Way Collection*, p. 225.
49. Taizan shodōin, ed., *Tōin: Kitagawa Fukutei to sono kōyū* (Aizu Yaichi, Date Nankai, Go Shōseki, Ō Ittei), pp. 23–24.
50. Yoshida Chizuko, "Ōmura Seigai to Chūgoku," pp. 7, 16–19.
51. Yoshida, "Ōmura Seigai to Chūgoku," p. 19.
52. Ikeda, "Tōan kō to Go ō," pp. 17ff.
53. The seals are published in a 1930 biography of Saionji and in a collection of seal impressions compiled by Matsumaru Tōgyo. One seal is undated and impresses Saionji's byname, "Clay Cottage" (J., Tōan, C., Taoan). A sec-

ond dates itself to the first day of spring in 1919 and produces the phrase "Kinmochi's seal" (*Gongwang zhi yin*), and the third seal, which dates to the beginning of spring 1919, reads "Wuliangshoufo." Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Tōan kō: Saionji Kinmochi kō den*, prefatory insert, pp. 1–7; Matsumura Shigeki, "Songyuan Dongyu bian Foulu Fusang yinji, Xu Foulu Fusang yinji jishi," p. 330.

54. Taizan shodōin, ed., *Tōin*, p. 19.

55. Shigahara, "Ō Ittei koji no inshō."

56. Asai, ed., *Nis-Shin kisen*, p. 328; Tanabe Hekidō, *Ryōsō shū*; Tanabe Hekidō, *Iun shū*; Tanabe Hekidō, *Kaisaku Hekidō zekku*; Tanabe Tamesaburō, *Tanabe zekku*.

57. Three years later Tanabe commemorated the exchange by publishing his inscriptions in a collection of his Chinese poetry entitled *Ryōsō shū*. Tanabe, *Ryōsō shū*, preface and fascicle 2, pp. 23–24.

58. The portrait is reproduced in Wu Xiong, *Bailongshanren mo miao*, n.p.

59. Tsuchiya, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou," p. 32.

60. Bokudō sensei denki kankōkai and Washio Yoshinao, eds., *Inukai Bokudō den*, pp. 742–64.

61. Inukai Tsuyoshi, *Bokudō kanboku dan*.

62. Bokudō sensei denki kankōkai and Washio, eds., *Inukai Bokudō den*, pp. 749–50.

63. The work was included in a group of art objects that were once owned by Inukai but later sold at auction. The calligraphy is reproduced in an undated auction catalog in the collection of the Inukai Bokudō kinenkan. *Inukai Bokudō Nihon, Chūgoku shoga korekushon tenji sokubai*, p. 15.

64. Inukai's byname was "Wooden Cottage" (Bokudō). The painting is reproduced in Tsuchiya, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou," plates following p. 32.

65. Presumably Wang offered the original portrait of Inukai to the sitter himself, but it is unclear whether the work ever entered his collection. No such painting is included among the works that Inukai Ken auctioned off. *Inukai Bokudō Nihon*.

66. Tsuchiya, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou," p. 32. For Yokoyama Taikan's account of his trip and for reproductions from his sketchbook, see Yokoyama Taikan, *Taikan gadan*, pp. 151–59; Tonedachi Masao, *Taikan Shōkan to I suketchi shū*.

67. Kishi Yūko, "Ō Ittei to Taikan: Nit-Chū bijutsu kōryū shi no ichi sokumen."

68. Tanigami Ryūsuke, *Ittei kin ga*, preface.

69. Ibid., preface, n.p.

70. For a photograph of Ōmura, see Liu Xiaolu, *Shijie meishu zhong de Zhongguo yu Riben meishu*, p. 325.

71. Only a handful of portraits by Wang have been published in the years since his death. For reproductions, see Gong Jixian, ed., "Haipai huihua zhuanji," p. 27; Kenshin shodōkai, ed., *Go Shōseki shogashū: seitan*

hyakurokujisshūnen kinen, p. 98; Nigensha, ed., *Go Shōseki shū*, p. 12; Tanimura Kisai, ed., *Seirei insha ten*, plate 22; Shibuya kuritsu Shōtō bijutsukan, Nagasaki kenritsu bijutsu hakubutsukan, and Hachinohe-shi bijutsukan, eds., *Nit-Chū kokkō seijōka 25 shūnen kinen / Kōsoshō bijutsukan shozō: Nijū seiki no Chūgoku kaiga ten*, p. 32; Wang Yiting xiansheng yizuo bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Wang Yiting xiansheng shuhua ji*, p. 44.

72. Wu Xiong, *Bailongshanren mo miao*.

73. Ibid., n.p.

74. *Yiting xiansheng jingpin huaji*.

75. Wang employed this composition in portraits of Chinese as well. See Wang's *Portrait of Chan Master Tieshan* (*Tieshan chanshi xiang*) (1922), in Gong Jixian, ed., "Haipai huihua zhuanji," p. 27.

76. The constancy of pines, which do not change their colors with the seasons, was observed in the *Analects*. Chinese paintings that make use of this trope were produced as early as the twelfth century; see Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent*, pp. 163–64, 333n26.

77. Ōmura Seigai, "Chūgoku ryokō nikki zokuzoku," entry for April 17, 1923.

78. Two calligraphic versions of Shibusawa's inscription have been published. See Tsuchiya Takao, *Shibusawa Eiichi*, p. 4; Fukaya kyōdo ibokushū kankōkai, ed. *Seien Shibusawa Eiichi no sho*, cat. 26.

79. Zhao Pu (922–92) was an official famed for relying on the *Analects* of Confucius to help the founding emperor of the Song dynasty establish and administer his state. Zhao's story is the source of the Chinese expression, "half the *Analects* to administer the realm" (*banbu Lunyu zhi tianxia*). Wang Jianyin, ed., *Zhongguo chengyu da cidian*, p. 40.

80. For such a photograph of Shibusawa, see Noyori Hideichi, ed., *Seien Shibusawa Eiichi ō shashin den*, p. 100.

81. Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 210.

82. In one's seventy-seventh year, the Chinese character for "happiness" (*xi*) may be written as a compound whose component parts are the character "seven" (*qi*).

83. The photograph is reproduced in Ritsumeikan daigaku Saionji Kinmochi den hensan iinkai, ed., *Saionji Kinmochi den*, front matter.

84. Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, pp. 166–68; Bukkyō rengōkai, Tō-A Bukkyō Taikai kiyō, pp. 475, 613–16.

85. "Fu Ri Fojiao tuan yi hui Hu," *Zhonghua xinbao*, November 21, 1925.

86. Masaki Naohiko, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 3: 353.

87. Shibusawa Seien kinen zaidan Ryūmonsha, ed., *Shibusawa Eiichi denki shiryō, bekkan dai ni, nikki (2) hoka*, p. 656.

88. The photograph is reproduced in Washio Yoshinao, ed., *Bokudō sensei shashin den*, no. 32.

89. Yoshida, "Ōmura Seigai to Chūgoku," p. 19; Ōmura Seigai, *Uiki kinga roku*.
90. Yoshida, "Ōmura Seigai to Chūgoku"; Tsuruta, "Nik-Ka (Chū-Nichi) kaiga rengō tenrankai ni tsuite," p. 3.
91. Yoshida, "Ōmura Seigai to Chūgoku," p. 24; Takashimaya bijutsubu gojūnen shi hensan iinkai, ed., *Takashimaya bijutsubu gojūnen shi*, pp. 118–19.
92. Ōmura Seigai, *Tōyō bijutsu shi*, p. 445.
93. Hashimoto Kansetsu, *Nanga e no dōtei*, pp. 32–33.
94. Artists whom Nagao met included Wu Changshi and other members of the Xiling Seal Society, of which Nagao was a pioneering Japanese member. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, pp. 86–87; Gao Shixiong, Li Zao, Liu Jiang, and Zhu Guantian, "Seirei insha o sōshi shita yonin to Go Shōseki, Kawai Senro, Nagao Uzan."
95. Wang appears to have held at least two solo exhibitions at Takashimaya venues. The first took place in March 1922, given the date of publication of the catalog. The second took place October 27–30, 1927. Takashimaya bijutsubu gojūnen shi hensan iinkai, ed., *Takashimaya bijutsubu gojūnen shi*, p. 117; Tanigami Ryūsuke, *Ittei kin ga*, preface.
96. Harada Gorō, *Nanga engen*; Tanabe Hekidō, *Iunshū*, prefatory inscription; Tanigami Ryūsuke, ed., *Fu ō bokugi*, preface; Tanigami Ryūsuke, ed., *Keisen gajō*, prefatory inscription.
97. Two paintings that Wang Yiting exhibited in his 1922 Takashimaya exhibition are now preserved in the Hashimoto collection of the Shōtō bijutsukan in Tokyo. Nagao inscribed a title on the outer surface of the lid of each painting's box, and on the inside he wrote "Nagao Uzan (Kō) wrote the label" and added his seal. The two paintings, *Su Wu Herding Sheep* (*Su Wu mu yang tu*) and *Willows and a Flock of Swallows* (*Yangliu qunyan tu*), are published in Shibuya kuritsu Shōtō bijutsukan, *Tokubetsu ten: Hashimoto korekushon, Chūgoku kin gendai kaiga*, pp. 48, 135.
98. The history of this group has been documented in Tsuruta, "Nik-Ka (Chū-Nichi) kaiga rengō tenrankai ni tsuite," pp. 1–2.
99. Tsuruta, "Nik-Ka (Chū-Nichi) kaiga rengō tenrankai ni tsuite," p. 1; Chū-Nichi bijutsu kyōkai, "Chū-Nichi bijutsu kaikan kensetsu shuisho," p. 23.
100. Tsuruta, "Nik-Ka (Chū-Nichi) kaiga rengō tenrankai ni tsuite," p. 1.
101. Ibid., p. 2.
102. For the history of the society's exhibitions, see both Tsuruta Takeyoshi's documentary research and the characterization of the efforts by Aida Wongk, *Parting the Mists*, pp. 1–21, chap. 5.
103. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, p. 115.
104. Ibid.
105. Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Network of 1910s–1930s Shanghai," pp. 50, 23 in 19.
106. The works are listed, and a few are published, in Hoshino Tatsuo, ed., *Asahi gurafu rinji zōkan Tō Sō Gen Min meigaten gō*, table of contents; *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga tenrankai*, ed., *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, 2 vols.

107. Hoshino Tatsuo, ed., *Asahi gurafu rinji zōkan Tō Sō Gen Min mMeigaten gō*, table of contents; Tō Sō Gen Min meiga tenrankai, ed., *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, table of contents.
108. The following details of Banzai and Watanabe's trip are drawn from Banzai Rihachirō and Watanabe Shinpo, *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga tenrankai ni kansuru ken: Shanhai ni okeru nisshi*.
109. Tō Sō Gen Min meiga tenrankai, ed., *Tō Sō Gen Min meiga taikan*, vol. 2, table of contents.
110. "Shina meigaten iin raichō," *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, November 18, 1928.
111. "Shina meiga o tazusaete raichō su: meigaten no nanopō daihyō Ō shi raichō," *Hōchi shinbun*, November 20, 1928; "Dongfang wenming zhi biaozheng: Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming mingjia zuopin zhanlanhui—shiyi yue ershiwu ri qi zai Dongjing Shangye juxing," *Ri-Hua xinbao*, November 25, 1928.
112. "Tō Sō Gen Min meiga tenrankai sanjoin."
113. Tsuchiya, "Shin Nichi gajin Ō Ittei ō o omou," p. 32.
114. Tsuchiya Keizō (in Shanghai) to Shidehara Kijūrō, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated April 1, 1930.
115. Donald A. Jordan, *Chinese Boycotts versus Japanese Bombs: The Failure of China's "Revolutionary Diplomacy," 1931-32*, pp. 7-10.
116. The photograph is reproduced in Xiao, *Wang Yiting*, p. 69. The album is reproduced in Kang Ha-ku, *Getsueikan shintei kindai Chiūgoku kaiga*, cat. 209.
117. Masaki, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 3: 816.
118. For the decline in political relations between China and Japan in the late 1920s and early 1930s and for the Shanghai Incident of 1932, which lasted from the end of January to the beginning of March, see Jordan, *Chinese Boycotts and Japanese Bombs*; Donald A. Jordan, *China's Trial by Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932*.
119. Ishii Itarō (Consul General, Shanghai) to Minister of Foreign Affairs Hirota (October 23, 1934), "Ō Ittei kizō shoga uriagekin Keihan suigai kyūsai e gien no ken."
120. Posthumous inventories of Shibusawa's possessions list three paintings by Wang Yiting, one of which was probably Wang's 1925 portrait. Wang also produced at least one other work for Shibusawa—a painting of a pine and crane that is preserved in the Shibusawa Memorial Museum in Tokyo. Wang inscribed the work for Shibusawa in the autumn of 1928. The work, which is not listed in the inventories of Shibusawa's possessions, is unmounted and accompanied by its original mailing tube and Wang's business card. "Dan'isonsō fuzokuhin mokuroku," Shibusawa Memorial Museum, Tokyo; "Tsunamachi tei zōhin mokuroku," May 1934, bound within "Dōgurui mokuroku," Shibusawa Memorial Museum, Tokyo.

CHAPTER 5

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1. See Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*. Although Alsop includes Chinese and Japanese practices as two of the five patterns of the rare traditions worldwide, he ends his account of the former by the seventeenth century (pp. 212–51), and gives the latter only a brief three pages (pp. 251–53).

2. See the preface to Ge Yuanxu’s *Hu you zaji* by Yuan Zuzhi (1827–98), dated December 22, 1876. The revised edition by Yuan Zuzhi in 1888 was reprinted by Shanghai shudian chubanshe in 2006. As part of studies on the urban culture of modern China, a survey entitled “Chengshi wenhua yu dazhong meishu: 1840–1937 Zhongguo meishu de xiandai zhuanxing” by Chen Ruilin, extensively cited Ge Yuanxu’s writing in covering a variety of social issues. For issues such as the relationship between artists and the art market raised in Ge’s book, see Wang Zhongxiu’s discussion in his preface to Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang, and Chen Hui, comp., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, pp. 1–4. However, Ge Yuanxu’s name was replaced by that of Ge Qilong (d. 1887) as the author, perhaps because the latter was more locally known as a native Shanghai resident and an active member of the art community.

3. For a detailed discussion of those “new rules for playing an old game,” see Hong Zaixin, “Guwan jiaoyi zhong de yishu lixiang: Wu Changshuo, Huang Binhong yu Zhonghua minghua: Shi Deni cangpin yingben shimo kaolüe.”

4. See Wang Xiangrong, *Riben jiaoxi*, pp. 8–47. Further investigation is found in Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*; and in Liu Jianhui, “Modernity Comes Out of Shanghai: The Foundation and Development of an Information Network in the Bakumatsu-Restoration Period.”

5. This issue is fully addressed in two of my papers on Luo Zhenyu. See Hong Zaixin, “Cóng Luò Zhényu dào Huáng Bīnhóng, jīnshíxué yún-dòng xiāndài zhǔhuàn xíng zhǐ fànshí”; and Hong Zaixin, “Zǐlì yù guójí yishu

shichang shang de 'yilao': shilun Luo Zhenyu liuwang Jingdu qijian de xueshu jianshu yu yishu jiaoyi."

6. Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai hanjō ki*; Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai fanchang ji*. In mainland China, the editor of the 2006 reprint of *Hu you zaji* mentioned that there was a Japanese reprint entitled *Shanghai fanchang ji* (the Chinese equivalent of *Shanghai hanjō ki*). Actually both Japanese reprints are included in *Wakokubon Kanseki zuihitsu shū*, 14: 243–89, with notes by Nagasawa Kikuya (1902–80).

7. Among all the early Chinese publications about Shanghai, Ge's book was a preferred reference for Japanese reformers. Prior to his book, Wang Tao (1828–97) had written his *Yingruan zazhi*, published in 1875, and Li Mo'an published *Shenjiang zayong* in 1876.

8. See Iwaya's preface to *Shanghai hanjō ki*.

9. The first reprint is in three volumes, ed. Tōdō Ryōshun. The publisher Inada Sakichi, likely Mitsukuri Koji who is mentioned both in Iwaya Osamu's preface and Tōdō Ryōshun's postscript, brought the guidebook to the editor's attention. The copyright page of the second reprint of *Koyū zakki* names a Tokyo bookstore owned by Inada Sabee, a publisher who later on published other translated works and textbooks. Familiar with affairs of foreign trade, Inada Sakichi foresaw the value of *Shanghai hanjō ki* for merchants doing business in Shanghai and elsewhere in China. For a similar and even more utilitarian purpose, a second reprint of the first two volumes with the original title appeared on the market by another publisher in Tokyo five months later. It was punctuated by Hori Naotarō, with a preface by Taira Seitoku dated October 1878, and published by Yamanaka Ichibee in the same month.

10. See the preface by Iwaya Osama.

11. See Chen Jie, *Meiji zenki Nit-Chū gakujutsu kōryū no kenkyū: Shinkoku chū-Nichi Kōshikan no bunka katsudō*, pp. 426–44. I want to thank Dr. Chen Jie for giving me this book and other related publications.

12. See Wang Zhongxiu's preface to Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang, and Chen Hui, comp., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, p. 4.

13. See Chen Jie, *Meiji zenki*, p. 8. Yasuda soon became acquainted with some leading figures in art circles, and studied painting with Hu Yuan and Ren Yi. Paul Berry provided details of his ongoing research on the topic in "Hu Gongshou and His Japanese Students: The Controversy over Yasuda Rōzan's Style and National Character."

14. On June 7, 1884, for example, after Oka Senjin (1833–1914) arrived in Shanghai, he asked about the celebrities in town. Again, the names of some famous artists like Hu Yuan and Wu Gan match those who were mentioned in Ge's guide. See *Kōko nikki*, in his *Kankō kiyū*, 1: 4. In her essay "Fuliu qianjie: 1870 niandai Shanghai yu Riben wangluo yu Ren Bonian zuopin zhong de Riben yangfen," Yu-chih Lai reconstructed a complicated Japanese network with which such Shanghai artists as Ren Bonian were closely associated. Her article "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Painting and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai" develops related issues.

15. See Wang Zhongxiu, "Qingmo huayuan jishi bubai." Also see chapter 1 in this volume, by Chen Jie.

16. Wei Zhu apparently had good business success there, such that Shu Hao (1841–1901), a Ningbo painter who specialized in figures, birds, and flowers, soon became Wei's companion. Moreover, in 1881 Wang Yin, a landscape and bird-and-flower painter from Nanjing, went to Tokyo and published his *Yemei shipu* (Manual of rock painting by Wang Yin) there. Like the famous *Jiezizyuan huazhuan* (The Mustard Seed Garden painting manuals) reprinted in Japan during the same period, contemporary Chinese artists found a new market to support their art. These efforts were encouraging and exciting news to artists in Shanghai, and a few gatherings were held to commemorate the Sino-Japanese art exchanges. In July 1884, when Jin Erzhen (1840–1917) left for Japan, Zhang Xiong and Ren Yi expressed their congratulations. See note 13.

17. Quite amusingly, Hu Zhang (Tiemei, 1848–99) from Anhui, a landscape and bird-and-flower painter among other pursuits, seems to have made his fortune in Japan. After his return to Shanghai in January 1890, he opened a grocery store name Donghaizhen (Goodies from the East China Sea), selling Japanese food products.

18. Oka Senjin, for example, may have read Ge's book before or during his stay in China. In Shanghai, a Japanese book dealer, who certainly knew *Hu you zaji*, encouraged Oka to visit Hankou in an expression which is almost identical with what Yuan Zuzhi had said about Hankou as one of the four old commercial centers in his 1876 preface to the same travelogue. See *Kojō nikki*, 2: 3.

19. Kusakabe Meikaku actually sold his artwork in Shanghai. The price list of his works was published in *Shenbao*, April 17, 1891. See Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang, and Chen Hui, comp., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, p. 62.

20. See Chen Jie, *Meiji zenki*, p. 8.

21. See ibid., pp. 426–40.

22. Some recent events were recorded before Yuan Zuzhi and Ge Yuanxu wrote their prefaces for the guidebook in November and December 1876, respectively.

23. See Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai hanjō ki* 2: 41.

24. See Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang, and Chen Hui, comp., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, p. 4.

25. Yu-chih Lai, "Fuliu qianjie"; and Lai, "Remapping Borders."

26. Cantonese dominated commercial photography in Shanghai before 1900. See the latest survey of this topic by Zhang Wei, "Yinglou cang sang kan zhuiyi," in *Xinmin wanbao*, Shanghai, April 15, 2007, at: www.news365.com.cn/wxpd/bhygb/shzd/default.htm.

27. An Anglo-Dutch auction has been defined as follows: "Bidders for n items in the Anglo-Dutch auction place bids in two rounds. . . . The survivor who bids highest wins and pays his bid." See Paul Milgrom, *Putting Auc-*

tion Theory to Work, p. 242. Ge's entry in 2:17, is almost identical to this definition.

28. It reminds the readers of what Yitai yanghang (a German auction company) had announced two years earlier. On February 12, 1874, the company advertised that it was doing business with royal warrants from the Qing court and Queen Victoria. See references in note 13. *Shanghai hanjō ki* preserved all these assets, some of which had Japanese interpretations or terminology appearing in either *kanji* or *katakana*.

29. Ge Yuanxu, *Chongxiu Hu you zaji*. It has no Japanese reprint. There is a reprint in Japanese that appeared in 1930, but it was based on the 1878 version of *Shanghai hanjō ki*. As Wang Xiangrong points out, the last reprint of *Pu-Fa zhanji* (Account of the Franco-Prussian War), narrated by Wang Tao in 1887, marked a turning point in Japan's modernization. See Wang Xiangrong, *Riben jiaoxi*, p. 37. Ironically, 1887 was the first year that the Qing court chose current affairs for testing candidates on the civil service examinations. See Wang Xiaoqiu, *Wan Qing Zhongguo ren zou xiang shijie de yici shengju*.

30. Take Oka Senjin as an example. On the one hand, he acquired fresh experience about the living conditions of professional literati artists during his sojourn in China. Oka mentioned in his diary on September 10, 1884, that when he received a painting from Wang Mengwei, a price list of the same artist's paintings and calligraphic works was attached. He also mentioned a price list of Chen Li'an's in a similar scale. See *Kojō nikki*, 2: 7. On the other, Oka felt disappointed with what he had encountered in antique markets such as Liulichang during his trip to Beijing. See *Enkei nikki*, 2: 5–6, dated November 7, 1884.

31. See Huang, *Songnan mengying lu*. Huang described certain business initiatives of the Rakuzendō of Kishida Ginkō (1833–1905), an established Japanese pharmaceutical shop that also functioned as a publishing house, and later on as a nucleus, like a fan shop, to host Japanese artists including Kusakabe to sell their artwork. Kishida's publications such as *Rakuzendō kinsei kakushu myōyaku kōkoku* (Advertisements for marvelous medicines humbly prepared at the Rakuzendō) certainly pioneered the advertisement business in Shanghai. In 1884, Zou Tao in his *Chunjiang dengshi lu* (Record of the lantern festival in Shanghai) (v. 1), made a similar observation. See Chen Jie, *Meiji zenki*, p. 228.

