

## Ōbaku Zen Portrait Painting and Its Sino-Japanese Heritage

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Ōbaku is the name of the last and smallest of three major lineages of Chan (Japanese: Zen) Buddhism transmitted from China to Japan, the other two being the better-known Rinzai and Sōtō schools.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Rinzai and Sōtō lineages, which were imported in medieval times, the transmission of the Ōbaku line began hundreds of years later, following the emigration to Japan in 1654 of the south Chinese prelate Yinyuan Longqi (1592-1673; better known by the Japanese transliteration of his name, Ingen). Yinyuan claimed to occupy the thirty-second generation in a strict line of transmission going back to the ninth-century monk Linji (known in Japanese as Rinzai, the venerable founder of Rinzai Zen). In Japan, however, Yinyuan achieved fame as the leader of a monastic community easily distinguished from Japan's contemporary Rinzai lineages by virtue of its striking Chineseness.<sup>2</sup> While this Chineseness was most evident at the time in the general ambience of Ōbaku monasteries, where Chinese monks and their Japanese disciples re-created the ritual sights and sounds of Ming dynasty monastic life, today it is perhaps best preserved in the numerous portraits of Ōbaku abbots made in the first fifty years of the community in Japan – images that, at first glance, look strikingly foreign.

Political and economic turbulence attending the demise of the Ming dynasty in the mid- to late seventeenth century fostered the

emigration of monks, men of letters, artisans, and professionals from southern China to Nagasaki. The considerable knowledge and diverse skills of these accomplished immigrants generated renewed nationwide interest in Chinese traditions. The Tokugawa shogunate cultivated orthodox Confucian philosophy as a state ideology, and thus encouraged the naturalization in Japan of these emissaries of Chinese learning and elite culture. Yinyuan and his immediate disciples, the most prominent newcomers, in due course won ample government patronage, and the monasteries they founded formed the nucleus of a new school of Zen, later known as Ōbaku. Yinyuan and his entourage first served the needs of Chinese merchants and their families living in Nagasaki, but with the construction of a head temple in the environs of Kyoto, the lineage spread rapidly throughout Japan and acquired national stature. Numerous portrait paintings of prominent Ōbaku-lineage monks were produced for a burgeoning monastic community.

The Ōbaku monks were men of learning whose careers began, and in some cases flourished, in China in the last decades of the Ming dynasty. They were well-versed in the Chinese classics, and in the literary arts of calligraphy, poetry, seal carving, and painting, in addition to Buddhist scriptures and monastic regulations. They enjoyed immediate prestige in Japan, and were treated as exemplary representatives of late Ming society. They received considerable material and moral support from the Japanese military government and the imperial family, and were permitted to establish new monasteries, or convert existing monasteries, in Nagasaki and in many other areas of the country. According to a survey conducted in the year 1745, the monks had founded over a thousand monasteries and temples.<sup>3</sup> Chief among these was the head temple, Manpukuji, founded in 1661.

This influx of Chan monks to Japan greatly stimulated established Japanese Buddhist schools, and led to the growth of the arts and sciences. Ōbaku monks made significant contributions to Buddhist thought, institutional organization, and religious practice; they introduced advances in medicine and engineering, stimulated monastery building, and revitalized the art of Buddhist sculpture. Ōbaku monks and craftsmen succeeded in duplicating the Buddhist cloisters of late imperial China on Japanese soil. They constructed and renovated monastic halls, then filled them with ritual objects they either imported or re-created. Names of buildings and short Buddhist

maxims brushed in ink by monks were carved on wooden panels and profusely displayed on temple exteriors.

Numerous paintings in contemporary late Ming styles were created for the newly built or newly converted Ōbaku monasteries. Portraits of contemporary priests and venerable patriarchs in the Ōbaku lineage were in particular demand. Of the portraits extant from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, numbering over 250, most depict the leading Ōbaku abbots and their spiritual ancestors. Less venerable members of the overseas Chinese community were also depicted: a merchant, a political figure, an abbot's mother, a monk esteemed as a scholar and physician, and others. Artists also produced images of Buddhist deities – Buddhas, bodhisattvas, arhats, and eccentric figures – traditionally associated with Zen in Japan. These Ming-style portraits and paintings were displayed during rites and ceremonies of the calendar year, and took their place among numerous other categories of monastic cultural property: ritual paraphernalia, regalia and furnishings, musical instruments, library collections, memorials in stone, sculptures, works of calligraphy, gardens, halls, and stupas. Many were formal compositions executed in bright colours on silk or paper; others were brushed quickly in ink. Yet whether formal or informal, they were so unlike paintings previously produced in Japan that they clearly stood out as exotic and greatly stimulated later painters of Buddhist subjects in Japan.<sup>4</sup>

The pervasive influence of the Chinese monks in matters of religious doctrine, institutional practice, and early modern Buddhist culture did not, however, lead to the immediate acceptance of the Chinese monastic community in Japan. The Chinese monks arrived at a time when monks of the Rinzai and Sōtō schools also enjoyed patronage at the highest levels of Japanese society. The Chinese monks were associated with the prominent Rinzai lineage on the mainland, but had no close affiliation with either the Rinzai or Sōtō lines in Japan, nor were they entirely welcomed by the Japanese clergy. Some Japanese Rinzai monks were ecumenical in their attitude and embraced the émigré monks as Dharma brothers; indeed, their support was critical to the initial integration of the Chinese monastic community as a legitimate Zen lineage in Japan. However, their efforts to gain recognition for the émigré monks provoked an indignant and jealous response from other Rinzai monks, who were contemptuous of the claim by the Chinese to represent the authentic Rinzai lineage. The charge that the Chinese school was syncretic (and therefore impure),

having succumbed to Pure Land Buddhist influences, was typical of the polemical attacks.<sup>5</sup> Early prejudice against Ming Chinese religious practices extended to monastic culture and the arts. Vestiges of this prejudice survive into modern times. The investigation of such vestiges reveals a history of ambivalence towards the considerable accomplishments of the Ōbaku monastic community.<sup>6</sup>

The primary manifestation of this ambivalence is the relative neglect of the Ōbaku tradition by scholars of Zen in both Japan and the West. Western scholars of Chan and Zen tend to follow the lead of their Japanese mentors, and the research of Japanese scholars is in turn shaped in many ways by their sectarian affiliations. As the majority of Japanese Zen scholars emerge from either the Sōtō or Rinzai fold, the neglect and/or disparagement of Ōbaku is not surprising. Indeed, the comparatively fewer writings on Ōbaku come from historians within the Ōbaku school, whose own defensive attitudes and sectarian agendas have somewhat compromised their work. Only recently have scholars in Japan and the West begun to redress this situation and present us with a more balanced rendering of the history of the school and its contribution to Japanese Buddhism. It will no doubt take many years, however, to overcome the inertia of long-held attitudes.

This marked indifference and open antipathy has engendered the erroneous impression that the monks in Yinyuan's lineage made no significant contribution in the area of religious doctrine. Modern art historians interested in Ōbaku culture inadvertently reiterate this notion when making the claim that the real contribution of the émigré monks lay in the realm of the arts and sciences. Such scholars generally come to the study of Ōbaku art from an interest in the growth of the Chinese arts of poetry, painting, and calligraphy in Edo Japan. Literati culture is an Edo-period phenomenon with innumerable links to the Ōbaku monks and monasteries that flourished in Japan, particularly in the eighteenth century. The impact of the émigré monks on Japanese literati traditions has received more attention than any other aspect of Ōbaku culture.<sup>7</sup>

Unlike the literary arts of poetry, calligraphy, and painting, portrait painting is fundamentally a professional art and therefore attracts far less attention from art historians interested in elite facets of Ōbaku culture. Indeed, not unlike the school of Zen of which it forms a part, the school of portrait painting associated with the émigré Chinese monks has been marginalized by historians of art, its historical impact obscured or ignored.

In the art-historical scholarship on Ōbaku portraits, there is very little of significance predating 1983, with the exception of a single definitive monograph by Nishimura Tei.<sup>8</sup> In fact, until the 1980s, interest in Ōbaku portraits was limited to art historians doing research on regional artistic traditions in southern Japan. Most of these scholars accorded Ōbaku portraiture mention, along with Ōbaku-school painting generally, as one category of Nagasaki painting, taking, in my view, a somewhat unreflective approach to the material.<sup>9</sup> Contributions of style or pictorial convention were ascribed to the influence of largely Flemish-style European pictures introduced by Jesuit missionaries. Kita Genki (fl. ca. 1664-1709) was the only artist accorded serious attention, and scholars focused on but a handful of his many portraits. In short, Ōbaku portraits were regarded as the product of a minor school of “Westernized” painting in Japan.

Then, in the 1980s, historians working on the periphery of the academy began to move Ōbaku art and culture into the mainstream. Four deserve special mention.

Ōtsuki Mikio’s biographical dictionary of Ōbaku culture, edited with Katō Shōshun and Hayashi Yukimitsu, presents the lives of not only Ōbaku monks of all ranks but also literati painters, professional artists, lay patrons, government officials, other clerics, and figures from Ōbaku’s prehistory in China.<sup>10</sup> The dictionary is the most comprehensive single resource on the Ōbaku monastic community.

In 1983, Nishigori Ryōsuke began to publish a series of groundbreaking articles on Ōbaku portraiture in major academic journals.<sup>11</sup> His interest, sparked by the general neglect of this material, led him to introduce relatively unknown portraitists associated with the school and to re-evaluate the paintings and sort out the identities of the more familiar portraitists. He has also published accounts of seventeenth-century artists who supplied the Ōbaku community with orthodox Buddhist paintings. His research has established a foundation for the modern study of Ōbaku portrait painting, and I am singularly indebted to it here.

Nishigami Minoru, following on the heels of Nishigori, and with the help of Ōtsuki and others, has integrated his own considerable expertise in later Chinese painting into his study of Ōbaku artists. He was the chief curator involved in the major 1993 Kyoto National Museum fall exhibition devoted to Ōbaku art and culture.<sup>12</sup> His work in particular has furthered our knowledge of the prehistory of Ōbaku-style painting in China.

Helen Baroni, an American scholar of Japanese Buddhism, has written a comprehensive English-language overview of Ōbaku Zen. Her dissertation (1993) on Ōbaku Zen and the monk Tetsugen Dōkō (1630-82) and her book (2000) on Ōbaku Zen are rare instances of an outsider's measured appraisal of the evolution and stature of the school in Japan.<sup>13</sup>

Despite such recent contributions, however, modern scholars allocate Ōbaku portrait paintings no more than a minor role in the history of East Asian painting, excluding them from the mainstream because of their exotic style. A preoccupation with questions of stylistic heritage continues, as does a considerable ambivalence about placing Ōbaku portraits in the tradition of Chan/Zen painting, where, in my opinion, they squarely belong. That is, although scholars have no choice but to refer to Ōbaku portrait paintings by the Japanese term *chinzō*, a medieval term construed in modern times to signify formal portraits of Chan/Zen abbots, they nonetheless remain reluctant to accept them as full-fledged members of that venerable tradition. In their preoccupation with questions of style, they ignore or gloss over questions of meaning and function. In this chapter, I attempt first to portray and then to redress this situation.

### **A Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi at Eighty**

Kita Genki's best-known painting hangs against the plain plank walls of the Bunkaden, Manpukuji's treasure hall.<sup>14</sup> It is a life-size, half-length image depicting the Chinese priest Yinyuan Longqi in Buddhist ceremonial robes against a blank ground (Figures 9.1 and 9.2). The portrait subject, a distinguished and somewhat elderly gentleman, has long, well-groomed fingernails and neatly combed hair. Under a dark burgundy silk gown, he wears two robes: below, a brilliant white; above, a deep blue. Over the burgundy gown, a surplice of solid red silk lined in yellow is fastened by a jade ring and a shiny gilt metal clasp. In one hand, Yinyuan grasps a long wooden staff, gnarled and knotty; in the other, he holds the lacquered handle of an ornamental whisk such that a cascade of white animal hair trails over a sleeve.

The broad-shouldered figure squarely faces the viewer, gazing steadily ahead and surveying impassively all before him. Distinctive features – a high forehead yet relatively small eyes, a large nose and prominent cheekbones, a shapely mouth, and a strong jaw – define a handsome face no longer young. Dark hairs are found among the



Figure 9.1. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi at Eighty*. Self-eulogy dated 1671 (first month, fifteenth day). Artist's seal: "Genki." Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 138.4 x 60.2 cm. Shōindō, Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. (Photo: E. Sharf)



Figure 9.2. Detail of Figure 9.1. (Photo: E. Sharf)

snowy white; large freckles and faint pockmarks appear here and there on the jowls and nose. After prolonged viewing, the sheen of the skin asserts itself: wrinkles queue up on the forehead and encircle the eyes without marring the skin's outer fleshy layer. Soft hills and shaded valleys of smooth facial terrain – the eye socket, the cheek, the nostrils, the temples – dominate. The lips are slightly pursed, the eyes fully open – whites edged in red, pupils circled in black, the upper lid thick with lashes. The eyes, deep within their sockets, seem vaguely tense.

