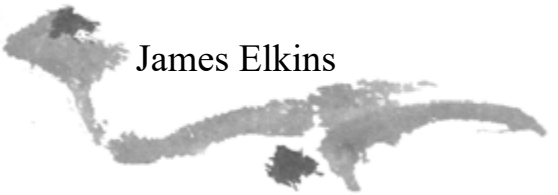
CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING as WESTERN ART HISTORY



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With a Foreword by Jennifer Purtle

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Iterated Introductions

1

This book has an unusually complicated and lengthy pre-publication history, and that history is tied in complicated and lengthy ways to the argument of the book. That is my excuse for writing such a disproportionate introduction to such a brief book.

I also have an excellent model for this oversize introduction: Hans Belting's *The Germans and Their Art*, whose introduction is nearly the size of the text it introduces. His problem, too, was to find a way to initiate a discussion about national differences in art historical writing. It is a subject that needs to be framed and reframed; the framing of nationalism never ends.

2

I want to mention the most recent occasion that predates the publication of this book; then I will go back to the beginning and recount the book's staggered development. The recent occasion was a two-day conference, with just four speakers, convened by Jason Kuo at the University of Maryland at College Park, in November 2005—fourteen years, fourteen rejection letters, I assume over twenty readers' reports, and five complete revisions after Jim Cahill first saw the manuscript, in 1991. As a rule of thumb in academic publishing: up to ten rejection slips, and you may have a work of genius that no one recognizes; over ten, and it is likely there is a problem with your manuscript that you are just not addressing. By the time of the Maryland conference, even Jason's graduate students were suggesting the book might be better off unpublished.

The conference was intended to address the state of scholarship on Chinese painting. There were papers on the subject of Chinese art studies since World War II and on the globalization of art history, and Jim Cahill and I held a fifty-minute public conversation. We talked at some length about Craig Clunas's writing, and the many things that separate it from Jim Cahill's.[1]

I realized then that my book would need yet another introduction if it were to stand a chance of being persuasive to readers whose first serious encounters with Chinese painting were through the lens of visual studies. My book would have to say something about the encroachment of visual studies into Chinese art history, and the gradual dissolution of Chinese painting and bronzes in a brew of lacquer, porcelain, funerary sculpture, posters, clothing, bas-reliefs, advertisements, films, performance art, and tourist photographs. I would also need to cut material that would not be persuasive to scholars interested in visual studies. All that would comprise the manuscript's fourth introduction, and its fourth round of cutting. The problem I was trying to pose was not getting less important, but it was becoming less audible and weaker, shrunken and hidden beneath its elaborate armatures. It was time to make the excuses and write the book.

So, back to the beginning.

At Cornell University as an undergraduate, and then at the University of Chicago as a graduate student, I took courses on Chinese art and developed an interest in Chinese landscape painting that has stayed with me ever since. I was struck by the way scholars like Max Loehr, Osvald Sirén, and Ludwig Bachhofer used Western analogies to explain and interpret Chinese painting. Words like "Baroque," "dynamic," and "linear" came up in texts written by mid-century European and North American scholars, and I could see that the books they wrote were very different from the Chinese texts they used as sources. I suppose I should have taken such differences as part of the project of art historical writing, and to some extent I did, but something about the subject continued to seem odd. For reasons I could not articulate, it did not seem to be as much of a problem, or at least not the same kind of problem, when a twentieth-century scholar wrote about Italian Renaissance art using terms and ideas that were clearly not present in fifteen h-century Italy, as it did when a European scholar wrote in English or German about Chinese paintings that had been made on the other side of the world a millennium before the historians were born. I was intrigued by what appeared to me as enormous differences between the ways people talked about painting in, say, twelfth-century China, and the ways that were acceptable in the late twentieth century—at least in academic circles, at least in North America and western

Europe. Yet that was the way historical writing was apparently meant to work, so that it could only seem naïve to think of such differences as a problem—as if they could be solved, as if there were some way of writing art history that would be exactly and seamlessly congruent with the words, the idioms, even the accents of the people who first saw the images. North American scholars naturally used words like "Baroque" to help them understand the objects they studied, and perhaps that was at once inevitable and unobjectionable.

Now, looking back on those undergraduate- and graduate-school notions, I can see all the naïveté of a first encounter with any culture, and all the clunky questions that occur to beginners in any field. And yet there really was an issue there, even though I did not have a very clear idea about how to get at it.

Almost eighteen years ago I started writing a book on the history of Chinese landscape painting. Its original title was *Chinese Landscape Painting as Object Lesson*, because I wanted to show that it is possible to get beyond the many parallels between Western and Chinese art that continue to echo in the scholarship, and find a neutral principle, a non-Western guiding model, that could help make art historical sense of Chinese landscape painting. The idea was to write an "object lesson" for historiography in general.

Earlier scholars of Chinese art often compared the styles of Chinese and Western paintings (風格 *fēnggé*), a practice that involved projecting Western-style notions onto Chinese materials. For example, you cannot compare Shen Zhou and Van Gogh, or Caspar David Friedrich and Ma Yuan 馬遠, as several writers have done, without fairly seriously misrepresenting the artists on both sides of the equations. (It could be argued you would not *want* to make those comparisons unless you had fairly deep misunderstandings of either the Chinese or the Western artists, or both.) Scholars also used to draw parallels between Western and Chinese period names, calling Northern Song painting "Renaissance" and Ming painting "Baroque." Western scholars used those and other analogies to try to make sense of Chinese painting, and to order it in a way they could recognize as art history. Scholars as different as Loehr, Bachhofer, Sirén, Laurence Binyon, Sherman Lee, and Benjamin Rowland used such comparisons. More recent scholars have tended to avoid terms like "Baroque" or overt comparisons between Western and Chinese painters, but their narratives depend on subtle versions of the same kinds of parallels. Scholars who feel they are free of such comparisons may be repeating them in new forms, without noticing how parallels can still work even when their grounding terms are expunged. (I have argued that elsewhere.)[2]

The initial version of my book was intended to demonstrate the problem, and to propose a further model that I thought avoided the pitfalls of Western parallels. I called the method

the "comparison of historical perspectives." The idea was to compare Chinese and Western concepts about the *shape of history* at any given point. For example, from the perspective of the Yuan, to artists such as Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 and Qian Xuan 錢選, the Northern Song appeared as a distant past, largely lost and tremendously valuable. (This is a standard narrative, which I will explore later in the book.) By contrast the more recent and just recently ended Southern Song appeared as a decadent or useless period, with nothing to say to progressive artists. The Yuan was a period of the awakening of historical consciousness, and for the first time on record artists looked back beyond their immediate past history and began systematically to borrow earlier styles.

When the situation of the Yuan is put in these terms, there is an uncanny parallel between the sense of the shape of history at work in thirteenth-century China and fifteenth century Italy. Both periods eschewed their recent cultural heritage; both looked back past a newly discovered "gap" in history to a revered past; and both produced artists who were for the first time conscious of the differences between ancient styles, and capable of picking and choosing different styles at will.

That "comparison of historical perspectives" was the core of the book *Chinese Landscape Painting as Object Lesson*, and the manuscript concluded with the idea that China had arrived at a state that could be called postmodern—by which I meant in particular that it was marked by a quick succession of increasingly individual styles and schools (風格 *fēnggé*, 畫派 *huàpài* in the Chinese expressions)—about two hundred and fifty years before the West. The Chinese experience suggests that postmodernism in this particular sense is less the name of a period than the name of an interminable "endgame": a state that can only be terminated by some unexpected and violent change in the culture, such as the Chinese revolution.

Jim Cahill was very enthusiastic about the book, and wrote letters in its defense to several editors. In 2004 he gave a kind of *summa* of his own research at Princeton; the gist of his talk was that the great edifice of our understanding of Chinese painting is threatened by the narrowness of new scholarship and by new concerns such as postcolonial theory, and that people who are still willing to take on large themes should continue the work and see it on to its conclusion in the problematic Chinese art of the last two centuries. He noted that virtually all accounts, including his own, run out of steam when it comes to Qing painting. Scholars (again including Cahill) use words like "exhausted," "repetitive," "lifeless," and "uninteresting" to describe later Chinese painting. He said that recent attempts by Barnhart and others to look at the Qing material with a fresh eye are doomed, because the work simply is bad, and people should have the courage to say so. En route to that point he mentioned that version of my book, and noted how it had not found a publisher on account of its big-brush comparisons and its position about postmodernism in China.