32. See Wang Xiangrong, *Riben jiaoxi*.

33. Back in 1884, for example, Li Pingshu published several articles to promote an alliance with Japan, a proposal which was seconded by Oka Senjin; see Li, *Qiewan laoren qishi sui zixu*. Pan Feisheng was a collector and connoisseur who came from an extremely rich merchant family in Canton. Pan's ancestors and relatives included such famous collectors as Pan Zhengwei (1790–1850) and Pan Shicheng (1804–73).

34. I want to thank Hans-Jörg Lieder, Matthias Kaun, and Cord Eberspächer for helping me to locate the Pan Feisheng file in the Preussischer Staatsarchiv. Dr. Eberspächer helped to interpret the contract.

35. Pan was a secretary of the Xing-Ya hui (Rise Asia Society) organized by his Japanese friend Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944) in Berlin on September 4, 1889; see Pan Feisheng, "Xing-Ya hui xu," p. 66. As for the Japanese role in the making of an Asian art collection in Germany, see the special issue of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 12 (2006, neue Serie). The Japanese had taken lessons directly from the West, Germany in particular, not only in models for industrialization but also the concept of *bijutsu*, which was borrowed from the German *Kunst* in 1871. See Chen Zhenlian, "Meishu yuyuan kao," *Meishu yanjiu* 4 (2003), pp. 60–68; 1 (2004), pp. 14–23.

36. See my "Yishu jianshang shoucang yu jindai Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu shi, yi Ju Lian Wu Deyi bi Pan Feisheng 'Duli shanren tu' wei li."

37. Taki Seiichi (1873–1945) is a critical figure in this regard, for he worked as a professor and connoisseur on both the domestic and international fronts. The dilemma of this relationship must be reconsidered in a new context as Chinese painting acquired a modern status, similar to what Japanese painting had recently experienced.

38. For the looting, see Di Baoxian's (1872–1941) eyewitness account in Beijing in 1900, in *Pingdengge biji*, vol. 1. Later on, Frederic McCormick (b. 1870) observed: "Present vandalism in China has its roots in the excesses of the Boxer War, particularly the reign of looting by foreigners. Chinese antiques and other art objects looted from North China were carried to all parts of the world." See McCormick: "China's Monuments: How the Craze for Collection Began." For a general survey, see Tomita Noboru, *Ruten Shinchō hihō*.

39. Japanese antique circles paid close attention to Luo's *guhua* collection, exhibited in the Kyoto Painting School in June 1911; see the report in *Shoga kottō zasshi* 38 (July 1911), p. 31.

40. See *Zhongwai ribao*, November 17, 1900.

41. He was the owner of Hakubundō in Osaka and often served as Luo's dealer. See *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, p. 225. Also see Yumino Takayuki, "Collecting Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in Modern Japan: The Abe Collection." I want to thank Maeda Tamaki for bringing this paper to my attention.

42. *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, p. 202 (dated December 4, 1916).

43. Cheng's major sources were from Canton. Luo Zhenyu, then joined by Wang, acquired *guhua* oftentimes through this channel. Deng Shi also provided some *guhua* for Wang Guowei and Luo Zhenyu. In February 1917, Luo severed his business relationship with Cheng in Kyoto. See *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, pp. 237–38.

44. Luo's last exhibition of *guhua* in Tokyo was held in November 1937; see Masaki Naohiko, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 3: 1572–73 (dated November 15, 1937).

45. See a brief account of the situation in antique circles in Beijing in *Shoga kottō zasshi* 69 (March 1914), p. 24.

46. *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, p. 182.

47. Ibid., p. 197.

48. Ibid., pp. 160–61.
49. Ibid., p. 108. Kawai later on compiled *Shina nanga taisei*, among other related publications.
50. However, Luo's dealership of *guhua* came with a price tag—even Pu-yi wrote something negative about his integrity, regardless of how faithful Luo was as a high official in Manchukuo under the shadow of militarist Japan. See Pu-yi, *Wo de qianbansheng*, p. 155.
51. He arrived in Kōbe to begin his art business; see *Yomiuri shinbun*, August 9, 1913.
52. See his autobiography *Qiewan laoren qishi sui zixu*, p. 534.
53. Li's pro-Japan opinions echoed the promotion of the learning of Japan by Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) and was appreciated by Oka Senjin. See Oka Senjin, *Kojō saiki*, pp. 6–7, dated December 14, 1884.
54. For a recent study of Li Pingshu, see Xiong Yuezhi, "Lun Li Pingshu."
55. See *Shibao*, April 27, 1908. On October 24, 1908, the third exhibition was held in Shanghai. See *Shibao*, October 27, 1908. It became a routine activity in Shanghai art circles. See Wang Zhongxiu, "Huang BinHong shishi kao zhi jiu (zhong)," pp. 227–28. On February 20 and November 6, 1909, Li organized two exhibitions of Chinese calligraphy, painting, and seals in Yuyuan (Yu Garden) and Zhangyuan (Zhang Garden), respectively, with the participation of such Japanese collectors as Nagao Uzan, Sasaki Sokō, Suzuki Kochiku, and Hiramatsu Itsuo; see *Shibao*, October 17 and November 2, 1909.
56. See Wang Zhongxiu, "Qingmo huayuan jishi bubai." This Association was also called the Association of Chinese Calligraphers and Painters.
57. See *Yomiuri shinbun*, March 8, 1914.
58. *Tōkyō Taishō hakurankai shinsa hōkoku*, 1: 154–55.
59. This document has two versions, both in the Shanghai Library. One is simple and the other lavish, and there is no indication of the publisher.
60. See "Guwanye gonghui chengli," *Shibao*, April 7, 1923. It reported that Wang Hanliang was elected as chairman, You Xiaoxi and Lu Zishan as deputy directors.
61. Later on, Li Wenqing, known in the West as Lee Kee Son, who certainly knew English well, went to San Francisco with a known collector Liu Songfu to show ancient and modern Chinese paintings at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915. Li Wenqing even sold Charles Freer (1854–1919) eighty-seven pieces of *guhua* out of Liu's collection as his own property, a scandal that caused the bankruptcy of Liu's compradorship in Shanghai. The archival materials are now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. I want to thank Ms Ingrid Larsen for informing me of the story.
62. The literary tradition of the Tongcheng School as embodied in the writings of Wu Rulun (1840–1903), Zhiying's uncle, had a strong influence on leading Japanese authors such as Mishima Chūshū (1830–1919), which constitutes a unique connection between Lian Quan and his Japanese acquaintances. For a related study, see Tao Demin, "The Influence of the Tongcheng School on Meiji Japan."

63. See *Jiji shinpō*, April 5, 1914.
64. These poems later were included in Lian Quan, *Nanhу dongyou cao*.
65. Lian Quan was said to have exiled himself to Japan because of the "Second Revolution," but according to another source, Lian was exiled to Japan after his failure in business investments. See Dong Qiao, *Jiushi yuese*, p. 234. I want to thank Dr. Wang Yiyu for sending me a copy of this work.
66. See *Nanhу dongyou cao*, 1: 12.
67. See *Nihon shinbun*, December 11, 1913; and *Miyako shinbun*, December 15, 1913.
68. It was held from June 6–7, 1914. Later, Professor Ōmura Seigai (1868–1927) made a selection of thirty more pieces and published a catalog entitled *Shōbanryūdō gekiseki* with a preface by Masaki.
69. See Li Pingshu, *Qiewan laoren qishi sui zixu*, p. 547.
70. Li wrote a postscript for the rubbing of the Hanlou Stele and had 240 copies published in April 1914. During his stay in Japan, Li and Lian Quan went to visit some calligraphic collections. Lian Quan wrote a poem on Li's most famous piece; see *Nanhу dongyou cao*, 4: 14, 16.
71. See *Qiewan laoren qishi sui zixu*, pp. 546–76.
72. It was edited by Kizawa Makoto. Its first edition was published by Gahōsha in Tokyo; its second edition was published by Tōkyō taimususha in 1917.
73. Reprinted in *Mingren shan ji 1–60 ji*.
74. Most of the *guhua* in the catalog that Luo traded in are either dubious or misattributed pieces.
75. *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, pp. 122–23. Luo was one of the few scholars who found that the catalog entitled *Bao hui lu* (Listing of precious paintings), compiled and published by Zhang Taijie in 1633, was an anthology of faked colophons attached to 200 forgeries. See Hong Zaixin, "Antiquarianism in an Easy-Going Style: Aspects of Chang T'ai-chieh's Antiquarian Practice in the Urban Culture of Late Ming China."
76. *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin*, p. 145 (letter dated September 3, 1916).
77. See Itakura Masaaki, "Jinshi, jindai Riben de Zhongguo hua jianshang yu huajia xingxiang de bianrong, yi Mingmo Qingchu huajia Wang Jianzhang wei li." I want to thank Yu-chih Lai for sending me this paper. Interestingly, Professor Itakura did not seem to be aware that the issue of authenticity of those works attributed to Wang Jianzhang came from the hands of Lian Quan and Luo Zhenyu.
78. The later history of one landscape painting demonstrates these changes in reputations. It belonged in turn to Kumagai Naoyuki (1817–75), Yamanaka Shinten'ō, and Hattori Kojūrō. See Kubota Kanroku, *Nanshū meigaen*, v. 11. As discussed by Itakura, these collectors preferred to use the painting merely as part of a tea ceremony (pp. 77–78). I want to thank Wang Yiyu for helping me to get the reproduction. More recently, it passed into

the collection of Ching Yuan Chai; see James Cahill, *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*, p. 112.

79. On February 12, 1911, Li wrote it for one of the handscrolls in Lian Quan's collection, cited in Lian's 1914 album. Wang's works increased in popularity among literati (*nanga*) painters in Japan as shown in the auction sales records in the Tokyo Art Club from 1918 to 1937. See *Tōkyō bijutsu shijōshi*. The following is a list of sold pieces with their prices:

1. Oct. 24, 1918, 16 Arhats, (1,050 yen)
2. Dec. 2, 1918, Bamboo, (1,000 yen)
3. Feb. 5, 1919, landscape, ink painting (16,000 yen)
4. Oct. 19, 1925, flower and rock, (1,889 yen)
5. Oct. 19, 1925, landscape in blue and green style, (1,520 yen)
6. Dec. 3, 1928, fishing in autumn, light color, (1,000 yen)
7. June 8, 1932, landscape fans on paper, (1,150 yen)
8. Oct. 11, 1933, landscape album, 12 leaves, (5,900 yen)
9. April 13, 1937, landscape in Mi style, (2,300 yen).

I want to thank Professor James Cahill for sharing his expertise with me on Wang Jianzhang's paintings and sending me information about Wang in his *Index to Ming Dynasty Chinese Paintings* database (http://ted.lib.harvard.edu/ted/deliver/home?_collection=ming). He also informed me that *Landscape in Rain*, another work by Wang Jianzhang, was published in *Kaikodō* 15 (spring 2008). For further discussion of this Fujian painter, see Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644*, pp. 170–73.

80. Prior to the visit, Lian had learned from reading *Chūshū bunkō* (Prose drafts of [Mishima] Chūshū) that that collection was handed down from the Baron's grandfather Tōdō Takayuki (1813–95). See *Nanhu dongyou cao*, 1: 15.

81. See *Nanhu dongyou cao*, 1: 15. According to Lian's description, the Baron's collected pieces were painted as a birthday gift to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of a gentleman from Tongcheng.

82. In Duan-fang's (1861–1911) preface, dated May 1911, Lian had two hanging scrolls, five handscrolls, and twenty-four paintings by the same painter, whom he had heard of for the first time.

83. Wang Jianzhang, *Wang Zhongchu fang Song Yuan shanshui zhenji*. I want to thank Lai Delin for sending me photographs of this album.

84. In Huang Binhong, *Yi guan* 2.

85. See *Illustrated Catalogue of the Remarkable Collection of the Imperial Prince Kung of China*. Items 500 to 525 are *guhua*—“Chinese paintings on silk, of the Sung, Yuan and Ming Dynasties mounted with ancient silk and gold brocade, kakemono scroll fashion.” The Japanese framing indicates how fashionable it had become to import *guhua* from the Japanese art market, even though the collection came directly from the Imperial Prince Gong (Kung). For more on Yamanaka & Co. as conduits for Chinese art work, see chapter 2 in this volume, by Yu-chih Lai.

86. See its *Mokuroku* (Listing of titles), which contained a few *guhua* in both the Northern and Southern styles. It was difficult to decide whether those *guhua* were all brought to Tokyo from Beijing. In a report about this *nyūsatsu* in *Jiji shinpō* (December 24, 1913), the total 32,000 *yen* worth of sold items did not include many examples of Chinese paintings or calligraphy, which indicated that the collectors' interests were mostly in Chinese antiques and Japanese paintings.

87. See *Illustrated Catalogue of the Remarkable Collection of Ancient Chinese Bronzes*. Items 396 to 419 are Chinese paintings "of the Ch'ien-lung period, and are in European carved-wood frames imported by the Chinese at the time." Apparently, Yamanaka & Co. was fully aware of the taste of its Western customers. As mentioned in a report about antique circles in Beijing, the foreign dealers exported antiques from China with the average value of 3 million *yen* per month, and Yamanaka & Co. spent about 1.8 million *yen* to purchase antiques there and then sold them in America for a price of 2.5 million *yen*. See *Shoga kottō zasshi* 69 (March 1914), p. 24.

88. See Hong Zaixin, "From Stockholm to Tokyo: E. A. Strehlneek's Two Shanghai Collections in a Global Market for Chinese Paintings in the Early 20th Century."

89. The names of those present appear in the sign-in book for the gathering. I want to thank Wang Zhongxiu for sending me a photocopy of it.

90. The colophon is dated June 15, 1913. Oguri Shūdō's approval helped to make the painting widely known in the world as well as in academia.

91. The direct impact of the publication of *Chinese Pictorial Art* can be found in the following publications primarily for the international *guhua* market:

1. *Biographies of Famous Chinese Paintings from the Private Collections of Mr. L. C. P'ang, Tang Wudai Song Yuan Minhua*. Illustrations of seventy-two paintings, with a bilingual text. I want to thank Dr. Thomas Lawton for providing detailed information about this catalog.
2. *Catalog of Chinese Paintings: Ancient & Modern by Famous Masters—The Property of Mr. Liu Sung Fu, Zhongguo Gujin Minren Tuhualu*. Interestingly, it was compiled by Florence Wheelock Ayscough (1878–1942) who had once helped Strehlneek translate many Chinese texts into English.
3. A selection from modern Chinese arts for the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition. It was compiled by Shen Dunhe and Shen Dingchen. Except for one landscape by He Weipu (1844–1925), all the items in the catalog were copies of *guhua* by contemporary copiers, which indicated a business incentive to promote *guhua* in America and elsewhere. I want to thank Professor Chou Mei-fang for bringing this catalog to my attention.
4. Descriptive catalog of ancient and genuine Chinese paintings, *Guhua*

Liuzhen. These paintings were for sale by the Lai-Yuan Company, text and cover-title in English and Chinese; half-title in English only. Compiled by Kwen Fu-ch'u, catalog prepared by Mr. Chu Li-t'ang (1871–1942).

5. *Masterpieces in Chinese National Art: The Collection of Mr. Seaouk'e Yue, Zhonghua guocui*. It is worth noting that Li Wenqing (Lee Kee Son), who was involved in the transaction of Liu Songfu's collection, Kuan Fuchu (Kwen Fu-ch'u), and You Xiaoxi (Seaouk'e Yue) were all active members of the guild of antique dealers appeared in Shanghai in the early 1920s.

92. See vol. 3. It was written by Li Mo'an and collected in his *Shanghai zhuzhici*. It is interesting to note that Oka Senjin made a strong defense for Japanese's imitation of the Westerners by changing their attire in his conversation with his Chinese acquaintance. See *Sokō nikki*, 2: 9.

93. See note 3 above.

94. See Hong Zaixin, "Discourse between Shanghai and Tokyo on the Literati Art Traditions from the Late 1920s to Mid-1930s."

CHAPTER 6

In addition to the Conference on the Role of Japan in the Institutional Development of Modern Chinese Art at Academia Sinica, versions of this paper were presented at Harvard University (New England East Asian Art History Seminar), Yale University (East Asian Studies Colloquium), and the Taiwan Normal University (Rethinking the Written Words: An Interdisciplinary Symposium on Chinese Calligraphy) between 2007 and 2008. The author would like to thank the organizers and participants for their valuable comments, especially Joshua Fogel, Oliver Moore, and Lu Hui-wen. Gratitude is also owed to Professor Kunpei Kawachi and Mr. Ling Lizhong for their valuable assistance in archival searches.

1. Neologistic terminology for the fine arts that arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as *bijutsu*, *kaiga* (painting), *chōkoku* (sculpture), and *kōgei* (handicrafts), among others, is examined in the context of Japanese nationalist restructuring by Satō Dōshin in "*Nihon bijutsu*" *tanjō: kindai nihon no "kotoba" to senryaku*. The term *bijutsu*, for example, was coined when Japan participated in the Vienna International Exposition of 1873. It was meant as a translation for the Western notion of "fine arts," as opposed to the "applied arts," though in actual practice, it did not preclude the latter entirely. See the following note for more information.

2. At the third Naikoku kangyō hakurankai (Domestic expositions for promoting industry) in 1890, *shoga* (calligraphy-painting) was replaced by *kaiga* (picture-painting), breaking with the classification used by the first and second expositions of 1877 and 1881. In this instance, *kaiga* consisted of oil painting and a number of pictorial traditions such as the Tosa and Shijo

Schools. Among the objects admitted into the “fine arts” categories at the 1890 event were some that Westerners would have considered “applied arts” or “decorative arts,” such as metalwork, lacquerware, ceramics, glassware, and textiles. See the detailed chart of the categories and the contents of the four Naikoku kangyō hakurankai from 1877 to 1895 in Satō, “*Nihon bijutsu*” *tanjō*, p. 43. The separation of calligraphy from painting has had repercussions for the conservation of cultural properties and museum administration down to the present day. It is interesting that, as Shimizu Yoshiaki has pointed out, the first survey-type exhibition of Japanese calligraphy based on an American collection happened only in 1984. This exemplified the belated appreciation of Japanese calligraphy as a fine art in the United States. See Shimizu Yoshiaki, “Japan in American Museums—But Which Japan?” p. 125.

3. Koyama was an oil painter. In his mind, “calligraphy, unlike *bijutsu* which depicts or expresses many different things, is just written words, so that even inferior calligraphy [might be believed to] move the human heart just by transcribing famous passages or phrases.” See Koyama Shōtarō, “*Sho wa bijutsu narazu*,” cited in Saitō Yoshishige and Hitai Nankoku, “*Kodai Chūgoku no Magai-hi, ishi ni kizamareta minzoku no shōshi*,” p. 107. Okakura’s rebuttal emphasized the importance of judging calligraphy by its own visual and expressive potential. See Okakura Kakuzō, “*Sho wa bijutsu narazu no ron o yomu*,” cited in Saitō and Hitai, “*Kodai Chūgoku no Magai-hi, ishi ni kizamareta minzoku no akaōshi*,” p. 107. On the Meiji-period calligraphy discourse, see Arita Kōho, “*Kindai Nihon ni okeru shoron no tenkai—shoron hyakunen no ayumi*.” Also see Niigata kenritsu kindai bijutsukan, ed., *Koyama Shōtarō to “sho wa bijutsu narazu” no jidai*.

4. The Taishō Expositions are described in Takemura Tamio, *Taishō bunka*, pp. 40–43; see also Miriam Silverberg, “Constructing a New Cultural History of Prewar Japan,” p. 73.

5. Fusetsu produced some serious writings on calligraphy history in his life. Besides *Rikuchō shodōron* (translation of Kang Youwei’s *Guang yizhou shuang ji*), which is discussed in the present essay, his published works include the multivolume *Hōjō shoron shū* and *Gakusho sanketsu*.

6. For a succinct account of Fusetsu’s career, see Hayashi Makoto, “Nakamura Fusetsu no shōgai to geijutsu,” pp. 130–33.

7. Fusetsu’s contribution to *Yōga* (Western-style painting) is described in Takizawa Masayuki, “*Kindai yōgakai to Nakamura Fusetsu*;” also see Nakahara Hikaru, *Nakamura Fusetsu, sono hito to geiseki*, chaps. 3–4.

8. On the history of the Wang Xizhi tradition as manifested in the “model letters,” see Amy McNair, “The Engraved Model-Letters Compendia of the Song Dynasty.”

9. See Ye Zhemin, “Zhong-Ri shufa yishu de jiaoliu.”

10. For a concise history of the Rikuchōha, see Kogi Taihō, “*Lüetan Riben xiandai shudao*;” Chen Zhenlian, *Zhong-Ri shufa yishu bijiao*, pp. 48–62.

11. Yang Shoujing was invited by Ambassador He Ruzhang (1838–91) to accompany him to Japan and remained through the arrival of the next ambas-

sador, Li Shuchang (1837–96). Over the course of four years, Yang amassed a large number of Chinese books, many rare printings that were not available in China, and compiled twenty-six volumes totaling 200 fascicles of “Ancient and Untrammeled Works” (*Guyi congshu*). The artifacts and calligraphic works Yang brought to Japan were partly swapped for the rare books. See Ge Jianxiong, “Yang Shoujing shouzang zhi Riben guwenshu.” Yang Shoujing’s contributions and experiences in Japan are explored in a special issue of *Shorōn* 26 (autumn 1983). See also chapter 3 by Shana Brown in this volume.

12. See Ye Zhemin, “Zhong-Ri shufa yishu de jiaoliu”; for Kusakabe Meikaku’s and Nakabayashi Gochiku’s biographies, see Nakanishi Keiji, *Kusakabe Meikaku den*, and Hino Toshiaki, *Shosei Nakabayashi Gochiku, hito to sho to iseki*.

13. Kang Youwei, *Rikuchō shodō ron*, trans. Nakamura Fusetsu and Ido Reizan.

14. Kang Youwei, *Guang yizhou shuang ji*, first published in 1889.

15. Ibid., p. 227.

16. Kang was accused of over-schematization and inaccurate applications of aesthetic standards. Kanno Chiaki explores the critical literature on Kang Youwei’s *Extended Paired Oars* in the late Qing and early Republican periods in “*Rōkan yohan’ no hokuhi ron*.”

17. Kang Youwei, *Guang yizhou shuang ji*, pp. 202–3.

18. Trying to preach political reform with a book on calligraphy and the Stele School made sense, considering that many elites in the capital were enamored of epigraphic and antiquarian studies. This political reading of *The Extended Paired Oars* is held by scholars including Chak-kwong Lau and Gong Pengcheng. See especially the latter’s introduction to the 1999 reprint of the book, pp. 27–28.

19. Mokuhō’s foreword to Kang Youwei, *Rikuchō shodō ron*, trans. Nakamura and Ido.

20. A copy of *Rikuchō shodō ron* was hand-delivered to Kang by the Chinese painter, Xu Beihong, who made Fusetsu’s acquaintance during a trip to Japan. See Matsutani Shōzo, *Jo Hikō no shōzō sono jidai to tomo ni*, p. 34. Xu’s connection with Fusetsu probably extended beyond personal acquaintance. Xu Beihong’s paintings of historical Chinese themes in neoclassical style might have been inspired by Fusetsu.

21. Lau Chak-kwong, “Kang Youwei’s (1858–1927) Reformist Theories and Practice of Calligraphy: Inspirations from Japan and Impact on the Japanese Recipients.” In Inukai’s case, he started following such standard copybook models as Mi Fu (1051–1107) and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), but switched to more contorted and spatially compressed graphic expressions after meeting Kang Youwei.