The portrait subject has inscribed a eulogy of his own composition above the image. In this we learn, among other things, that the portrait is to be preserved in the Shōindō (Pine Hall), Yinyuan's hermitage on the grounds of Manpukuji:

With staff in hand I reached the land of the sacred Mulberry,<sup>15</sup>  
 There gaining a head of hair white as frost and snow.  
 Yet with eyes as perfectly clear and pure as the Dharma realm,  
 My revealed half-figure all the more glowing,  
 I expound the meaning of Sākyamuni's holding up the flower  
 And awaken my descendants to the place of the great dream.  
 May this hang forever in the Pine Hall together with plum and bamboo,  
 And the teachings endure on earth as long as heaven reigns.

– *Self-eulogy by the old monk Yinyuan, age eighty, on the fifteenth day of the new year, 1671*<sup>16</sup>

### **Kita Genki's Legacy**

In the fourth month of 1673, slightly over two years after inscribing the portrait, Yinyuan Longqi fell ill and died, aged eighty-two.<sup>17</sup>

In 1671, the year he painted the portrait described above, Kita Genki was in the seventh year of a long career spanning almost five decades, yet this portrait would become in modern times his most published work. He survived Yinyuan by many years – so many, in fact, that his career and Yinyuan's overlap only slightly. Among Ōbaku portraitists, Genki belongs to the second, or even third, generation, yet, although little is known of Genki's life or his origins, the substantial body of work that he left behind has coloured the imagination of scholars who study the portraits of eminent monks in Yinyuan's line.

Genki's work has dominated the field with good reason: he was the most prolific and long-lived of all the artists thought to have produced portraits of the Chinese émigré monks and their disciples. Of all the



Ōbaku portraitists, only Genki has acquired a reputation of any note. His reputation was such that Nishimura Tei, in an early study, described an artist who preceded Genki as “before Genki already displaying splendidly the style and technique of Genki-style portraits.”<sup>18</sup> This almost exclusive focus on the artist, and, specifically, on his characteristic style, has skewed perceptions of Ōbaku portraiture in its entirety, and has led most modern scholars since the early twentieth century to identify the “Ōbaku style” with Genki’s own.

It is not difficult to list the dominant features of Genki’s style: the uncompromising *en face* pose of the portrait subjects, brightly coloured monastic robes, faces and hands hardened by a pronounced modelling method, summarily executed high seats (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). The harmonious application of shading in strong linear patterns on smooth flesh surfaces combines with the flat, opaque colours of the robes and a dominant, stylized line to produce a clean, sanitary effect. In Genki’s best-known paintings, the subtle portrayal of facial expression encourages the viewer to project his or her own consciousness into the portrait subject (Figures 9.1, 9.2, and 9.15 to 9.17); in many other



Figure 9.3. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi*. Artist’s seals: “Kita shi” and “Genki.” Executed after eighth month, 1674. Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 144.5 x 77.4 cm. Shōindō, Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. (Photo: E. Sharf)



Figure 9.4. Detail of Figure 9.3. (Photo: E. Sharf)

paintings in the “Genki style,” however, this sense of human relationship is noticeably absent (Figures 9.3, 9.4, and 9.19).

Genki’s forceful style has had the effect of marginalizing Ōbaku portraiture within the venerable *chinzō* tradition in East Asia. Medieval portraitists usually employ the three-quarter view – a decorous compositional format that complements the muted colour schemes, subdued calligraphic brushwork, and naturalizing features, such as the avoidance of strict symmetry, that have made these portraits so accessible to viewers.<sup>19</sup> Ōbaku portraits fare poorly in comparison with the more widely published portraits in this group, most of which feature Rinzai patriarchs, thus echoing the relationship of Ōbaku to Rinzai as a whole. Rarely expressed in the literature, but widely held, is the view that Ōbaku portraiture is difficult to reconcile with Japanese aesthetic sensibilities, that it is in bad taste and lacks elegance,<sup>20</sup> a normative judgment not inconsistent with the claim of influence from the West.

On reviewing the Japanese literature on Ōbaku portraits, it is apparent that Genki’s distinctive style led modern scholars to discover – above all else – “Western influence” in Ōbaku portraiture. Genki’s oeuvre helped relegate Ōbaku portraiture to a minor role in the history

of Western-style painting in Japan, and took its place in the modern art-historical struggle to identify the routes of Europe's influence on seventeenth-century East Asian painting.

### **Japanese Studies of Ōbaku Portrait Painting<sup>21</sup>**

In 1934, in the only definitive monograph on Ōbaku portrait painting, Nishimura Tei argued that Ōbaku portraits were infused with elements of Western painting. He called on the reader's mental repertoire of "old Western-style" paintings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century to account for the exotic appearance of Kita Genki's paintings (Figure 9.5). Advancing the theory that techniques of a school of painting called Nanban ("Southern Barbarian" or European)<sup>22</sup> somehow survived the persecution of Christianity in Nagasaki to influence artists associated with the Chinese émigré community, Nishimura postulated Genki's use of non-traditional pigments that produced a sheen on the painting's surface. Noting the use of walnut oil as a binder by the Christian artist Yamada Uemonsaku,<sup>23</sup> he speculated that Genki might also have used walnut oil, and therefore should be placed in the tradition of Nanban painting that survived underground in Nagasaki following the persecution of Christianity. He concluded by suggesting that Genki be regarded as belonging to a distant branch of Renaissance painting!<sup>24</sup>

Although unable to document the connection, Nishimura attributed the exotic appearance of Genki's portraits to early training in Nanban techniques.<sup>25</sup> In an article published eleven years later, however, he abandoned this theory.<sup>26</sup> This, however, did not prevent other scholars from adopting it, wholly or in part, and the notion of Western influence became deeply ingrained in studies of Ōbaku portraiture.<sup>27</sup>

Most subsequent scholars of Ōbaku portraiture have recognized the significance of the fact that the émigré monks arrived in Japan at a time when the importation of Western artifacts was restricted and the practice of Christianity banned. Ōbaku's florescence in Japan is in fact conveniently sandwiched between two eras of Western-style art – the era of Nanban-school painting of the "Christian century" (ca. 1542-1639) and the era of Dutch-school painting that followed renewed European contact (from ca. 1720). However, while some scholars continued to maintain that Ōbaku portraiture was a "transformation" of Nanban art,<sup>28</sup> others soon proposed that Ōbaku portraits (and other images) were transmitted from China to Japan already incorporating



Figure 9.5. Unknown artist (Japanese), *Portrait of St. Francis Xavier* (Jesuit missionary, 1506-52). First half of the seventeenth century. Framed panel, ink and colours on paper, 61.0 x 48.7 cm. Kobe City Museum. (Photo: Kobe City Museum)

features of Western painting methods, and were therefore entirely independent of the residue of Nanban painting in seventeenth-century Japan.<sup>29</sup>

Taniguchi Tetsuo proposed that Ōbaku portraiture be regarded as a Chinese-Western blend: Western techniques for facial depiction and modelling in light and shadow were added to what he described perfunctorily as an indigenous Chinese tendency towards realism in painting.<sup>30</sup> Such techniques were believed to have been derived from Western painting models brought to China with Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit missions, and subsequently transmitted to Japan. He argued that Ōbaku portraiture revitalized a stagnant tradition of Western-style painting in Nagasaki, that it was “a ray of light in the dark ages of Western-style painting in Japan.”<sup>31</sup>

By the 1940s, scholars had introduced the single most important figure in the prehistory of Ōbaku portrait paintings, the seventeenth-century portraitist Zeng Jing (1564-1647; Figures 9.6 and 9.7). The Zeng Jing style was believed to have been transmitted to Nagasaki from the southern regions of China, and included the painters Zhang



Figure 9.6. Zeng Jing (Chinese, 1564-1647), *Portrait of Pan Qintai* (b. ca. 1560). Artist's inscription dated 1621 (winter). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 116.5 x 58.5 cm. The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Michigan. (Photo: E. Sharf)



Figure 9.7. Detail of Figure 9.6. (Photo: E. Sharf)

Qi,<sup>32</sup> Fan Jue,<sup>33</sup> Yang Daozhen,<sup>34</sup> and Chen Xian.<sup>35</sup> Zeng Jing, whose work was believed to incorporate European painting techniques, was identified as Kita Genki's forebear.<sup>36</sup> I shall return to Zeng Jing's contribution below.

In the 1980s, Nishigori Ryōsuke began to point out the inadequacy of earlier accounts of Western influence on Ōbaku portraiture, disputing the observation that Genki and others used a kind of oil paint following Nanban traditions in Japan.<sup>37</sup> He argued that although many scholars have noted the presence of pigments with high colour saturation (*saido no takai enogu*) and of a slight surface sheen (*kōtaku*), no one has produced scientific confirmation that oil pigments were indeed used. Although a surface lustre may be observed in Ōbaku portraits, Nishigori explains that this could result from the admixture of animal glue. Regardless of whether oil was used as a binder instead of animal glue (*nikawa*), or whether an "oily" sheen (*abura jimi*) was incidentally produced, the pigments in early Western-style painting can be identified for the most part as traditional Japanese pigments used in non-traditional ways to effect a resemblance to imported European paintings.<sup>38</sup>

Nishigori disagrees that the modelling method of early Western-style painters such as Nobukata (active late sixteenth to early seventeenth century) resembles that found in Ōbaku portraits, stating that Nobukata's shading method is far more Westernized in style than that of Genki and his predecessors, and of a completely different quality. For example, although sometimes bluntly applied, shading reflects the presence of a fixed light source; the role of descriptive line is also largely disregarded (Figure 9.5). Moreover, colours of greater intensity (*meido*) are used, and the way highlights are created is different.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, after Nobukata, and up to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, figure paintings bearing a direct relationship to the early Western-style (Nanban) paintings were produced (only a small number, largely depictions of Bodhidharma, are extant; Figure 9.8). Although painted at the same time as Ōbaku portraits, these do not employ Taniguchi's blended Chinese-Western style.<sup>40</sup>

Citing Sakamoto Mitsuru, Nishigori adds that most early Western-style painters in Japan were trained in Western pictorial methods from the beginning of their careers, and were not originally trained in traditional Japanese techniques. In contrast, Kita Genki and other Ōbaku portraitists employ a brushline only artists trained in



Figure 9.8. Unknown artist (Japanese), *Bodhidharma*. Eulogy by Kangen Dōkō dated 1702 (spring). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 77.2 x 36.7 cm. Kobe City Museum. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)

traditional East Asian methods would use. Had Genki been trained in early Western-style painting, this would surely be evident, yet there is absolutely no evidence of such training.

Nishigori dismisses the Nanban theory for lack of evidence, pointing out that, although the names of numerous early Western-style painters are recorded, their paintings, and therefore, their styles, are lost; of extant “Japanese Western-style” works, there are almost none that postdate the mid-seventeenth century – only a handful of later Western-style images of Bodhidharma survive (Figure 9.8).

In contrast, points out Nishigori, many early Ōbaku paintings have been preserved in Japan, including portraits of patriarchs and paintings of arhats and other figure subjects. These works were painted either in China, by artists such as Chen Xian, or in Japan by Chinese émigré artists such as the Zeng Jing-school painter Yang Daozhen; these works have thus far received little attention. If one looks at the close relationship between the portraits painted by Kita Dōku (Chōbei; Genki’s predecessor and supposed father) and those by Yang Daozhen, there is no need to posit influence from Nanban painting on Ōbaku portraiture in Japan.<sup>41</sup>

Nishigori believes that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (after Matteo Ricci introduced European art to China), there appeared in China painters who incorporated Western modelling techniques as “an effective means for the expression of volume and the fine depiction of facial features.”<sup>42</sup> These Chinese painters, according to Nishigori, adapted techniques of Western painting to traditional methods, thus (following Taniguchi) giving birth to the Chinese-Western blend detectable in portraits by Genki and his predecessors. In particular, Nishigori describes the new method as one in which the traditional linear “bone-method” (*bokkotsu*) is combined with the careful application of traditional shading methods (*kumadori*) influenced by new Western techniques.<sup>43</sup> Nishigori believed that Chinese portraitists were singularly responsive to the stimulus of Western-style techniques. He regarded Western influence as particularly feasible because the émigré artists, and/or the imported art, largely originated in the area of Fujian in south China, a hub for foreign trade. Through the introduction of these paintings to Japan (and of painters trained in this technique), a tradition of Japanese Ōbaku portraiture was inaugurated. Nishigori proposed to take advantage of the wealth of extant early material in order to survey the techniques found there, something not previously attempted. He criticized previous scholars for straying from the analysis of concrete techniques and for using the term “Western style” as though it had a fixed meaning when it was in fact used in a variety of conflicting and imprecise ways.