That was the first version of the book, *Chinese Landscape Painting as Object Lesson*. Around 1994 it became apparent to me the book needed to be rewritten. The second version, which has been published in Chinese, was different in two respects, and the changes took the book in a direction Cahill does not support.[3] The first alteration was the inclusion of postcolonial theory. After testing parts of the manuscript on various audiences, I realized that it had to be framed in terms of current theoretical debates; otherwise it would not seem reliable or relevant. (Stan Abe was a good example for me: he took the book as a crypto-conservative manifesto, a call to return to the stylistic study of paintings without attention to their historical and political contexts.)

The second version has the title I have retained here, *Chinese Landscape Painting as Western Art History*, because I realized that even the comparison of historical perspectives was itself a Western idea. It is true that Yuan texts and paintings have been taken, by Chinese scholars and painters, to bear witness to a new sense of history, and so the comparison of historical perspectives is better grounded than the older comparisons of periods and artists' styles. (It is better to say that Yuan paintings and Renaissance paintings respond to comparable senses of the past, than it is to say that a Yuan painting is formally akin to a Renaissance painting.) Those ideas of the shapes of the past have their own histories in modern scholarship, and some have become misleading commonplaces in the scholarship. But aside from questions of accuracy, I realized that the *motivation* for the comparison of historical perspectives was thoroughly Western, so I retreated just one crucial step from what I had said in the first version of the book: instead of claiming there might be a reliable principle of comparison between the histories of painting in China and West, I said that even the optimal principle of comparison seems optimal for Western reasons. The comparison of historical perspectives would set up and support a kind of writing that would remain entirely Western in intent.

Cahill thinks of this amendment as a pusillanimous retreat, or at least a dangerous equivocation.[4] I am no longer willing simply to say that Qing art has characteristics of postmodernism: not because I disbelieve it, or because I think all such comparisons are misguided (as, for example, I imagine Craig Clunas would), but because I want to know why anyone, including my earlier self, would want to insist on it. I still think the comparison of historical perspectives is valid, dependable, and with the right qualifications largely true, and I still agree with Cahill that it is vitally important to try to build such theories. I would just say this is a truth with a dubious pedigree.

The book you are reading grew from that second version. It involves another decade of adjustments, and now it has these lengthy Iterated Introductions, but the argument is intact. I continue to be concerned about the differences between texts we produce in North America and western Europe, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and texts that were produced in China starting almost twenty centuries earlier. I would not put my concerns as I did when I was in graduate school—I no longer think that the difference itself is somehow a problem, or that there might be such a thing as perfect mimetic fidelity to other cultures—but I am still interested in trying to understand how much of our own cultural position we can articulate. This book is built on the idea that the search for optimal comparisons is itself part of the project of art history—it is a modern, Western interest—and that art history is itself Western in several identifiable senses. Although I will be concentrating on art history in this book, and on Chinese painting in particular, I take it that these issues are common in sinology in general, and in the encounter of Western metaphysics with non-Western discourse. (More on this in Section 22.)

Since I drafted the second version of this book, sometime after 1994, the subject of the Westernness of academic discourses has become central. This book is contemporaneous with at least three books on the globalization of art history. One is called *Is Art History Global?* and contains brief essays on the worldwide spread of art history by over thirty scholars.[5] Another, edited by Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme, addresses *World Art Studies*.[6] The third project is a book tentatively titled *Art and Globalization*, based on a conference I helped organize in Chicago in 2007; it will include interventions by Fredric Jameson, Susan Buck-Morss, Néstor Canclini, Rashaeed Areen, and some fifty others [7]

One question in those and other publications is whether it makes sense to continue to speak of a field called "art history," or if there are now "art histories" in different regions of the world. If there is still a discernible field or discipline, then it needs to be asked whether terms like space and form—not to mention Renaissance or Baroque—should be its leading concepts. If there is no longer a coherent enterprise called "art history," then it needs to be asked how the historical interpretive practice of one area of the world can be read, and interpreted, by scholars in some other part of the world.

Those are broad and rich conversations, and I refer readers to all three books for examples and problems outside the Chinese context. My own position is that art history is remarkably uniform throughout the world. Scholars share university structures, conferences, journals, funding sources, bibliographies, archives, and many subtler things that are hard to quantify such as protocols of argument, interpretive methods such as semiotics, senses of how to build narratives, and customs for the deployment of evidence. I think that art history does continue as a single project, and I think the majority of its structures, from its institutions to its theories, are identifiably Western, and that fact should bother us. I do not find evidence

that there are local traditions of writing art's history that are significantly different—on the contrary, I find that virtually all university and academy teaching that presents itself as art history does so in open emulation of what its practitioners take to be western European and North American standards.

In addition to *Is Art History Global?*, Zijlmans and van Damme's *World Art Studies*, and the *Art and Globalization* volume, there is also the Clark Art Institute's book *Compression and Expansion*, which contains a number of proposals about writing on world art. My own contribution to that book is a report on a project called *Success and Failure in Twentieth-Century Painting*.[8] That essay describes my attempts to write about the Bulgarian modernist Detchko Uzunov, whom I discovered on a visit to Sofia. In Bulgaria, Uzunov is as famous as, say, Paul Klee or Piet Mondrian, by which I mean that everyone educated in art history knows him and considers him an indispensable part of the cultural landscape. It is no surprise he is not known in the West—there are many like him in many countries—but that only makes it more difficult to describe him in such a way that a reader in England or America would take him as seriously as a reader in Bulgaria would.

His early work might remind a western European viewer of Augustus John, or some other conservative modernist portrait painter. Uzunov worked for the "Regime," producing some strong Balthus-style portraits and the usual postimpressionist views of workers in the fields. Then, in the 1970s, he began painting aerial views of Bulgarian villages. Those paintings show the characteristic pattern of Bulgarian towns: small individually owned gardens close in to the village center, with large communally operated fields on the periphery, crossed by two or three roads that meet at the village center. In the late 1970s Uzunov turned those aerial views into abstractions by omitting the roads and houses and smearing the fields into fields of color. In doing so he became one of Bulgaria's few abstract painters, some sixty years after abstraction got started in the West.

One evening I was talking to some Bulgarian art historians and critics, and I suggested that Uzunov was influenced by CoBrA or by European gestural abstraction such as Pierre Soulages or Hans Hartung. My proposal was greeted with strong objections. Uzunov is not an abstract painter, I was told. He understands his work as concrete representations of the villages, and in interviews he has denied being influenced by any abstract painters. I had no problem understanding the idea that the abstract paintings could be concrete pictures of Bulgarian villages, because constructivism had long ago taught central European artists that abstraction could be conceived as a form of realistic representation. But I could not believe Uzunov was not influenced by western European abstraction, and I could hardly understand the idea that he was not an abstract painter. Eventually Bulgarian historians and critics persuaded me that Uzunov came upon abstraction as if it had effectively never existed, and later I learned of other Bulgarian and eastern European artists who had the same experience. A teacher named Pamukchiev at the Art Academy in Sofia maintains the same thing: he says his paintings (which look like Twombly or Tapies) are his own invention and are not abstractions. It took a while for me to realize that painters like Uzunov and Pamukchiev were not dissembling in order to look more original and preserve their inventions.

The current art world dogma is that the world is unified by faster communication and travel, and that *Flash Art and Artforum* and the many Biennales speak for the whole world. Experiences like my encounter in Bulgaria convinced me otherwise. The Biennale and Dokumenta kinds of art are only the top one hundredth of one percent of art production. Most of it just looks old, as Uzunov's and Pamukchiev's would if they were shown internationally.

How, then, is it possible to describe such art—and note I am talking about the vast majority of the world's production in this century—without sounding as if it were derivative? If I were to write "Uzunov's work is derived from CoBrA," or even "Uzunov's work is derived, unconsciously, from CoBrA," I would flatten his sense of himself and make it impossible for a reader to take him as seriously as the Bulgarian critics take him. The challenge is to describe him without using the words "derived," "CoBrA," or even "abstraction."