22. For selections of Kang Youwei’s calligraphy, see Bai Lixian, ed., *Kang Youwei shufa jingxuan*; and *Kang Youwei shufa*. Kang’s semi-cursive script was influenced by the style of the Northern Wei stele *Shimenming*, or “Stone Gate Inscription.” See Shen C.Y. Fu et al., *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chi-*

nese Calligraphy, pp. 137–38; and Xue Yongnian, "Chinese Calligraphy in the Modern Era," pp. 133–34. Selections of Fusetsu's calligraphy are published in the special issue on Nakamura Fusetsu in *Sumi* 155 (March–April 2002).

23. Fusetsu in his preface to *Rikuchō shodō ron* explained the impulse of Rikuchōha, its promise of freedom from fossilized conventions: "Today's calligraphy, in present discourse, has broken out of the iron fences erected by blind emulations of *karayō*. There is something to be said about being able to breathe freely. . . . The ultimate calling for an artist is to 'return to nature' (*shizen ni kaere*). In my opinion, to approach the styles of Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties stelae is, in many ways, a form of searching for nature." See his *Rikuchō shodō ron*, pp. 1–2.

24. The basic text on modern Japanese calligraphy is *Shodō zenshū* 25: *Nihon* 11 (Meiji Taishō). Also see Cecil H. Uyehara, "The Rite of Japanese Calligraphy and the Modern Age," p. 177.

25. See Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 126.

26. Fusetsu's translation of *Rikuchō shodōron* and his work *Ryūminjō* (discussed later in this chapter) received both a positive reception and strong criticism. Furthermore, he was by no means the lone promoter of reform in Japanese calligraphy. To understand his historical moment, see *Shodō zenshū* 25: *Nihon* 11 (Meiji Taishō); Ishikawa Kyūyō, *Kindai shoshi*; and Arita Kōho, *Kindai Nihon no shorōn no tenkai*.

27. Naitō was among the first Japanese to promote the use of information gleaned from oracle bones and bronze vessels to write Chinese history, and befriended Chinese antiquarians such as Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940). See Hibino Takeo, "Naitō Konan ga majiwatta gakusha bunjintachi," p. 87. I discuss the impact of Dunhuang manuscripts on the rise of Shinagaku (China studies) at Kyoto Imperial University in "Dunhuangology as Nationalist Apparatus, with Special Focus on the Kyoto School of Oriental Studies and Its Connections with Modern Chinese Historiography." Naitō set himself apart from his academic rival Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942, of Tokyo Imperial University) by active considerations of archaeological evidence and the new research based on such evidence conducted by Chinese scholars. When the excavation of the ruins of Yin positively proved the existence of the Shang dynasty, formerly dismissed by Shiratori as fiction as the result of his linguistic and theoretical conjectures, Naitō's scored a major triumph. See Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, pp. 117–30.

28. Naitō Konan's attitude and approach to calligraphy are summarized in Kanda Kiichirō, "Naitō Konan sensei to sho."

29. See Tam Yue-him, "Informal Groups behind Modern Japanese Intellectual History: The Case of the Seikyōsha."

30. Ibid., p. 7.

31. On Fusetsu's career as a war correspondent, see Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, pp. 60–63. Because of his reputation as a fine illustrator, Fusetsu entered the circles of the noted writers Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) and Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) and of the haiku poet Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902). Fusetsu

designed images for Ōgai's magazine *Mesamashigusa* and Sōseki's famous novel, *Wagahai wa neko de aru*. Their ties were the subject of a recent exhibition (July–September 2006) at the Shodō hatsubutsukan.

32. According to Fusetsu's biographer, the Longmen fragments were discovered among the personal effects of a (captured or dead?) Chinese general during the war. Fusetsu had seen reproductions of the Longmen stelae many times before, but never in the flesh. To be able to take into possession some of the original fragments made him extremely happy, even as war booty. See Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 83. For more on the "Twenty Works of Longmen" in English, see Amy McNair, "Engraved Calligraphy in China: Recension and Reception."

33. There are approximately 2,000 pieces of model-letters and rubbings, 300 Buddhist manuscripts, 40 bronzes vessels, 30 bronze mirrors, 300 oracle bones, 500 coins, 400 ceramics, 3 sculptures, 3,000 works of calligraphy, and 10 stelae. See Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 218. See also Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan, ed., *Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan*.

34. Having witnessed the destruction of Kantō earthquake, Fusetsu had the prescience to build a fireproof, stone storehouse for his treasures. See Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 127.

35. Nabeshima Tōko, curator of the museum, outlines the history of the collection in "Nakamura Fusetsu korekushon no keisei."

36. P. R. Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors."

37. See Caryn B. Friedlander, "Developments in the History of Modern Japanese Calligraphy," p. 44.

38. There were Chinese precedents for writing on supersized sheets. For example, in the Ming dynasty Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) produced monumental calligraphy, but it was to decorate the high-ceilinged mansions of the elite rather than for public exhibitions. Modern Zen monks also wrote on large sheets, but their pieces were in a class of their own.

39. Chen Zhenlian emphasizes the importance of large scale as a new development in his comparative study of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy; see his *Zhong-Ri shufa yishu jiaoliu*, p. 221.

40. Jerry Norman, *Chinese*, pp. 65–66.

41. See Ye Zhemin, "Zhong-Ri shufa yishu de jiaoliu," p. 31.

42. See Stephen Addiss, *77 Dances: Japanese Calligraphy by Poets, Monks, and Scholars*, pp. 119–20.

43. Li Gonglin's activities as an antiquarian-collector are explored in Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Artist as Antiquarian: Li Gonglin and His Story of Early Chinese Art."

44. Robert E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin*, p. 5. According to Harrist, Su Che and his brother Su Shi were the original viewers of the scroll, which was completed in the 1080s or early 1090s, when they and Li Gonglin were colleagues in Kaifeng. See p. 30.

45. One copy of the Li Gonglin painting, similar to the one that Fusetsu knew, belongs to the Bernard Berenson collection. The English translation of these four poems, cited in Harrist's book, is by Jonathan Chaves, in Laurence P. Roberts, *The Bernard Berenson Collection of Oriental Art at Villa I Tatti*, pp. 33–39.

46. It is known that one of the school's founding fathers, Kusakabe Mei-kaku, had deemed certain stelae, such as the *Xiyue Huashan miaobei* and the *Liqi bei*, "jadō" (lit. evil course), while both are tamer than the *Ryūminjō*. See Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 178.

47. See Ye Pengfei, *Ruan Yuan Bao Shichen*.

48. Dividing cultural practices into a northern and a southern school was a popular trope in classical China, the most famous example being Dong Qichang's Northern and Southern School theory in painting. See James Cahill, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's 'Southern and Northern Schools' in the History and Theory of Painting: A Reconsideration." Before Ruan Yuan, others had entertained a northern and southern division in calligraphy, but none approached the subject with such detail and clarity as Ruan in *Nanbei shupai lun* and *Beibei nantie lun*. The "Southern School" in Ruan's language also stems from the support of the classical tradition in the Tang and Song courts, including many elites of the Southern Dynasties.

49. *Yizhou shuang ji* was incorporated into *Anwu sizhong*, a collection of four titles (the other three were *Guangqing sanyi*, *Qimin sixue*, and *Zhongqu yishao*). The print run in 1844 was 500 copies. Seven years later an additional 200 copies were published. See Ye Pengfei, *Ruan Yuan Bao Shichen*, pp. 191–92.

50. For a survey history of *jinshixue*, tracing back to the beginning of historical China when the first written script emerged, see Zhu Jianxin, *Jinshixue*. See also Lothar Ledderose, "Aesthetic Appropriation of Ancient Calligraphy in Modern China."

51. On the history of evidential studies, see On-cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang, *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China*, pp. 223–50.

52. See Zhu Jianxin, *Jinshixue*, chap. 5.

53. Cited in Harrist, "The Artist as Antiquarian," p. 257.

54. See He Yinghui, "Xi Han lishu de xin faxian—zhupu weimei de Sumawan jieyu keshi."

55. Ibid.

56. The history of the Great Kaitong is outlined in Yao Ganming, *Qutan Zhongguo moyashike*, pp. 38–40.

57. In Yang's words, "Consider the characters, some long, some short, some wide, some narrow, [the composition] is uneven like the natural and archaic beauty of rock patterns. A hundred generations find it difficult to emulate. This is what I call a work of the 'divine class.'" Cited in Yao Ganming, *Qutan Zhongguo moyashike*, p. 40.

58. Ishikawa Kyūyō, "Meiji yonjūichinen hachigatsu nijūhachinichi—'Ryūminjō' no kakumei," pp. 134–37.

59. Ibid., p. 134.

60. Takii Takasa, "Kawahigashi Hekigotō to Nakamura Fusetsu."

61. Shiki juxtaposes the beauty of nature with everyday experiences in a haiku like this: "Sadness: when I see the peony / which blossoms as if to cheer me up / while I lie sick":

病 むわれを	Yamu ware o
名草目顔に	nagusamegao ni
開きたる 牡丹の花を	hirakitaru botan no hana o
見れば 悲しいも	mireba kanashii mo

Cited in Janine Beichman-Yamamoto, "Masaoka Shiki's A Drop of Ink," p. 313.

62. See *Bokubi* 159, special issue on the Ryūminkai (June 1966).

63. Nakahara, *Nakamura Fusetsu*, p. 166.

64. Ibid., pp. 167–72.

65. There have been a number of discussions on the concept of *shuhua tongyuan*. One recent work is Wen C. Fong, "Why Chinese Painting Is History"; this essay cites on p. 259 the passage from Zhang Yanyuan, "On the Origins of Painting," *Lidai minghuaji* (Famous paintings through the ages, completed 847). The ninth-century classic is collected in Yu Anlan, ed., *Huashi congshu*.

66. See Uyehara, "The Rite of Japanese Calligraphy and the Modern Age," p. 179.

67. Ibid.

68. Hideo Kobayashi and Pierre Alechinsky, "Japanese Calligraphy and Abstraction," p. 542; Alexandra Monroe, "The *Bokujin-Kai* Calligraphy Society," pp. 129–33.

69. "E no yō no sho" has been used by the historian and scholar Ishikawa Kyūyō to describe the avant-garde calligraphy of Ōsawa Gakyū (1890–1953); see Ishikawa Kyūyō, "Shinsei zen'ei shodō: Ōsawa Gakyū 'En moku rai gō,'" p. 80.

70. On postwar Japanese calligraphy, see Tamiya Bunpei et al., *Sho: Sengo rokujuen no kiseki*; Mainichi shodō association, *Sho: Contemporary Japanese Calligraphy*; Hong Kong Arts Center, *Japanese Calligraphy: Works by Contemporary Masters*; Oriental Calligrapher's Federation, *Contemporary Calligraphy of Japan: 10th Exhibition of Contemporary Calligraphy of Japan*. For the relationship between postwar avant-garde calligraphy from Japan and its reception by Abstract Expressionists, see Barbara Rose, "Japanese Calligraphy and American Abstract Expressionism."

71. Nakamura Fusetsu, *Yuyu chutu mobao shufa yuanliu kao* (Uiki shutsudo bokuhō shohō genryū kō), trans. Li Defan, first published in 1927.

72. See Chen Xiejun, "Yizhi shuangpa yuanyuan liuchang: Xidu Zhong-Ri shufa zhenpin zhan."

CHAPTER 7

1. A term used in an advertisement for exhibitions in Kyoto and Nagasaki; *Shenbao*, February 10, 1872, p. 6.
2. "Bolanhui kao," *Shenbao*, March 13, 1903, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. At a critical historical juncture for China and Japan: the Qing court was in a state of disarray, in part because of its loss to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, and Japanese national identity likewise was being challenged through territorial expansion and cultural incorporation, with new colonies in Taiwan and Okinawa.
5. Martin Jay, "Cultural Relativism and the Visual Turn," p. 267.
6. Kalpana Ram, "Modernist Anthropology's 'Comparative' Project: The Construction of Indian Identity as Tradition," p. 123.
7. Published by the Ōsaka yūrinkan.
8. This study is indebted, first, to the archival research in Japan of Matsuda Kyōko, who completed a dissertation at Osaka University in 1996 on the subject of Japanese imperialism at the exhibition; and second, to Lü Shunchang, who has written a finely researched essay on the politics of Chinese opposition to the Hall of Mankind: "Ōsaka jinruikan jiken ni okeru Chūgokugawa no taiō ni tsuite."
9. Rebecca Karl takes up this issue briefly in *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, p. 112. Her conclusion that it increased sensitivity toward the exhibitionary complex is not one with which I disagree, but the results of that increased sensitivity may in fact be not a rejection of it but precisely its opposite.
10. "Riben dashe bolanhui," *Shenbao*, February 15 and 18, 1875.
11. "Riben juxing bolanhui," *Shenbao*, February 14, 1878, p. 1.
12. During the 1870s and the next few decades Meiji state participation in world's fairs was to affect and change the scale and scope of domestic exhibitions in Japan. As one English-language guidebook to the 1903 Osaka exhibition recounts: "The Vienna Exhibition of 1873 was the first foreign exhibition to which Japan participated and the experiment proved of great benefit to the nation in general, for the commissioners sent over came back with many new ideas. Two years later (1875) another foreign exhibition called for Japan's exhibits, namely the Philadelphia Exposition, and this so stimulated those officials who were sent over there that soon after their return it was proposed to hold an International Fair in Japan." See Osaka-fu, comp., *The Souvenir Guide to Osaka and the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition*, pp. 116–17.
13. Museums and exhibitions were not necessarily considered to be the same things, but the comparison still illuminates an important perception about the place of Japan within exhibitionary culture.
14. Lithograph from James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh: Its History, its People, its Places*, vol. 2, insert between pp. 274–75.
15. Osaka-fu, *The Souvenir Guide*, p. 117.

16. Yamamoto Mitsuo, *Nihon hakurankai shi*, p. 4, with some English translations at end of book (see especially pp. 30–59 for an overview of the domestic expositions).

17. Huang Zunxian, *Riben zashi shi guangzhu*, pp. 629–30. Indeed, the sole registration of discontent with Japanese exhibition culture that I have uncovered thus far is in a travel diary, *Riben jiyou* (Notes on travels in Japan), written in 1880 by the Shanghai merchant Li Xiaopu and published eleven years later. Of an unnamed museum he visited during his travels, Li wrote:

What was hateful was a case in which was placed evil bamboo opium pipes—two of them—two chipped porcelain opium containers, a stick of opium propped up vertically at the center, several opium boxes and rod with which to tamp the opium down, one broken copper ash-pot, a broken piece of an opium tray, a tattered and old lantern made of paper strips, an old straw hat and fragments of things, all of which were filthy. Also on display were armaments, a bayonet, shields, banners, several rusty and corroded air guns, several torn cotton nine dragon kits, and stuck in at the center dozens of small bamboo gunpowder containers with a label that said “Chinese objects” (*Zhongguo wu*). Upon reading I felt totally agitated. Our China has for year after year sent objects to international exhibitions in the United States and France, and Westerners even have awarded prizes [to them], our precious crafts and art objects have won them over, so how is it that they take these [sordid] things as descriptive of us? Even though the [Japanese] barbarians’ treacherous view is not worth anything, yet what is in their hearts clearly can be seen—we should not have diplomatic relations with them at all! (*Riben jiyou*, in *Zouxiang shijie congshu*, p. 173)

18. Though in the latter glossed with short passages translating the neologism *bolanhui* “exhibition” into the more familiar Chinese term *bisaihui* and correlating the Meiji calendar to the Chinese dynastic calendar; *Daban bolanhui bianlan*, pp. 1–3.

19. Osaka-fu, *The Souvenir Guide*, pp. 116–17.

20. The Aquarium was located in Ōmiya Park, Sakai.

21. Osaka-fu, *The Souvenir Guide*, p. 155.

22. Published as a special supplement to the newspaper, no. 6906.

23. Published in Chicago by Laird & Lee, Publishers.

24. Lurking behind the surface of the poster is knowledge that the long-awaited bridge, Ōsaka Chikkō daisanbashi, had finally been finished, that Ōsaka’s municipal tram had started service between Chikkō and Hanazonobashi, and that competition for passengers in Ōsaka was increasing between the government-run Tōkaidō train line and five privately-owned railways, especially the Kwansai Railway. For information on transportation superstructure, see Hirofumi Yamamoto, ed., *Technological Innovation and the Development of Transportation in Japan*, p. 55 (see also pp. 45–71).

25. Matsuda Kyōko, "Jinruikan jiken ga nagekakeru genzaiteki mondai," p. 157. Later it was turned into the Imamiya Business Club, which then around 1910 was razed to make room for the development of the entertainment and amusement area called the "New World" (Shin sekai) and Tennōji Park. Whether the Fine Arts Hall became the foundation for the Osaka Municipal Fine Arts Museum is unclear. Lü Shao-li claims that it did, but if so, it was dramatically transformed; see his *Zhanshi Taiwan: Quanli, kongjian yu zhimin tongzhi de xingxiang biaoshu*, p. 115 n35. As with the Paris exhibitions of 1855 and 1867, this exhibition proved to be a moment for restructuring city design. See Matsuda Kyōko, *Teikoku no shisen: Hakurankai to yibunka hyōshō*, pp. 19–46; and for a survey of Parisian city history, see Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750–1890*, chap. 8: "The City Transformed, 1848–90."
26. The Welcome Society, *The Fifth National Industrial Exhibition of 1903 and a Short Guidebook of Japan*, p. 10.
27. Ibid., pp. 10–11.
28. Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, p. 93.
29. The Welcome Society, *The Fifth National Industrial Exhibition*, p. 14.
30. Zhang Jian, *Zhang Jian quanji*, 6: 494.
31. Sae-bong Hae, "Taiwan and Its Self-Images: The Case of Osaka Exhibition in 1903," pp. 11–13.
32. Neither the Taiwankan nor the Jinruikan are mentioned in the Chinese guidebook.
33. Office of the Imperial Commission for the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition, *Fifth National Industrial Exhibition at Osaka, Japan, Rules and Regulations for Exhibitors in the Foreign Samples Building*, p. 5. See also *Regulations for the Fifth Industrial Exhibition Classification*.
34. Hakurankai kyōsankai, *Ōsaka to hakurankai*, p. 127.
35. Yan Ansheng, *Nihon ryūgaku seishin shi*, p. 99 (see also pp. 99–149).
36. The precise number of visitors, Japanese and foreign, was 5,305,209. See Lü Shao-li, *Zhanshi Taiwan*, p. 114.
37. Osaka-fu, *Souvenir Guide*, p. 155.
38. Ibid., p. 156.
39. *The Osaka Exhibition and Guidebook for Tourists of Japan* (1903), p. 56.
40. Yan Ansheng, *Nihon ryūgaku seishin shi*, pp. 99–100.
41. *Daban bolanhui bianlan*, preface.
42. Lü Shunchang, "Ōsaka jinruikan jiken," p. 100 and n2.
43. Zhang later continued to expand his interest in exhibition culture by visiting the St. Louis Expo, famously establishing the first museum in China in the seaboard town of Nantong in 1905, and participating in the 1910 Nan-yang Expo.
44. Zhang Jian, *Zhang Jian quanji*, 6: 433.
45. Hubei tongxiang hui, "Wuhu Zhinaren! Wuhu Zhinaren!"; Hubei tongxiang hui, "Riben Daban bolanhui Zhongguo Fujian chupin yichu Taiwanguan."

46. Jiangsu tongxiang hui, "Riben Daban bolanhui Zhongguo Fujian chupin yichu Taiwanguan shimoji"; also mentioned in the two-part history of Taiwan, Yalu, "Taiwan sanbai nian shi."
47. Zhejiang tongxiang hui, "Liuxuejie jishi"; Zhejiang tongxiang hui, "Riben wenjianlu: Riben diwuhui neiguo quanye bolanhui guanlanji"; Zhejiang tongxiang hui, "Daban bolanhui Renleiguan Taiwan nüzi shijian."
48. For a catalog of *bijutsu* art work displayed in the five exhibitions, see Tōkyō kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, *Naikoku kangyō hakurankai bijutsuhin shuppin mokuroku*.
49. Zhejiang tongxue hui, "Riben wenjianlu," p. 185.
50. The Ōsaka asahi shinbun of March 9, 1903 reported the name change in an article entitled "Gakujutsu jinruikan to kaishō," p. 401.
51. See chronologically-organized table of activities and events taking place in the Zhang garden by Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*, p. 166.
52. March 1, 1903.
53. "Jōgai yokyo," Ōsaka asahi shinbun, March 1, 1903, p. 394.
54. Tōkyō jinrui gakkai zasshi 19.219 (June 1904), p. 350.
55. Kuimao dongyou riji (Diary of travels in Japan in 1903), passage translated into Japanese by Lü Shunchang, "Ōsaka jinruikan jiken," p. 103; rpt. in Chinese in Lü Shunchang, ed., *Wan Qing Zhongguoren Riben kaochaji jicheng, jiaoyu kaochaji*, 2: 595.
56. Kuimao dongyou riji passage translated into Japanese by Lü Shunchang, "Ōsaka jinruikan jiken," p. 103; rpt. in Chinese in Lü Shunchang, ed., *Wan Qing Zhongguoren*, 2: 595.
57. Other articles published within China that I have not been able to consult may be found in issues of the following: Tianjin *Dagongbao*, March 10, 1903; Shanghai *Zhongwai ribao*, March 5 and 12, 1903; and the Yokohama paper *Xinmin ribao* 27 (March 1903). Articles listed by Lü Shunchang, "Ōsaka jinruikan jiken," pp. 117–18, n15.
58. Zhejiang chao 2 (March 1903), p. 134; as cited and translated in Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, p. 113.
59. Jiangsu 3 (March 1903), p. 13; Taiwan reprint, p. 0611.
60. Jiangsu 11 (November 1903?), pp. 13–30; Taiwan reprint, pp. 1851–68.
61. Nicholas Dirks, "History as a Sign of the Modern," p. 28.
62. Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, "Visual Culture's History: Twenty-First Century Interdisciplinarity and Its Nineteenth-Century Objects," pp. 9–10.

CHAPTER 8

- Cai Yuanpei, preface (dated October 15, 1929) to *Meizhan tekan*, vol. 1, "Jin," unpaginated. The two-volume catalog lacks publication information, but both volumes include advertisements for publications by Youzheng shuju. The Youzheng Book Company notice in volume one, dated September 1930,

claims publication credit. Many American libraries that hold this item list Zhengyishe as the publisher, which Ellen Johnston Laing believes applies to volume two, "Gu." Email communication, July 11, 2008. This catalog is usually cited with a date of 1929.

2. For the Tianmahui, see Julia F. Andrews, "The Heavenly Horse Society (Tianmahui) and Chinese Landscape Painting." The significance of private organizations in Shanghai during the warlord era is the subject of Nara Dillon and Jean Oi, eds., *At the Crossroads of Empires*.

3. See William J. Duiker, *Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Educator of Modern China*; and Tai Chin-hsiao, *The Life and Work of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei*.

4. *Meizhan tekan*, vol. 1, n.p.

5. Several recent indexes of the Shanghai press have greatly facilitated research. They include Zhao Li and Yu Ding, ed., *Zhongguo youhua wenxian*; Wang Zhen, ed., *Ershi shiji Shanghai meishu nianbiao*; Xu Changming et al., ed., *Shanghai meishuzhi*; and Yan Juanying, ed., *Shanghai meishu fengyun*.