While arguing convincingly that the issue of Western influence is best left to studies of Genki’s predecessors, Kita Dōku (Chōbei) and Yang Daozhen, as demonstrated by his own research on these artists, Nishigori nonetheless undertook a long overdue reassessment of the stature and contribution of Kita Genki.<sup>44</sup> In the course of sorting out the identity and career of the artist, however, Nishigori was also compelled to address the claim of Western influence in Genki’s corpus.

Native reactions to the vivid illusionism both in European paintings available for view in China and in Zeng Jing’s paintings have been recorded from the seventeenth century, and the remarkable similarity of such contemporary responses have fuelled the case for European influence there. Nishigori argues that the same is true for Kita Genki, whose reputation as a prolific painter of strangely vivid portraits is recorded in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century accounts, as seen in the following excerpts:



The depiction of the face evokes the feeling of confronting a living person.<sup>45</sup>

Many portraits of various patriarchs within the [Ōbaku] lineage are haunted by the master's hand.<sup>46</sup>

The Buddhist layman Kita Genki attained a mysterious quality in the depiction of figures ... his portraits of various Ōbaku monks are the most numerous.<sup>47</sup>

Nishigori also quotes a longer and purportedly more precise comment on Genki's painting style found in Watanabe Shūjitsu's *Nagasaki gajin den*<sup>48</sup> and concludes that Watanabe is equating Genki's painting method (*densen*) with an abundant use of an abstract shading method resembling that found in Western-style painting (*yōfūgateki na kumadori o tayō shita*). In reading the original excerpt, however, I do not find a specific reference to Western-style painting; instead, I find the fresh observation of something strikingly new and animated in Genki's work: "Kita Genki, also known as Chōbei, is skilled in portraiture and there is a new flavor/idea in his painting technique [*densen*] ... occasionally in those passages where he is copying from life there is a profoundly mysterious [capturing of the subject] without a single discrepancy [from life]."<sup>49</sup>

Finally, Ro Senri's *Kiyō senmin den*, dating from either 1731 or 1819,<sup>50</sup> is quoted by Nishigori as saying that "Genki skillfully used an eclectic blend of Chinese and Western painting methods [*kaban no gahō*] in painting portraits."<sup>51</sup> This line provides the earliest textual source for Nishigori's own assessment of Genki's style, and is also the first recorded mention of Genki. The source was written sometime during the period known as the "second phase of Western painting" in Japan, which began with the relaxation of the ban on foreign books of 1720. Since the European pictorial imagery imported by the Dutch at this time was fairly accessible, however, one might argue that, to an eye acquainted with such imagery, perhaps Genki's work did indeed appear to have a "Western" element.

As one last consideration, Nishigori cites an entry in the *Kiyō senmin den* on the Kanei-era (1624-43) painter Ikushima Saburōsa.<sup>52</sup> Nishigori believes that this account may indicate that Nanban painting was taught in Satsuma. This may be relevant to a study of Kita Genki because Genki's father, known to be in Satsuma at the time, may have encountered Nanban painting there. Nishigori, however, does not

know whether or not any connection to Nanban painting can be drawn from this or from the fact that Genki's father took his son to Nagasaki, where Nanban painting is well attested. Nishigori, has, in any case, rejected Nishimura's theory of influence from Nanban painting traditions on other grounds.

Despite the sophistication of Nishigori's account, and his sensitivity to the artistic accomplishments of Ōbaku portraitists – a sensitivity to which all subsequent assessments of Ōbaku painting are fundamentally indebted – I shall argue that the rubric of Western influence is laden with ideological preconceptions that ultimately hinder rather than further our appreciation of the contribution of the Ōbaku portraitists.

### The Zeng Jing Link

The struggle to delineate European influence in the realm of portraiture can be seen clearly in the case of Zeng Jing, a well-connected professional artist in late Ming China who was often commissioned to paint portraits of the learned men among his friends and acquaintances.<sup>53</sup> A native of Fujian, his career brought him to Zhejiang and Nanjing, where he died in 1647. It is not surprising that a new look in portraiture is attributed to Zeng Jing's adaptation of pictorial techniques of Western art. Lending weight to this conclusion are the simple facts of his biography: that he worked in an area of China close to the European trade, that Flemish-style paintings had already been produced by Chinese artists, and that some of his colleagues had direct contact with the missionaries, including Matteo Ricci. Zeng Jing even wore eyeglasses! In addition, portraitists are thought singularly responsive to the stimulus of European-style techniques.

Hsiang Ta, building on the work of earlier Chinese and Japanese scholars, believed portraiture to be the first painting tradition to exhibit the influence of the imported European pictures, and Zeng Jing the first portraitist to feature European painting techniques in his work.<sup>54</sup> Hsiang argued that Matteo Ricci arrived in Nanjing while Zeng Jing was residing there, and therefore the artist could have encountered Christian pictures in a Nanjing Jesuit church, as did several of the artist's acquaintances. According to Hsiang, modern scholars detected evidence of European influence in Zeng's method of layering washes "often tens of times," a modelling technique believed to be unprecedented in China. Such scholars convincingly portrayed

Zeng Jing as an innovator who combined Chinese and European elements with such success that he engendered a new school of portraiture. His approach remained, however, a Chinese one, with “engrafted Western methods.” Zeng Jing’s style dominated subsequent portrait making in China, even when, with the arrival of increasing numbers of European art objects, there emerged in the early Qing dynasty painters “who used purely Western methods to do portraits.”<sup>55</sup>

In a brief treatment of the artist, James Cahill focused on Zeng Jing’s exposure to two tendencies in the early seventeenth century: “an increased concern with the individual, and the introduction to China from European sources of the artistic means for capturing individuality, more than before, in pictures.” To Cahill, Zeng Jing’s portraits were “strikingly more realistic than any that had preceded them in China.” As evidence for Zeng Jing’s Westernized manner, he cited remarkably similar contemporary accounts of reactions to Zeng Jing’s portraits and to European pictures in which human figures are described as so strikingly real that they appear to be reflections in a mirror.<sup>56</sup>

Nishigori Ryōsuke agreed with other scholars that Zeng Jing probably had the opportunity to view and study the imported works in Nanjing. Following earlier studies by Yonezawa Yoshiho, he argued that Zeng Jing could adopt a Western modelling method precisely because he was a professional painter.<sup>57</sup>

Nishigori explained that the mainstream painters of the day were literati who, as a result of emphasizing “spirit-resonance” (Japanese: *kiin*, Chinese: *qiyun*), tended to despise, or think little of, “formal likeness” (Japanese: *keiji*, Chinese: *xingi*). He argued that this did not mean that European techniques that involve the pursuit of formal likeness, such as modelling and perspective methods, were entirely ignored by literati society. The traditional goal of East Asian portraiture, as expressed in the terms “transmitting the spirit and rendering the light” (Japanese: *denshin shashō*), or “rendering the truth” (Japanese: *shashin*), had been to transmit the life and living spirit (Japanese: *seimei seishin*) of the portrait subject. This aim was achieved only by the objective depiction of the countenance of a portrait subject. Thus, portrait painters were constrained, at the very least, to wholeheartedly embrace realism in the depiction of the face. Furthermore, most portrait painters were of a class lower than that of the scholar-officials and thus did not share the same bias against formal likeness.

Nishigori concluded, however, that because of Zeng Jing’s

associations with men of letters his works had a strong grounding in the structural method of traditional Chinese brushwork. The artist adapted techniques of European shading but stopped short of abandoning the traditional emphasis on line. The resulting style was praised by Zeng's contemporaries, and, because of this acceptance, continued to be widely practised by his followers.

Lu Suh-fen challenged the common assumption of European influence in the work of Zeng Jing. Lu balanced Zeng Jing's sojourn in Nanking, his acquaintance with acquaintances of Ricci, the evidence of Zeng's eyeglasses, and the like against the evidence that Zeng Jing's circle included Ming men of letters, and, late in life, Buddhist monks. European elements are shown to comprise only a minor part of his known, albeit skeletal, biography.

In an analysis of Zeng Jing's style based on thirteen extant paintings, Lu argued that the 1610s saw the production of portraits entirely traditional in style. In the 1620s, according to Lu, Zeng Jing perfected a shading technique that exhibited a better understanding of anatomy, as seen in eight paintings that display his technical progress (Figures 9.6 and 9.7). Lu compared actual techniques in Zeng's portraits with those in contemporary European paintings (because none from Ricci's day survive, she used surviving examples from Japan) and concluded that Zeng Jing developed a shading technique "not far from that of conventional Chinese art." His achievement, therefore, was the "perfect combination of traditional and innovative techniques" such that the portraits remained acceptable to his patrons.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, Marshall Wu highlighted two points: (1) Zeng Jing's own training as a portraitist had a basis in local, long-established traditions of portraiture in Fujian, traditions encompassing portraits of ancestors and portraits of Chan Buddhist abbots; and (2) the artist at a young age was already well connected in the Jiangnan area, China's cultural heartland, perhaps because of his early training as a portraitist in Fujian. Wu identified two local traditions of portrait painting: (1) the linear tradition of Zeng Jing's youthful home, Fujian; and (2) the colour wash tradition of the Jiangnan region. He found in Zeng Jing's skillful blending of the two traditions the key to the artist's contribution as a portraitist. His careful analysis of Zeng Jing's corpus led him to believe that significant influence of European painting techniques on Zeng Jing was unlikely.<sup>59</sup>

Despite these differences of opinion, it remains a possibility – however likely or unlikely – that Zeng Jing had access to European

pictures and modified his work accordingly. Yet, as I shall argue, the assertion of European influence in Chinese and Japanese painting has deeper and far more tenacious roots.

### **The Imposition of Orthodoxy**

A scholarly tradition upholding the arts of poetry and calligraphy as models for the accomplishment of painting evolved in China beginning at least as early as the Northern Song dynasty and reaching a highwater mark in the Yuan dynasty. This amounted to an exaltation of the tools and techniques of the art of calligraphy and the rejection of traditional materials and methods of professional painting. Ink, paper, and light colour washes were favoured over bright colours and silk. Spontaneity, directness, and an “antique flavour” (Chinese: *guqi*) attained through a deliberate awkwardness of brushwork were nurtured, and conscious borrowing from the works of certain ancient masters authorized. Practitioners of this tradition represented the mainstream of the governing Chinese elite; they emphasized antiquity, favoured the awkward over the elegant, and painted works with a certain aloof purity. By the seventeenth century, the distinction between scholar-amateur and professional painter was canonized in the theoretical writings of the artist-critic Dong Qichang (1555-1636). In spite of the numerous modern critical appraisals of Dong’s theoretical position, the orthodox views he represents have greatly influenced the approach of modern scholars to the study of Chinese painting.

The influence of the orthodox tradition can be seen in the degree to which we are still reinscribing certain normative valuations that are, at base, reflections of a class interest – the long-standing prejudice against professional painters among the elite scholar-official class.<sup>60</sup> To the literati, professional paintings are not so much works of art as they are decorative furnishings.<sup>61</sup> This prejudice has resulted in a reluctance to give critical recognition to the techniques, materials, and processes mastered by the professionals. The fact that the aesthetic nature of literati painting seems to coincide with certain aesthetic predilections of the twentieth-century West reinforces our tendency to be seduced by it.

The lofty central position accorded the literary arts of poetry, calligraphy, and painting by some modern scholars has left them with the problem of where to place the non-literary, professional traditions of Chinese painting. They find themselves in the uncomfortable position of ignoring or rejecting whole traditions ordinarily subsumed

by the rubric “Chinese painting,” or having to resort to such phrases as “pure Chinese painting” or “the central painting tradition” to describe the literati tradition. When departures from linear draftsmanship are occasionally brought to critical attention, they more often than not are attributed to foreign influence, a move that reinforces the orthodox exaltation of line.