The essay in *Compression and Expansion* tries to conjure what an astonishing impasse this is. It is next to impossible to do Uzunov justice within art history as we all conceive of it. If I were to write a poetic appreciation of his work—something like, "the colors are lovely and saturated, and the brushmarks free and sometimes violent"—I would be writing ahistorical criticism or simply poetry. In order to write art history, I would have to anchor Uzunov to other developments without mentioning them—apparently an impossibility from the outset.

To me, this problem is an emblem of the difficulty of writing art history about other cultures. Whole histories are waiting to be written without the word "influenced"—histories of modernism in central Europe, India, southeast Asia, and South America—everywhere, in short, that saw, or continues to see its art production as autonomous or independently interesting. In this context I only want to note that it may not be enough to be reflective about the problem; something close to the roots of art history and its Westernness (in this case, its western Europeanness) has to be rethought.[9]

The example of Uzunov's historically invisible painting is an emblem—one example from an indeterminately large set. Such examples imply that some art historical narratives, periods, and senses of interpretation are more obdurately Western than they might seem. I think much of the optimism that there are many kinds of writing that might be understood as art history, each responsive to its local context, comes from journals like *Third Text*, which has long presented compelling case studies of local practices. The optimism may also come from a sense that the art market, and artists' careers and publics, are now effectively transnational. I think that both those developments obscure the ongoing dependence of art

historical writing on a remarkably resilient and often effectively invisible series of Western methods, protocols, and ideals.

It is possible to argue even more broadly, however, and claim that *all possible* narratives—indeed, any writing that appears to the reader *as* art history—is Western. That is part of the burden of a book I wrote called *Stories of Art*, which is intended as an answer to E.H. Gombrich's *The Story of Art*.[10] Gombrich's story of the progress of Western illusionism is as close to a normative account of the basic suppositions of art historical description and periodization as we possess. Gombrich's story (the one that follows Western art from Egypt to Greece and Rome, and from there through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and onward to the Baroque, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism, and finally on to modernism and postmodernism), I would argue, is at the heart of survey texts such as Horst Janson's and Helen Gardner's, and it remains the armature, the wider impetus, for many of the discipline's specialized inquiries. Yet comparing *The Story of Art* to recent work in gender studies, "low" art, cultural studies, and psychoanalytic, Marxist, and semiotic interpretations, it becomes clear that one story will no longer do. The burden of my *Stories of Art* is that no book that effectively replaces Gombrich's with many competing stories can be written; any book that treats "low" art, or gives full attention to art of non-Western countries, will not be supported by the core narrative that gives Gombrich's book, and all the other one-volume textbooks, their cogency. *Stories of Art* surveys textbooks of art history written in various parts of the world, in order to show that only narratives similar to Gombrich's can appear as art history. Others seem willful, local, or partial. *Stories of Art* is not a call to return to Gombrich, but a suggestion that we recognize that all of what counts as art history takes its cogency from a small set of Western ways of writing and conceiving of the past.[11] There is no way to leap outside those structures and find ways of writing about art—about Chinese landscape painting, for example—that will appear as art history. They can appear useful *for* art history, and they can certainly be interesting for many other reasons, but they will not be legible, or viable, as art historical writing. In *Stories of Art* my examples are Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 ninth-century book on Chinese painters of all periods, and the Emperor Huizong's 徽宗 eleventh-century catalogues of his bronze vessel collection, but the examples could as well have been texts by Guoxi 郭熙 or others. I will look at a few such examples in Section 36, but I refer readers to *Stories of Art* for the justification of the wider claim. It is part of the background of this book.

This introduction is iterated because I need to point to readings that inform the argument. I also want to say some words to younger scholars who may encounter this book along

with their readings in Chinese culture and visual studies. For them, the chapters that follow may seem old-fashioned. I spend most of my time on *literati* painting (roughly: painting by scholar-officials, rather than court painting), and I do not range very far from painterly and historiographic questions. I do not get into patronage or symbolic meanings, and I have little to say about other kinds of Chinese painting or about the cultural configurations that produced them. There are two reasons for my narrowness. First, my subject is the crucial historiographic debates about how to tell the history of Chinese landscape painting as a whole, and those debates took place mainly in the twentieth century. I find that assumptions about the structure and significance of Chinese painting that were formed between the 1930s and the 80s continue to the present, unnoticed, in many studies of subjects that seem far removed from *literati* painting. Second, I am not convinced that it is necessary to make the social and ideological underpinnings of older arguments explicit, as some newer scholarship intends, in order to do serious work on them. That assumption is shared by current versions of postcolonial theory, cultural theory, visual studies, and political theory. So if you are a younger scholar, whose work is not really concerned with periods, styles, or *literati* painting—if you are going to miss Chinese film theory, television, or contemporary painting—I would ask you to take this as a case study, an "object lesson," which may be applicable beyond its announced topic.

That is all I want to say by way of introduction. More, and I would be writing the introduction to a longer book; less, and I am afraid what I am about to say would seem careless on the subject of the theories I am rejecting. I will close with three important definitions, and a brief summary of this book's argument.

By *comparisons* I mean any terms, theories, or ideas that are taken to help elucidate an unfamiliar art. Comparisons are parallels, bridges between cultures. They can be tacit or developed; they can be presented as analytic models or as rough hunches; they can be extended theories or single words; they can be offhand remarks or deep structural elements in historical understanding; they can be understood as problems or as natural accompaniments of interpretation. Some comparisons are metaphors, some are adjectival phrases, some are concordances. It is a comparison, in my terms, if a Western art historian offhandedly compares a Western artwork to a Chinese one, just in order to get an argument started. But it is also a comparison if I try to work out patterns of historical understanding over the course of several chapters of a book. Brief passing parallels are the commonest, and the most insidious. The one I try out in this book is an enormous, slow-moving target.

Second definition: as I will be using it, "Chinese art history" means texts on Chinese art, not texts written in China before Western contact, and only occasionally texts written in China in the late twentieth century in departments of art history. Chinese art history can be written by Chinese art historians or Western ones; but it is distinct from the texts the Chinese themselves produced before and outside Western contact. "Western art history" is the entire project of art history, regardless of its subject matter, from its beginnings in writers such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Carl Friedrich Rumohr. It therefore includes "Chinese art history." The normal locution, "Western art history," has a crucial ambiguity: it might mean the history of Western art, or the discipline of art history. The elision, I think, is telling for the way art historians understand cultural difference. I have more to say about the Westernness of art history in Section 87, if you would like to skip ahead.

Third definition: *non-Western* in this book includes virtually every country outside France, Germany, Italy, England, the United States, and—intermittently—Scandinavia, Spain, and a half dozen others. This is a heuristic position, which I defend in *Stories of Art*: it is a way of measuring the dependence of national art histories on art histories written in North America and western Europe. Texts on Finnish art, Argentine art, or Sudanese art, depend on references to common narratives of art in western Europe and North America. Their examples may be Finnish, Argentine, or Sudanese, but the points of reference in the history of art, and the leading interpretive terms, are taken from the history of art in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, England, the United States, and a scattering of other countries. In other words, there is no such thing as an art history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Finnish art, Argentine art, or Sudanese art that is not driven by western European and North American ideas and interests. That narratological definition of "Western" is also part of what I mean to imply in claiming art history is Western. (It has been said, by way of objection, that there are national histories of art that are narratively independent of the history of western European and North American art, so that my definition of Western should be expanded. But I do not think it can be expanded by much. An instructive example here is Piotr Piotrowski, an outstanding scholar of Polish art, who has spent his career wrestling with the dependence of Poland on what I am calling Western art historical narratives.)[12]

This book's argument is very simple. Here are its three principal points.

First: The comparison of historical perspectives is a half-truth. It can tell us things about the history of Chinese painting that are true and illuminating, but they seem true and illuminating because they correspond to deep assumptions in art history—ideas about history that give us our sense of historical truth. Hence the ambiguity of which James Cahill disapproves: I think the comparison of historical perspectives is optimal, and that it is crucial for the art historical study of Chinese painting … but I also think the impetus to construct such a comparison comes from the West, and needs to be looked on with some suspicion.

Second: All art historical scholarship on Chinese painting involves parallels between Chinese and Western art, even when it seems it has expunged them. Some comparisons can be avoided (it is possible to stop calling Han Dynasty art "baroque"), but most are

unnoticed. It is not possible to write an art historical account without them. The comparison of historical perspectives may seem beside the point of current scholarship, but it follows from the large-scale structures that art history imputes to Western and Chinese painting, and so it cannot be avoided. What matters, in the end, is understanding as many such parallel structures as possible, and coming to terms with the ongoing desire to explain what is so commonly and dramatically, but really accurately, called the Other.