6. For this figure, compiled from *Shenbao*, April 10, 1929, see Wang Zhen, eds., *Ershi shiji Shanghai*, pp. 254–55.

7. A report on the exhibition opening prepared by the Cultural Affairs Section of the Japanese consulate on April 14, 1929, reported that the Chinese exhibition showed 1,875 examples of ink painting and calligraphy, 580 oil paintings, 60 examples of seal carving and epigraphy, 52 sculptures, 48 architectural submissions, 269 craft items, and 163 photographs. "Shina kyōikubu bijutsu tenrankai," p. 0034. I am grateful to Walter B. Davis for introducing me to this rich source, in the collection of the Diplomatic Record Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter DRO), Tokyo. Yen Chüan-ying (Yan Juanying) has calculated, based on a May 3 press report in *Shenbao*, a total of 2,348 works of art; see Yan Juanying, "Meishu wenhua kongjian de bijiao: 1927 nian Taibei taizhan yu 1929 nian Shanghai quanguo meizhan," p. 7. This paper was published as: Yan Juanying, "Guanfang meishu wenhua kongjian de bijiao—1927 nian Taiwan meishu zhanlanhui yu 1929 nian Shanghai quanguo meishu zhanlanhui."

8. Julia F. Andrews, "Art and the Nation: The 1929 National Art Exhibition"; "Exhibition to Exhibition: Painting Practice in the Early Twentieth Century as a Modern Response to 'Tradition.'"

9. See Yan Juanying, "Meishu wenhua kongjian de bijiao," pp. 4–5, for discussion of the rhetorical shift from romanticism to cultural nationalism in the writings of Liu Haisu (1896–1994), a Tianmahui veteran and early proponent of the National Exhibition. Although on a different topic, I also benefited greatly from hearing her paper "The Demise of Japanese Painting (*Nihonga*) in Taiwan."

10. *Shenbao*, April 18, 1929, p. 10; also indexed in Wang Zhen, ed. *Ershi shiji Shanghai*, p. 256.

11. Yan Juanying describes the general outlines of the Japanese part of the exhibition in her "Guanfang meishu wenhua kongjian de bijiao."

12. *Meizhan tekan*, vol. 1.

13. It has been indexed, for example, by James Cahill in *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, and Yüan*.
14. An important exception is Ellen Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists*.
15. Julia F. Andrews, "Art and the Cosmopolitan Culture of 1920s Shanghai: Liu Haisu and the Nude Model Controversy."
16. Only one of *Meizhan's* permanent editorial staff members, which comprised Xu Zhimo (1897–1931), Li Zuhuan (1891–1971), Chen Xiaodie (Dingshan, 1897–1989), and Yang Qingqing (1895–1957), was an oil painter. Li and Chen were Chinese painters and calligraphers, Xu Zhimo was a writer and critic. The oil painter Yang Qingqing's comparatively limited experiences studying and teaching at the Shanghai Art Academy hardly put him at the forefront of international art.
17. Kitaura Daisuke, ed., *Chūka Minkoku Kyōikubu Bijutsu Tenrankai Nihon shuppin gasatsu*. Date of catalog: March 10; distribution began March 13; distributors: Tokyo School of Fine Arts Bunka and The Republic of China Ministry of Education Art Exhibition Artworks Association. I would particularly like to thank Mayumi Kamata for locating this publication, which is at the core of this chapter, during the course of writing her M.A. thesis, "Chinese Art Exhibitions in Japan, ca. 1900 to 1931," Ohio State University, 2001. The Japanese sense of urgency is evident in archival materials, but their success in meeting the deadlines was certainly aided by the repeated postponement by the Chinese side of the opening date of the exhibition, which was originally announced as January 1, delayed several times, and finally held April 10–30, 1929.
18. For these instructions, see the January 15, 1929, report from the organizing committee to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. DRO, Record B05016018200, p. 150.
19. The official salon, established in 1907, was then known as the Bunten (Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition), but in 1919 it reorganized as the Teiten.
20. Li Yuyi, "Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui canguanji (yi)." Li published a series of short columns in this special issue, as well, including one that enthusiastically introduced the Teiten to his readers.
21. DRO, B05016018300, pp. 0239–44.
22. Ibid., pp. 0229–35.
23. Earlier in the 1920s, Okabe served as director of the Chinese Cultural Affairs section, charged with implementing the return of the Boxer Indemnity to China through cultural expenditures. See Sang Bing, "Japan and Liang Qichao's Research in the Field of National Learning," p. 20.
24. Masaki Naohiko, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 2: 623, 628.
25. Ibid., 2: 633.
26. Ibid., 2: 634. The exhibition was held at the Tokyo Municipal Art Museum in Ueno Park from November 24 to December 20, 1928.

27. Masaki further notes the many contributions made by Watanabe Shinpō (1867–1938) to the show's organization. *Ibid.*, 2: 637.

28. Wang Daizhi's dates are unknown. He was one of three young men assigned by Cai Yuanpei in 1927 to establish the Hangzhou Academy, but he returned to Europe thereafter. For his collaborations with Lin Fengmian and Lin Wenzheng in Europe and China between 1924 and 1928, see Lin Wenzheng, "Cai Yuanpei xiansheng yu Hangzhou yizhuan," p. 546, and Craig Clunas, "Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France (1924–1925)," pp. 102–3.

29. DRO, Bo5016018300, pp. 0217–18.

30. DRO, Bo5016018300, p. 0214.

31. The five, Kawai Gyokudō (1873–1957), Komuro Suiun (1874–1945), Araki Jippo (1872–1944), Yuki Somei (1875–1957), and Wada Eisaku, included both Yōga and Nihonga painters.

32. DRO, Bo5016018200, pp. 0156–57.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 0146–48.

34. Masaki, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 2: 644.

35. DRO, Bo5016018200, p. 0141.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 0146–48; Masaki, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 2: 644.

37. DRO, Bo5016018200, pp. 0146–48.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 0150.

39. For the price list, see DRO, Bo5016018100, p. 0017.

40. As part of preparations to return the paintings to Japan, on May 20 the Consul General in Shanghai transmitted to Foreign Minister Tanaka Giichi the news that seven of the works had been sold and would not be included in the shipment. The works sold were landscapes by Okada Saburōsuke, Ōhashi Kōkichi, Mitsutani Kunishirō, Minami Kunzō, and Kobayashi Mango, as well as still-lifes by Wada Eisaku and Yoshimura Yoshimatsu. DRO, Bo5016018100, pp. 0008–9.

41. See J. Thomas Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo," pp. 50–51, for a discussion of Laurens and some of his Japanese students. For Nakamura Fusetsu, see Kanagawa kenritsu kindai bijutsukan, ed., *Kindai Nihon bijutsuka retsuden*, p. 214.

42. Shizuoka kenritsu bijutsukan et al., eds., *Mō hitotsu no Meiji bijutsu*, cat. no. 81. The work was exhibited in the Second Teiten. See chapter 6 in this volume by Aida Wong concerning Nakamura Fusetsu and China.

43. The Shodō bijutsukan in Tokyo was established on the site of Nakamura's home and studio and is based upon the private museum he set up in his home for the benefit of his students. The collection includes numerous pieces of Chinese calligraphy now designated as National Treasures.

44. *Exposition pour le 70e anniversaire de la mort Torajirō Kojima*, cat. no. 76.

45. J. Thomas Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo," p. 71.

46. The painting, *Herdboy*, dated 1927, is now in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum. See Idemitsu bijutsukan zōhin mokuroku: Kosugi Hōan (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), no. 18. Kosugi was also known for poetically evocative landscape paintings. See n64 below.

47. The young Chinese included Zhao Shou, Li Dongping, Liang Xihong, Li Zhongsheng, and Zeng Ming. Kuiyi Shen, "The Lure of the West," p. 175, and Kuiyi Shen, "Modernism in Pre-War China."
48. *Shenbao*, April 26, 1929, p. 11.
49. Comparing the checklist with museum exhibitions held today, there are only a few notable absences, such as Yorozu Tetsugorō (1885–1927), who died two years before.
50. Xu Beihong, "Huo."
51. Xu Zhimo, "Wo ye 'huo,'" p. 2. Xu Zhimo was citing Bertrand Russell's introduction to his *Sceptical Essays*.
52. Ibid., pp. 1–2. Nakamura's painting appears on p. 2.
53. Li Yishi, "Wo bu 'huo.'"
54. *Meizhan* 8 (May 1, 1929), p. 7.
55. Xu Beihong, "Huo zhi bujie."
56. See, for example, Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists in Twentieth-Century China*, pp. 58–59; David Der-wei Wang, "In the Name of the Real," pp. 28ff; Ralph Crozier, "When Was Modern Chinese Art? A Short History of Chinese Modernism," p. 25. The debate about modernism between the two Xus and their supporters was the focus of a paper by Ying Chua, "Art and the Public in Republican China: Critical Debates on the 1929 National Art Exhibition," and was discussed by Shu-Chin Wang, in "Realist Agency in the Art Field of Twentieth-Century China—Realism in the Art and Writing of Xu Beihong (1895–1953)," pp. 240–88.
57. For pedagogical exchanges before the 1929 National Exhibition, see Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: The Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field."
58. Andrews, "Art and the Nation: The 1929 National Art Exhibition."
59. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai."
60. Kanagawa kenritsu kindai bijutsukan, ed., *Kindai Nihon bijutsuka retsuden*, p. 214. This interpretation has a strong flavor of recent postcolonial theory. Whether it is an anachronistic reading of the ideology of this earlier era, or a coincidental echoing, requires further work in primary sources.
61. Kuiyi Shen, "The Lure of the West," pp. 174–75. See also Shen's unpublished paper, "Modernism in Pre-War China." The Chinese group also included Su Wonong (1901–1975), Zeng Ming, Huang Langping, Yang Yin-fang, Zeng Yi, and Bai Sha.
62. Julia F. Andrews, "The Art of the Revolution: 1931–1949"; Andrews and Shen, "The Modern Woodcut Movement"; Tang Xiaobing, *Origins of the Chinese Avant-Garde*.
63. Julia F. Andrews, "The Guangzhou-Tokyo Print Exchanges of 1935 and 1936."
64. A specific topic that deserves further discussion elsewhere, and suggested to me by James Cahill, is visual evidence for the source of Fu Baoshi's mature style in the work of Kosugi Hōan. I would venture to speculate that

Kosugi's significant role as an organizer of the 1929 Japanese exhibition in China brought him to the attention of young Chinese artists, and thus cultivated the soil for further attention to his work. Stylistic evidence suggests that Fu Baoshi was profoundly influenced not by Kosugi Hōan's work for the 1929 exhibition, but by a mode of landscape painting found in Kosugi's work for only a brief period, and frequently exhibited in Tokyo during Fu Baoshi's period as a student there. A number of such works are currently in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum in Tokyo. See *Idemitsu bijutsukan zōhin zuroku: Kosugi Hōan*, nos. 50–69, 85–86, 96, 99, 253, 255.

65. Masaki, *Jūsan shōdō nikki*, 2: 654.

66. April 12, 1929, pp. 10, 12; also indexed in Wang Zhen, ed., *Ershi shiji Shanghai*, p. 255.

67. *Shenbao*, April 15, 1929, p. 10.

68. Compiled from Kitaura Daisuke, ed., *Chūka Minkoku Kyōikubu Bijutsu tenrankai Nihon shuppin gasatsu*.

CHAPTER 9

My thanks to Craig Clunas, John Carpenter, and Timon Screech for the opportunity to present an earlier version of this paper at SOAS, University of London. This research was generously funded by the Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Fellowship at the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, and the Freeman Postdoctoral Fellowship at Wellesley College. I also thank Nicole Rousmaniere and Heping Liu for their support during the fellowship years.

1. The panel at the 2007 meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Boston entitled "Transculturalism vs. Nationalism: Revitalizing Literati Painting in China and Japan, ca. 1880s–1930s," organized by Tamaki Maeda, focused on literati painting in the Sino-Japanese art world. Its participants were Jerome Silbergeld, Zaixin Hong, Aida Yuen Wong, and Rosina Buckland. I appreciate their insights into the topic.

2. The imperial civil service examinations (*keju*) based on the Confucian classics were abolished in 1905, and a Western-inspired educational system was introduced in 1907. For changes in the art world during the late Qing and the early Republican eras, see Qingli Wan, "Fundamental Changes in the Study of Chinese Painting: 1796–1948."

3. The terms *guohua* and *Zhongguohua* (Chinese painting) were used interchangeably. For the meaning of *guohua* and the historical context in which the term came into being, see Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: *Guohua* and the Anti-Rightest Campaign," pp. 556–59. In 1920, the Beiping Art School and the Shanghai Art Academy established Chinese painting as a major field for specialization. In 1925 Pan Tianshou began teaching the history of Chinese painting. For these and other developments concerning ink painting and China's national art, see Kuiyi Shen,

"Concept to Context: The Theoretical Transformation of Ink Painting into China's National Art in the 1920s and 1930s."

4. For Luo Zhenyu's and Harada Gorō's contributions to the Abe Fusajirō Collection in the Osaka City Museum, see Yumino Takayuki, "Jindai Riben de Zhongguo shuhua souji, yi 'Abu zangpin' wei li."

5. According to the *History of the Later Han* (*Hou Hanshu*), Emperor Guangwu (5 B.C.E.–57 C.E.) granted a seal to an envoy from Japan who brought tribute to China.

6. Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Harada Gorō shi monjo: Taishō-Shōwa shoki ni okeru Chūgokuga korekushon no seiritsu," n.p.

7. Ibid., n.p.

8. Sasaki Kōzō, "Shinchō hihō no Nihon ruten," p. 135.

9. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

10. Ibid., n.p.

11. Sasaki, "Shinchō hihō," p. 135.

12. Ibid., p. 136.

13. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

14. Ibid., n.p.

15. Ibid., n.p.

16. Sasaki, "Shinchō hihō," pp. 139–40.

17. For Japanese *nanga* painters who went to Shanghai at the end of the Edo period, see Joshua A. Fogel, "Lust for Still Life: Chinese Painters in Japan and Japanese Painters in China in the 1860s and 1870s." See also Kuiyi Shen, "The Shanghai-Japan Connection in the Late Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century."

18. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

19. For works and bibliographies of *raihamaku gajin*, see Shibuya kuritsu Shōtō bijutsukan, *Hashimoto korekushon, Chūgoku no kaiga, raihamaku gajin*; and Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Sō Shigan ni tsuite, raihamaku gajin kenkyū," "Hōsai hitsu fugakuzu to hyōkaku kishō zu, raihamaku gajin kenkyū ni," "Hi Kangen to Hi Seiko, raihamaku gajin kenkyū san," "Hōsai hitsu fugaku zu to hyōkaku kishō zu, hoi," "Chin Isshū to Chin Shiitsu, raihamaku gajin kenkyū yon," "Ka Gentei to Ryō Ki, Shin Nanpin no shūhen, raihamaku gajin kenkyū go," "Ō Kokusan to Jo Utei, raihamaku gajin kenkyū roku," "Raihamaku gajin kenkyū, Sai Kan, Sha Jichū, Ō Kosan," "Kin Hin ni tsuite, raihamaku gajin kenkyū," "I Fukyū to Ri Yōun, raihamaku gajin kenkyū," "Ō In ni tsuite, raihamaku gajin kenkyū," and "Ra Setsukoku to Ko Tetsubai, raihamaku gajin kenkyū."

20. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

21. The *kowatari* objects include paintings, works of calligraphy, ceramics, bamboo objects, and other tea utensils.

22. For the collectors in the area around Tokyo and their taste, see Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle*. For the reception of *kowatari* objects during the Momoyama period (1568–1615), see Andrew M. Watsky, "Locating 'China' in the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan."

23. For the collectors in Kansai, see Kansai Chūgoku shoga korekushon kenkyūkai, ed., *Chūgoku shoga tanbō, Kansai no shūzōka to sono meihin*.
24. The Four Great Masters of the Ming period refer to Shen Zhou (1427–1509), Tang Ying (1470–1523), Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), and Qiu Ying (early sixteenth century).
25. Tomioka Kenzō, ed., *Shi-Ō Go Un*.
26. The Six Orthodox Masters are Wang Shimin (1592–1680), Wang Jian (1598–1677), Wang Hui (1632–1717), Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715), Wu Li (1632–1718), and Yun Shouping (1633–90).
27. In the collotype printing process, a gelatin solution is applied to a printing plate, which is exposed to light through a photographic negative. The areas exposed to light harden. After the plate is soaked in glycerin, only these hardened areas take ink and other areas repel it, and thus the plate is ready for printing. "Collotype," in *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, available at <http://www.britannica.com>.
28. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p., n13.
29. Ogawa's collotype reproductions were used in the art journal *Kokka* (first published in 1889) and other art publications. For Ogawa and collotype, see Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashin garon*, pp. 106–7.
30. For a biography of Luo Zhenyu in Japanese, see Shima Kunio, "Ra Shingyoku"; Kawamura Kazuo, "Ra Shingyoku"; and Sugimura Kunihiko, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru 'moji no fuku' to 'moji no yaku': Kyōto kyakugū jidai no gakumon, seikatsu, kōyū, shohō o chūshin to shite." I thank Professor Qianshen Bai for directing me to *Shoron*.
31. For Naitō Konan and Sinology at Kyoto Imperial University, see Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)*.
32. For Luo Zhenyu's life in Japan, see Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru."
33. Ōtani first explored the Silk Road in 1902. He also sent missions there in 1909 and 1911.
34. *Fubei* refers to pieces of wood, bamboo, or paper with an impression of an official seal, used for identification.
35. For objects in Luo's collection, see Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru."
36. Wuhan encompasses three cities, Wuchang, Hankou, and Hanyang. "Chief culprit" refers to Yuan Shikai (1859–1916). See Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru," p. 114.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., pp. 117–20. Aside from objects in his collection, he studied those in Japanese collections. He also received sketches by Kano Naoki (1868–1947) of objects in Europe.
40. *Yiqi* are precious wares used for ancestral offerings.
41. Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru," p. 114.
42. Kyoto City Special School of Painting (Kyōto shiritsu kaiga senmon gakkō).

43. *Shoga kottō zasshi* 39 (August 1911), p. 31. Professor Hong Zaixin kindly sent me a copy of this article.

44. Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru," p. 112; and *Shoga kottō zasshi* 44 (September 1912), p. 32.

45. The existence of the ancient oracle bones had been known to Chinese peasants, who sold them to apothecaries to be ground up as medicine. In 1899, oracle bones were first brought to scholars' attention through a certain antique dealer, named Fan. See Shima, "Ra Shingyoku," 2: 727–28.

46. Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

47. For the list of the paintings exhibited in this gathering, see Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru," p. 117.

48. Odakane Tarō, *Tomioka Tessai no kenkyū*, p. 173. This gathering was held because the year of the original gathering, 353, and that of the Kyoto gathering, 1913, were both indicated as *guichou* (J., *mizunotoushi*) years in the Chinese traditional dating system.

49. Sugimura, "Ra Shingyoku ni okeru," p. 116.

50. For the relationships between Harada and these three scholars, see Tsuruta, "Harada Gorō shi monjo," n.p.

51. This advertisement appears in the reverse side of the back cover of *Shorōn* 32 (2001).

52. Luo's inscription likely raised a painting's market value in early-twentieth-century Japan. Also, Kimondō certainly thought it would still raise the value when advertising the Dong Qichang piece. But the dealer could not sell the painting in Japan, and there are a few conceivable reasons. First, today connoisseurs and art historians no longer trust Luo Zhenyu's authentication. (The same can be said of Naitō's and Nagao's.) Second, the art market in Japan has been relatively flat since the 1990s. Third, Japanese collectors still treasure *kowatari* objects and customarily devalue paintings imported in later times, including the advertised work ascribed to Dong Qichang.

53. Hakubundo, ed., *Nanshū ihatsu*, 5 vols., and Luo Zhenyu, *Nanshū ihatsu batsubi*, 2 vols.

54. Each artist is presented by one work, except for Gaozong and Ma Hezhi together by a collaborative work, Dong Yuan by six works, and Gao Kegong by two.

55. Now in the Fujii yūrinkan, Kyoto.

56. There are twenty-two sections in Luo's book, one for each of the paintings, and Dong is mentioned in thirteen of them.

57. As for the ownerships of the rest, one painting was owned by Ding Yuanfang, three by the Japanese collectors, Ogawa Tamejirō, Ueno Riichi, and Yamamoto Teijirō (1870–1937), and one by an unidentified person.

58. Luo Zhenyu, *Nanshū ihatsu batsubi*, 1: 11–12, 19–20, 21–23; 2: 4–6.

59. For the Saitō Collection, see Saitō Etsuzō (Tōan), ed., *Tōan zō shogafu*. Professor James Cahill kindly informed me that the Saitō Collection was later

sold to a certain Agata in Osaka, and eventually sold in an auction in Hong Kong (e-mail communication, May 12, 2006).

60. Ishida Hajime, "Shōwa jūsan nen no Ra Shingyoku shozō shogaten o megutte."

61. Tamaki Maeda, "Two Canons of Chinese Painting in Japan," chapter 5 in "Tomioka Tessai's Narrative Landscape: Rethinking Sino-Japanese Traditions."

62. Naitō Konan (Torajirō), *Shina kaigashi*.

63. For the lecture, see Naitō Konan, "Nanga shōron: Shina geijutsu no sekaiteki ichi."

64. For Okakura's lecture series, see Okakura Kakuzō, *Okakura Ten-shin zenshū*, 4: 524–36. To be sure, there had been painting treatises and other writings on art in Japan before the time of Okakura, but he seems to have been the first to teach a periodized art history with the idea of artistic progress.

65. Commission Imperiale du Japon a l'Exposition universelle de Paris, 1900, *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*; Teikoku Hakubutsukan ed., *Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi*. See also Takagi Hiroshi, "Nihon bijutsu shi no seiritsu, shiron."

66. For discussion of the field of Chinese art history in Japan in the early twentieth century, see Miyazaki Noriko, "Nihon kindai no naka no Chūgoku kaigashi kenkyū." For a post-colonial view on the making of East Asian art history, see Satō Dōshin, "Tōyō bijutsu shi."

67. There are many publications in Japanese on *Sō-Genga*, including Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed., *Sō-Gen no kaiga*; and Ōsaka shiritsu bijutsukan, *Sō-Gen no bijutsu*. For work in English, see James Cahill, *Sō-Genga: 12th–14th Century Painting as Collected and Appreciated in Japan*. For a historiographical study of different views on Song-Yuan painting in Western literature, see Jerome Silbergeld, "The Evolution of a 'Revolution': Unsettled Reflections on the Chinese Art-Historical Mission."

68. Ernest F. Fenollosa, "Bijustu shinsetsu." For the reception of literati painting in Meiji Japan, see Christine Guth, "Meiji Response to *Bunjinga*."

69. Nakamura Fusetsu and Oga Seiun, *Shina kaiga shi* (History of Chinese painting). For more about Nakamura and Oga's *History of Chinese Painting* and Ōmura Seigai's *Bunjinga no fukkō* (Revival of literati painting), see Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: The Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field"; and Aida Yuen Wong, "Nationalism and the Writing of New Histories" and "Literati Painting as the 'Oriental Modern,'" chapters 2 and 3 of *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*.

70. Ōmura Seigai, *Bunjinga no fukkō*.

71. Kang Youwei in 1918 and Chen Duxiu in 1919; see Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World," p. 8.

72. For the relationship between the development of art-historical literature in China and Japan, see Wong, "Nationalism," chapter 2 in *Parting the*

Mists, and Andrews and Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World."