One manifestation of this is the critical classification of Chinese painting into traditions identified with individuals characterized as men of genius and success. Artistic developments are seldom illuminated with reference to an anonymous collectivity,<sup>62</sup> and it is rare that a painter is lauded for his shading technique.<sup>63</sup> Typical of this classificatory scheme is the nearly exclusive association since the Song and Yuan periods of fine-line linear traditions with the Six Dynasties painter Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344-406), and calligraphic linear traditions with the figural art of the painter Wu Daozi (active ca. early to mid-eighth century),<sup>64</sup> an association originating in a broad distinction of two major linear brushwork styles recorded as early as the Tang in Zhang Yanyuan’s *Lidai minghua ji* (preface dated 847).<sup>65</sup>

Although the exaltation of line in traditional and modern accounts is supported by the evidence of many Chinese paintings, the visual record also reveals a continued strong emphasis on colour and shading. In pre-Han and Han traditions, painting is grounded in the play of line on the flat surface of the picture plane, and sometimes little else is employed to create pictorial illusion. In Han tomb mural painting, however, colour is often applied as local colour with a lively folkish disregard for outline. Even where the basic structure of a pictorial composition relies on line, the abundant use of colour and even what a few describe as “indigenous” shading techniques are featured.

Although in much of the extant pictorial art of the Six Dynasties period line remains pre-eminent, some works make conspicuous use of colour or colour shading; these works include well-known attributions to the celebrated artist Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344-406) and related archeological material in media such as lacquered wood. Although colour is, on the whole, applied with restraint as washes of flat, local colour or as occasional colour shading, its contribution to the achievement evident in individual compositions is not insignificant.

Judging from extant paintings, Tang and Song artists (and later artists working in Tang and Song traditions) employed a liberal use of both colour and shading to capture the illusion of the vivid presence of real or imagined forms – in many instances, they far exceeded artists

of earlier periods. The depth or three-dimensionality attained was fundamentally dependent on linear draftsmanship, but the application of shading enhanced the corporeality of the human figure with much the same effect as a deepening of skin tone. The figure painter was aware of shading and colour as a means of refining the image – of engendering warmth, life, and the reality of a living, breathing individual. Without it, the image might appear flat, cold, or dull.

It is true that even where modelling techniques are routinely employed, as in Chinese Buddhist painting, shading (like dark colouring) is often reserved for subsidiary figures and figures of foreign origin (Figure 9.9) – flanking attendants or arhats, for example – and is regarded as inappropriate for idealized, central figures, as though reflecting an aesthetic aversion to shading. Indeed, the literati aesthetic views lack of restraint in the use of shading as somewhat vulgar, and typically associates it with foreign influence – often from India or Europe, but also from Central and West Asia.



Figure 9.9. Zhou Jichang and Lin Tinggui (both active ca. 1178), *Arhat Manifesting Himself as the Bodhisattva Eleven-headed Guanyin*. One of a set of 100 paintings depicting the Five Hundred Arhats. Dedicatory inscription by Yishao (abbot of the monastery Huiyuan, Zhejiang, ca. 1175) dated 1178. Hanging scroll mounted on panel, ink and colours on silk, 111.5 x 53.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Detail: head of flanking arhat. (Photo: Denman Waldo Ross Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Most modern scholars, in fact, follow traditional Chinese aesthetics in their association of the application of shading from at least the sixth century AD onward with Buddhist painting. They generally have in mind ancient abstract shading techniques transmitted from India to China and evident in extant paintings at Buddhist cave sites such as Ajanta in India and Dunhuang in China. The extant evidence for shading techniques in pre-Buddhist Chinese paintings is generally presented as episodic. Well after Buddhism has been assimilated in Tang and Song China, the liberal use of shading is, more often than not, ignored entirely.

There are exceptions, however, to this dominant trend. Wen Fong's instructive paper focusing on the evolution of a tradition of "receding-and-protruding" painting (Chinese: *aotuhua*) at the cave site of Dunhuang is one important example.<sup>66</sup> His article represents a modern reiteration of the orthodox view that yet offers significant place to at least one technique of shading in the history of Chinese painting.

We may raise the issue of whether the emphasis on shading in Ōbaku portraiture is indeed European or in part Indic – as mediated through many centuries of the Chinese appropriation of an Indian technique. Two approaches to this issue have, in fact, appeared in the scholarly literature on Ōbaku painting. The first is found in a study of the painter Chen Xian (active ca. mid-seventeenth century) by Aschwin Lippe.<sup>67</sup>

Chen Xian was a maker of Buddhist images closely associated with the Ōbaku school in Japan. His paintings have been implicated in the search for routes of European influence on Ōbaku portraiture and figure painting. He is, like Kita Genki, a well-known artist directly associated with the émigré community whose figure paintings also exhibit a heavy, abbreviated shading technique typically labelled as "Western" (Figure 9.10).

In his short, informative article on the artist, Lippe argues that the "Western influence" identified as European in a handscroll of arhats by Chen Xian was "a thousand years older and not European but Indian." Lippe dismisses the possibility of significant contact with European pictures by artists active in Fujian. Instead, he argues that Chen Xian, as a Zhe-school artist, was heir to a figure painting tradition of facial and bodily shading that had survived in religious paintings in China since the time of its appearance in the wall paintings of Dunhuang. It remained "strong and alive" in the art of the Six Dynasties and the Tang periods, and (although it survived in later





Figure 9.10. Chen Xian (active ca. mid-seventeenth century), *Bodhidharma*. Appended inscription by Tesshin Dōhan (1641-1710) dated 1709. Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on paper, 122.8 x 57.4 cm. Kobe City Museum. (Photo: E. Sharf)

Buddhist painting and portraiture) “disappeared in the secular amateur painting which was to dominate the following centuries.”<sup>68</sup>

Forced to confront the argument for European influence in seventeenth-century China, Lippe adopts, like most Western scholars of Chinese art in his day, the orthodox view that the “Western influence” originated in ancient techniques of Buddhist painting introduced from lands west of China, lands thought to have received, in some degree, influence from Western culture as represented by Greco-Roman civilization.

Lippe was not the only one to claim that there was a family resemblance to ancient Buddhist art in the technique of shading used in Ōbaku figure painting; this observation appears in some Japanese scholarship as well.<sup>69</sup> In fact, Nishigori applies the term for abstract but heavy shading (Chinese: *aotuhua*; Japanese: *ōtotsuga*) to the modelling method utilized by Kita Genki in an argument concerning the development of the artist’s mature style.<sup>70</sup> Nishigori likens Genki’s mature shading technique to the method of abstract shading that, he says, has been known in China since the Tang dynasty. Following Suzuki Kei, he claims that if we consider “receding-and-protruding

painting” to have influenced the development of portrait painting in Ming China, we need not postulate the influence of newly imported European painting methods

Nishigori, however, utilizes the resemblance to “receding-and-protruding painting” of the shading technique in Genki’s late paintings not to dispute the influence of European pictures in the Ming (as did Lippe) and in Ōbaku portrait painting in Japan but to explain why Genki’s works are indeed rather “traditional.” Here Nishigori accepts the ancient technique as a fully East Asian pictorial tradition and notes that its role as a source of Western influence was limited by an overly schematic application of light and shade, one that had virtually abandoned the role of modelling and, at any rate, had been forgotten over the centuries. He describes the ancient technique as it survived in East Asia as a method of simple colour shading (Japanese: *bokashi*) applied in harmony with a clear outline.

Nishigori states that, consciously or unconsciously, Genki’s mature style incorporated a technique striking in its similarity to the ancient method – a technique that astonished in its illusionistic effects, but also repelled those unfamiliar with stylized and heavily applied shading (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). Ironically, in the revival of the ancient shading method, Genki’s work signalled a change in emphasis from shading to line and a return to traditional formal means. It also destroyed the particular way in which the Chinese and European elements had been blended by the Ming portraitists among Genki’s immediate precursors. Nishigori concludes that the crude impression one has of Ōbaku painting can be attributed to the cacophonous quality of a now inharmonious blend of line and shading.<sup>71</sup>

The heavy application of shading in Ōbaku portraits is still linked in Nishigori’s account, therefore, to the inherited European influence found in Ming portraiture. Nishigori claims that European painting imported to late Ming China focused attention anew on the relationship of light and shade. This stimulated the use of European-style shading as “an efficient means of achieving three-dimensionality.”<sup>72</sup> The result was not, however, a uniform shading method based on a single fixed light source but an abstract shading technique without direct relationship to light. Chinese painters preserved the traditional linear bone method as indispensable in capturing the inner spirit of the portrait subject, but suppressed the power of line by exchanging line for shadow in an effort at harmonizing the two. This three-dimensionality drawn from

European shading methods produced a facial depiction unlike, in its realistic flavour, that of contemporary or earlier Japanese portraits, hence its origins are firmly Ming. This particular blend of Chinese and European methods was introduced to Japan via imported paintings and émigré artists and established the format and style of early Ōbaku painting.<sup>73</sup> It is this, as opposed to Lippe's, theory that remains the most widely accepted explanation of the "Western elements" perceived in Ōbaku portrait painting.

Coming this far in the discussion, we have seen that there is an overriding tendency on the part of scholars to link the incidence of shading techniques throughout the history of East Asian painting with Western influence of one sort or another. In fact, this is the case whether or not a particular scholar adheres to the orthodox view of Chinese painting, or attempts to nuance it with respect to techniques of shading ordinarily labelled foreign. If Nishigori's (as opposed to Lippe's) position is representative of current Ōbaku painting scholarship, it is ultimately Europe (and not India) that persists as the immediate source of "Western influence" in the seventeenth century.

### **The Prestige of the Renaissance**

"The Chinese ... have not at all acquired the skill of Europeans ... They know nothing of the art of painting [in] oil or of the use of perspective in their pictures, so their productions have no life in them at all," thus wrote Matteo Ricci, who nonetheless was sufficiently impressed with the Chinese to say: "I am of the opinion that the Chinese possess the ingenious trait of preferring that which comes from without to that which they possess themselves, once they realize the superiority of the foreign product." Joachim von Sandrart, the first European art historian to mention China, wrote along the same lines when he stated that the Chinese "through their natural exquisite taste" would make considerable use of European techniques if given the opportunity to master them.<sup>74</sup>

Some modern art historians, fully aware of the old European habit of elevating European painting techniques over those of other civilizations, nonetheless also claim European inspiration for elements almost all of which have precedents in Chinese painting. They acknowledge precedents in Chinese painting but deny them the status of significant contributing factors.<sup>75</sup>

This identification of European influence in late Ming and early

Qing painting has elicited considerable criticism from some modern Chinese scholars. Even in the seventeenth century, as noted earlier, the Chinese confronted the claims of the Europeans with claims of their own. Gu Qiyuan, a scholarly acquaintance of Matteo Ricci, wrote: “The European Matteo Ricci says that [their] painting uses the method of concavities and convexities, and that there is no one today [in China] who understands this.” Gu countered this claim with evidence gleaned from ancient texts that illusionistic shading techniques were introduced from the West in ancient times, well before the introduction of European pictures to China. He specifically described how the three-dimensional rendering of flowers on the portals of a Buddhist temple by the sixth-century painter Zhang Sengyou deceived the viewer into believing that the flowers were actually fashioned in sculpturesque relief. Gu thereby claimed considerable antiquity for the Chinese mastery of three-dimensional modelling techniques.<sup>76</sup>

We have also seen, however, that not a few modern scholars support the notion of European influence; for many, perhaps, the Renaissance remains a hidden but nonetheless potent force underpinning the claim of European influence.

Until the 1930s (and again in the 1970s), claims of European influence in late imperial China were of modest significance. They involved lesser-known professional artists who either imitated, struggled to emulate, or crudely exploited European traditions. Such professionals included copyists in Jesuit ateliers in China and Japan, eighteenth-century court artists in China, and nineteenth-century Chinese artists fuelling the souvenir market. The modesty of such claims made all the more exciting the discovery of European influence, bolstered by accounts of intense popular interest in European pictures, in elite Chinese artists of the seventeenth century. Those who asserted influence on elite artists could be assured of making significant claims. They cited the “intellectual sophistication” of Matteo Ricci and his confreres and the fact that converts were made in “high places.” The prestige of the High Renaissance (hence, of realism, perspective, and *chiaroscuro*) also elevated the seventeenth-century achievement to the detriment of Chinese pictorial traditions. Inadvertently, perhaps, the West garnered credit for all advances in shading technique.

On the other hand, descriptive naturalism, experimental method, and visual realism, it was argued, are not fundamentally Chinese. They bloom in China only to wither and die. These particular practices

rely on mere skill: manual skills in draftsmanship, manual skills in preparing materials, manual skills in achieving illusionistic effects, and so on. In contrast, facility with the flexible brush, the mastery of the art of calligraphy and its symbolic language, were critically sanctioned in China. Representational effects are not fundamentally Chinese; the pursuit of appearance is Western. Therefore, the “vulgar” effects of strong shading in Chinese portraits are the result of Western influence.