Third: All this matters beyond Chinese landscape painting, and beyond the study of Chinese art. I hope there is a moral here for all art historians who study material that is outside their own cultural context. (That includes, as an exemplary case, North American scholars writing about Europe.) Whether it is written in China or in North America, art history is Western in measurable ways, and that Westernness matters—it cannot be taken for granted, or meliorated by increasing vigilance, or made fragile by postcolonial interrogation, or accepted as an unavoidable consequence of cultural difference. It cannot be solved by opting for the latest theories, or forgotten by attending to the grit of some particular historical problem, or transcended by philosophic critique. It has not disappeared as art history has grown into visual studies and cultural critique, and it has not faded as art history has spread to universities around the world. The very idea of writing art histories, setting up and running art history departments, publishing art history essays and books, and teaching students to be art historians, is Western. Any country that adopts these practices will be pursuing a Western goal in Western terms. "Chinese landscape painting," for example, is Western art history.

V

Postscripts

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Something about Chinese landscape painting stirs my interest in questions of art and art history, rather than the other way around. What is said about the paintings raises questions, and those questions return to the paintings as if for nourishment. Because of the nature of this inquiry I have not had the opportunity to say much about what attracts me to individual paintings—their visual force, their geographic contexts, their consumers, their painters' lives—and it may often have seemed that I would rather talk about what art history is, rather than what the paintings suggest it should be. I understand those preferences as signs of the encounter itself: when it is seen as art history, Chinese landscape painting insistently raises questions that take a viewer away from viewing and toward reflection on viewing. Before I end, therefore, I want to draw a few conclusions about Chinese landscape painting itself.

I have never felt what I assume is perfectly ordinary for a specialist of Chinese painting: the confidence that I am understanding the painting more or less the way it was intended—that I am not projecting inordinately, or generalizing inappropriately, but merely apprehending, with fair accuracy, what the artist meant his viewers to see. To some degree that deficiency on my part is one of the effects of not having a good enough command of Chinese, and so always being reminded of the veil of translation between my words and anything the artist might have said. (I have copied Chinese paintings by Huang Gongwang and others in the Academy in Hangzhou, and then the sense of intimate understanding was present in full force.)[1] But the larger reason for my disconnection from any sense of the artists' and patrons' intentions is my interest in how Chinese paintings have appeared in twentieth- and twenty-first-century art histor .

Why should Chinese landscape paintings spark this interest more than, say, Persian paintings or Mayan reliefs? Perhaps because the tradition of Chinese landscape painting seems so much like the tradition of Western art history: its myriad artists, schools, and interpretive texts are so like the familiar elements of Western art history. Studying a Chinese painting is very much like studying a Western painting: there are contemporaneous documents, critical and appreciative texts, contemporaneous historians and other informants, pertinent social and political circumstances. I think that to an art historian, Chinese painting is always already art historical, and for that reason it continuously returns me to questions of interpretation. When it is otherwise (as it sometimes is when I am imaginatively wandering in a painted Chinese landscape, or when I am immersed in copying one) I also recognize that I am not experiencing the work as an object in history.

The match between the study of Chinese landscape painting and the expectations of Western art history is uncanny, in Freud's proprietary sense of the word. Chinese painting is the Doppelgänger of Western painting, the perfect double that is somehow less than perfect, the twin who differs in some fundamental and secret way. Freud's idea of *Unheimlichkeit* (uncanniness) applies well here, because Chinese painting is at one and the same instant *just the same* as Western art history (it conforms to art historical expectations at every point) and utterly different. But this is more than a psychological effect: I think it is generated by the discipline itself, and is therefore one of the conditions for understanding Chinese art in general. I do not mean that Chinese painting has to be understood through Freud, but that it cannot be seen except as a near-miss for Western expectations. That is what I mean by the title of this book: Chinese landscape painting presents itself to us as Western art history, even though we know full well that it is not, and that tension animates and generates art historical meaning. To ignore the uncanny resemblance, or to put it in footnotes, is to avoid the full game of art history.

My first hypothesis was that "Chinese landscape painting tends to appear as an example … and not a co-equal in the production or reception of art history itself," but that is not quite right. Chinese landscape painting is not an example, but an exemplary encounter: it is the occasion in which art history finds itself most nearly mirrored, most nearly matched by a discourse which is clearly not its own.

As in any cultural encounter (or any encounter with a ghostly twin), both sides begin to seem strange. Writing this essay has made me wonder again about my understanding of Western art history. It seems less easy, now, to look at a picture without thinking of the structures of history it implies. What does it mean to say a Western artist misunderstands

tradition (as I think Wu Bin misunderstood his)? Which artistic strategies in the West have been "crystallized" (as in Wang Wei or Li Cheng)? The Chinese tradition is not the only one that groups and opposes artists in unlikely ways. How is our sense of the Renaissance affected by the extremely implausible triad of Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo? In what ways does the Western sequence of periods conform to the supposedly non-Western sequence of shifting "renewal" and "synthesis"?

As Freud knew, the encounter with the *Doppelgänger* is an encounter with the patient's own history. As it unfolds, the patient comes to understand himself. In the end, of course, there is no ghost: only an echo chamber of projections, hallucinations, and unrealized desires. Chinese landscape painting is far more frightening than Freud's examples of ghosts, because the "ghost" is real—perhaps, as I have suggested, it is more substantial than the patient. Encountering Chinese landscape painting is a way of wondering what it means to want to write art history. Why pursue parallels, like the comparison of historical perspectives? Where does the desire to have a history of Chinese landscape painting (or any tradition, any Other history) come from? What does it mean to want painting to have a history?

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So the encounter itself becomes the subject, and its problems overwhelm the investigation of the paintings. But does the encounter also lead to new knowledge about the paintings? Is there also a truth-value here, a conclusion that might be drawn about Zhao Mengfu, or Dong Qichang? I will offer three answers, one responding mainly to the principal argument; another more pessimistic; and the third, I think, the best.

Like the miscellaneous parallels I entertained in Chapter I, the comparison of historical perspectives was originally designed to find out some truth about the paintings. It was supposed to be a relatively unproblematic, reasonably ideologically acceptable model. As it turned out, it was a tool of rhetoric, a way to discover how Western art history guides the exposition of the development of Chinese painting. Even so, nothing in the comparison implies that Chinese art is epistemologically inaccessible. It seems unlikely, for instance, that the Chinese senses of their past could be entirely different from the ways they are presented in Western art history. There is even evidence that art historians in the West are sometimes more Chinese than the original Chinese sources, for instance when the Western historians stress "eccentricity" even though the term became widespread only after the fact, or when they insist on pairings such as Li-Guo even though things were initially much more open-ended.[2] In regard to the parallel of historical perspectives my own opinion is that Cahill's account is mostly right, and that the Chinese painters' and critics' sense of their past does correspond, by and large, with the history as he presents it.

One of the things that it means to say an historical account is true is that it makes sense within a certain kind of writing, and a certain sense of history. A true account is adequate or sufficient to its task, meaning that it represents its subject fairly well, without misplaced emphasis. But emphasis continuously shifts in historical accounts. In the first chapter I was taking exception to some comparisons not because they seemed untrue, but because their emphases seemed decidedly Western. When Wen Fong frames the history of Chinese painting as a sequence leading from surface to depth, and then to "eccentric" elaboration, I wonder how much of his account was made possible by mid- to late-twentieth-century concerns about formalism, the flat picture plane, the dissolution of perspective, and the turn from naturalistic depiction. Although it is clear that Chinese painters were concerned with related issues, I am interested to know what happens when Chinese painting is presented as an art that can be described *primarily* or optimally as a negotiation of surfaces and fictive space. Space is a ruling metaphor in Western modernist scholarship in a way that it never has been in past centuries, and so in reading accounts such as Wen Fong's I try to watch for signs of a typically Western modernist interest in the dynamic of plane and recession.

The analogous question arises in Cahill's books whenever historical perspectives are important to the narrative. On many occasions Chinese scholar-painters were preoccupied with their positions in relation to the past. It may be a Western emphasis, however, to gather perspectives into sequences and string them into overarching narratives about the succession of painting from the Tang onward. Needless to say my own account does that in a deliberate, even mechanical fashion, and no such construct appears in any one text of Cahill's. It is the way an argument might return to such a principle, or build from it in a consistent fashion, that makes me see a Western preoccupation.