73. Chen Hengke, comp., *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu*.
74. Pan Tianshou, *Zhongguo huihua shi*.
75. Zheng Wuchang, *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*.
76. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, pp. 48–50; Andrews and Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World," pp. 25–30. Fu Baoshi (1904–64), in his *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shi*, elevates literati painting even more so than Zhen Wuchang. When he wrote this work, Fu may have had no direct exposure to Japanese literature on Chinese art. After his visits to Japan, in 1932 and 1935, his perception of the history of Chinese art gradually changed to emphasize Chan painting over literati painting, and therefore Fu represents another turn in the view of Chinese art history vis-à-vis Sino-Japanese interchanges. Tamaki Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting."
77. Wang Cheng-hua discussed changes in art historical practice brought about by the circulation of collotype reproductions in early twentieth century China. See her "Printing, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibitionary Culture: Collotype Reproduction of Antiquities in Early Twentieth Century China."
78. A prime example of the works now considered inauthentic is *Snowscape* in the Ogawa Collection, ascribed to Wang Wei in Naitō's *History of Chinese Painting*. This painting was sold from Luo to Ogawa. For the process of deauthentication of *Snowscape* by art historians in the post-Naitō/Luo era, see Tamaki Maeda, "Luo Zhenyu and the 'Legacy of the Southern School' in Japan and the West." For more about problems in authenticity of the new-migration, see Sofukawa Hiroshi, "Kaisetsu," in Naitō Konan, *Shina kaiga shi*, pp. 462–63.

CHAPTER 10

1. This article is the second part of ongoing research on the Japanese impact on the establishment of Chinese art history as a modern discipline in the early twentieth century. The first part resulted in the article (with Julia F. Andrews) "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: The Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field." This research was supported by grants from the Fulbright Program, Japan-United States Educational Commission, the Social Science Research Council, and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. We are extremely grateful to Professor Hiromitsu Kobayashi of the Institute of Comparative Culture at Sophia University, our faculty host in Japan, for sharing his great expertise with us, and to Ellen Johnston Laing, University of Michigan, for great help in early stages of the project. We also want to thank Chen Xianxing, Deputy Director of the Historical Documents Center of the Shanghai Library; Dr. Nishigami Minoru, Chief Curator of Chinese Painting at the National Kyoto Museum; Mr. Ajioka Yoshindo, Chief Curator of the Shoto Museum of Art, Tokyo;

Shan Guolin, Chief Curator of Painting and Calligraphy, Shanghai Museum; Professor Itakura Masaaki of University of Tokyo; Professor Kawachi Toshiharu of Daitō Cultural University, Tokyo; and Professor Joshua Fogel of York University, for their immense help to our research.

2. Following research by Shen Ning, in "Teng Gu yishu nianbiao," we earlier referred to Teng Gu as a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University. However, Xue Yongnian, in his article "Daoyan: Teng Gu yu jindai meishu shixue," and Chen Zhenlian, in his *Jindai Zhong-Ri huihua jiaoliu shi bijiao yanjiu*, both write that he attended Tōyō University. According to Chen Zhenlian, he only attended art classes for one year. This question needs further research.

3. The book was written in 1925 and published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1926. See Teng Gu, *Teng Gu yishu wenji*, pp. 71–93.

4. For further details see Andrews and Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World."

5. Ibid.

6. Teng Gu, *Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi*, p. 17.

7. Most writings on Teng Gu list the date of his Ph.D. as 1932, possibly based on a news item published in *Yishu xunkan* 1.2 (September 1932) entitled "Teng Gu zai Pulusi de meishushi boshi" (Teng Gu receives art history Ph.D. in Prussia). The item reads: "Award of the degree in art history and archaeology from the University of Berlin is very rigorous. Usually it takes five to six years, and some people take more than ten years and are still degree candidates. Dr. Teng only spent two or three years to receive the degree. The first Chinese to be awarded this degree starts with Teng. It is an unparalleled international honor." However, a photo of the cover of his dissertation in *Teng Gu yishu wenji* (p. 420) shows that Teng Gu actually studied at Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin, passed his oral examination for the Ph.D. candidacy on July 21, 1932, and completed his dissertation for Ph.D. on October 16, 1935. My thanks to Professor Barbara Mittler of University of Heidelberg for helping to clarify these details.

8. Teng Gu, *Tang-Song huihua shi*, in *Teng Gu yishu wenji*, pp. 114–15.

9. Ibid., p. 115. He refers to Maurice Paléologue, *L'art chinois*; Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*.

10. Teng Gu, *Tang-Song huihua shi*, in *Teng Gu yishu wenji*, pp. 115–16.

11. Ibid., pp. 117–18.

12. Fu Baoshi, "Lun Gu Kaizhi zhi Jing Hao zhi shanshui huashi wenti," pp. 81–93.

13. Fu Baoshi, "Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang," pp. 3–4.

14. Scholars have suggested several different explanations for why Fu Baoshi went to Japan to study and what he hoped to attain. Here I adopt Ye Zonghao and Wan Xinhua's views in their recent research. Ajioka Yoshindo has also pointed this out in his article, "Kindai Nit-Chū bijutsu kōryū to Fu Höseki."

15. This article was first written in Japanese in the winter of 1933. He submitted the manuscript to Japanese magazines, but it was not accepted for

publication. He then translated it into Chinese and published it in 1935, in the autumn special issue of *Dongfang zazhi* (October 10, 1935). The Japanese version was finally published in *Bi no kuni* in May 1936.

16. The book was published as *Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku 5* (December 1933).

17. Kinbara Seigo, *Shina jōdai garon kenkyū*.

18. Kinbara Seigo, *Tōyō ga gairon*.

19. Kinbara Seigo, *Shina kaiga shi*.

20. See *Musashino bijutsu daigaku rokujūnen shi*; and Ajioka Yoshindo, "Kindai Nit-Chū bijutsu kōryū to Fu Höseki." Kawasaki Shōko graduated from Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1910 with a specialization in Nihonga. He began teaching at Nihon teikoku bijutsu gakkō at its founding in 1929. In 1943 and 1944 he returned briefly as a professor to his alma mater. In 1967 he became professor emeritus at Musashino Art University. His artwork won numerous awards and prizes.

21. Ye Zonghao, ed., *Fu Baoshi nianpu*, pp. 16–17.

22. Feng Zikai, "Zhongguo de huihua sixiang."

23. Kinbara Seigo, *Shina jōdai garon kenkyū*.

24. This article was completed in Tokyo on March 25, 1935, but published in *Wenhua jianshe* (May 1935).

25. Published in *Riben pinglun* 6.4 (May 1935), and included in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji*, pp. 112–17.

26. Published in *Wenhua jianshe* (October 1935).

27. Kinbara Seigo, *Tōyō bijutsu ronsō*. In his *Fu Baoshi nianpu*, Ye Zonghao corrected this misunderstanding from his earlier edited volume, *Fu Baoshi meishu lunwenji*.

28. Umezawa Waken, *Wang Mojie*, trans. Fu Baoshi. Umezawa's another important writing was *Nanga kenkyū: Nanga no mikata*.

29. Chen Zhenlian, *Jindai Zhong-Ri huihua jiaoliu shi bijiao yanjiu*, p. 257.

30. Also see ibid., pp. 258–59.

31. Published in *Kokka* 152 (January 1903), pp. 151–54.

32. Published in *Chūō kōron* 51.1 (1937), pp. 140–47.

33. Published in *Kokka* 518 (January 1934), pp. 11–14.

34. Boxi'er [Stephen Bushell], *Zhongguo meishu* (Chinese art), trans. Dai Yue.

35. Aida Yuen Wong refers to some of this material in her book, *Parting the Mists*, pp. 35–53.

36. See Ye Zonghao, ed., *Fu Baoshi nianpu*, p. 40.

37. For example, an excellent documentary study lays out the scope of Japan's participation in international expositions during the second half of the nineteenth century. See the Tokyo National Museum exhibition catalog, *Seiki no saiten bankoku hakurankai no bijutsu: Pari, Uein, Shikago bampaku ni miru tōzai no meihin: 2005-nen Nihon kokusai hakurankai kaisai kinenten*, which contains a particularly good bibliography.

38. Satō Dōshin, *Nihon bijutsu tanjō*, pp. 220–24.

CHAPTER 11

1. *Zhongguo minghua ji*, vol. 1, preface. Di Baoxian's death date is variously recorded. Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (p. 208) gives 1873–1921 as Di's birth and death dates, in agreement with some biographical dictionaries, but Di is discussed as a practicing artist with an accompanying photograph in a 1934 issue of *Liangyou* 94 (September 15), p. 9 (see figs. 11.3 and 11.4 in this chapter). I have followed Zhu Baoliang, ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongwen zhuzuozhe biming lu*, p. 208, which gives Di Baoxian's dates as 1873–1941, inasmuch as 1941 is the latest definite death date I have seen cited. Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Zhongguo shuhuajia yinjian kuan shi*, p. 481, gives Di's dates as "1872–about 1942."

2. Some of the material in this chapter is drawn from my earlier study "Collecting in Public: Di Pingzi (1872–1941) and the Mediation of Painting in Early Twentieth-Century China."

3. Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, following title page.

4. *Zhongguo minghua ji*, vol. 1, preface.

5. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, pp. 34–36, 46–53.

6. Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 1/11b–12a.

7. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, p. 253n41.

8. See Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937*, p. 64.

9. Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xinheng Revolution and Japan*, pp. 122–23.

10. The large two-volume format version of *Zhongguo minghua ji* that reproduced Zhang Jian's 1908 preface to the project seems to have first appeared in 1930, including many of the same paintings and some of the same plates as the periodical format versions. I am indebted to chapter 12 in this volume, by Wang Cheng-hua, for identifying an original set of forty bimonthly periodical format versions of *Zhongguo minghua ji*, issued beginning in 1908, in the University of Hong Kong Library. Later reprints of the periodical series include a set published beginning in 1923.

11. See Qin Shao, *Culturing Modernity: The Nantong Model, 1890–1930*; and Lisa Claypool, "Zhang Jian and China's First Museum."

12. My thanks to my former student Dr. Kela Shang for his assistance in deciphering Zhang Jian's script. See Qin Shao, *Culturing Modernity*, pp. 21–22, for Zhang Jian's 1903 seventy-day sojourn in Japan, where he visited schools, printing houses, libraries, and museums along with factories, companies, and farms. *Shibao* was founded the following year.

13. See Mayching Kao, "Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement in China," pp. 153–54.

14. Theodore Huters, "The Shattered Mirror: Wu Jianren and the Reflection of Strange Events," p. 284, citing Di's 1903 essay on literature in *Xin xiaoshuo*.

15. See Shao, *Culturing Modernity*, pp. 10–197.

16. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, p. 50.
17. See *ibid.*, pp. 32–36, 46–53; Chang P'eng-yüan, "The Constitutionalists," pp. 156–57.
18. On the background of translated and retranslated modernities, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*; and Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires*, pp. 3–61. For an extended discussion of the origins and transmission of "fine arts" terminology from Europe through Japan to China, see Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Regarding the Publication of the *Meishu Congshu* [Fine Arts Series]."
19. These paintings by Di Baoxian are reproduced in *Liangyou* 88 (May 15, 1934), p. 26; 94 (September 15, 1934), p. 9.
20. Cf. Aida Yuen Wong, "What Is a Masterpiece? Historiographical Anxieties and Classifications of Painting in Modern China."
21. See Qin Shao, *Culturing Modernity*, pp. 21–22.
22. Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 5/2ob.
23. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, pp. 34–35, 253n41.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 103–5.
25. Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 1/1a–1b.
26. Lydia He Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, p. 221, attributes the looting and burning of the Yiluan Palace to Western troops.
27. For general discussion of artistic canons, including the role of art institutions in their formation, and their contingency, see Gill Perry and Colin Cunningham, eds., *Academies, Museums, and Canons of Art*; also Anna Brzyski, ed., *Partisan Canons*. For the Chinese case, see Wong, "What Is a Masterpiece?" and Jerome Silbergeld, "Modernization, Periodization, Canonization in Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting."
28. See Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt, eds., *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, p. 3.
29. *Meizhan tekan* (The National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929).
30. See Kuiyi Shen, "Concept to Context: The Theoretical Transformation of Ink Painting into China's National Art in the 1920s and 1930s," for discussions of *Shenzhou guoguangji* and Huang BinHong's (1864–1955) important role in early-twentieth-century art publications, as well as the place of general art histories, art societies, and exhibitions in the promotion of ink painting as a national art.
31. *Shina meiga shū*. For the role of the Shinbi shoin publishing house in the formation of a canon of Japanese and East Asian art, see Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, "Japanese Art History 2001: The State and Stakes of Research," p. 114.
32. See Kuiyi Shen, "Traditional Painting in a Transitional Era, 1900–1950," p. 82. See also chapter 4 in this volume, by Walter Davis.
33. Shen, "Traditional Painting in a Transitional Era," p. 82. See also

Roberta Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy: Relief Aid, *Shenbao*, and the Art World in Later Nineteenth-Century Shanghai."

34. *Zhongguo minghua ji*, no. 19.

35. This was a special, if not isolated, case in that the Guan Daosheng attribution, now in the Osaka Municipal Museum (former Abe Collection), carried an inscription by the Chan priest Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323), especially revered in Japan.

36. Shao, *Culturing Modernity*, pp. 145–60.

37. Cf. Shana Julia Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers, and the Making of Modern Chinese Historiography, 1870–1928," for a richly detailed study of other transitional figures.

38. See, for example, the discussion of "Master Gu's Pictorial Album" in Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, pp. 138–48.

39. Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 4/7a–8b.

40. See Thomas Lawton, "In Search of China's Imperial Art Collections"; also Lawton, "The Transition from Palace to Museum: The Palace Museum's Prehistory and Republican Years."

41. See Fong and Watt, eds., *Possessing the Past*, pp. 15–22.

42. Ibid., pp. 23–24.

43. See for example *Zhongguo minghua ji*, no. 26, an issue comprised mostly of paintings from the Qing Palace and Pingdengge collections.

44. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, pp. 103–5.

45. See Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, pp. 75–85, 94–95, 116–19, 134–38, for a sampling of Tang and Song texts on critical standards, evaluation of famous painters, and Song academy practices.

46. Ibid., pp. 191–240.

47. See James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644*, pp. 13–14, 27, for a summary of Dong's theory; and Fong and Watt, eds., *Possessing the Past*, pp. 474–76, for a discussion of the "To See Large Within Small" album. Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality*, pp. 138–48, discusses Gu Bing's woodblock album of paintings.

48. Celia C. Riely, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Ownership of Huang Kung-wang's 'Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains.'"

49. See Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*.

50. See *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London*.

51. See Fong and Watt, eds., *Possessing the Past*, p. 4.

52. See Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists*, pp. 100–121.

CHAPTER 12

This chapter's genesis was at the international conference "The Art of the Book in China," sponsored by the Percival David Foundation and the School

of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in June 2005. I would like to express my gratitude to the organizers and participants of the conference for their support and feedback. In the process of broadening and revising the paper, I have benefited much from the help of many colleagues, especially Huang K'o-wu, Lee Chi-kwong, Jeff Moser, Shen Sung-chiao, Wu Fang-cheng, and Peter Zarrow.

1. "Antiquities" and "artworks" are terms and concepts that I intend to clarify in the course of this essay. In the beginning, I will use them interchangeably because they basically refer to the same groups of objects in early-twentieth-century China. The reason that I prefer "antiquities" to "art" in the title is that the main issue of this essay is heritage preservation.

2. See Anthony Hamber, "Photography in Nineteenth-Century Art Publications," p. 215.

3. Collotype is a kind of planographic printing process in which light-sensitive gelatin and potassium dichromate on a glass sheet are exposed and developed. When exposed to light, the gelatin on the sheet hardens in proportion to the amount of illumination it receives. The sheet is next soaked in a mixture of glycerine and water, which the gelatin absorbs in proportion to its hardness. Ink is then applied to the surface, where it accrues more thickly on the hardened parts and less on the soft parts. It thus creates a complete gradation of tones. Various hand-presses and machines were utilized to produce the impression. See W. Turner Berry, "Printing and Related Trade," in *A History of Technology*, 5: 707–8; Fan Muhan, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi chugao*, pp. 567–71; Zhang Shudong, *Zhonghua yinshua tongshi*, pp. 509–14. The above comparison between lithography and collotype also rings true for photolithography. I am indebted to Li Ching-lung for sharing his expertise on lithography and collotype printing technology.

4. For example, the famous Yiyuan zhenshangshe (Society for the True Appreciation of Art) was based in Wuxi. See Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1936*, p. 313, n172.

5. In the first decade of its introduction to China (ca. 1908–17), the collotype technique was also used in publishing famous scenic spots in China, including natural scenery and the Forbidden City. See the advertisement for the Commercial Press in Xu Ke, ed., *Shanghai shangye minglu*, "shang," p. 157.

6. The entire series *Famous Chinese Paintings* was reprinted at least twice. The University of Hong Kong Library has the original series. In addition, I have found that the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Harvard University each have an edition of the same series published in different years. These later reprints do not contain the prefaces and the brief biographies of painters seen in the original series. They also delete the captions for each painting that mention the painter, the title of the painting, and the name of the collector or collection. According to the editorial statements in the first issues of *Famous Chinese Paintings*, some of the images in the books were reproduced with the *tongwangban* printing technique. The term indicates that the printing

process involved copper plate. To my knowledge, this could have been an earlier type of collotype printing using metal plate before glass, with its finer grain, was discovered to be the most appropriate material. See Fan Muhan, ed., *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi chugao*, pp. 567–69. *Chinese National Glory* later changed its name to *A Grand View of China* (*Shenzhou daguan*) in 1912, and the new periodical and its sequel continued to be published until 1931.

7. See Anthony J. Hamber, "A Higher Branch of the Art": *Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880*, p. 1.

8. See Anthony Hamber, "Photography in Nineteenth-Century Art Publications," p. 215.

9. For example, see Matsumura Shigeki, "Kaijō gaha no zurokurui to gakugahō o megutte"; Sugano Tomoaki, "Yūsei shokyoku no hōsho shuppan ni tsuite."

10. See Valerie Holman, "'Still a Makeshift'? Changing Representations of the Renaissance in Twentieth-Century Art Books," p. 247.

11. See Beijing tushuguan, ed., *Ming guo shiqi zongshumu* (1911–1949), volume entitled *Wenhua kexue yishu*, pp. 162–234; and volume entitled *Lishi zhuanji kaogu dili*, pp. 507–9, 636–37, 717–47. Shih Shou-chien's research on Chinese bronzes in the 1930s also corroborates this point; see his "Qingshi shoucang de xiandai zhuanhua, jianlun qi yu Zhongguo meishu shi yanjiu fazhan zhi guanxi," pp. 19–23.

12. For Francis Haskell, the pioneer scholar who first took seriously the subject of art books, the art book should combine text and illustration. In the process of discussing the emergence of art books in the early eighteenth century, he distinguishes the "art book" from illustrated books or art portfolios, as the former was designed to include some research on the painters, quality, and stylistic characteristics of the featured works, not just a collection of related illustrations. The picture books discussed here do not fit this strict definition of the art book. Nevertheless, they did constitute the main avenue for art publication in early-twentieth-century China and do therefore deserve consideration. See Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book*, pp. 7–53.

13. Take the example of four books whose publication dates span the past four decades: Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*; Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*; Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*; Theodore Huters, *Bringing the World Home: Appropriating the West in Late Qing and Early Republican China*.

14. For example, see Judith Zeitlin and Lydia H. Liu, introduction to *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, pp. 1–26. As early as the mid-1980s, literary scholars had begun to pay attention to the printing context of modern Chinese literary works. See Leo Ou-fan Lee and Andrew F. Nathan, "The Beginning of Mass Culture: Journalism and Fiction in the Late Ch'ing and Beyond."

15. For example, see Zou Zhenhuan, *Ershi shiji Shanghai fanyi chuban yu wenhua bianqian*; Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*.

16. For example, see Jean-Pierre Drège, *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897–1949*; Wu Xiang, *Cong yinshua zuofang dao chuban zhongzhen*; Yang Yang, *Shangwu yinshuguan: Mingjian chubanye di xingshuai*; Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 203–79.

17. Regarding the New Culture Movement, its legacy, and recent reassessment of its historical meaning and impact, see Milena Doleželová-Velingrová and David Der-wei Wang, introduction to *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project*; Ying-shih Yü, "Neither Renaissance nor Enlightenment: A Historian's Reflections on the May Fourth Movement," pp. 299–324; Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*, pp. 3–152.

18. Except for the research mentioned in note 17 above, David Wang devotes the main theme of his book on late Qing fiction to questioning the New Culture rhetoric and its legacy; see his *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849–1911*, pp. 1–52.

19. See Luo Zhitian, "Songjin buowuguan: Qingji Minchu quxin shiren cong xiandai li quchu gudai de xianxiang."

20. In fact, this trend actually began as early as the mid-1970s, when Charlotte Furth edited a volume focused on "conservative" intellectual and political trends in modern China. See *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*. However, it was not until twenty years later that the study of the conservative trends came to occupy a prominent place in the field of modern Chinese history. For example, see Zheng Shiqu, *Wan Qing Guocuipai: Wenhua sixiang yanjiu*; Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice*; Yu Dahua, *Wan Qing wenhua baoshou sichao yanjiu*; Sang Bing, *Wan Qing Minguo de Guoxue yanjiu*; Wang Fan-sen, *Zhongguo jindai sixiang yu xueshu de xipu*, pp. 95–108, 111–32.

21. See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice*, pp. 239–63; Ying-shih Yü, "Neither Renaissance nor Enlightenment," pp. 314–20.

22. See Ivan Karp, "Introduction: Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture"; Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India"; Maria Avgouli, "The First Greek Museums and National Identity."

23. See Zhonghua shuju, "Zhonghua shuju wunian gaikuan," in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen*, 3: 165–72. Regarding the history of the publisher, see Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 203–79.

24. Xu Ke (1869–1928) also addresses printing as a "sharp weapon of civilization" in his compilation *Qingbai leichao*, 5: 2316. Similar expressions can be found in early-twentieth-century newspaper advertisements; see, for example, the one cited in Song Yuanfang and Li Baijian, *Zhongguo chuban shi*, p. 184.

25. I have explored this issue in more detail in "Rediscovering Song Painting for the Nation: Artistic Discursive Practice in Early Twentieth-Century China."

26. For example, see He Shengnai, "Sanshiwu nian lai Zhongguo zhi yinshuashu"; several articles collected in Song Yuanfang, ed., *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen*, 3: 356–407; Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 1–202. Yu Fangzhen has noted that the historical accounts of modern Chinese graphic periodicals center on the introduction of Western printing technology; see her "Yueshu xiaoyongri: Liangyou tushu yu jindai Zhongguo de xiaoxian yuedu xiguan."

27. For example, see Han Qi and Wang Yangzong, "Shiyinshu de chuanru yu xingshuai," in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen*, 3: 392–403; Meng Yue, "The Invention of Shanghai: Cultural Passages and Their Transformation, 1860–1920," pp. 125–37; Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 88–127.

28. See Wu Fang-cheng, "Wan Qing shishi nian Shanghai shijue wenhua de jige mianxiang." Regarding the printing technology of lithography, see W. Turner Berry, "Printing and Related Trade," in *A History of Technology*, 5: 706–7.

29. See He Shengnai, "Sanshiwu nian lai Zhongguo zhi yinshuashu," pp. 273–74; Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, pp. 28, 64, 143.