Claims of Western influence on Chinese painting are thus ideologically laden. They arise from certain preconceptions concerning the nature of mainstream Chinese painting. In cases where a technique is thought “new and innovative” (Figures 9.6 and 9.7), claims of Western influence are generated by preconceptions concerning Renaissance and post-Renaissance painting. Renaissance painting, in short, lays claim to the fundamental artistic insight that by suppressing line, the modelling of solids in three dimensions enhances the illusion of volume. Chinese painting, with its assumed reliance on line, is characterized as a tradition without commerce in plasticity. Only when stimulated by strikingly different European pictures in the era of the Jesuit missions, so the characterization goes, did Chinese artists begin to set foot on a well-trodden Western path.

In the case of Ōbaku portrait painting, claims of Western influence seem to arise from an aversion to heavy shading rather than from admiration of volumetric form. Western influence, be it European or Indic in origin, is called in to explain the single most exotic (and disturbing) feature of the paintings. There is a sense in which the focus on Western influence, arising as it does from an analysis of Genki’s late style, leads ultimately to the disparagement of Ōbaku portrait painting as a pictorial tradition in East Asia. Ōbaku portraitists emerge as passive and sometimes inept technicians struggling to emulate an alien achievement.

In questioning this standard treatment of Ōbaku portrait paintings, I do not mean to argue for or against the notion of Western influence per se. Ultimately, I am not interested in substantiating or refuting claims of such influence but rather, following Michael Baxandall’s well-known observation that “‘influence’ is a curse of art criticism,”<sup>77</sup> my concern is to move the discussion away from a preoccupation with what may turn out to be a red herring.

### **A New Appraisal**

An informed selection of portraits of Ōbaku monks that predate Kita Genki as well as portraits by Genki reveals far more going on than a clumsy fusion of traditional Chinese line and heavy Western shading. Beginning with the Zeng Jing manner as seen in paintings by such artists as Zhang Qi and Yang Daozhen, portraitists combined skillful draftsmanship with a strikingly sensitive shading method. They captured infinite and minute differences in physiognomy and feature: the underlying facial structure, the warmth and pliability of skin, and the texture of facial and head hair. They painstakingly blended modelling strokes, subtle washes, and suppressed lineaments, and achieved a strong sense of personality and vitality (Figures 9.11 and 9.12).

In its transmission to the émigré community in Japan, the Zeng Jing manner was imitated and then transformed. Kita Genki and his immediate predecessor, Kita Dōku (Chōbei), evolved a new style of portraiture; they generated a relatively large number of carefully executed paintings featuring dramatic new modelling methods, bright colours, skillful draftsmanship, pleasing new compositions, and



Figure 9.11. Yang Daozhen (active ca. 1656-57 and ca. 1663), *Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi Seated on a Lion*. Eulogy by Huimen Rupei (1615-64). Artist's inscription dated 1657 (third month, sixteenth day). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 117.9 x 56.1 cm. Tenshinin, Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)



Figure 9.12. Yang Daozhen (active ca. 1656-57 and ca. 1663), *Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi at Sixty-Six*. Eulogy by Huimen Rupei (1615-64). Artist's inscription dated first day of the first lunar month (1657?). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 114.9 x 53.6 cm. Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)



Figure 9.13. Kita Dōku (Chōbei) (active ca. 1657-63), *Portrait of Yinyuan Longqi*. Central scroll of a triptych with Muan Xingtao (1611-84) and Jifei Ruyi (1616-71). Self-eulogy dated 1668 (fourth month). Seal: "Chō." From a set of three hanging scrolls, ink and colours on paper, each 112.5 x 44.9 cm. Kobe City Museum. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)

attractive designs for the chairs, robes, and regalia of high monastic office. Kita Dōku's little-known corpus, its significance to Kita Genki's artistic development as yet relatively unrecognized, established a

Figure 9.14. Kita Dōku (Chōbei) (active ca. 1657-63), *Portrait of Jifei Ruyi*. Left scroll of a triptych with Yinyuan Longqi and Muan Xingtao. Self-eulogy. Seal: “Chō.” From a set of three hanging scrolls, ink and colours on paper, each 112.5 x 44.9 cm. Kobe City Museum. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)



highwater mark for Ōbaku painting in Japan. Kita Dōku's immaculate, clean-cut surfaces, sensitive washes, symmetries, and adroit brushwork, converged in the achievement of a convincing and harmonious three-dimensional rendering of the portrait subject's face. Kita Dōku initiated what would become characteristic in Kita Genki's work: a reliance on line and geometry that created a mood of reserve and replaced in large measure the warmth and intimacy of the earlier Chinese portraits (Figures 9.13 and 9.14).

In Kita Genki's early works, he achieved a delicate balance between the Zeng Jing manner and his own singular artistic sensibility (Figures 9.15 and 9.16). Subtle, naturalistic detail, however, gradually gave way to the bold presentation of stylized form. In his best-known works, Genki made use of higher contrasts of light and shade, stronger symmetries, and more obvious surface patterns (Figures 9.1 and 9.17). Building on Kita Dōku's characteristically cosmetic surfaces, Genki endowed his portrait subjects with youthful vigour and robust physiques, in the process rendering them more imposing. Strength and prowess replace frailty and age. Eventually, this style hardened into one featuring the application of extremely heavy linear shading and a dramatic stylization of form (Figures 9.3, 9.4, and 9.19). This is explainable in part, perhaps, with reference to the existence of a





Figure 9.15. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Wang Xinqu* (1594-1678). Eulogy by Qiandai Xingan (1636-1705) dated 1679. Seal: “Genki.” Ca. 1667(?). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 99.2 x 43.0 cm. Kobe City Museum. (Photo: E. Sharf)

workshop. It may also be interpreted as the result of a Japanization of a Chinese tradition: a sweeping away of the infirmity of age in the images of émigré monks who have attained, surprisingly swiftly, national prominence in Japan. This transformation of the relatively modest Zeng Jing manner can perhaps best be explained by the desire to achieve imagery of greater power and prestige. Interpretations based largely on stylistic analysis, however, must remain speculative.

Underlying this rarely observed transformation of Ōbaku portraits is the long institutional history of the Buddhist portrait. A brief example must suffice.

### A Portrait of Miyun Yuanwu at Age Sixty-Eight

In the Ōbaku family of monks, Miyun Yuanwu (1566-1642)<sup>78</sup> and Feiyin Tongrong (1593-1661),<sup>79</sup> stand in the positions, respectively, of “grandfather” and “father” to Yinyuan. That is, Yinyuan’s lineage places Miyun and Feiyin, respectively, in the thirtieth and thirty-first generation after Linji, the ninth-century Chan master, and Yinyuan in

Figure 9.16. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Duli Xingyi* (1596-1672). Self-eulogy dated 1671 (spring). Seal: "Genki." Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 111.5 x 50.2 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art; Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund. Detail. (Photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art)

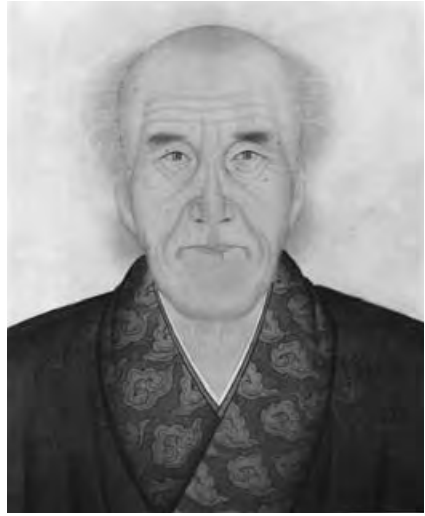


Figure 9.17. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Jifei Ruyi*. Self-eulogy dated 1671 (first month, fifteenth day). Seal: "Genki." Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper, 208.0 x 93.8 cm. Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)



the thirty-second generation. Given the formative roles played by Miyun and Feiyin in Yinyuan's monastic career, and their patriarchal status as venerable ancestors, it is instructive to note that portrait



Figure 9.18. Attributed to Yang Daozhen (active ca. 1656-57 and ca. 1663), *Portrait of Miyun Yuanwu* (1566-1642). Central scroll of a triptych with Feiyin Tongrong (1593-1661) and Yinyuan Longqi. Eulogy by Yinyuan Longqi on separate sheet of paper pasted to painting. Ca. 1656. From a set of three hanging scrolls, ink and colours on paper, each 164.0 x 66.5 cm (paintings: 121.0 x 66.5 cm; eulogies: 42.0 x 66.5 cm). Manpukuji, Kyoto Prefecture. Detail. (Photo: E. Sharf)

triptychs of Miyun flanked by Feiyin and Yinyuan, several of which survive, are featured in the first years of Yinyuan's stay in Japan (Figure 9.18); soon, however, their place is usurped by triptychs of Yinyuan flanked by his top two Dharma heirs, Muan Xingtao and Jifei Ruyi, reflecting both Yinyuan's assumption of the role of founder of the Dharma lineage and the role of the portrait triptych in displaying lineage claims. As we will briefly note, it is the various ritual functions of abbot portraits, often overlooked in the study of Ōbaku portraiture, that dictate their production and use.

In 1993, Nishigami Minoru introduced a startling discovery by Ōtsuki Mikio of several entries in the recorded sayings of the Chan master Muchen Daomin (1596-1674) relating how a portrait of the grand prelate Miyun painted by Zeng Jing came to be presented to the Qing emperor Shunzhi (1638-61) in 1659.<sup>80</sup>

Ōtsuki Mikio's fortunate discovery as deciphered by Nishigami

Minoru teaches us a number of things about Chan abbot portrait paintings in the seventeenth century. First, the link between Zeng Jing and Chan abbot portraiture, suspected since the 1940s,<sup>81</sup> can now be confirmed; indeed, for most modern scholars of Ōbaku art and culture, this textual proof of an actual abbot portrait by the celebrated master is perhaps the most exciting aspect of the find. It is possible that extant images of Miyun (Figure 9.18) reflect Zeng Jing's original composition, of which we appear to have lost trace. If so, this would bring us even closer to Zeng Jing and an aspect of his painting career that is largely unresearched.

For others, however, myself included, it is a most felicitous discovery precisely because it provides rich details concerning Yinyuan's immediate predecessors and their consumption of the abbot portrait. In this regard, the mention of Zeng Jing is noteworthy less for any intrinsic interest in the artist's career but because we have a famed portraitist at work on an eminent abbot portrait that came to be coveted by an emperor – reflecting both the status of abbots in general and Miyun's national stature at the time.<sup>82</sup>

Nishigami's reading of the content of these entries follows (comments in brackets are mine):

The monk Muchen Daomin was summoned in 1659 by the emperor and proceeded to the northern capital [Beijing]. He lectured at court on the Dharma and was granted the title "Chan master" and given an honorary name. At this time, the emperor received Muchen Daomin as an intimate friend. When the topic of conversation turned to Miyun Yuanwu, the emperor regretted that Miyun and he were not alive at the same time. Upon hearing this, Muchen Daomin took out a portrait painting [Chinese: *daoying*, Japanese: *dōei*] of Miyun painted by Zeng Jing to show the emperor. The emperor greatly rejoiced, and ordered the court painter Wang Guocai to copy the portrait and make two scrolls and affix mountings of extreme splendor. These were dedicated to Tiantongshan Jingdesi [the south Chinese monastery where Miyun had served as abbot, and where Muchen, one of Miyun's top Dharma heirs, was then abbot]. The original scroll was kept in the custody of the imperial palace for the performance of memorial services. Zeng Jing's portrait painting [Japanese: *chinzō*] of Miyun seems to have been inscribed by both Miyun and Muchen Daomin [since the emperor had the court painter Wang read the two inscriptions, and questioned Muchen Daomin about the authenticity of the Miyun inscription<sup>83</sup>]. The depiction of the portrait

subject's appearance was extremely detailed and precise, and caused the emperor to be deeply moved. Muchen Daomin showed the emperor the original scroll in the ninth month of 1659, but already by the last day of the tenth month splendid mountings for two copies were prepared. Early in the next year, 1660 (first month, third day), the copies were ready. The emperor personally accompanied the scrolls to Tiantongshan. Reaching the abbot's quarters, he opened and hung the scrolls and showed them to Muchen. The disciples who had followed Muchen to the capital were also invited to witness the unveiling. The emperor pointed to the area of the folds of the robe painted in the copy and told them that he himself had added the ink to the whole area – the deep emotion felt by all became boundless [end of account].