My initial purpose in spinning out the comparison of historical perspectives was to see what the most abstract, unobjectionable comparison might look like when it is more fully developed. As I put it in the fourth hypothesis, the idea was to look at a comparative principle that seems (at least in principle) to be above suspicion. But I hope the last two chapters have made it seem increasingly unlikely that the comparison is impeccably neutral. In fact the comparison of historical perspectives might be *more* Western than Rowland's, Lee's, or Loehr's comparisons; it might be the most elaborately camouflaged Western interpretive project of all. It may be just as thoroughly Western, just as much a projection, as Rowland's

prose-poems about Li Cheng's "demon groves." I do not think we can quite see it that way, even though many details can seem unlikely when they are spelled out, because from the vantage of the twenty-first century, the parallel of historical perspectives points to a deep structure within art history itself. Yet in time, I suspect it may appear more like a grove of demon trees than a strong analytic tool for comprehending other histories.

It is as if I were at the brink of a cliff. Behind me is the confident progression of Western scholarship on Chinese painting, trying with each generation to refine its assumptions and remove its projections about China. The ground I am standing on seems to be the most solid of all, the place where historical comparisons are themselves the issue, and where a comparison of historical perspectives may have some use in structuring art historical accounts. But ahead of me everything dissolves into air. The very idea of comparing the march of periods is so obviously Western, so much in line with Western—and specifically German—scholarship on history's large-scale structures. Its grounding defense, that each cultural moment has a particular sense of the structure of its past, repeats the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western preoccupation with self-reflexivity and perspectival thought. And the very idea of writing a book—no matter how small and improvisational—about the entire history of two traditions of art on opposite sides of the world, nearly reeks of Western colonialism, imperialism, and the spread of global interests. (At the least, it has no parallels in earlier Chinese writing about painting or art.) My efforts at finding an optimal form of understanding for Chinese painting seem to have turned, like a snake biting its tail, back onto a cycle of doubt.

Art historians tend not to spend much time thinking about themselves, or unearthing the unanalyzed assumptions they bring to their work. Reading older art history, it can be glaringly obvious how art historians were products of their time and how their conclusions say more about themselves than about their subjects. Ernest Fenollosa's writings appear that way, and to a lesser degree so do Binyon's and Rowland's. They are no longer read to find out about Chinese paintings. Instead they are of historiographic interest, because they are part of the history of reception of Chinese art. From an even more distant perspective, the entire project of art history makes a stark contrast with Chinese accounts of their own art written before Western contact. From that vantage everything we do is Western, down to the pinyin transliterations and the half-tone reproductions with their Western-style captions.

It is not easy to take this obvious lesson to heart. It means that art history is not only impelled by the cultural milieu of its authors, but largely determined by it: so much so that in a few decades' time it may well seem that twentieth-century art history was more a diary of Western impressions than a contribution to the understanding of Chinese art. Though it seems impossible now, the time may well come when future historians read accounts by Wen Fong, Cahill, and others as signs and symptoms of the latter half of the twentieth century in North America and western Europe—or texts by Craig Clunas as signs of the particular internationalisms of late twentieth-century England. Current writing on Chinese visual culture beyond *literati* painting is not exempt: it, too, will come to seem very much

of its time (the early twenty-first century) and place (the increasingly global community of universities that include media and visual studies). It may not be read for information about Chinese film, animation, posters, television, or advertisements, but for its historiographic value, for its place in a history of Western attempts to encounter something still taken as Other.

These are stark, unhappy thoughts, and they lead with a dull unarguable logic to the conclusion that comparisons, and therefore, as I proposed in Chapter I, historical explanations in general are primarily unnoticed opportunities for self-representation.

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That is the difficult truth that so seldom appears in the course of ordinary art historical research. It strikes me that the reason the two alternatives of naïve truth and wholesale projection become such a stark opposition has to do with the nature of the subject. When Panofsky considered Dürer, or Dvořák looked at El Greco, they saw something of themselves, and they knew as much. They saw some affinities between their own lives, their own interests and knowledge, and the worlds of Dürer and El Greco—but they did not see too far or too much. That salve helped hide the corrosive possibility that Dürer and El Greco had no systematic or controllable resemblance to Panofsky's or Dvořák's imaginings. At the same time, their historian's half-knowledge hid the opposite and equally unproductive thought that Dürer and El Greco were exactly as Panofsky and Dvořák imagined them, nothing more or less. Historical writing, as many people have observed, is a balance: the historian is involved, but not submerged.

Yet in contemplating Chinese painting it seems there is no balanced equilibrium (to use the ecologist's term) and an art historian's thoughts may oscillate wildly between an inordinate anxiety over projecting modern Western ideas, and an indefensible complacency propped up by a sense that cultural truths can be transparent. At least that is why I have presented such bald alternatives, and entwined the history of Chinese landscape painting with the apparently more general issue of comparison or representation.

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It is possible to argue that the project and discipline of art history, aside from questions of Chinese art, remain Western. Because I have not done that in this book, let me telegraph the

argument here. Most obviously, the interpretive methods art historians use to understand their material are virtually all Western: iconography, semiotics, structuralism, psychoanalysis, formal analysis, feminisms, linguistics, gender studies, historiography, and even discarded methods such as style analysis and connoisseurship, are all demonstrably Western.

(The only gray areas in this list are formal analysis, style analysis, and connoisseurship, because they have been claimed to be also Chinese or even universal. I think that claim is a sticky one, which depends on generalizing the terms until they are effectively unrecognizable. Formal analysis is a modernist, Western invention, which began with writers like Roger Fry and continued, for example, in George Rowley. Style analysis is a neo-Kantian strategy made famous by Heinrich Wölfflin; and connoisseurship is an ideologically loaded form of market-related appreciation, made famous and notorious by Bernard Berenson. To claim that formal analysis, style analysis, or connoisseurship are also Chinese is to ignore those points of origin, and appeal to a more universal human way of encountering images. It is true that we all see brushstrokes, flat surfaces, spatial cues, compositions, and so forth; but the *naming* of such elements, the *structure of our analysis*, and the conviction that we are doing something that is phenomenologically or neurobiologically fundamental to all perception of art, are all Western.)[3]

Art history is also Western on account of its institutional forms: departments of art history, a "discipline" called art history, training that is distinct from an education in aesthetics, training distinct from training in art criticism, international conferences, expository essay-writing forms, refereed journals, monographs, academic publishers, scholarly apparatus (including the protocols of footnotes and bibliographies), and the privilege accorded to the archive: all that is Western.

These two arguments, about art history's interpretive methods and its institutional forms, are at stake in the book *Is Art History Global?*. I think that methods and institutions like the ones I listed are evidence that despite the worldwide spread of art history and visual studies, the field remains Western. Yet most contributors to the book take a more optimistic position, saying—in different ways—that the new places where art history is practiced are evidence that the discipline is becoming productively fragmented. The consensus view, at least in *Is Art History Global?*, is that we now have many art histories, formed in their local contexts, and that pluralism has replaced the spread of Western models. I do not think that is the case, and I find that even the most far-flung practices that call themselves art history—in Paraguay, in Benin, in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, in provincial locations in China—depend wholly on Western interpretive methods and institutions. The molds are the same; the material that is poured into them differs. At least that is the short version of the claim that all art history is Western; the book *Is Art History Global?*, along with several others, are the places to go for more detailed accounts.[4]

Given the Westernness of the project and discipline of art history, it is very unlikely that the comparison of historical perspectives is more abstract—and therefore more neutral, or more universal—than other comparisons, or that it is any more immune to being a projection

on the order of comparisons between Southern Song painters and Caspar David Friedrich. The comparison probably says less about recurring patterns of art history across cultures than about patterns that Western art historical practice automatically finds in other cultures.

Every once in a while it is important to step back from the profession itself in order to ask what it wants to do. From this farthest viewpoint, *all* of art history is a Western project, one with no place in China before the twentieth century. Chinese landscape painting, even when we are most vigilant, even when we pare back Western usages or corral them into footnotes, and most especially when we are satisfied with some measure of veracity, *is* Western art history.[5]

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Overt comparisons, such as the one I have explored in this book, are like narrow searchlights playing on the dark ground of our habitual thinking. From a philosophic standpoint, all representation, all writing, depend on comparison (see Section 11). Comparisons, parallels, analogies, and metaphors are the foundation of understanding.