30. For example, the collotype book on imperial portraiture published around the late 1920s is the picture book that included the largest number of imperial icons now held in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see *Lidai diwangxiang*. Also, some collotype books edited by Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940) are still relevant to the study of Chinese paleography. I thank Lai Guolong for bringing this to my attention.

31. In the 1870s, Catholic printers in Shanghai first employed collotype, but it did not influence local society until it entered commercial publishing around 1908. According to some records, the commercial presses in Shanghai first gained knowledge of collotype in 1902; however, it appears that collotype books did not become a staple of the book market in Shanghai until 1908. In addition to the references mentioned in n29 above, see Liu Xuetang and Zheng Yimei, "Zhongguo jindai meishu chuban de huigu."

32. In addition to *Kokka*, the art magazine *Shinbi taikan* (A grand view of true beauty) commenced publication in 1899 using collotype to reproduce Japanese and Chinese artworks. By the late nineteenth century, collotype seems to have already become standard in Japanese art magazines. See Murakado Noriko, "Shinbi shoin no bijutsu zenshū ni miru 'Nihon bijutsu shi' no keisei."

33. See Okatsuka Akiko, "Ogawa Kazumasa no 'Kinki hōmotsu chōsa shashin' ni tsuite"; Mizuo Hiroshi, *Kokka no kiseki*, pp. 7–16. I owe thanks to Professor Ogawa Hiromitsu for giving me a copy of Mizuo's article. During a research trip to London in June 2005, I consulted many issues of *Kokka* published from 1889 to the early 1950s in the Library of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. I thank Shane McCausland for mentioning the collection to me and the staff of the foundation for their generous assistance.

34. See *A History of Technology*, vol. 5, pp. 707–8.

35. See Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkokatachi no 19 seiki*, pp. 184–93.
36. See Liu and Zheng, "Zhongguo jindai meishu chuban de huigu," pp. 151–53.
37. See Deng Shi, ed., *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 4, copyright page. In some advertisements of the series, the term "autotype" or "artotype" (*yatuban*) is mentioned instead of collotype; in fact, both are alternative names for collotype.
38. See note 1 in chapter 11 of this volume, by Richard Vinograd, for a discussion of Di Baoxian's dates.
39. Regarding the brief history of Wenming Publishers, see Qian Bing-huan, ed., *Zhonghua shuju dashi jiyao*, 1912–1954, pp. 22–23; Qiu Weng, "Liushi nian qian Shanghai chubanje guaixianxiang," in *Zhongguo chuban shiliao, jindai bufen*, 3: 269–70.
40. Di Baoxian, *xu* (preface) to *Zhongguo minghua* 1; Deng Shi, *xu* (preface) to *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 1, pp. 1–4, 7.
41. I have only come across one collotype book on Western art published by Youzheng, which is *Famous European Paintings* (*Ouzhou minghua*) in the collection of Hong Kong University. The comprehensive catalog of Youzheng's publications around 1919, collected in the Shanghai Library, lists primarily collotype reproductions of Chinese paintings and calligraphic works. According to this catalog, novels were also a staple of this publishing house. Youzheng's seminal role in the history of art publication extended to the publication of vernacular fiction. See *Youzheng shuju mulu*.
42. See Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 1/20b–21a.
43. For an examination of Di Baoxian's career in commercial photography, including his studio, see Cheng-hua Wang, "'Going Public': The Images of the Empress Dowager Cixi, circa 1904."
44. Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*.
45. Ibid., pp. 27, 42, 183, 187, 208, 253 n 41.
46. In addition to Di Baoxian and Deng Shi, Luo Zhenyu, Lian Quan (1868–1931) of Wenming Publishers and Qin Wenjin (1870–1940) of Yiyuan zhenshangshe were also art collectors.
47. See Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 1/1a–6b.
48. See ibid., 5/20b–21a.
49. See ibid., 1/1b–2b.
50. See Okatsuka Akiko, "Ogawa Kazumasa no 'Kinki hōmotsu chōsa shashin' ni tsuite." Ogawa was also the photographer for *Shinbi taikan*. In Ogawa's adventurous career, he once went with the Japanese troops to Beijing during the 1900 Boxer Uprising, took pictures of the Forbidden City, and later published a photo album entitled *Shinkoku Pekin kōjō shashinchō* (A photograph album of the Qing imperial city in Beijing); see *Shikinjō shashinten*.
51. The other art magazines and collotype books, including *Shinbi taikan* and *Tōyō bijutsu taikan* (A grand view of Japanese and Chinese art), also played important roles in heritage preservation and the formation of Japanese

national art. See Murakado Noriko, "Shinbi shoin no bijutsu zenshū ni miru 'Nihon bijutsushi' no keisei."

52. Luo Zhenyu's preface appears in the second issue.

53. See Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, pp. 111–15; Shana Julia Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers, and the Making of Modern Chinese Historiography, 1870–1928," pp. 52–57. This kind of solidarity was not necessarily based on aesthetic or scholarly communications; there was always the possibility of forging a political alliance. See Asahara Tatsurō, "'Netchū' no hito: Tanpō den," pp. 68–73.

54. See Cheng Zai, "Shilun wan Qing Shanghai diqu de shuhuahui," pp. 100–2; Xiong Yuezhi, "Zhangyuan: Wan Qing Shanghai yige gonggong kongjian yanjiu," p. 344.

55. The second issue of *Chinese National Glory* also included several paintings displayed in a certain exhibition focused on ancient paintings.

56. Regarding the Nantong Museum (*Nantong bowuyuan*), see Qin Shao, "Exhibiting the Modern: The Creation of the First Chinese Museum"; Lisa Claypool, "Zhang Jian and China's First Museum."

57. See David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904*, p. 317. Duan-fang was one of the most famous collectors of late Qing China, and some of his collection was sold to Americans by the end of the dynasty. See Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations*, pp. 62–71.

58. See Asahara, "'Netchū' no hito: Tanpō den," p. 71. For Duan-fang as a collector, also see Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art*, pp. 5–64; Jason Steuber, "Politics and Art in Qing China: The Duanfang Collection."

59. As indicated in his diary, Zheng Xiaoxu befriended both Di Baoxian and Deng Shi. The latter two, though not close friends, most likely knew each other somewhat. For example, see Zheng Xiaoxu, *Zheng Xiaoxu riji*, 3: 1191 (entry dated May 12, 1909) and 3: 1220 (entry dated January 1, 1910). These two notes record the respective visits of Di Baoxian and Deng Shi to Zheng's residence.

60. Regarding Deng Shi's life and publications, see Cheng Ming, "Deng Shi yu guji zhengli"; Li Zhanling, "Xinhai geming shiqi de Deng Shi ji qi Zhongxi wenhuaguan." The compendium that Deng and Huang BinHong edited is still in use today: *Meishu congshu* (Series on fine arts).

61. For example, two collectors with the last name Wang, respectively from Jinan, Shandong, and from Xutai, Anhui, cannot be pinned down. See Deng Shi, ed., *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 4, nos. 16 and 19.

62. See Bao Tianxiao, *Chuanyinglou huiyilu*, pp. 414–15.

63. See Youzheng shuju mulu, first two pages. Dewey did not mention the specific technology of collotype in his thank-you letter (dated 1919) to Youzheng Publishers.

64. See Lu Xun, *Lu Xun riji*, pp. 58, 69; Shen Yinmo, "Xueshu conghua" and "Wo duiyu Weng Tanxi suocang Su Shi Songyang tie zhi yijian," pp. 149,

190. In the Fu Ssu-nian Library at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, there is a collotype book originally owned by Fu. See *Jin Dongxin hua renwu ce*; and Zheng Zhenduo, "Zhongguo lishi cankao tupu xu, ba," in *Zheng Zhenduo quanji*, 14: 373–81. Also, Xu Ke mentions collotype in his edited series of books, *Qingbai leichao*, 5: 2405.

65. See Li Jinghan, "Shushi nian lai Beijing gongzi de bijiao," pp. 6–7; Lu Xun, *Lu Xun riji*, p. 19.

66. The museum was the Institute for Exhibiting Antiquities (Guwu chenliesuo), established on October 10, 1914. Regarding the museum's entrance fee, see *Chenzhongbao*, May 1 and December 30, 1916.

67. The purposes and the contents of the journal are more complicated than what can be explained in this brief introduction. For example, the journal changed its keen attitude toward introducing foreign scholarship in the latter half of its publications. The studies of the journal and the society are so numerous that only a small portion can be cited here. See Laurence A. Schneider, "National Essence and the New Intelligentsia"; Martin Bernal, "Liu Shi-p'ei and National Essence"; Fan Mingli, "*Guocui xuebao*"; Zheng Shiqu, *Wanqing Guocuipai: Wenhua sixiang yanji*.

68. For a detailed discussion of the pictures included in the journal, see Lisa Claypool, "Ways of Seeing the Nation: Chinese Painting in the *National Essence Journal* (1905–1911) and Exhibition Culture."

69. Unfortunately, little research has been done on the history of Chinese connoisseurship. For a discussion of some important issues in the Chinese culture of collection, especially in the late Ming period, see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*. Also see the articles included in the exhibition catalog *Through the Prism of the Past: Antiquarian Trends in Chinese Art of the 16th to 18th Century*, pp. 264–317.

70. For Ming and Qing ivory objects, see Craig Clunas, "Ming and Qing Ivories: Useful and Ornamental Pieces"; Yang Boda, "Chinese Ivories of the Ming and Qing Dynasties."

71. The caption accompanying the plate identifies it as a late Ming piece. *Guocui xuebao* 38 (1908), illustration section. However, it is likely to have been a nineteenth-century piece made by folk kilns for export. I would like to thank Peng Ying-chen, an M.A. graduate from National Taiwan University, for helping me confirm this dating.

72. For literati writings on famous kilns and their products, see Feng Xianming, *Zhongguo gutaoci wenxian jishi*.

73. See Chen Zhenlian, "Meishu' yuyuankao: 'Meishu' yi yinjinshi yanjiu"; Huang Dade, "Meishu' yanjiu"; Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Bijutsu sōsho' no kankō ni tsuite: Yōroppa no gainen 'Fine Arts' to Nihon no yakugo 'bijutsu' no dōnyū."

74. Even in the West, "fine arts" has been flexibly defined. Nevertheless, the fields of painting, sculpture, and architecture have traditionally been recognized as "higher art" or "fine arts" since the Renaissance.

75. See Kitazawa Noriaki, *Me no shinden—"bijutsu" juyō shi nōto*; Satō Dōshin, "Nihon bijutsu" tanjō: Kindai Nihon no "kotoba" to senryaku.

76. Except for the references cited in the research in n73 above, the term *meishu* often made its appearance in two journals, *Jiaoyu shijie* (Educational world) and *Xuebao* (Journal of learning). The former, edited by Luo Zhenyu, was first published in 1901 to introduce new ideas regarding education, and the latter, based in Shanghai and Tokyo, was a short-lived journal from 1907 to 1908, devoted to promoting Western scholarship.

77. For example, see Liu Xu, *Xu Tangshu*, p. 696; Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi*, p. 371; Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, pp. 828–29.

78. See *Dongfang zazhi*; *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliaohuibian, disanji, wenhua*, pp. 7–9, 185–202. In the first years of the Republican era, two public institutions were established with the term *guwu* in their titles: the Institute for Exhibiting Antiquities (Guwu chenliesuo) and the Nanjing Institute for Preserving Antiquities (Nanjing guwu baocunsuo). See Wang Hongjun, ed., *Zhongguo bowuguanxue jichu*, p. 81.

79. *Yishu* was one of the terms in classical Chinese whose meaning was transformed in late-nineteenth-century Japan and later returned to China with a new meaning. See Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, p. 213. For the transformation of *meishu*, see Chen Zhenlian, "Meishu' yuyuankao: 'Meishu' yi yinjinshi yanjiu."

80. For example, see Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, p. 269.

81. See Rong Geng, *xu* (preface) to *Jinshi shulumu*. Unlike Rong Geng (1894–1983), a transitional scholar between the traditional *jinshixue* and modern archaeology, the other scholars in the studies of metal and stone took a more conservative attitude toward this broadening of definition. See, for example, Lu Hejiu, *xu* (preface) to *Zhongguo jinshixue*.

82. For example, see *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 12 (the twelfth lunar month of 1909); 20 (the fourth lunar month of 1911); and 21 (October 1912).

83. According to Ye Changchi (1847–1917) (*Yu shi*, pp. 563–64), the collecting of original stelae began in the Northern Song dynasty, but stelae were not as popular as stele rubbings, which were widely studied by Qing scholar-officials.

84. See *Shenzhou guoguang ji* 9 (the sixth lunar month of *jiyou*); 10 (the eighth lunar month of *jiyou*); 13 (the second lunar month of *gengxu*); 20 (the fourth lunar month of 1911); and 21 (October 1912).

85. See Luo Zhenyu, *xu* (preface) to *Gumingqi tulu*; Zheng Dekun and Shen Weijun, *Zhongguo mingqi*, pp. 8–10.

86. For example, even though Luo Zhenyu cannot be considered to have been a high official in the late Qing, he executed several important educational and agricultural reforms. In this capacity, he worked with many high officials. See Luo Zhenyu, "Jiliaobian," pp. 157–88.

87. For example, see Deng Shi's editorial statement for *Chinese National Glory*.

88. See *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliaohuibian, disanji, wenhua*, pp. 199–201. The results of this survey for the four provinces of Hebei, Henan,

Shanxi, and Shandong were first published in 1918 and 1919. For a recent reprinting, see Neiwubu, ed., *Minguo Jing Lu Jin Yu guqiwu diaocha minglu*.

89. For Di Baoxian's family collection of painting and calligraphy, see Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge biji*, 1/10b–12b, 13b–14a, 4/19b–20a; Di Baoxian, *Pingdengge shihua*, 2/20a–21b, 26b–29a.

90. See David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, pp. 230–31; Randolph Starn, "Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History," in his *Varieties of Cultural History*, 281–96.

91. Regarding the sense of beauty and history in rubbings, see Wu Hung, "On Rubbings: Their Materiality and Historicity," in *Writing and Materiality of China*, pp. 29–72.

92. For the significance of visuality in late Ming China, see Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*.

93. See Chen Fang-mei, "Zhui Sandai yu dingyi zhi jian—Songdai cong 'kaogu' dao 'wangu' de zhuanbian," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 23.1 (Fall 2005), pp. 271–81.

94. See F.W. Mote, "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow," *Rice University Studies* 59.4 (1973), pp. 35–65; Shih Shou-chien, "Guji, shiliao, jiyi, weiji"; Chen Hsi-yuan, "Renqu louta shuizilui, shilun zuoluo zai wenguashi shang de Huanghe lou," in *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo: shishi zhi ershi shiji*, pp. 367–416.

95. David Lowenthal (*The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, pp. 19–21) also mentioned Mote's views of Chinese historical sites and historical memory (cited in note 94) to highlight the completely different tendency of the modern Western idea of heritage preservation.

96. See Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*, chap. 5.

97. In these album leaves, the leaf after the snow landscape attributed to the eleventh-century master Juran best exemplified the copy's failure to reproduce the original. For reproductions of the copy and the original, see Wen Fong, *Images of the Mind*, figs. 147b and 150.

98. See *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, no. 20 and no. 21.

99. It is difficult to pinpoint the date of the illustrations included in the various editions of *Kaogutu* (Catalog of the study of antiquities) that we have today, even though the author was a Northern Song scholar-official. However, the editor of the edition of *Kaogutu* published by *Zhonghua shuju* claims that the illustrations were based on a Song manuscript. I owe thanks to Ya-hwei Hsu for this information.

100. For the study of composite rubbings, see Thomas Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes"; Qianshen Bai, "Wu Dacheng and Composite Rubbings."

101. This description applies to the images of Chinese paintings included in the three Japanese collotype art periodicals published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: *Kokka*, *Shinbi taikan*, and *Tōyō bijutsu taikan*.

102. See the introduction to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1.1 (1859), pp. 5–15; "The Editorial Article."

Character List

NOTE: Characters for authors and titles of works cited may be found in the bibliography, pp. 409–64.

Adachi Gen'ichirō	足立源一郎
<i>Ai de jiaoyu</i>	愛的教育
Akashi Chūshichi	赤志忠七
<i>Anwu sizhong</i>	安吳四種
Aoyama Kumaji	青山熊治
Araki Juppo	荒木十畝
Araki Senshū	荒木千洲
Arishima Takeo	有島武郎
Asakura chōsokan	朝倉彫塑館
Ashikaga Gakkō	足利學校
Bai Juyi	白居易
<i>Bailongshanren mo miao</i>	白龍山人墨妙
baimiao	白描
Baisaō	賣茶翁
Bai Sha	白砂
<i>banbu Lunyu zhi tianxia</i>	半部論語治天下
Bansho shirabesho	番書調所
Bansuiken	晚翠軒
Bao Shichen	包世臣
Bao-xi	寶熙
<i>Beibei nantie lun</i>	北碑南帖論
<i>Beixuepai</i>	碑學派

<i>Bencao jizhu</i>	本草集注
<i>Biancai</i>	弁才
<i>bianzhe bisheng, bubianzhe bibai</i>	變者必勝,不變者必敗
<i>bijutsu</i>	美術
" <i>Bijutsu ihō</i> "	美術彙報
<i>Bijutsu nenkan</i>	美術年鑑
<i>bingzi</i>	丙子
<i>Bi no kuni</i>	美の国
<i>bisaihui</i>	比賽會
<i>bitan</i> (J. <i>hitsudan</i>)	筆談
<i>Bokudō</i>	木堂
<i>Bokujō hikkei daiga shishū</i>	墨場必攜 題畫詩集
<i>boliban</i>	玻璃版
<i>Boqian</i>	伯乾
<i>bunjinga</i>	文人畫
<i>Bunjinga gairon</i>	文人畫概論
<i>Bunjinga no fukkō</i>	文人畫の復興
<i>Bunkyūdō</i>	文求堂
<i>Bunten</i>	文展
<i>Cai Shaoqing</i>	蔡少卿
<i>Canchan tu</i>	參禪圖
<i>chadō</i> (<i>sadō</i>)	茶道
<i>chadōgu</i>	茶道具
<i>chahua</i>	插畫
<i>chakaiki</i>	茶會記
<i>chaseki</i>	茶席
<i>Chen Baochen</i>	陳寶琛
<i>Chen Duxiu</i>	陳獨秀
<i>Cheng Bingquan</i>	程冰泉
<i>Chenghua</i>	成化
<i>Cheng Jiasui</i>	程嘉燧
<i>Chenguang yishuhui</i>	晨光藝術會
<i>Chen Honghao</i>	陳鴻誥 (Manshou 曼壽)
<i>Chen Hongshou</i>	陳洪綬
<i>Chen Jieqi</i>	陳介祺
<i>Chen Li'an</i>	陳笠庵

Chen Shanfu	陳善福
Chen Shizeng	陳師曾 (Hengque 衡恪)
Chen Xiaodie	陳小蝶 (Dingshan 定山)
Chen Yunsheng	陳允升 (Yizhou 逸舟)
Chen Ziyi	陳子逸
<i>chi</i>	尺
<i>Chibi</i>	赤壁
Chicheng Misu	赤城米蘇
Chihara Kakei	千原花溪
"Chiisaki mono e"	小さき者へ
Chikkō daisanbashi	築港第三橋
Ching Yuan Chai	景元齋
Chōkōdokugaro	聽香讀畫廬
<i>chōkoku</i>	彫刻
Chō Sanshū	長三洲
<i>Chōsen kinseki kō</i>	朝鮮金石攷
<i>Chōsen kinseki sōran</i>	朝鮮金石總覽
<i>Chō Shishō Ko Kōju ryō sensei gafu</i>	張子祥胡公壽兩先生畫譜
Chou Mei-fang	周美芳
<i>Chōya shinbun</i>	朝野新聞
<i>chu</i>	初
<i>Chuangzao jikan</i>	創造季刊
Chuangzaoshe	創造社
Chūka minkoku kyōikubu bijutsu tenrankai Nihon shuppin kyōkai	中華民國教育部美術展覽會日本出品協會
Chū-Nichi jitsugyō kabushiki gaisha	中日實業株式會社
<i>Chunjiang dengshi lu</i>	春江燈市錄
<i>Chunqiu zuozhuan</i>	春秋左傳
"Chunri shan tu"	春日山圖
Chu Pingyan	褚平巖
<i>Chūshū bunkō</i>	中洲文稿
Chu Suiliang	褚遂良
Cixi	慈禧
<i>Dagongbao</i>	大公報

Dai	戴
dai 31-gumi	第三十一組
Dai Jin	戴進
<i>Dai Nihon kinseki shi</i>	大日本金石史
Dai Yue	戴嶽
"Daijiang dongqu, song Wei Zhusheng cizhang zhi Riben"	大江東去, 送衛鑄生詞長之日本
<i>dan</i>	淡
Danshokai	談書會
<i>Dao'an Jin xiansheng moji</i>	巢庵金先生墨跡
<i>Daocaoren</i>	稻草人
Daxueyuan	大學院
<i>Dayun shuku</i>	大雲書庫
<i>Denkō meien zuroku</i>	濱江茗醺圖錄
<i>Dianjiang yaji tu xu</i>	濱江雅集圖序
Dianshizhai shiyin shuju	點石齋石印書局
Di Baoxian	狄葆賢
Dingtaihao	鼎泰號
Ding Yuanfang	定遠方
Ding Yunpeng	丁雲鵬
Di Pingzi	狄平子
Di Xuegeng	狄學耕 (Mannong 曼農)
<i>dōcha</i>	鬥茶
<i>dōguya</i>	道具屋
Dongbi shanfang	東壁山房
Dongfang huahui	東方畫會
"Donggu souqi liuxin biangu"	東賈搜奇留心辨古
Donghaizhen	東海珍
Dong Qichang	董其昌
"Dongyang hua de liufa lilun de yanjiu"	東洋畫的六法理論的研究
<i>Dongyangren</i>	東洋人
Dong Yuan	董源
Duan-fang	端方
"Duyi xingle tu"	篤義行樂圖
Edobori	江戸堀
Ema Tenkō	江馬天江

"E no yō no sho"	画のようの書
<i>Erchong jihuang</i>	二重飢荒
Fan	范
Fang Rending	方人定
<i>fangwai ruiyan</i>	方外瑞岩
<i>fatie</i>	法帖
<i>fei buke siyi guan</i>	非不可思議館
Fei Qinghu	費晴湖
<i>Feiquan qiaosong</i>	飛泉喬松
Feng Gengsan	馮畊三
Feng Jingru	馮鏡如
Feng Yun	馮雲 (Yunqing 雲卿)
<i>Fu Baoshi suozao yin'gao</i>	傅抱石所造印稿
<i>fubei</i>	符碑
<i>Fuchun shanju tu</i>	富春山居圖
Fujii yūrinkan	藤井有鄰館
Fujishima Takeji	藤島武二
Fujita Toyohachi	藤田豊八
Fujiwara Nangaku	藤原南嶽
Fukiya Kōji	落谷虹兒
<i>fukoku kyōhei</i>	富國強兵
Fukuda Heihachirō	福田平八郎
Fukuhara Shūhō	福原周峰
<i>Fulinggao</i>	茯苓糕
<i>Funiü zazhi</i>	婦女雜誌
<i>Fusang lichang ji</i>	扶桑驪唱集
<i>Fūshiga kenkyū</i>	諷刺畫研究
Fushigikan	不思議館
Fu Sinian	傅斯年
Fuying Bookstore	福瀛書局
<i>Gakkai gamu</i>	學海畫夢
Gakujutsu jinruikan	學術人類館
Gankodō	玩古堂
Gao Kegong	高克恭
Gaozong	高宗