Nishigami also found in Miyun's recorded sayings one autograph-ology addressed to Muchen Daomin that gives us 1633, when Miyun was still alive and Zeng Jing in his prime, as the likely date of execution of the original portrait.<sup>84</sup>

For what purpose was Miyun's portrait carried to the capital? We do know that it was brought out at the mention of the deceased abbot, and was a good-enough substitute to gladden the emperor, who was regretting Miyun's death. Perhaps it was anticipated that the emperor would want to possess the portrait on seeing it; perhaps the portrait was brought along as a gift – in any case, the portrait was presented to the emperor during the visit, and the emperor was noticeably moved by it; two copies of considerable quality and expense were commissioned by the emperor as though in exchange; and the portrait was left at the palace for memorial services to be performed. The portrait was impressive as a likeness, and painted by the most celebrated portraitist of the region. The copies, themselves painted by a court painter and given considerable attention in their decorative mountings, were also embellished by the emperor himself, who painted the folds of the robes in ink. By adding his hand to the work, did the emperor wish to aggrandize the copies themselves, to make up for the fact that he kept the master's original portrait? Why did the emperor, obviously moved by the likeness, consciously add his own hand (presence) to that of the portrait subject? Was the original portrait unmounted? To what extent was it a finished painting? Although Nishigami does not explicitly state this, it seems from the text that the original Zeng Jing portrait also received a splendid mounting at the emperor's expense, and was displayed next to the emperor's throne;<sup>85</sup>

if it is the very portrait mentioned in Miyun's recorded sayings, then it was already inscribed; but why was it remounted?

We may never know the specific intentions of the portrait-makers, or the answers to these questions, but the obvious interest given this cluster of Miyun portraits – in their production, display, and veneration – is unmistakable. This should not be surprising. Recent research by T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf has shown that portraits of medieval Chan abbots were venerated as sacred icons of charismatic figures who ritually enacted the role of the Buddha in the ceremonial life of the monastery. In their widespread but mistaken adherence to the notion that Zen abbot portraits functioned as certificates of enlightenment bestowed by masters on disciples, modern art historians have overlooked the abbot's primary institutional role, and the primary function of the abbot portrait as proxy in the abbot's own funeral and death anniversary rites. Abbot portraits were funerary articles and commemorative icons – items commissioned in numbers and distributed widely. They were enlivened by autographed inscriptions, and after the abbot's death they served not only to assert the abbot's status as a venerable descendant in a sacred lineage but to affirm his continued presence in the world. Moreover, Chan and Zen funeral rites for abbots parallel Confucian memorial rites for ancestors, thus the portraits of eminent Buddhist abbots used in these rites constitute a subgenre of ancestor portraiture.<sup>86</sup>

Ōbaku portraits are, in fact, closer in style and iconography to later Chinese ancestor portraiture than to any East Asian tradition of European-style painting (Figure 9.19). Both traditions feature the strict frontal view, the full figure with pendant legs, naturalistic facial detail, the disjunction in style between the treatment of the face and the body, a decorum of expression, conservative formulaic poses, colourful robes, abundant shading, and lavish detail in the depiction of attire, attribute, and furnishings. They are alike in the great numbers produced.

Ōbaku portraits and ancestor portraits are also comparable in that both are regarded as functional arts, lacking in the lofty, aesthetic concerns of literati painting. For this reason, both receive little attention by modern scholars. The literati bias against portrait painting is reflected in the dearth and nature of extant Chinese portrait paintings. For example, portraits of medieval Chan abbots survive not in China but in Japan, where they are widely esteemed. And yet, as we have seen, Ōbaku portraits are marginalized within the venerable medieval tradition of Chan and Zen portraiture in Japan. We should



Figure 9.19. Kita Genki (active ca. 1664-1709), *Portrait of Donglan Zongze* (1640-1707). Self-eulogy dated 1695 (twelfth month, first day). Seals: “Kita shi” and “Genki.” Hanging scroll, ink and colours on silk, 163.0 x 78.5 cm. Fukusaiji, Nagasaki Prefecture. (Photo: E. Sharf)

not, however, find ourselves perpetuating the normative judgments of either the literati or the mainstream Rinzai Zen traditions.

In the end, what may be most interesting about the discovery of Zeng Jing’s portrait of Miyun is that bits of recorded narrative confirm that the meanings and functions of the medieval Chan abbot appear to have survived into early modern times. It is tantalizing to think how much information of this nature resides undisturbed in the eulogy sections of the recorded sayings of the Ōbaku abbots and their Chinese forebears.

## Conclusion

We cannot fully appreciate the internal stylistic evolution of Ōbaku portrait paintings without knowledge of their institutional context. Modern scholars of Ōbaku portrait paintings, however, virtually dismiss any such considerations. They typically begin by merely noting that Ōbaku portraitists duplicate the dominant compositional formats of Chan and Zen abbot portraits since medieval times, the

most typical being the formula of presenting the eminent prelate in full regalia seated on the high seat. This is generally followed by a brief evocation of Zen ideals vis-à-vis master-disciple relationships and the attainment of enlightenment. Obvious stylistic deviations from tradition are noted – the *en face* pose foremost among them. Then the discussion turns quickly to the only feature deemed significantly different and therefore worthy of investigation – the incorporation of European painting techniques.

Together with the habit of dismissing considerations other than style, modern scholars tend to view Ōbaku portraits as oddities in the larger tradition of Chan/Zen abbot portraiture. The strange look of Ōbaku portraits when compared with well-known, and comfortably pleasing, masterpieces of medieval Chan/Zen portraiture gives rise to a marked ambivalence. On the one hand, one or two Genki portraits are included in surveys of Zen art as early modern examples of Zen portraiture. On the other hand, scholars express surprise at the great numbers of extant Ōbaku portraits, and prefer to refer to them using the generic Japanese term for portrait (*gazō*) rather than the conventional modern term for Zen abbot portrait (*chinzō*). It is as though the Ōbaku portraits have become secularized. Underlying this ambivalence is the widespread modern notion that portraits of Chan and Zen abbots are cherished mementos of master-disciple relationships, certificates of enlightenment bestowed on worthy disciples by enlightened masters. Such precious items could only be extant in limited numbers, as indeed the well-published but relatively small corpus of medieval Chan and Zen abbot portrait paintings seems to be (despite the actual numbers extant and known from historical documents). In comparison, Ōbaku portrait paintings are simply too numerous to be regarded as mainstream *chinzō*.

The abbot of a Chan/Zen monastery was regarded *ex officio* as a living Buddha around whom revolved the religious, social, and institutional life of the monastery. The émigré Chinese Ōbaku abbots, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were, moreover, the living embodiments of southern Chinese literati culture; they were agents for the transmission to early modern Japan of the scientific, technological, religious, and artistic achievements of the late Ming and early Qing; their portraits partook of their charisma and as such were highly esteemed objects of religious devotion.

That their portraits also served as vehicles for the expression and transmission of new visual ideas – ideas whose place in the history of



Japanese figure painting is yet to be fully understood – does not necessarily indicate a change in meaning or function. One perceives in the depiction of the abbot's visage an ongoing attempt to mediate between two alternative representational strategies – one emphasizing line and the other volumetric form. Although modern scholars feel pressed to link this attempt to the appearance of Europeans in seventeenth-century China, the situation, as we have seen, is more complex, and far older, than that.

### Acknowledgments

This chapter could not have been written without the painstaking research of Nishigori Ryōsuke, as will become obvious below. I am also indebted to the work of Helen Baroni, Ōtsuki Mikio, and Nishigami Minoru. Finally, this chapter is an outgrowth of my PhD dissertation, “Ōbaku Zen Portrait Painting: A Revisionist Analysis,” University of Michigan, 1994. For their guidance and support over the course of this study, I wish to acknowledge Karen Brock, T. Griffith Foulk, Phyllis Granoff, Sasaki Johei, Robert Sharf, Koichi Shinohara, and Marshall Wu.

### End Notes

- 1 The term “Ōbaku sect” (or “Ōbaku school”), supposedly a translation of *Ōbakushū* or *Ōbakuha*, is commonly used to refer to Yinyuan's lineage in Japan. We must keep in mind that there was no independent Ōbaku “sect” in China (just as there was no independent Rinzaï or Sōtō “sect” in China; recent research by Jiang Wu, however, reveals the considerable attempt by Yinyuan and his immediate forebears in China to reinvent their own lineage as the authentic Linji lineage and exclude other Chan lineages from the fold: “Orthodoxy, Controversy, and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2002). While the term *Ōbakushū* was used as early as the mid-seventeenth century, Ōbaku was not officially recognized as an independent sect in Japan until 1876. In reality, the early émigrés preferred to laud themselves as *Rinzaï shōshū* (“The Authentic Rinzaï lineage”). For simplicity's sake, however, I will follow standard convention and use the term “Ōbaku” or “Ōbaku school” to refer to the monastic émigré community established in Japan by Yinyuan Longqi

and his Dharma heirs.

For a succinct account of the evolving institutional status of Yinyuan's line over the course of the three and a half centuries of its existence in both China and Japan, see Helen Josephine Baroni, "Buddhism in Early Tokugawa Japan: The Case of Ōbaku Zen and the Monk Tetsugen Dōkō," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1993, 1, 15-18, 17 n. 7.

For another recent critical account of the Ōbaku community in a Western language, see Dieter Schwaller, *Der japanische Ōbaku-Monch Tetsugen Dōkō: Leben, Denken, Schriften* (Berne/New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

- 2 Helen J. Baroni writes: "In some cases, [Japanese Rinzai monks] found the Chinese practices and styles abhorrent, apparently for their very foreignness ... For their part, the Chinese masters maintained aspects of life known to them in China that an outside observer might tend to classify as culturally rather than religiously significant, including the language used in ritual, the design of monastic robes and shoes, clerical hairstyles, and the like": *Ōbaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 10; see also 98-101.
- 3 From Dapeng Zhengkun, *Jiin matsujichō* (Circular of monasteries and branch temples), 1745; cited in Ōtsuki Mikio, "Shoki Ōbaku no gasō itsunen shōyū ni tsuite," *Zen bunka* 78 (1975): 72; see also Hirakubo Akira, *Ingen*, Jinbutsu sōsho 96 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1962), 261-62.
- 4 The Ming style, originally reflecting late developments in the long history of Buddhist painting in China, was widely imitated in religious painting in Japan. In addition, subsequent innovative depictions of the human figure by Japanese artists working largely in non-Buddhist traditions could not have been created without the precedent of Ming Buddhist painting.
- 5 In contrast to Ming Chan Buddhism, Japanese Zen was thought to preserve Tang and Song Chan ideals. For an in-depth and balanced history of the reception of the émigré monks in Japan, see Baroni, *Ōbaku Zen*.
- 6 Modern ambivalence towards Yinyuan's lineage can be linked to a variety of factors from the Edo period to modern times. In the seventeenth century, as already mentioned, certain Japanese Rinzai monks perceived Yinyuan and his lineage as a threat; they effectively blocked the attempt to install Yinyuan as abbot of Myōshinji, a major Rinzai monastery in Kyoto. They rejected Yinyuan and his lineage in part because their own prestige, authority, and financial resources were at stake, and in part because of cultural differences. In addition to such political and social factors, the Japanese had misgivings about the doctrinal and meditative teachings espoused by the Chinese monks.

In spite of this virulent opposition, however, Yinyuan's lineage ultimately succeeded in gaining legitimacy in Japan. This was due in large part to the success of the campaign, led by sympathetic Japanese Rinzai monks, to win the support of the Tokugawa shogunate. After the restoration of imperial rule in the Meiji period, however, this close association with the disempowered military government became a serious political liability. The Ōbaku school and its sectarian historians subsequently concealed the extent of the association and instead successfully touted the considerable connections of the Ōbaku monks to the Emperor Gomizuno-o. In addition, after losing much of their financial resources with the upheavals of early Meiji, the school was successful in establishing a wide base of popular support by promoting the Pure Land features of their Zen practice (Baroni, "Buddhism in Early Tokugawa Japan," 5-7, 165-70).