In the last twenty years, the large-scale concerns I have been exploring in this book have faded. Art historians have turned to local problems and contexts, and tried to avoid East-West comparisons altogether. The complexity of the tradition is stressed over any linear developments it might have had. At this point I hope I have said enough to instill some doubt about the ability of the new scholarship to avoid the problems I have been exploring. Articulating complexity only defers the moment when it becomes necessary to attend to underlying structure.[6] The entire interpretive apparatus of contemporary art historical scholarship is demonstrably Western. Scholars of all sorts use Western interpretive methods, write in Western forms, publish in Western journals, attend Western-style conferences, work in Western-style universities. We study many things that previous scholars did not, and we look much further afield than earlier generations … but does that mean the avalanche of new objects and words exempts us from the problems that plagued earlier generations?

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Recent scholars have been especially intent on avoiding style analyses and formal analyses of the kind associated with mid-century scholars. As in much of art history, the elucidation of social, economic, political contexts has come to take the place once reserved for appreciations of paintings' technical and aesthetic properties.

There is an invigorating variety of such work. Susan Nelson's study of paintings of Mount Lu, a place "famed as a refuge of recluses—hermits, monks, immortality-seekers," is principally concerned with what the paintings imply about the "major cultural icon" of Mount Lu.[7] Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü understands painting in eighteenth-century Yangzhou as "an artistic product shaped by a collective social and cultural experience," not—as Robert Harrist, reviewing the book, notes—as the work of "individual artists" whose paintings require visual analysis.[8] Jonathan Hay's study of Shitao, which I mentioned in relation to theories of modernism, reads paintings mainly for signs and indices of social contexts.[9]

Alfreda Murck's study of Song Dynasty painting is an especially extensive example.[10] Murck is sensitive to formal qualities of pictures, but she mentions them mainly in order to find political meanings. She finds Guo Xi's *Early Spring* (see plate 7) "an elegant metaphor for the success of the New Policies" of the Emperor Shenzong (reigned 1067–85). Although the painting "might also be understood as an auspicious New Year's image or as a Daoist vision of the world emerging from the *yin* of winter," she writes, it can at the same time be "a celebration of the dawn of the new era that Shenzong … had brought to the empire."[11] The mists in Southern Song paintings, she writes, are "undeniably attractive and mysterious," but mist "could convey more than beautiful effects." In a discussion of Muqi and Yujian, she notes that a painter, like a poet, could find ways of telling his viewers that he was "sensitive and concerned about the world." Clouds, for example, "could serve as a metaphor for evil elements shrouding the truth" as readily as they "could signal the arrival of timely rains."[12] For Murck's purposes the principal interest of natural elements, in painting as in poetry, is what they say about the surrounding politics.

It is tricky to characterize the way the discipline pays attention to social and political contexts, because few studies are entirely devoid of passages that focus on formal properties. The rhetoric of art history's descriptions of itself has it that social contexts are inevitably interwoven with many other concerns. But a telltale sign of the preponderance of interest in social contexts is what might be called the trope of the apology for the return to the work. Several recent studies are framed as returns to the works following a period of attention to their social contexts, and the authors of the studies tend to want to defend their choices. One such is Maggie Bickford's "Emperor Huizong and the Aesthetic of Agency," which opens with a quotation from Benjamin Rowland to set the stage for a return to the artworks. Bickford writes:

> Scholars in East Asia and the West have made notable progress in contextualizing products of [Emperor Huizong] and his Academy. We have clarified institutional arrangements. We have examined the uses of art to ritual, legitimacy, and power. We have explored relationships between imperially sponsored painting the emerging art of the scholar-amateurs at the end of the Northern Song. But we have still not come to terms with these works of art as works of art.[13]

This is put in a collegial tone, because Bickford herself has been one of the principal scholars who have contributed to the contextual study of Huizong's art. But it is also an interesting barometer of the way the subject can appear bifurcated, and the kind of response ("works of art as works of art") that can seem to be called for. Overall, it is a safe generalization that the study of Chinese painting, like the discipline of art history as a whole, is engaged in avoiding some old-fashioned European and North American habits by paying attention to the social forces that give value and meaning to painting.

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Some of the best of this new scholarship moves very far away from what used to count as art history, taking the risk that the result might not be seen as useful or sensible art history at all. I will close with two examples: the first is recuperable as art history, and the second may not be.

Jerome Silbergeld's study of Li Huasheng, published in 1993, stays very close to the artist's concerns, as Silbergeld heard them in extensive interviews. Even so, he notes that some of his own interests in patronage and training, and some of his points of comparison, may seem "strangely Western" to a Chinese reader.[14] The book is a rich mingling of art criticism's on-the-ground immediacy and its preferred interview format, with the deeper structural and developmental concerns of art history. For John Clark, Silbergeld's book is too uninterested in the problems of influence, social contexts, and ideological critique: "Silbergeld," Clark writes, "seems only incidentally interested in art history … reserving his enthusiasm for the relationship between stylistic development and artistic personality."[15] But I wonder if this does not miss the point of what the book might contribute: art criticism remains very different from academic art history, and it may be that one way to change the terms of the conversation on Chinese painting is to listen to the sometimes uninformed, often non-political concerns of artists.[16]

For me, the most intriguing recent example of work that is "less dependent on European conceptions of artists and their work" is Craig Clunas's *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* (2004). (The quotation is from the book's dust jacket.)[17] Clunas sets out to redress the Western art historical focus on Wen's paintings, demonstrating that his work included calligraphy and poetry, both of which were valued more highly than painting (*ED*, 8). Clunas notes that Western scholars have long been aware of the narrow focus of their inquiries, but that they have not pursued the consequences of that fact. His study focuses on the concepts of friendship, debts, gifts, obligations, presents, and other exchanges, which structured much of Wen Zhengming's cultural production.[18] In that way, Clunas hopes to expand the Western interest in Wen's paintings to accommodate an understanding of his

work that is more nearly coincident with his reception in the Ming Dynasty, and with Wen's own self-understanding. Clunas knows that in doing that, he may appear to be "downgrading the works of art themselves as objects of inquiry, treating them as ciphers that … 'stand for' social relationships." He proposes to pay attention to "agency" over "meaning," even though it might "put the present inquiry beyond the bounds of acceptable art-historical practice." The idea is to investigate "what called [Wen's] work into existence," which would then enable others to ask about "the visual qualities of individual works." Clunas reiterates the social art historian's interest in "the relations between agents," which illuminate the object, and in the object, which "enacts those social relations," with no priority to one or the other (*ED*, 13). At the same time, he does not subscribe to social art history that is "in thrall to … the idea of the work of art as a privileged reflection of an equally privileged 'something else,' be it the 'spirit of the age' or the 'mode of production'."[19] *Elegant Debts* is not the sort of social art history that just sets an elaborate stage for the reappearance of the transcendent art work (*ED*, 181).

There are complicated and delicate questions here, some in the text and some intentionally elided by it. Certainly it would be hard to disagree that art history's conventional interest in individual objects could be given context and sense by a wider investigation of the conditions under which objects come into existence. I admire the conceptual clarity of the book, treating paintings as the objects of social exchange; I think *Elegant Debts* is the most conceptually tight production in the field since mid-century formal and style analyses. But does it follow that "the visual qualities of individual works" will be illuminated by such an account?[20] Is Clunas's exploration really *prior* to some later art historical inquiry? Or is it fundamentally different? In the book, the visual responses Wen Zhengming's contemporaries had to his work are carefully bracketed out. It is true that for many of the people who received his paintings and calligraphy, visual qualities were less an issue than the nature of the exchange itself. (Much the same is true in the contemporary international art market, where an original by a famous artist tends to matter more than the work's artistic or critical value). But what could be said about Wen Zhengming's contemporaries who *did* notice quality, or mark the difference between a good painting and a copy? Would what could be said about those cases fit with the book as a natural extension of its concerns, or would they take the book in a different direction? I ask this because it has a provocative parallel in contemporary art history: could art historical accounts of Wen Zhengming that care about the "visual qualities" of individual artworks—that is, the majority of existing accounts—find a new ground in Clunas's exposition, or would they need to continue from a different place?