"Gei wo de haizimen"	給我的孩子們
Gelin tonghua ji	格林童話集
Gen Min Shin shoga jinmeiroku	元明清書畫人名錄
Ge Qilong	葛其龍
Gong	恭
Gongdelin	功德林
Gong Kai	龔開
Gong Pengcheng	龔鵬程
Gongwang zhi yin	公望之印
Gōshi gaisha Yamanaka	合資會社山中吉郎兵衛商店
Kichirobee shōten	
<i>gu</i>	古
Guan Daosheng	管道升
Guang fangyan guan	廣方言館
Guangxu	光緒
Guanyin	觀音
<i>Guanqing sanyi</i>	管情三義
Gu Bing	顧炳
<i>Gudai yingxiong de shixiang</i>	古代英雄的石像
<i>Gugong</i>	故宮
<i>Gugong xunkan</i>	故宮旬刊
<i>Gugong zhoukan</i>	故宮週刊
<i>guohua</i>	古畫
<i>guichou</i> (J: <i>mizunotoushi</i>)	癸丑
<i>guiju</i>	規矩
Gu Junshu	顧駿叔
Gu Kaizhi	顧愷之
Gu Linshi	顧麟士
<i>guobao</i>	國寶
<i>guocui</i>	國粹
Guocui baocun hui	國粹保存會
<i>Guocui xuebao</i>	國粹學報
<i>guohua</i>	國畫
<i>Guohua ABC</i>	國畫ABC
<i>guomin</i>	國民
<i>Guomin xinbao</i>	國民新報
Guo Moruo	郭沫若

<i>guoren</i>	國人
Guo Xi	郭熙
Guo Zongyi	郭宗儀 (Shaoquan 少泉)
<i>Gushi huapu</i>	顧氏畫譜
<i>guwu</i>	古物
Guwu chenliesuo	古物陳列所
<i>Guyi congshu</i>	古逸叢書
<i>Gyōsuirō</i>	曉翠樓
<i>Haishang molin</i>	海上墨林
Hakubundō	博文堂
Hakurankai kyōsankai	博覽會協贊會
Hakusanshi shōshitsu	白山氏小室
Hanayashiki	花屋敷
Hanazonobashi	花園橋
Hanihara Kuwayo	埴原久和代
Hanlou Stele	漢妻碑
Hanshan	寒山
Hanyeping	漢治萍
Harada Gorō	原田悟郎
Harada Kōzō	原田耕三
Harada Seichū	原田西疇
Hattori Kojūrō	服部小十郎
Hayami Gyoshū	速水御舟
Hayashi Takeshi	林武
He Ruzhang	何如璋
He Weipu	何維朴
"Hewei renleixue"	何謂人類學
Hidai Tenrai	比田井天來
Hidaka Tetsuō	日高鐵翁
Higashi Honganji	東本願寺
"Higashiyama gyobutsu"	東山御物
Hirafuku Hyakusui	平福百穗
Hiramatsu Itsuo	平松五雄
Hiratsuka Un'ichi	平塚運一
Hirose Tansō	廣瀨淡窓
Hita	日田

<i>hitsui</i>	筆意
Hōbunkan shoten	寶文館書店
Hōbunken	寶文軒
<i>hojo</i>	補助
Hokusai	北齋
Hongzhi	弘治
Hori Keijirō	堀啓次郎
Hori Naotarō	堀直太郎
Horinishi Beichū	堀西米中
<i>Hōsun</i>	方寸
Huang Chaozeng	黃超曾 (Yinmei 吟梅)
Huang Gongwang	黃公望
Huanghe lou	黃鶴樓
Huang Kan	皇侃
Huang Langping	黃浪萍
Huang Tingjian	黃庭堅
<i>huapu</i>	畫譜
Hua Yan	華嵒
"Huazhan de riji"	華瞻的日記
Hu Gongshou	胡公壽
<i>Huihao</i>	揮毫
Huizong	徽宗
"Huo Qubing mushang shiji ji Handai diaoke zhi shicha"	霍去病墓上石跡及漢代雕刻之試察
Hu Shi	胡適
Hu Xiaopin	胡小蘋
Hu Yuan	胡遠
Hu Zhang	胡璋 (Tiemei 鐵梅)
Ichien ginsha	一圓吟社
Ido Reizan	井土靈山
Ijūin Hikokichi	伊集院彥吉
Ikeda Keisen	池田桂仙
Ikejima Sonsen	池島村泉
Imamiya	今宮
Inada Sakichi	稻田佐吉
Inada Sabee	稻田佐兵衛

Inohara Taika	猪原大華
Inoue Tetsujirō	井上哲次郎
Inukai Bokudō kinenkan	犬養木堂記念館
Inukai Ken	犬養健
Inukai Tsuyoshi	犬養毅 (Bokudō 木堂)
Ishii Hakutei	石井柏亭
Ishikawa Gozan	石川吳山
Ishikawa Jōzan	石川丈山
Ishikawa Kōsai	石川鴻齋
Ishikawa Toraji	石川寅治
Ishikawa Yūki	石川由希
Itō Chūta	伊東忠太
Itō Hirobumi	伊藤博文
Iwamura Shigemitsu	岩村成允
Iwaya Osamu	巖谷修 (Ichiroku 一六)
Iwaya Sazanami	巖谷小波
"jadō"	邪道
Jiang Jiapu	江稼圃
Jiang Jieshi	蔣介石
Jiangsusheng jiaoyuhui meishu yanjiuhui	江蘇省教育會美術研究會
Jiang Xieding	蒋燮鼎 (Zibin 子賓)
Jiang Youjie	蔣幼節
Jiaoyu	教育
Jiaoyu shijie	教育世界
jiashu	甲戌
Jieziyuan huazhuan	芥子園畫傳
Jiji shinpō	時事新報
jin	今
Jin Bin	金邠 (Jiasui 嘉穗)
Jin Erzhen	金爾珍
Jing Hao	荊浩
jing jianshang	精賞鑒
Jin Kaifan	金開藩
Jinling	金陵
Jinmen	津門

Jinruikan	人類館
<i>jinshi</i>	金石
<i>jinshixue</i>	金石學
Jin Songqing	金頌清
"Jinyuan Shengwu de hua liufalun"	金原省吾的畫六法論
<i>jisi</i>	己巳
"Jixi song Wei Zhusheng zhi Riben"	即席送衛鑄生之日本 Riben
Jōmō	上毛
<i>jue</i>	爵
Juelin	覺林
<i>jun</i>	郡
Juran	巨然
<i>juren</i>	舉人
<i>kaiga</i>	繪畫
Kaikō hitsugo	邂逅筆語
<i>kaishu</i> (regular script)	楷書
<i>kaishu</i> (host)	會主
Kaitong baoxiedao keshi	開通褒斜道刻石
Kajima Nobunari	加島信成
Kametani Seiken	龜谷省軒
Kamigyō-ku	上京區
<i>kan</i>	貫
<i>kana</i>	假名
Kanae Kinjō	鼎金城
Kanayama Heizō	金山平三
<i>Kanbun</i>	漢文
Kanebō	鐘紡
Kang Youwei	康有為
Kanga	漢畫
Kangaku	漢學
Kan'in	閑院
Kanji	漢字
Kannon Hall	觀音堂
Kano Naoki	狩野直喜
Kanseki	栞石

Kanshi	漢詩
Kaogutu	考古圖
kaozheng	考証
karamono	唐物
karayō	唐様
Kariya Ekisai	狩谷棟齋
Katada Tokurō	片多徳郎
Katagiri Masaki	片桐正氣 (Nansai 楠齋)
Katō	加藤
Katsuragi Sueji	葛城末治
Kawahigashi Hekigotō	河東碧梧桐
Kawai Gyokudō	川合玉堂
Kawakami Sakyō	河上左京
Kawakami Tōgai	川上冬崖
Kawaramachi	河原町
Kawasaki Shōko	川崎小虎
Kawashima Riichirō	川島理一郎
Ke Changsi	柯昌泗
Keiseki hōkoshi	經籍訪古志
keju	科舉
keluoban	珂羅版
Kenpitsukai	健筆會
Kihinkai	貴賓會
Kimondō	喜聞堂
Kinari Toraichi	紀成虎一
"Kindai Chūgoku no bunka seikatsu"	近代中國の文化生活
Kinkakuji	金閣寺
kinoeinu	甲戌
Kinsuirō	近水樓
"Kinsui tōshi"	近水闢詩
Kishibe Fukuo	岸邊福雄
Kitagawa Fukutei	北川蝠亭
Kitahara Hakushū	北原白秋
Kitakata Shinsen	北方心泉
Kitō Kamejirō	鬼頭甕二郎
Kiyoura Keigo	清浦奎吾

Kizaki Aikichi	木崎愛吉
Kobayashi Chūjirō	小林忠次郎
Kobayashi Kiyochika	小林清親
Kobayashi Mango	小林萬吾
Kobayashi Tokusaburō	小林徳三郎
Kōbu bijutsu gakkō	工部美術學校
<i>kodai</i>	古代
Koga Harue	古賀春江
<i>kōgei</i>	工藝
Kōgyō shōkai	廣業商會
Kohara Kuniyoshi	小原國芳
<i>Kōhon Nihon bijutsu ryakushi</i>	稿本日本美術略史
Koide Narashige	小出櫛重
Kojima Chazan	兒島茶山
Kojima Torajirō	兒島虎次郎
Kojima Zentarō	兒島善太郎
Kojima Zenzaburō	兒島善三郎
"Kōkai nikki"	航海日記
<i>Kokka</i>	國華
<i>Kokuga</i>	國畫
Kokugakai	國畫會
<i>kokusui</i>	國粹
<i>kokusui hozon</i>	國粹保存
Komuro Suiun	小室翠雲
Kongde	孔德
Kōno Michisei	河野通勢
Kōno Michitane	河野通胤
Kōrai Bridge	高麗橋
<i>kōshō</i> (C. <i>kaozheng</i>)	考證
Kosone Kendō	小曾根乾堂
Kosugi Hōan	小杉放菴 (Misei 未醒)
<i>kowatari</i>	古渡り
Koyama Keizō	小山敬三
<i>Koyū zaki</i>	滄游雜記
Kuang Husheng	匡互生
"Kuangren riji"	狂人日記
Kuga Katsunan	陸羯南

Kuimao dongyou riji	癸卯東遊日記
"Kuka oshō nenpyō"	苦瓜和尚年表
Kumagai Jikishin	熊谷直心
Kumagai Kokō	熊谷古香
Kumagai Morikazu	熊谷守一
Kumagai Naoyuki	熊谷直行
Kumagai Naozane	熊谷直實
Kurasawa Masashichi	倉澤柾七
Kuroda Jūtarō	黒田重太郎
Kuroda Seiki	黒田清輝
Kuru Masamichi	久留正道
Kurushima Takehiko	久留島武彥
Kusakabe Meikaku	日下部鳴鶴
Kusatsutei	草津亭
Kutomi Kanae	九富鼎
Kyōsendō	響泉堂
Kyōto gakuha	京都學派
Kyōto shiritsu kaiga senmon gakkō	京都市立繪畫専門學校
Kyūkyodō	鳩居堂
Lai Delin	賴德霖
Laiyuan	來遠
Lanting	蘭亭
Lanzhu erpu	蘭竹二譜
lao	老
Lee Kee Son	李季純
li	利
Liang Hongzhi	梁鴻志
liangjue兩絕	
Liang Qichao	梁啓超
Liang Wenwan	梁文玩
Liang Xihong	梁錫鴻
Liangyou	良友
Li Cheng	李成
Li Ching-lung	李景龍
Lida	立達

<i>Lidai minggong zhenji suoben</i>	歷代名公真蹟縮本
<i>Lidai minghuaji</i>	歷代名畫記
Li Daoyuan	酈道元
Li Di	李迪
Li Dongping	李東平
Li Gonglin	李公麟
Li Hua	李桦
Li Jie	李接
Lin Bingzhang	林炳章
Lin Changmin	林長民
Lin Chun	林椿
Lin Fengmian	林風眠
Lin Shu	林紓
Lin Wenzheng	林文錚
Lin Zexu	林則徐
<i>Liqi bei</i>	禮器碑
<i>lishu</i>	隸書
Li Shuchang	黎庶昌
Li Tang	李唐
"Liuchao lingmu shiji shulüe"	六朝陵墓石跡述略
Liu Dakun	劉大坤
Liu Haisu	劉海粟
Liulichang	琉璃廠
Liu Lun	劉崙
Liu Xiangye	劉驥業
Liu Songfu	劉松甫
Li Wenqing	李文卿
Li Zhi	李贊
Li Zhongsheng	李仲生
Li Zhuowu	李卓吾
Li Zuhuan	李祖韓
Longzhun	龍隼
<i>Longmen ershi pin</i>	龍門二十品
Longmian (J. Ryūmin)	龍眠
Longshusi	龍樹寺
<i>luanshi pujie</i>	亂石鋪街
<i>Lu Hanshan shi</i>	彖寒山詩

<i>Lu Lu yi feng</i>	盧陸遺風
Luo Jialun	羅家倫
Luo Qing	羅清 (Xuegu 雪谷)
Luo Zhenchang	羅振常
Luo Zhenyu	羅振玉
Lu Runxiang	盧潤祥
<i>Lu Su shi</i>	衆蘇詩
Lu Tong	盧仝
Lu Yu	陸羽
Lu Zhi	陸治
Lu Zishan	魯子珊
Maeda Mokuhō	前田默鳳
Maekawa Senpan	前川千帆
Maekawa Zenbee	前川善兵衛
Ma Hezhi	馬和之
<i>maiwan</i>	買辦
Ma Junwu	馬君武
Maki Ryōko	卷菱湖
<i>Manhua A Q zhengzhuān</i>	漫畫阿Q正傳
Mao Dun	茅盾
Masamune Tokusaburō	正宗得三郎
Masaoka Shiki	正岡子規
Matsuda Sekka	松田雪柯
Matsumaru Tōgyo	松丸東魚
Matsumuraya	松村屋
Matsuoka Eikyū	松岡映丘
Matsuura Eiju	松浦永壽
Matsuura Kanbee	松浦勘兵衛
Ma Yuan	馬遠
<i>mei</i>	美
<i>meien</i>	茗醺
<i>meien zuroku</i>	茗醺圖錄
<i>Meiji sesō hyakuwa</i>	明治世相百話
Meirindō	明倫堂
<i>meishu</i> (fine arts)	美術
<i>meishu</i> (host)	茗主

<i>Meishu</i>	美術
<i>Meishu congshu</i>	美術叢書
<i>Meishu yanjiusuo</i>	美術研究所
<i>Meizhan</i>	美展
<i>Meng'ou yiyu</i>	夢歐饗語
<i>Meng Yurun</i>	孟玉潤
<i>Mesamashigusa</i>	目覚まし草
<i>Mi Fu</i>	米芾
<i>Mikan no taikyoku</i>	未完の大局
<i>Minami Kunzō</i>	南薰造
<i>Minamoto Keikaku</i>	源桂閣
<i>ming</i>	名
<i>mingqi</i>	明器
<i>Min shi taika gafu</i>	明四大家畫譜
<i>Minzhong xijushe</i>	民衆戯劇社
<i>Minzhudang</i>	民主黨
<i>Mishima Chūshū</i>	三島中洲
<i>Mitsui</i>	三井
<i>Mitsui Takakata</i>	三井高堅
<i>Mitsutani Kunishirō</i>	満谷國四郎
<i>Mitsui zaibatsu</i>	三井財閥
<i>Mitsukuri Koji</i>	三栗居士
<i>Miyajima Seiichirō</i>	宮島誠一郎
<i>Miyako shinbun</i>	都新聞
<i>Mi Youren</i>	米友仁
<i>Mokuroku</i>	目錄
<i>Momijiyama Bunko</i>	紅葉山文庫
<i>mon</i>	文
<i>Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai</i>	文部省美術展覽會
<i>Mori Kainan</i>	森槐南
<i>Mori Kinseki</i>	森琴石 (Kichimu 吉夢)
<i>Mori Ōgai</i>	森歐外
<i>Mori Shuntō</i>	森春濤
<i>Morita Rokusaburō</i>	森田六三郎
<i>Mori Tateyuki</i>	森立之
<i>Motoyama Hikoichi</i>	本山彦一
<i>moya</i>	摩崖
<i>Mukaiyama Kōson</i>	向山黃村

<i>Muou qiyuji</i>	木偶奇遇記
<i>Muqi</i>	牧谿
<i>Muroto</i>	室戸
<i>Mutang xiansheng pin shi tu</i>	木堂先生品碩圖
<i>Nabei Katsuyuki</i>	鍋井克之
<i>Nagahoribashi</i>	長堀橋
<i>Nagahara Kōtarō</i>	長原孝太郎
<i>Nagai Unpei</i>	長井雲坪
<i>Nagao Uzan</i>	長尾雨山
<i>Nagasaki Sekitai</i>	永坂石棟
<i>Nagatochi Hideta</i>	永地秀太
<i>Naikoku kangyō hakurankai</i>	内國勸業博覽會
<i>Naitō Konan (Torajirō)</i>	内藤湖南(虎次郎)
<i>Nakabayashi Gochiku</i>	中林悟竹
<i>Nakagawa Kigen</i>	中川紀元
<i>Nakamura Fusetsu</i>	中村不折
<i>Nakamura Keiu</i>	中村敬宇 (Masanao 正直)
<i>Nakazawa Hiromitsu</i>	中澤弘光
<i>Nanbei shupai lun</i>	南北書派論
<i>nanbeizong lun</i>	南北宗論
<i>Nanga dokugaku kigō jizai</i>	南畫獨學揮毫自在
<i>Nanga engen</i>	南畫淵源
<i>Nanga e no dōtei</i>	南画への道程
<i>Nangain</i>	南畫院
“Naniwa ōkawabata, shikaizu”	浪華大川端, 詩會圖
<i>Nanjing guwu baocunsuo</i>	南京古物保存所
<i>Nanjing shudian</i>	南京書店
<i>Nanshū ihatsu</i>	南宗衣鉢
<i>Nanshū ihatsu batsubi</i>	南宗衣鉢跋尾
“Nanto kaikyū”	南都懷舊
<i>Nantong</i>	南通
<i>Nantong bowuyuan</i>	南通博物院
“Nanyang Han huaxiang shike zhi lishi jiqi fengge de yanbian”	南陽漢畫像石刻之歷史及其風格的演變
<i>Narushima Ryūhoku</i>	成島柳北
<i>Natsume Sōseki</i>	夏目漱石

Nawa Taigetsu	名和對月
<i>ni</i>	泥
Nihon bijutsu kyōkai	日本美術協會
<i>Nihon bijutsu shi</i>	日本美術史
Nihon bijutsu tenrankai	日本美術展覽會
<i>Nihonga</i>	日本畫
Nihonjin kurabu	日本人俱樂部
<i>Nihon shinbun</i>	日本新聞
Nihon shodō bijutsuin	日本書道美術院
Nihon shodō sakuhinkai	日本書道作品會
Nihon teikoku bijutsu gakkō	日本帝國美術學校
Nikakai	二科會
Nik-Ka Bukkyō kenkyūkai	日華仏教研究會
Nishida Masatoshi	西田正俊
Nishida Naokai	西田直養
Nishi Honganji	西本願寺
Nishō Gakusha	二松學舍
Nis-Shi bijutsu kurabu	日支美術俱樂部
Nitten	日展
Ni Yide	倪貽德
Ni Yuanlu	倪元璐
Noguchi Sanjirō	野口三次郎
Nongbaoguan	農報館
<i>nyūsatsu</i>	入札
Ōchi Shōkan	大智勝觀
Oga Seiun (Kojika Seiun)	小鹿青雲
Ogawa Kazumasa	小川一真
Ogawa Kochi	小川小痴
Ogawa Tamejirō	小川為次郎
Oguri Shūdō	小栗秋堂
Ōhashi Kōkichi	大橋孝吉
Okabe Nagakage	岡部長景
Okada Eitarō	岡田永太郎
Okada Saburōsuke	岡田三郎助
Okakura Tenshin	岡倉天心 (Kakuzō 覚三)
Okamoto Ippei	岡本一平

Ōkōchi monjo	大河内文書
Ōkōchi Teruna	大河内輝聲
Ōkubo Sakujirō	大久保作次郎
Okuda Hōsei	奥田抱生
Okuse Eizō	奥瀨英三
Ōmiya Park	大宮公園
Ōmura Seigai	大村西崖
Ono Kozan	小野湖山 (Chōgen 長愿)
Ōno Takanori	大野隆徳
Ōsaka mainichi shinbun	大阪毎日新聞
Ōsaka pakku	大阪パック
Ōsaka shuppin kyōkai	大阪出品協會
Ōsawa Gakyū	大澤雅休
Ōta Kijirō	太田喜二郎
Ōtani Kōzui	大谷光瑞
Ōta Saburō	太田三郎
otogibanashi	御伽嘶
Ouyang Xun	歐陽詢
Ouyang Yuqian	歐陽予倩
Ouzhou minghua	歐洲名畫
Pang Laichen	龐萊臣
Pang Yuanji	龐元濟
Pan Shicheng	潘仕成
Pan Tianshou	潘天壽
Pan Zhengwei	潘正煒
Pan Zuyin	潘祖蔭
Peng Ying-chen	彭盈真
Ping bei ji	評碑記
Pingdeng ge	平等閣
Pinglin yanyu	平林煙雨
Pingquan shuwu	平泉書屋
Ping tie ji	評帖記
Pu-Fa zhanji	普法戰記
Pu-yi	溥儀

Qianlong	乾隆
Qian Xuan	錢選
Qian Yi	錢擇 (Ziqin 子琴)
<i>qianzhuang</i>	錢庄
Qi Gong	啟功
<i>Qimin sixue</i>	齊民四術
<i>Qingbian yinju</i>	青卞隱居
<i>Qingyi bao</i>	清議報
<i>Qingyuan xiansheng tu</i>	青淵先生圖
<i>Qingyuan xiansheng you dao</i>	青淵先生有道
<i>qinmu</i>	親睦
<i>Qin Wenjin</i>	秦文錦
<i>qinxi</i>	秦西
<i>Qiu Ying</i>	仇英
<i>quanguo zhi jingcui</i>	全國之精粹
<i>quanren jiaoyu</i>	全人教育
<i>quanxingtuo</i>	全形拓
<i>Quanxue pian</i>	勸學篇
<i>Qu du</i>	去毒
<i>qushui liushang</i>	曲水流觴
<i>Ra genchō</i>	羅源帖
<i>rai hakku gajin</i>	來舶画人
"Raihaku shoshi"	來舶諸子
<i>Rai San'yō</i>	賴山陽
<i>Rakuzendō</i>	樂善堂
<i>Rakuzendō kinsei kakushu</i>	樂善堂謹製各種妙藥廣告
<i>myōyaku kōkoku</i>	
<i>renleixue</i>	人類學
<i>Ren Yi</i>	任頤
<i>Riben</i>	日本
<i>Riben fangshu zhi</i>	日本訪書志
" <i>Riben gongyi meishu zhi jidian</i>	日本工藝美術之几點報告
<i>baogao"</i>	
<i>Riben guozhi</i>	日本國志
<i>Riben pinglun</i>	日本評論
<i>Riben tongren shixuan</i>	日本同人詩選
<i>Rikuchōfū</i>	六朝風