Despite the survival of the school into modern times, it has yet to receive much attention from scholars of Japanese art history and religion. The neglect of the school is due in part to the uncritical acceptance by scholars of the early Rinzai caricatures of Ōbaku as a syncretic, if not degenerate, form of Zen. Modern scholars may also have been predisposed to view Edo-period Buddhism as a mere shell because of the manner in which it had been appropriated by the Tokugawa shogunate; see Paul B. Watt, "Jiun Sonja (1718-1804): A Response to Confucianism within the Context of Buddhist Reform," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 213 n. 116; and Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). We should also bear in mind the intellectual legacy of the nativist or "national learning" (*kokugaku*) movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Martin Collcutt, "Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication," in *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, ed. Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 146 n. 3. Modern scholars unwittingly perpetuate the anti-foreign and anti-Buddhist program of the nativists by emphasizing the relative isolation of Japan in the Edo period and neglecting the impact of the cultural forms and ideas that continued to flow in from the continent; see Marius B. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1992). In addition, when scholars do investigate foreign contacts in the Edo period, they tend to study the European visitors to Nagasaki and not the Chinese, even though the Nagasaki Chinese community constituted the largest foreign settlement in Edo Japan; see Aloysius Chang, "The Chinese Community of

- Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868),” PhD dissertation, St. John’s University, 1970; Miyata Yasushi, “Chūgoku keishi no sei-yō henchō: genin wa Meiji irai no kyōiku hōshin?” *Asahi shinbun* (22 April 1986); and Jansen, *China*. The investigation of these and other factors underlying the neglect of Ōbaku is long overdue.
- 7 See *Ōbaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, introduction and catalogue by Stephen Addiss with the assistance of Kwan S. Wong (Lawrence, KS: Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, 1978), for an early, representative approach to the study of Ōbaku monks and Edo culture. A fuller investigation of the Ōbaku role in the evolution of literati arts in Japan can be found in Joan Stanley-Baker, *The Transmission of Chinese Idealist Painting to Japan: Notes on the Early Phase (1661-1799)*, Michigan Papers in Japanese Studies 21 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992). Literati culture in Japan is a field of study with its own persistent modern history of ambivalence, from Ernest Fenollosa’s dismissal at the turn of the century of literati painting as “hardly more than an awkward joke,” to its neglect by numerous historians of art, literature, and culture who elevate other, often earlier, artistic achievements; see Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. (New York: 1913), 165. The modern indifference towards literati pursuits in Japan has roots in the anti-foreign nativist sentiments of the Edo period mentioned above, and also in the subsequent deprecation of the Edo period as a cultural dark age by Meiji intellectuals (see n. 6).
- 8 Nishimura Tei, *Ōbaku gazō shi* (Kobe: Sōgensha, 1934).
- 9 Such scholars traditionally classify Ōbaku-school painting as the oldest of five schools of “Nagasaki-school painting” (*Nagasakiha kaiga*), that is, of painting fostered in Nagasaki between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. Iwasaki Yoshikazu lists the following five schools: Ōbaku painting (*Ōbakugaha*), Chinese painting (*kangaha*), Shin Nanpin school (*Nanpinha*), literati painting (*bunjingaha*), and Western-style painting (*yōfūgaha*). To this he further adds a category for prints (*hanga*) produced in Nagasaki. According to Iwasaki, painters associated with Nanban painting (*nanban kaiga*) are known only via documents, having left no works extant, and for this reason they are not usually included under the rubric of the Nagasaki school. Iwasaki further collapses the five schools of painting into three: Ōbaku painting; the school of the bureau for the appraisal of painting, which comprises the schools of Chinese painting and Shin Nanpin (*karaemekikaha*); and Western-style painting; see Iwasaki Yoshikazu, “Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai,” in *Kyūshū no kaiga to tōgei*, *Kyūshū bunka ronshū* 5, ed. Fukuoka

- Unesco kyōkai (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), 273-74. Other schemes that analyze “Nagasaki-school painting” into constituent schools commonly include Ōbaku as the oldest, usually with Yiran Xingrong (1601-68; Japanese: Itsunen Shōyū; *OBJJ* [see n. 10], 17-18) as founder. Iwasaki’s scheme is repeated in Asano Tōru, Ozaki Masaaki, and Tanaka Atsushi, *Shajitsu no keifu I. Yōfūhyōgen no dōnyū – edo chūki kara meiji shoki made* (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu kindai bijutsukan, 1985), 144. Others classify the development of art in Nagasaki variously as follows: *nanban bijutsu* (Nanban art), *Ōbaku kei kaiga* (Ōbaku painting), *Nagasaki kei kaiga* (Nagasaki painting), and *Nagasaki hanga* (Nagasaki prints); or *nanban bunka* (Nanban culture), *Ōbaku bunka* (Ōbaku culture), and *kōmō bunka* (Dutch culture); see Etchū Tetsuya and Sugase Tadashi, eds., *Furusato ni kaetta – nanban kōmō bijutsuten zuroku* (Nagasaki and Kōbe: Nagasaki seinen kaigijo and Kōbe seinen kaigijo, 1971).
- 10 Ōtsuki Mikio, Katō Shōshun, and Hayashi Yukimitsu, eds., *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1988); hereafter cited as *OBJJ*.
  - 11 Nishigori Ryōsuke’s major articles featuring Ōbaku artists are: “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,” *Kokka* 1064 (1983): 32-37; “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin – ge,” *Kokka* 1065 (1983): 5-15; “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 158 (1985): 83-100; “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – ge,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 160 (1985): 88-97; “Kita genki kō,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 165 (1986): 48-74; “Kokura-fukujuji shōzō itsunen hitsu ressozu no keifu,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 166 (1986): 65-78; “Hanshaku hitsu jūhachi rakan zukan,” *De Arte* 3 (1987): 99-111; “Itsunen to gabō tōroan,” *Nagasaki dansō* 74 (1988): 77-85; “Kenkyū shiryō: chinken – sakuhin to shiryō – jō,” *Kokka* 1141 (1990): 33-42; “Kenkyū shiryō: chinken – sakuhin to shiryō – ge,” *Kokka* 1142 (1991): 32-39.
  - 12 Kyoto National Museum, ed., *Ōbaku no bijutsu: Edo jidai no bunka o kaeta mono* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1993). See esp. Nishigami’s lead article in this volume, “Ōbaku no bijutsu to sono genryū – gazō o chūshin ni,” 7-13.
  - 13 See nn. 1 and 2.
  - 14 The Bunkaden was built on the grounds of the monastery of Manpukuji, in Uji, Kyoto Prefecture, in 1972 in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Yinyuan’s death. It is a museum of Ōbaku culture, erected for the preservation and display of Manpukuji artifacts, documents, and temple treasures.
  - 15 Japanese: *fusō*, a common metaphorical reference to Japan.
  - 16 Translated by Robert Sharf.
  - 17 Ages are given following Chinese and Japanese custom.
  - 18 “Genki izen ni sude ni rippa ni Genkifū gazō no yōshiki to shuhō o shimeshite

*iru*" (Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazō*, 16, 18). Nishimura discusses Kanō-school artists, Nagasaki artists, and Ōbaku monk-painters, specifically those whose signatures and seals are known. He mentions Yiran Xingrong, Yang Daozhen, Kita Sōun and Dōki (whose identities were later sorted out by Nishigori; see n. 11), Kita Genki, Kanō Yasunobu, Hōkyō Tokuō, Sadatsuna, and other Kanō-school painters; also, monk-artists such as Jifei, Duzhan, Baiyan, and others who painted and executed inscriptions as well. He ends with mention of a less well known Ming Chinese artist noted in the *Zoku honchō gashi* as having painted Ōbaku portraits (Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazō*, 15-18).

- 19 The well-published portraits of medieval Chan masters preserved in Rinzaï monasteries in Japan exemplify this stylistic tradition. One prominent example is the portrait of Wuzhun Shifan in Tōfukuji, Kyoto, inscribed by the portrait subject in 1238; reproduced in Kyoto National Museum, *Zen no bijutsu* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983), pl. 14.
- 20 "*Akushumi (gashō ni wa arazaru)*" (Nishigori, "*Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,*" 32). Genki's work was not universally disparaged; those who most often hold Genki in highest esteem are scholars with a special interest in the history of Japan's Western-style painting; see, for example, Etchū and Sugase, *Furusato ni kaetta*.
- 21 This account is based on Nishigori's "*Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,*" "*Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,*" and "*Kita genki kō.*"
- 22 Specifically, in this case, Nishimura is referring to that aspect of Nanban painting that comprises the art of Japanese Christian painters trained in academies of Jesuit missionary artists of sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century Japan.
- 23 For brief accounts of this artist, see Sakamoto Mitsuru, "*Kirishitan bijutsu to kyūshū,*" in Fukuoka Unesco kyōkai, *Kyūshū no kaiga to tōgei*, 205-6; and John E. McCall, "*Early Jesuit Art in the Far East,*" *Artibus Asiae* 10 (1947): 225-33.
- 24 According to Nishigori Ryōsuke, "*Kita Genki kō,*" n. 20, a number of scholars have asserted the use of some kind of oil medium in Ōbaku portraiture. Koga Jūjirō, "*Kita sōun kita genki oyobi sono gakkei,*" in *Nagasaki kaiga zenshi* (Hokkō shobō, 1944), wrote that there were oil paintings among Kita Genki's oeuvre and cited titles. Nishigori could not ascertain the whereabouts of these paintings, yet points out that none bore a Genki seal. Nishigori believes that scholars are led to this observation by the high saturation of colour and surface sheen of Ōbaku portraits but states that confirmation of the use of oils must await chemical analysis. Among the works surveyed by Nishigori only one, a portrait of Inaba Masanori (1623-96) painted in 1693 and in the collection

of the monastery Kōfukuji (Tokyo Prefecture), appeared to contain passages where the adhesiveness of the pigment was tangible and in which rough areas showed clusters of wrinkles resulting from the drying process. Yet the materials used in these isolated passages are clearly distinct from the pigments used in other Genki portraits.

According to Nishigori, a determination as to whether the use of oils, or of some other medium such as tempera, is indicated in this particular portrait must also await the findings of chemical analysis.

- 25 Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazō*, 56-58.
- 26 See Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin," 32; and Nishimura, "Kita genki oyobi genki fū sakka" in Nishimura, *Nihon shoki yōga no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Zenkoku shōbō, 1945), 266-321.
- 27 Etchū Isamu, "Ōbaku gazō to yōfūgaka to no setten (I)," *Nagasaki kenritsu bijitsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 3 (1977): 35-44, maintained Nishimura's interpretation. Iwasaki ("Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai") was the principal scholar to develop it. Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin," 32.
- 28 Iwasaki, "Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai," discussed in Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin," 33 and "Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō," 90 n. 14. Iwasaki's theory is repeated in Asano et al, *Yōfūhyōgen no dōnyū*, 144.
- 29 Major early studies of Ōbaku portraits exhibiting a focus on the routes of Western influence include Yoshinaga Setsudō, "Genki no gazō," *Ōbaku* 15 (Ōbakudō, 1929); Hayashi Genkichi, "Shōzōgaka kita genki," *Nagasaki dansō* 14 (1934): 60-66 (first published in 1926 in *Chūō bijutsu* 12 [7]); Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazō*; Koga Jūjirō, *Nagasaki gashi iden* (Nagasaki: Taishōdō shoten, 1943; drafted 1934); Koga, "Kita sōun kita genki"; Taniguchi Tetsuo, *Nishi nihon gadan shi – kindai bijutsu e no michi* (Fukuoka: Nishi nihon bunka kyōkai, 1981; first published in 1959-60 in *Asahi shinbun seibuban rensai*); Iwasaki "Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai"; and Etchū, "Ōbaku gazō to yōfūgaka to no setten (I)." See Nishigori's "Kita genki kō," 49-51, and "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin," 32-34 for an in-depth discussion of these and other studies.
- 30 Taniguchi, *Nishi nihon gadan shi*. Taniguchi's views, first published in 1959-60, are repeated in Etchū and Sugase, *Furusato ni kaetta*.
- 31 Taniguchi, *Nishi nihon gadan shi*, 132- 33.
- 32 Japanese: Chōki (fl. ca. 1642); *OBJJ*, 235; see also Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin."
- 33 Japanese: Hanshaku (fl. ca. 1664); *OBJJ*, 312; see also Taniguchi, *Nishi nihon gadan shi*, 127-28; and Iwasaki, "Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai," 277.
- 34 Japanese: Yōdōshin (fl. ca. 1657); *OBJJ*, 368-69; see Nishigori, "Ōbaku