Let me put this another way. The picture of Wen Zhengming in *Elegant Debts* is rich, full of historical *matter*, and effectively revisionist. We find Wen in a circuit of social relations, well told and carefully theorized. But as Clunas says, attention to "the visual qualities of individual works" is largely missing. Problematic paintings are side by side with weak copies, minor efforts, and paintings crucial for Chinese art history's sense of itself.

It is systematically unclear why this should be a study of a Ming Dynasty figure known primarily as a painter—why it should be about the "Michelangelo" of the Ming Dynasty, as Clunas says at the beginning, recounting his reluctant answer to a student's question. There is a mass of documentation about Wen, but wouldn't any number of well-documented, well-connected Ming scholar-officials do just as well? Wouldn't they be just as apposite for a demonstration of the social relations that interest Clunas? Doesn't Clunas's book belong with other studies of debt and gifts outside of visual art?[21]

So on the one hand (as in the previous paragraph), studies of "agency" and social contexts can make it seem as if the choice of visual artists as subjects of scholarly inquiry is somewhat arbitrary. On the other hand (as in the paragraph before that), it can be difficult to know how to connect such studies to various ideas about what might count as the "visual qualities of individual works." I think the entire field of Chinese art history should be grateful for studies like Clunas's, but I also think the questions they postpone may in fact end up being unanswerable. As Clunas implies, this is exactly how old conversations grow into new ones, and I think almost nothing better could happen to studies of Chinese painting than a change of conversation along these lines. My concern is that the old conversations are not connected to the new ones, and therefore they are not resolved: and as Hegel knew, unless old ideas are decisively addressed they tend to re-emerge—or worse, they direct things from behind the scenes. To be entirely self-consistent, studies like *Elegant Debts* should focus just as often on visually illiterate scholar-officials as on scholar-officials who happen to have made objects valued, in very different and perhaps immiscible discourses, as crucial works of fine art

It is not impossible to avoid particular traits of older European and North American scholarship such as the focus on aesthetic properties, the fetishization of individual works, or the reliance on style analysis. A plurality of recent scholars achieve some independence from earlier work just by concentrating on social and political contexts, or by broadening the subjects of scholarship to include Chinese advertising, television, and other mass media. But Clunas's book suggests that the most concerted efforts to avoid the old interests can go so far or so fast that they lose the run of art, if not of history. (Perhaps deliberately, and perhaps that is not a bad thing.)

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Comparisons were the structure of understanding for twentieth-century Western scholars of Chinese landscape painting. Have we freed ourselves from them by looking at the social and economic conditions under which paintings were produced? Have we left these problems behind by looking at postcolonial settings, socioeconomic contexts, and the political

conditions of production? Have we made comparisons irrelevant by moving on to Chinese television, fashion, or folk art? Are parallels no longer necessary now that *literati* landscape painting has itself faded into the historical past? Is it safe to assume that the texts produced between Fenollosa and the recent past are irrelevant?

No, it is not safe, and I have yet to find a text that avoids the problems I have been exploring. Comparisons are built into the discipline in ways too deep to be excavated. The virtue of looking for the best available comparison, on the largest possible scale, and following it to see where it leads (instead of censoring its operative terms, and shutting it down prematurely), is that such an inquiry can help show us part of the *apparently inevitable* shape of art historical understanding. The really interesting questions for current writing concern the structures we *cannot see how to avoid*, and the optimal ways of thinking about them. We turn against comparisons, and yet we are also drawn to them; if it were not illogical I would say we are especially drawn to comparisons we do not recognize.

Why are contemporary scholars so wary of comparisons, especially when they begin to sound serious or systematic? Why avoid them so studiously, or deconstruct them so assiduously? Perhaps we sense that comparisons are symptoms of a condition that is endemic to the discipline. Like a tic, they seem to signal a deeper problem. Even though at any given moment the comparison itself is what seems faulty, the deeper issue is the shape of our imaginations, which has generated the problem to begin with. This brings me to the final hypothesis, which is a caution against the overenthusiastic hunt for ideological bias

> *Sixth hypothesis*. There are reasons to keep trying to understand how art history is Western. But any such attempt will remain within Western art history, and if an account succeeds in throwing off Western assumptions it will no longer be recognizable as art history.

In other words: the repertoire of comparisons, from the most informal, innocuous allusion to a Western painter all the way to the most pervasive, abstract sense of modernism or artistic agency, effectively *is art history*. Comparisons can be criticized, amended, prefaced, suppressed, analyzed, dissected, "atomized," and silenced, but they cannot be expunged without dissolving the sense that Chinese art has a history. The cardinal overconfidence of some recent writing, both in Chinese studies and in art history as a whole, is that self-reflexivit , critical analysis, and the turn to new subjects will yield an effectively new narrative, shorn of Western perspectives. I doubt it.

Notes

Foreword

1. Susan M. Taylor, Director, Princeton University Art Museum, cited at http://www.momao.com/ (accessed April 16, 2008).
2. Perhaps Shitao's most famous articulations of his egoism as a painter states: "That which makes me myself, my self is because I exist. The whiskers and eyebrows of the ancients are unable to grow on my face and above my eyes. The organs of the ancients are unable to lie amidst my entrails. I myself give rise to my entrails, and manifest my whiskers and eyebrows. Even when there may be some point of contact with some master, it is that master who approaches me. It is not the case that I seek to become like him. Nature has endowed me thus. With respect to antiquity, how could I have learned from it without transforming it?" Shitao (1642–1707), "Kugua heshang hua yu lu," in *Hualun congkan*, edited by Yu Haiyan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), vol. 1, 148; translation adapted from Richard Strassberg, *Enlightening Remarks on Painting* (Pasadena: Pacific Asia Museum, 1989), 65.
3. It is equally possible that a viewer unfamiliar with *Starry Night*, but knowledgeable of Chinese painting, would also misconstrue the relation between them. In my own classrooms at the University of Toronto, where a large percentage of my class is of East Asian descent, many students read Zhang Hongtu's work as an actual Van Gogh that copies Shitao's composition. In this way, they seek to make Shitao an actual historical precursor to Van Gogh, and are often slightly disappointed to discover that Shitao was not an actual influence on Van Gogh. Though my classes as a whole tend to love the playfulness of these works and the way that they problematize the relation of Chinese landscape painting and Western art history.
4. My impressions of the reception of Elkins's manuscript are shaped by a range of informal conversations with colleagues, and are not supported statistically (though it would be interesting to see what a survey of responses might reveal about Elkins's text and the field more broadly).
5. Xu Bangda, *Gu shuhua jianding gailun* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981); *Gu shuhua wei'e kaobian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), as well as his contributions to the multi-volume series *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986–2001).
6. Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984); Song Liao, *Jin huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984); *Yuadai huajia shiliao* (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu renmin chubanshe, 1980).
7. Mu Yiqin, *Mingdai yuanti Zhepai shiliao* (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu chubanshe, 1985).
8. James Elkins, *Is Art History Global*? , vol. 3 of *The Art Seminar*, edited by James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2006).

9. In "The Pleasure of Fish," the philosopher Zhuangzi (fl. fourth century BC) and his friend Huizi were strolling along the Hao River when Zhuangzi said, "See how the minnows come out and swim easily! This is the pleasure of fish!" Huizi said, "You are not a fish. How do you know the pleasure of fish?" Zhuangzi said, "You are not I, [so] how do you know that I do not know the pleasure of fish?" Huizi said, "I am not you, [so] I certainly don't know what you know. [But] you are certainly not a fish. [So] that which you do not know includes the pleasure of fish." Zhuangzi said, "Please return to the original [question]. You asked me how I know the pleasure of fish. So you already knew that I knew it, and then asked me; I know it by standing here beside the Hao." Zhuangzi, "The Pleasure of Fish" (Yu zhi le), in "Autumn Floods" (Qiushui), *Zhuangzi ji shi*, edited by Guo Qingfan (Beijing: Zhinghua shuju, 1978) vol. 3, 606–7; translation adapted from *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 188–89.
10. Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art*, translated by Christopher S. Wood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3–63.
11. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), esp. 96–122.
12. See, for example, Wen C. Fong, "The Yuan Renaissance," *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, 8th–14th Century (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 379–429.
13. On the idea of art as a cultural system, see Clifford Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 94–120.
14. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); H.D. Harootunian, "Introduction: The Afterlife of Area Studies," "Postcoloniality's Unconscious/Area Studies' Desire," in H.D. Harootunian and Masao Miyoshi, *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002), 1–18, 150–74.
15. Peter Bol, Charles H. Carswell Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and Director, Center for Geographic Analysis, Harvard University, and comment on HCGIS addressed to the Society for Ming Studies Annual Meeting, April 1, 2005.