Rikuchōha	六朝派
Rinzai	臨濟
Rokusan Pavilion	六三亭
Rokusan'en	六三園
Rokyō	蘆橋
Ruan Yuan	阮元
Ryōji Chōmei	料治朝鳴
Ryōsō shū	凌滄集
Ryūminjō	龍眠帖
Ryūminkai	龍眠會
Saisonji Kinmochi	西園寺公望
Saitō Tōan (Etsuzō)	齋藤董盦(悦藏)
Sakaki Hyakusen	彭城百川
Sakamoto Hanjirō	坂本繁二郎
Sakugen Shūryō	策彦周良
Sanjō-agaru	三條上
Sanjō Sanetomi	三條實美
Sano Zuigan	佐野瑞巖
sanrikan	三日刊
Sasaki Sokō	佐佐木蘇江
Satomi Katsuzō	里見勝藏
Sawamura Sentarō	澤村專太郎
"Seibee to hyōtan"	清兵衛と瓢箪
Seikodō	成古堂
Seikyōsha	政教社
Seiwan chakai zushi	青灣茶會圖誌
Seiyō bijutsukan	西洋美術館
seki	席
Sekino Tadashi	関野貞
Sekisei	赤城
senbai	仙媒
sencha	煎茶
Senzaimaru	千歲丸
shang	商
Shanghai meishu xuexiao	上海美術學校
Shanghai tuhua meishu xuexiao	上海圖畫美術學校

Shanghai yishu daxue	上海藝術大學
Shanghai yishu xuehui	上海藝術協會
Shanghai hanjōki	上海繁昌記
Shanhaimaru	上海丸
shanmianguan	扇面館
Shanmian hua zhen: Ming Qing shier mingjia juepin	扇面華珍: 明清十二名家絕品
Shanzhuangtu	山莊圖
Shao Xunmei	邵洵美
Sheng Xuanhuai	盛宣懷
shenpin	神品
Shen Shitian	沈石田
Shen Yanbing	沈雁冰
Shen Zhou	沈周
Shenzhou guoguang ji	神州國光集
Shenzhou guoguangshe	神州國光社
Shenzhou daguan	神州大觀
Shibao	時報
Shichikei Mōshi kōbun	七經孟子考文
Shide	拾得
Shidehara Kijūrō	幣原喜重郎
Shidi congkan	史地叢刊
shifeng shibian tuichen chuxin	適逢世變推陳出新
shifu	師傅
Shiga Naoya	志賀直哉
Shiga Shigetaka	志賀重昂
Shiizuka Ichio	椎塙猪知雄
Shijie tonghua congshu	世界童話叢書
Shijō	四条
Shimada Kōson	島田篁村
Shimenming	石門銘
Shimizu Ginzō	清水銀藏
Shimizu Takashi	清水多嘉示
Shimizu Yoshio	清水良雄
Shimomaruyamachi	下丸屋町
Shina bijutsu shi	支那美術史
Shinagaku	支那學

<i>Shinano shiryaku</i>	下野誌略
<i>Shinbi shoin</i>	審美書院
<i>Shinbi taikan</i>	真美大觀
<i>Shin bunshi</i>	新文詩
<i>Shinchō shogafu</i>	清朝書畫譜
<i>Shinchō shoga ichiran</i>	清朝書畫一覽
<i>Shinkoku Pekin kōjō shashinchō</i>	清國北京皇城寫真帖
<i>shin nanga</i>	新南畫
<i>Shinsaibashi</i>	齋心橋
<i>Shin sekai</i>	新世界
<i>Shi-Ō Go Un</i>	四王吳惲
<i>Shiraishi Rokusaburō</i>	白石六三郎
<i>Shirakaba</i>	白樺
<i>Shirataki I kunosuke</i>	白瀧幾之助
<i>Shiratori Kurakichi</i>	白鳥倉吉
<i>Shiro to Kuro</i>	白と黒
<i>Shishi xinbao</i>	時事新報
<i>Shitao</i>	石濤
<i>Shitao nianpu</i>	石濤年譜
<i>shizen ni kaere</i>	自然に歸れ
<i>sho</i>	書
<i>Shodō bijutsukan</i>	書道美術館
<i>shoga</i>	書畫
<i>shogakai</i>	書畫會
<i>shoga tenkankai</i>	書畫展鑑會
<i>shōkai</i>	商會
" <i>Shokoku Wa-Kan shoga kottō shōka jinmeiroku ryaku</i> "	諸國和漢書畫骨董商家人名錄略
<i>Shōmu</i>	聖武
<i>Shōsōin</i>	正倉院
<i>Shōudō</i>	蕉雨堂
<i>Shōwa nichinichi shinbun</i>	昭和日日新聞
<i>Shōzaemon</i>	庄左衛門
<i>Shūchikurō zayū nikki</i>	修竹樓座右日記
<i>shufang</i>	書坊
<i>Shu Hao</i>	舒浩
<i>shuhua</i>	書畫

<i>shuhua tongyuan</i>	書畫同源
<i>Shuihu yezi</i>	水滸葉子
<i>Shui jing zhu</i>	水經注
<i>Shui jing zhu shu</i>	水經注疏
<i>Shumu dawen</i>	書目答問
Shuntoku Temple (Shuntokujii)	春德寺
Shun'yōkai	春陽會
<i>shusaisha</i>	主催者
Shūshikan	修史館
<i>shusi</i>	書肆
"Si de yishu"	寺的藝術
<i>siwen</i>	斯文
<i>Sōdai no kaiga</i>	宋代の繪畫
"Sō-Genga"	宋元画
<i>Sō Gen Min Shin shoga meiken hyōden</i>	宋元明清書畫名賢評傳
<i>Sō Gen o chūshin to suru Chūgoku kaiga shi</i>	宋元を中心とする中國繪畫史
Sōma Kiichi	相馬其一
<i>Songliang xiayi</i>	松涼夏億
"Song Wei Zhusheng zhi Riben"	送衛鑄生之日本
"Song Wei Zhusheng you Riben"	送衛鑄生游日本
"Sono mukashi Okuyama meibutsu gonin otoko, henjin, kijin, tsūjin zoroi"	その昔奥山名物五人男, 變人, 奇人, 通人 ぞろい
<i>Sōraikan kinshō</i>	爽籟館欣賞
Sōrin Temple (Sōrinji)	雙林寺
Su Che	蘇轍
Sugawara Sessai	菅原雪齋
Suma	須磨
Sumawan	蘇馬灣
Sumitomo Kan'ichi	住友寬一
Sun Chuanfang	孫傳芳
Sun Yat-sen	孫逸仙
Sun Zhongshan	孫中山
<i>suwenxue</i>	俗文學
Su Wonong	蘇卧農
<i>Su Wu mu yang tu</i>	蘇武牧羊圖

Suzuki Kochiku	鈴木孤竹
Suzuki Tsuguo	鈴木亜夫
Suzuki Yasunori	鈴木保徳
Suzuki Zenjirō	鈴木善次郎
suzuri no kai	硯の会
taben (J. takuhon)	拓本
Taguchi Seigo	田口省吾
Taikyōen Sōdō	退享園草堂
Taiping huanyu ji	太平寰宇記
Taipingyang huahui	太平洋畫會
Taira Seitoku	平盛徳
Taiwankan	臺灣館
Taixu	太虛
Taizong	太宗
Takagi Gorōbee	高木五郎兵衛
Takagi Wasuke	高木和助
Takamatsu no Miya	高松宮
Takamura Masao	高村真夫
Takasagomaru	高砂丸
Takashimaya	高島屋
Takashimaya gofukuten	高島屋呉服店
Takehisa Yumeji	竹久夢二
Takei Takeo	武井武雄
Takeuchi Keishū	武内桂舟
Taki Katei	瀧和亭
Taki Seiichi	瀧精一
Tamagawa gakuen	玉川學園
Tanabe Itaru	田邊至
Tanaka Giichi	田中義一
Tanaka Keitarō	田中慶太郎
Tang	湯
Tang Caichang	唐才常
"Tangdai bihua kaolüe"	唐代壁畫考略
Tang Jingchang	湯經常
Tang Jisheng	唐吉生
Tang-Song huihua shi	唐宋繪畫史

<i>Tang-Song zhi huihua</i>	唐宋之繪畫
Tang Xunbo	湯壎伯
Tang Yin	唐寅
Tanomura Chikuden	田能村竹田
Tanomura Chokunyū	田能村直入
Tantansha	淡淡社
<i>Taoan xiansheng you dao</i>	陶盦先生有道
<i>Taose de yun</i>	桃色的雲
Teikoku bijutsu gakkō	帝國美術學校
Teikoku bijutsuin	帝國美術院
Teikoku bijutsu tenrankai	帝國美術展覽會
Teiten	帝展
Tekkyō	鐵橋
<i>tenkan mokuroku</i>	展觀目錄
Tennō Temple (Tennōji)	天王寺
Teranishi Ekidō	寺西易堂
Terauchi Manjurō	寺內萬治郎
Tetsuō	鐵翁
<i>tian</i>	天
Tian Han	田漢
Tianmahui	天馬會
"Tianmahui zhi xintiao"	天馬會之信條
<i>Tian zhi ou wen</i>	天咫偶聞
<i>Tieshan chanshi xiang</i>	鐵珊禪師像
<i>Tiexuepai</i>	帖學派
Tō-A Bukkyō taikai	東亞佛教大會
Tōan (C. Taoan)	陶庵
<i>Tōan zō shogafu</i>	董盦藏書畫譜
Tōdaiji	東大寺
<i>Tōdai no kaiga</i>	唐代の繪畫
Tōdō Takatsugu	藤堂高紹
Tōdō Takayuki	藤堂高猷
Tōgō Seiji	東鄉青児
Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo	東方文化學院京都研究所
<i>Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku</i>	東方文化學院京都研究所研究報告
Tōhō shodōkai	東方書道會

Tōkaidō	東海道
<i>Tōkoku tokai nikki</i>	唐國渡海日記
<i>tokonomo</i>	床の間
Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康
<i>Tōkyō akebono shinbun</i>	東京曙新聞
Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō	東京美術學校
Tōkyō bijutsu kurabu	東京美術俱樂部
Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku	東京藝術大學
<i>Tōkyō pakku</i>	東京パック
Tomioka Kenzō	富岡謙藏
Tomioka Tessai	富岡鐵齋
Tongcheng	桐城
<i>tonghua</i>	童話
<i>Tonghua diyiji</i>	童話第一集
<i>tonghuaju</i>	童話劇
Tongmenghui	同盟會
<i>tongwangban</i>	銅網版
Tosa	土佐
<i>Toshi kiyō</i>	都市紀要
Tō-Sō-Gen-Min meigaten	唐宋元明名畫展
Tōyama Mitsuru	頭山滿
<i>Tōyō bijutsu taikan</i>	東洋美術大觀
<i>Tōyō ga gairon</i>	東洋畫概論
Toyokura	豊倉
Tsubaki Sadao	椿貞雄
<i>tsubo</i>	坪
Tsuboi Shōgorō	坪井正五郎
Tsuchiya Hōshū	土屋鳳洲 (Hiroshi 弘)
Tsuchiya Keizō	土屋計左右
Tsuda Seifū	津田青楓
Tsuji Hisashi	辻永
<i>Tsunoyama Shunkō ō senji</i>	角山簷翁薦事圖錄
<i>zuroku</i>	
"Tugesagu"	禿格薩谷
<i>tuhua</i>	圖畫
Ueda Kyūbee	上田久兵衛

Ueno Riichi	上野理一
<i>Uiki kin ga roku</i>	禹域今畫錄
<i>Uiki shutsudo bokuhō shohō</i> genryū kō	禹域出土墨寶書法源流考 (C. <i>Yuyu chutu mobao shufa yuanliu kao</i>)
<i>ukiyoe</i>	浮世繪
Umehara Ryūzaburō	梅原龍三郎
<i>Unjō muei</i>	雲情霧影
Unkonkan	雲根館
Utsumi Kichidō	內海吉堂
Wada Eisaku	和田英作
Wada Sanzō	和田三造
<i>Wagahai wa neko de aru</i>	吾輩ハ猫デアル
Wakimoto	脇本
Wang	王
Wang Chuantao	王傳燾
Wang Daizhi	王代之
Wang Dao	王道
Wang Fanqing	王藩清 (Tifang 體芳, Qinxian 琴仙)
Wang Guowei	王國維
Wang Hanliang	王漢良
Wang Hui	王翬 (Shigu 石谷)
Wang Jian	王鑑
Wang Jiyuan	王濟遠
Wang Kesan	王克三
Wang Meng	王蒙
Wang Mengwei	王夢微
Wang Renqian	王仁乾 (Tizhai 惕齋)
Wang Shigu	王石谷 (Wang Hui 王翬)
Wang Shimin	王時敏
Wang Tao	王韜
Wang Wei	王維
Wang Xizhi	王羲之
Wang Yachen	汪亞塵
Wang Yangming	王陽明
Wang Yemei	王治梅
Wang Yin	王寅 (Yemei 治梅)

Wang Yiting	王一亭
Wang Yiyou	王亦悠
Wang Yuanqi	王原祁
Wang Zhiben	王治本 (Qiyuan泰園)
Wang Zhichun	王之春
Wang Zhongxiu	王中秀
Watanabe Kazan	渡邊華山
<i>Weimei huaguan shichao</i>	味梅華館詩鈔
<i>weiqi</i>	圍棋
Wei Shoujin	衛壽金 (Zhusheng 鑄生)
Weiwen Pavilion	緯文閣
Weiyang	維揚
Wei Zhu	衛鑄
Weng Tonghe	翁同龢
<i>Wenguan cilin</i>	文館詞林
Wenhua dian	文華殿
Wen Jia	文嘉
<i>wenming liqi, yiguo zhi wenhua xiyan</i>	文明利器, 一國之文化系焉 xiyan
Wenming shuju	文明書局
<i>wenrenhua</i>	文人畫
<i>wenwu</i>	文物
Wenxue yanjiuhui	文學研究會
Wen Zhengmeng	文徵明
<i>wu</i>	無
Wu	吳
Wu Changshi	吳昌碩
Wu Dacheng	吳大澂
"Wuhui xinchuan"	吳會薪傳
Wu Jutan	吳鞠潭
Wu Li	吳歷
"Wuliangshoufo"	無量壽佛
Wu Rulun	吳汝倫
<i>wushen</i>	戊申
"Wu wan guan song"	舞灣觀松
Wuying dian	武英殿
Wu Zhiying	吳芝瑛

Wu Ziru	吳子茹
<i>xi</i>	喜
Xia Gui	夏圭
<i>Xiao chaopiao lixian ji</i>	小鈔票歷險記
<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i>	小說月報
<i>Xiaozhong xianda</i>	小中現大
"Xiatian de yige xiawu"	夏天的一個下午
Xie He	謝赫
Xie Huan	謝環
Xihu youmei shuhua she	西湖有美書畫社
<i>Xiju</i>	戲劇
Xiling yinshe	西泠印社
Xing-Ya hui	興亞會
Xing-Zhong hui	興中會
<i>Xinmin congbao</i>	新民叢報
<i>Xinmin ribao</i>	新民日報
Xin puyutang	新普育堂
<i>Xin shaonian</i>	新少年
Xiong Huizhen	熊會貞
<i>xiuxiang</i>	繡像
<i>Xiuxiang sanguo yanyi</i>	繡像三國演義
<i>Xixiangji</i>	西廂記
<i>Xiyang zazhi</i>	西洋雜誌
<i>Xiyue Huashan miaobei</i>	西岳華山廟碑
Xuebao	學報
<i>Xueyi zazhi</i>	學藝雜誌
Xue Zhen	薛珍
Xun Yuxiu	孫毓修
Xu Tiaofu	徐調孚
Xu Xingzhou	徐星洲
Xu Yuting	徐雨亭
<i>yacao</i>	雅操
<i>yaji</i>	雅集
Yamaguchi Kayō	山口華楊
Yamamoto Kanae	山本鼎

Yamamoto Kinzō	山本金藏
Yamamoto Teijirō	山本悌二郎
Yamanaka Kichibee	山中吉兵衛
Yamanaka Sadajirō	山中定次郎
Yamanaka Shinten'ō	山中信天翁
Yamanaka shōkai	山中商會
Yamanaka Shunkō	山中簷堂
Yamanaka shunkōdō	山中簷堂堂
Yamanoi Konron	山井昆侖
<i>Yama no kami</i>	山の神
Yamashita Shintarō	山下新太郎
Yamawaki Shintoku	山脇信徳
Yamazaki Shōzō	山崎省三
Yang Borun	楊伯潤
<i>Yangliu qunyan tu</i>	楊柳群燕圖
Yang Lu	楊璐
Yang Qingqing	楊清磬
Yang Yinfang	楊蔭芳
<i>yanjie</i>	眼界
Yan Liben	閻立本
Yan Zhenqing	顏真卿
Yao Wendong	姚文棟
Yasuda Rōzan	安田老山 (Mamoru 養)
Yasuda Yukihiko	安田靄彥
Yasui Sokken	安井息軒
Yasui Sōtarō	安井曾太郎
<i>yatuban</i>	亞土版
Ye Gongchuo	葉恭綽
<i>Yemei huapu</i>	冶梅畫譜
<i>Yemei lanzhu pu</i>	冶梅蘭竹譜
<i>Yemei meipu</i>	冶梅梅譜
<i>Yemei shipu</i>	冶梅石譜
Ye Shaojun	葉紹君
Ye Songshi	葉松石
Ye Wei	葉煒 (Songshi 松石)
<i>yi</i>	義
<i>yichou</i>	乙丑

Yi Fujiu	伊孚九
Yiluan	儀鸞
<i>yilu ping'an</i>	一路平安
<i>yimin</i>	遺民
<i>yin</i>	隱
<i>Yinjetuo zunzhe</i>	因揭陀尊者
<i>Yipan meiyou xiawan de qi</i>	一盤沒有下完的棋
<i>yiqi</i>	彝器
<i>Yishu</i>	藝術
" <i>Yishu</i> "	佚書
<i>yishu</i>	藝術
<i>Yitai yanghang</i>	義泰洋行
<i>Yiting xiansheng jingpin huaji</i>	一亭先生精品畫集
<i>Yiyuan zhenshangshe</i>	藝苑真賞社
<i>Yizhou shuangji</i>	藝舟雙楫
<i>Yoda Gakkai</i>	依田學海
<i>Yōga</i>	洋畫
<i>Yokoi Reiichi</i>	横井禮市
<i>yokyō</i>	余興
<i>Yomiuri shinbun</i>	讀賣新聞
<i>Yonaiyama Tsuneo</i>	米內山庸夫
<i>yong</i>	俑
<i>Yongping</i>	永平
<i>Yorozu Tetsugorō</i>	萬鐵五郎
<i>Yōryū Kannon</i>	楊柳觀音
<i>Yoshichi</i>	與七
<i>Yoshida Hiroshi</i>	吉田博
<i>Yoshida Takashi</i>	吉田桌
<i>Yoshida Shigeru</i>	吉田芭
<i>Yoshimura Yoshimatsu</i>	吉村芳松
<i>Yoshioka Heisuke</i>	吉岡平助
<i>Yoshizawa Kenkichi</i>	芳澤謙吉
<i>Yōshundō</i>	暢春堂
<i>you</i>	幽
<i>youmu chenghuai</i>	游目騁懷
" <i>Youqing shijie</i> "	有情世界
<i>You Xiaoxi</i>	游筱溪

Youxuan yu	輶軒語
Youzheng shuju	有正書局
Yuanpu	袁浦
"Yuanqi"	緣起
Yuan Shikai	袁世凱
Yuasa Ichirō	湯淺一郎
Yūbin hōchi shinbun	郵便報知新聞
Yu Dafu	郁達夫
Yu Jifan	俞寄凡
Yūki Somei	結城素明
Yun	惲
Yun Shouping (Nantian)	惲壽平(南田)
Yunoki Hisata	柚木久太
Yupian	玉篇
yūryokusha	有力者
Yuyuan	豫園
Yuyuan shuhua shanhui	豫園書畫善會
zaoxiang	造像
Zeng Ming	曾鳴
Zeng Yi	曾奕
"Zenyang yanjiu Zhongguo de jinyu wenti"	怎樣研究中國底金融問題
Zhang Chenbo	張辰伯
Zhang Hu er xiansheng qingjian tu	張胡二先生清鑒圖
Zhang Ji	張繼
Zhang Qiugu	張秋谷
Zhang Ruitu	張瑞圖
Zhang Xichen	章錫琛
Zhang Xiong	張熊
Zhang Yanyuan	張彥遠
Zhangyuan	張園
Zhang Yuguang	張聿光
Zhang Ziping	張資平
Zhang Zixiang	張子祥
Zhao Lingrang	趙令穰
Zhao Mengfu	趙孟頫

Zhao Pu	趙普
Zhao Shigang	趙時樞
Zhao Shou	趙獸
Zhao Zhiqian	趙之謙
Zheng Chang	鄭昶 (Wuchang 午昌)
Zheng Sixiao	鄭思肖
Zhengxinlu	徵信錄
Zhengyishe	正藝社
Zhen Jun	震鈞
Zhenshe	貞社
zhidu	制度
zhong	中
zhongdong	仲冬
Zhongfeng Mingben	中峰明本
Zhongguo gudai huihua zhi yanjiu	中國古代繪畫之研究
Zhongguo huaxue quanshi	中國畫學全史
Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang	中國繪畫變遷史綱
Zhongguo huihua lilun	中國繪畫理論
Zhongguo huihua shi	中國繪畫史
Zhongguo jinshi shuhua zhan	中國金石書畫展
Zhongguo meishu nianbiao	中國美術年表
Zhongguo meishupin	中國美術品
Zhongguo meishu shi: gudai pian	中國美術史:古代篇
Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi	中國美術小史
Zhongguo minghua	中國名畫
Zhongguo minghua ji	中國名畫集
Zhongguo Mingmo minzu yiren zhuhan	中國明末民族藝人傳
"Zhongguo shuhua"	中國書畫
Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu	中國文人畫之研究
Zhongguo wu	中國物
Zhongguo yishu luncong	中國藝術論叢
Zhongguo yuyan chubian	中國寓言初編
Zhonghua meishu sheying xuehui	中華美術攝影學會
Zhonghua shuju	中華書局

Zhonghua yishu daxue	中華藝術大學
"Zhong lan buzhong ai"	種蘭不種艾
Zhongqu yishao	中衢一勺
Zhong-Ri meishu xiehui (J. Chū-Nichi bijutsu kyōkai)	中日美術協會
Zhong-Ri yishu tongzhi hui	中日藝術同志會
Zhongwai ribao	中外日報
Zhongxuesheng	中學生
Zhouli	周禮
Zhou Wenju	周文矩
Zhou Zuoren	周作人
zhuan	篆
Zhu Cheng	朱偁
Zhu Derun	朱德潤
Zhu Jifang	朱季方 (Yinran 印然)
Zhu Menglu	朱夢廬
Zhu xi qi ya	竹谿棲鴉圖
Zhuyao xianchao	煮藥漫鈔
Zhu Yingpeng	朱應鵬
Zhu Ziqing	朱自清
Ziguang ge	紫光閣
zili	自立
Zilin hubao	字林滬報
ziyou jiaoyu	自由教育
Ziyuan	梓園
Zōjō Temple (Zōjōji)	增上寺
Zoku Nagasaki gajin den	續長崎畫人傳
Zou Tao	鄒弢
Zuigan	瑞岩 ("Ruiyan")
zun	尊

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