- gazō sakka yōdōshin,” and “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin – ge.”
- 35 Japanese: Chinken (fl. ca. 1636); *OBJJ*, 239; see also Nishigori, “Kenkyū shiryō: chinken – jō,” and “Kenkyū shiryō: chinken – ge.”
- 36 This alternate route of “Western influence” was proposed by Okamura Sen’ei, “Nisshi ryōkoku ni okeru yōga no hattatsu ni tsuite,” *Nihon shogaku kenkyū hōkoku* (1945): 168-78; Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,” 33.
- 37 See especially Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,” 32-34, and “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 83-84, 90-91.
- 38 See, however, Sugase’s earlier assertion that “although the paper and pigments appear to have been Japanese, glue and the white-of-egg were used as a binding agent, a technique we associate with tempera”; Tani Shin’ichi, and Sugase Tadashi, *Namban Art: A Loan Exhibition from Japanese Collections* (International Exhibitions Foundation, 1973), 23.
- 39 A set of screens in the style commonly attributed to Nobukata on the basis of the presence of the Nobukata seal were discovered in 1882 in the mortuary temple of the Nanbu family of Morioka (Tani and Sugase, *Namban Art*, fig. 4). For reproductions of three paintings carrying the seal of Nobukata, see Tani and Sugase, *Namban Art*, figs. 5-7. For the association of paintings attributed to Nobukata and early Edo-period Western-style depictions of Bodhidharma, see Miwa Hideo, “Yōfūgahō ni yoru darumazu ni tsuite,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 311 (1979): 1-15.
- 40 See Miwa, “Yōfūgahō ni yoru darumazu,” 7, cited in Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,” 91 n. 15.
- 41 See Sakamoto Mitsuru, “Shoki yōfūga,” *Nihon no bijutsu* 80 (1973).
- 42 Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin,” 33.
- 43 Nishigori, “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 84.
- 44 Nishigori, “Kita genki kō,” 49-53.
- 45 “Sono menbō ikiru hito ni tai suru ga gotoshi.” This passage is from Sakurai Sūgaku’s *Sūgaku gadan* (Sūgaku’s talks on painting), published ca. 1833-35. See Nishigori, “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō” 85 “Kita genki kō” 49 n. 3.
- 46 “Shūnai shōsho no shōzō ōku wa shi no shuseki ni tsukareru.” This passage is from Shiseki Renshu’s *Ōbaku shiso ryakuden bassui* (1906; Excerpts of biographical sketches of Ōbaku monks and laity). This hand-copied book by Shiseki Renshu (1842-1914; *OBJJ*, 144-45), forty-third abbot of Manpukuji, was once in the possession of Ōbaku scholar Yoshinaga Setsudō (1881-1964); at present its whereabouts are unknown (Nishigori, “Kita genki kō,” 20 n. 4).
- 47 “Kita Genki koji ... jinbutsu o egaku ni myō ari ... Ōbaku shosō no shōzō o egaku koto mottomo ōshi.” This passage is from Yoshinaga Setsudō’s *Ōbaku*



- shōzōga* (Ōbaku portraiture), a set of handwritten field notes; the notebook consists of excerpts from primary sources and a record of painting inscriptions on portraits Yoshinaga inspected first-hand (Nishigori, “Kita genki kō,” 21 n. 5).
- 48 Watanabe Shūjitsu (Kakushū) published *Nagasaki gajin den* (Biographies of Nagasaki painters) in Nagasaki in 1851; Nishigori, “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 85, and “Kita genki kō,” 49. See also Iwasaki, “Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai,” 275 n. 4.
- 49 “*Kaiji wa denshin [shōzōga] o yokushi, densen [gahō] ni mata shini ari ... ōō shasu tokoro tenki myōe ni shite ichii nashi*” (Watanabe Shūjitsu, *Nagasaki gajin den*). See Nishigori “Kita genki kō,” 49. Note that Nishigori reads this passage as “*kaiji wa denshin o yokushi* [as for painting, he was skilled in portraiture],” whereas Watanabe punctuates it to read: “*kaiji wa shin o tsutaeru* [in painting, he transmits the spirit]”; see Nishigori, “Kita genki kō,” n. 2.
- 50 Ro Senri’s *Kiyō senmin den* (Biographies of Nagasaki worthies) was published in 1731, according to Nishigori (“Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 85, and “Kita genki kō,” 48). According to Iwasaki, the preface of 1731 is by Ro Sōsetsu; later, in 1819, Ro Senri edited and published the work (“Nagasakiha kaiga no tenkai,” 274 n. 2).
- 51 Nishigori, “Kita genki kō,” 48.
- 52 Ibid., 58. This entry can be translated as follows: “He was good at Nanban painting. For a little while he travelled in Satsuma and there he trained under a Nanban man in painting method, and obtaining that mystery, made a name for himself in the world.” Also noted in Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazō*, 55. See also Sakamoto, “Kirishitan bijutsu to kyūshū,” 205, who notes that the name of this artist is found in Japanese records only, and not in Jesuit records, and that no extant works can be attributed to him with any confidence.
- 53 Outside of Ōbaku studies, Japanese art historians who have asserted European influence on Zeng Jing include Omura Seigai, Kanehara Shōgo, Nakamura Fusetsu, and Komuro Suiun; Chinese art historians include Chen Shizeng (*Zhongguo huihuashi*), Zheng Wuchang (*Zhongguo huaxueshi*), and Hsiang Ta (see n. 54). See Lu Suh-fen, “A Study on Tseng Ching’s Portraits,” MA thesis, University of Michigan, 1986, 38-39 n. 2.
- 54 Hsiang’s account of Zeng Jing features several contemporary descriptions, none of which mention Europe; his linking Zeng Jing’s style with European methods derives from modern Chinese and Japanese scholarship. Hsiang Ta, “European Influences on Chinese Art of the Later Ming and Early Ch’ing Period,” trans. and annotated by Wang Dezhao, in *The Translation of Art: Essays on Chinese Painting and*

- Poetry (Renditions 6)*, ed. James Watt (Hong Kong, Seattle, and London: Centre for Translation Projects, Chinese University of Hong Kong, and University of Washington Press, 1976), 152-78; first published in 1930 in *Dongfang zazhi* 27 [1]: 19-38, 164-65.
- 55 Well after Zeng Jing, according to Hsiang Ta, the use of European methods of portrait painting grew increasingly prevalent. As evidence, he cites an early-eighteenth-century record concerning one early Qing portrait painter: "His method was essentially Western oriented, which, without giving first a structure by brush strokes, used only washes, shades and surface lines to make a picture. His portrait painting always closely resembled the real person and one who saw the picture could easily tell whom it was depicting." Hsiang considers this, and not Zeng Jing's method, to be "entirely" Western (Zhang Geng, *Guochao huazheng xulu*, vol. 1, biography of Man Guli; cited in Hsiang, "European Influences on Chinese Art," 165-66).
- 56 James F. Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 120, 213, 216.
- 57 Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin," 34.
- 58 Lu, "A Study on Tseng Ching's Portraits," 18, 23, 25-26, 30-32.
- 59 Marshall P.S. Wu, *The Orchard Pavilion Gathering: Chinese Painting from the University of Michigan Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 2000), 1: 114-23, 260. For his views on European influence and Zeng Jing, see especially 2: 50 n. 46.
- 60 This long-standing prejudice is attested in Tang and Song texts on painting; Charles Lachman, *Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown: Liu Tao-ch'un's Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing*, Monographies du T'oung Pao 16 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 4-5.
- 61 This is true despite the fact that scholarly admiration for particular professional painters frequently appears in the textual record.
- 62 Silbergeld mentions the need for a re-evaluation of the reputations of the "great" early figure painting masters, given that archeological evidence antedating these masters reveals technical developments traditionally attributed to them (Jerome Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West: A State-of-the-Field Article," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 no. 4 [1987]: 851). See also Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, *Han and T'ang Murals Discovered in Tombs in the People's Republic of China and Copied by Contemporary Chinese Painters* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976).
- 63 One prominent exception is Zhang Sengyou.
- 64 In the Gu tradition, line is typically a fine, often continuous bounding line; in the Wu tradition, line fluctuates in breadth – "thickens" and "thins" – and features lively broken contours. These two linear styles

- have roots at least as old as the Han dynasty (206 BC to AD 220). The fine-line style, in fact, is said to have emerged as early as the Eastern Zhou (770-256 BC), based on the evidence from extant fragments of painting on silk. A fine, continuous line executed with care may also be found in the threadlike pictorial imagery of extant Sichuan reliefs dating to the Han; see Lucy Lim, "Form and Content in Early Chinese Pictorial Art," in *Stories from China's Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China*, ed. Lucy Lim (San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), 52. In other extant Han pictorial compositions – for example, the engraved stone designs for the shrines of the Wu family (inscribed AD 145-68) – the sense of the depicted form lies in its silhouette, which performs a graphic function similar to that of fine, even line. If it is a human figure, the silhouette contains the information regarding gender, class, action, and attribute. If there are details within the outline of the silhouette, an economy of even line approximates the natural form. On the other hand, in other extant works of Han pictorial art, the calligraphic sweep of line suggests a freer, speedier execution. Broken linear contours fluctuating in breadth cause lively forms to occupy a fictive space. This is the linear style later associated with Wu Daozi.
- 65 Richard M. Barnhart, "Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972), 143-46. Most often cited as a faithful echo of Wu Daozi's style is the bodhisattva in ink on hemp in the collection of the Shōsōin, Tōdaiji, Nara Prefecture, Japan; see Laurence Sickman and Alexander C. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 174.
- 66 Wen C. Fong, "Ao-t'u-hua or 'Receding-and-Protruding Painting' at Tun-huang," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology. Section of History of Arts* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1981), 73-94. Other exceptions are Mary H. Fong, "The Technique of 'Chiaroscuro' in Chinese Painting from Han through T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 38, no. 2/3 (1976): 91-127; Peter Glum, "Meditations on a Black Sun: Speculations on Illusionist Tendencies in T'ang Painting Based on Chemical Changes in Pigments," *Artibus Asiae* 37 (1975): 53-60; and Fontein and Wu, *Han and T'ang Murals*.
- 67 Aschwin Lippe, "Ch'en Hsien, Painter of Lohans," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 255-58.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 258.
- 69 See, for example, Asano et al., *Yōfūhyōgen no dōnyū*, 144-45, and Nishigori, "Kita genki kō."
- 70 Nishigori, "Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin – ge," 13, and "Kita genki kō," 64-72.

- 71 Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin – ge,” 13.
- 72 Ibid.; Nishigori, “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 84.
- 73 Nishigori, “Ōbaku gazō sakka yōdōshin – ge,” 13 n. 9; “Ōbaku shōzō gaka kita sōun to chōbei – jō,” 84; “Kita genki kō,” 52-53, 64, 67.
- 74 Michael Sullivan, “The Chinese Response to Western Art,” *Art International* 24, no. 3-4 (1980): 8-10.
- 75 See, for example, James F. Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1982), 91-98.
- 76 Ibid., 87-91. Cahill notes numerous other instances in which seventeenth-century Chinese painters or critics credit long-dead Chinese forebears with techniques otherwise claimed by the Europeans, or with techniques that Cahill himself regards as European in inspiration.
- 77 Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 58-59.
- 78 Japanese: Mitsuun Engo. Born, Jiangsu province, Changzhou prefecture, Yixing county, 1566, eleventh month, sixteenth day; died, the monastery Tiantaishan Tongxuansi, Zhejiang province, Taizhou prefecture, Tiantai county, 1642, seventh month, seventh day, age seventy-seven. *OBJJ*, 341.
- 79 Japanese: Hiin Tsūyō. Born, Fujian province, Fuzhou prefecture, Fuqing county, 1593, fifth month, twenty-fourth day; died, the monastery Fuyansi, Zhejiang province, Jiaying prefecture, Chongde county, 1661, third month, twenty-ninth day, age sixty-nine. *OBJJ*, 316.
- 80 Nishigami Minoru, “Ōbaku gazō no genryū – Sogei ippa no chinsō seisaku ni tsuite,” in *Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai, dai jūnikai kokusai shinpojiumu – Tōyō bijutsu ni okeru shajitsu* (Toyonaka: Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai, 1994), 54-60. For more on the monk Muchen Daomin, his stature at court, and his relationship to Miyun Yuanwu, see Jiang Wu, “Orthodoxy, Controversy, and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism,” 88 n. 78, 118, 165-66, 198-99.
- 81 Heretofore, it has been a portrait of Feiyin executed in 1642 by Zhang Qi (see note 32), a follower of Zeng Jing, and imported to Japan by Yinyuan that was our closest link to Zeng Jing. Note that Muchen Daomin, whose record divulges the Zeng Jing portrait of Miyun, is Feiyin’s elder Dharma brother.
- 82 Jiang Wu’s recent dissertation, “Orthodoxy, Controversy,” demonstrates the heretofore little-understood achievements of Miyun and his disciples.
- 83 I thank Amanda Goodman and Juhn Ahn for reading the original text and discovering this detail.
- 84 He writes: “According to Miyun’s biography (*Miyun chanshi yu lu*, quan 12, ed. Ruxue), the eulogy dates to 1633, when Miyun, age 68, was abbot

of Tiantongshan. If we assume that Zeng Jing's execution of the painting was completed shortly before the inscriptions were added then we can guess that Zeng Jing went to Tiantongshan in 1633 to paint Miyun's portrait there. Zeng Jing's original painting was inscribed by both Miyun and Muchen Daomin, and there is a strong possibility that this single autograph-eulogy preserves the autograph-eulogy on the original Zeng Jing portrait presented by Muchen Daomin to the emperor." Nishigami, "Ōbaku gazō no genryū."

- 85 Again, thanks to Amanda Goodman and Juhn Ahn for pointing out this detail from the original text.
- 86 T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-94): 149-219.

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