Iterated Introductions

1. Afterward, Jason and Jim Cahill and I decided to produce a more formal record, and Jim and I exchanged letters; as of this writing (summer 2006), Jason intends to publish them in a volume of the conference proceedings.
2. I make this case in relation to the Western scholarship on Chinese bronzes in "Remarks on the Western Art Historical Study of Chinese Bronzes, 1935–1980," *Oriental Art* 33 (Autumn 1987): 250–60, revised in *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2000 [1997]).
3. 西方美術史学中的中国山水画 *Xifāng měishùshǐxué zhōng de Zhōngguó shānshuǐhuà* [Chinese Landscape Painting as Western Art History], translated from the English by Pan Yaochang and Gu Ling (Hangzhou: Zhongguo mei shu xue yuan chu ban she [National Academy of Art], 1999). ISBN 871019707X.
4. The best statement of his current position, with critical responses, is Cahill, "Some Thoughts on the History and Post-History of Chinese Painting," *Archives of Asian Art 55* (2005): 17–34: "But the main point I am making is that it can be done: Chinese painting in the early centuries is susceptible to diachronic analysis and ordering of the kind that allows the construction of an art history" (20). I admire and I try to emulate the scale of this claim, and I do not doubt its

potential truth. I differ in my lingering skepticism over the motivation for the claim: anything that appears as art history will have properties that include diachronic ordering, and those properties are identifiably European in origin, so the claim amounts to another more imperialistic-sounding claim—something like, "Chinese painting in the early centuries can be conceptualized according to the expectations of art and its history that have been developed in western Europe from the 18th century onward." I recognize that an alternate reading is possible: one could also say that the phrase "an art history" allows the construction of a different sort of art history for Chinese painting, one effectively free of Western concepts. I do not think that the alternate reading makes sense.

5. *Is Art History Global*?, op. cit.
6. Zijlmans took the name for the program in Leiden, where she works, from John Onians's program in East Anglia, which was the first of its kind
7. This book will be the first volume of the Stone Summer Theory Institute seminars (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, forthcoming).
8. "Writing about Modernist Painting outside Western Europe and North America," in *Compression and Expansion*, edited by John Onians (Williams MA: Clark Art Institute, 2006), 188–214. A related version has appeared in Slovakian: "Ako je mozné písat' o svetovom umení?" ["How Is It Possible to Write about the World's Art?"] *Ars* [Bratislava] 2 (2003): 75–91, with an English summary provided by the editors.
9. The material on Uzunov and these issues are part of a work in progress, *The Project of Painting, 1900–2000*. For background on this kind of problem, see my review of Steven Mansbach, *Modern Art in Eastern Europe*, in *Art Bulletin* 82 no. 4 (2000): 781–85, with "Response [to Anthony Alofsin's letter regarding the review of Mansbach's Modern Art in Eastern Europe]," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 539; and my review of David Summers, *Real Spaces*, in *Art Bulletin* 86 no. 2 (2004): 373–80, reprinted in *Is Art History Global*?, op. cit.
10. *Stories of Art* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
11. My book has been misunderstood as a conservative, Europeanizing return to conventional art history, but its argument is different. See for example the exchange with Parul Mukherji in *Is Art History Global?*. I discovered Mukherji's work just before it went to press, and in spring 2008 we had a very productive exchange—all of which, unfortunately, was too late to be included in her writing. For more on Mukherji's work see her *The Citrasūtra of Visṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, edited and translated by Parul Dave Mukherji, Kalāmūlaśāstra Series (K.M.S.) vol. 32 (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi Centre for the Arts, 2001), and the review by Doris Meth Srinivasan, "The Citrasūtra of the Visṇudharmottara Purāṇa," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* (July 1, 2004), accessed online August 2008.
12. See Dorota Biczel Nelson's essay, "The Case of Piotr Piotrowski: The Avant-garde under the Shadow of Yalta," published online in the University of Tampa, Florida, *Journal of Art History 3* (2008), journal.utarts.com, accessed August 2008.

I A Brace of Comparisons

1. From this beginning, the argument goes in a different direction in my review of David Summers's *Real Spaces*, reprinted in *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit.
2. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), and James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *The Predicament of Culture, Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 255–76. An interesting counterpoint to Said, documenting instances of fully self-reflexive sexist and "orientalist" gazing on the part of eighteenth-century Islamic visitors to London, is Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).

3. 平淡 *píngdàn* is literally "level and weak," "constant and bland," or "level and tasteless" (in the sense of "without taste"). The custom of translating it as "insipid" is surely misguided, in that "insipid" is strongly pejorative, not just weakly so; it carries the connotation "vapid" as well as "unpalatable." I call the translation "customary" because it persists even where the context shows that nothing as strong need be used. See for instance Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 170. There is an excellent discussion of *píngdàn* in Jonathan Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Song Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 114–25, relating it to poetry and to its uses in the Chuang Tzu. I thank Stanley Murashige for this reference. Even "flat" is misleading as a translation for *píngdàn* because the opposite in Western painting would be something like "thick" or "impasto," not the Chinese 濃 *nóng*, meaning also "dense."
4. For the parallel between the Yuan and modernism, see for example Wen Fong, "Modern Art Criticism and Chinese Painting History," in *Tradition and Creativity: Essays on East Asian Civilization*, edited by Ching-I Tu (New Brunswick and Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987), 98–108; and Wen Fong, "Silent Poetry: Chinese Paintings in the Douglas Dillon Galleries," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 39 no. 3 (Winter 1981–82): 7.
5. Wen Fong, "Interview with Jerome Silbergeld [January 28, 2006]," forthcoming.
6. For the imperialist need to continuously strengthen stereotypes, see Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (1984): 125–33.
7. I argue this in "The Mottled Discourse of Chinese Studies," response to Jonathan Hay, "The Mediating Work of Art." In a set of "Interventions," *Art Bulletin* 89 no. 3 (2007). Hay's essay is 435–59; my response, 482–86.
8. This has been put best by Craig Clunas, in the course of a review of Jonathan Hay's book on Shitao, when he wonders "whether in fact the 'Chinese literati ideal' of unfettered and autonomous artistic production really existed at all, even at the level of the ideal (it has effectively been demonstrated that it never existed in practice), or whether it, too, is not rather an artifact of the 20th century." Clunas, review of Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), *Art Bulletin* 84 no. 4 (2002): 686–89, quotation on 688.
9. This phrase is used (skeptically) by Margaret Olin, in a review of Oleg Grabar, The *Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), *Art Bulletin* 75 no. 4 (1993): 731.
10. The metaphor of abrasion is pursued in Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," translated by Alan Bass, in *Margins of Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 207–72.
11. I.A. Richards, "Towards a Theory of Translating," in *Studies in Chinese Thought*, edited by Arthur Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 250, quoted in George Steiner, *After Babel, Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 50.
12. Steiner's project can be made more difficult by enlisting the critiques of the philosophic subject, because he assumes an accessible intuition and cognition, bent to the task of poetic interpretation. See for example Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, translated by Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), and compare Steiner, *Real Presences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), especially 110–12.
13. The best introduction to these problems in anthropology is Stanley Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 111–39.
14. Donald Davidson, "On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme," in *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 182; for "interpretive communities" see Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980). Conceptual schemes are also discussed in

the first chapter of my *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1997).

15. A.L. Becker, *Beyond Translation* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1995).
16. For *aletheia* and *homoiosis*, see Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, *Typography: Momesis, Philosophy*, *Politics*, translated by Christopher Fynsk, with an introduction ("Desistance") by Jacques Derrida (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
17. Stuart Hall, "Ethnicity: Identity and Difference," *Radical America* 23 no. 4 (1980): 9–22.
18. See my "Remarks on the Western Art Historical Study of Chinese Bronzes, 1935–1980," *Oriental Art* 33 (Autumn 1987): 250–60, summarized in "Art History without Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 14 (1988): 354–78, and revised in *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts,* op. cit.
19. Athanasius Kircher, *China monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1667); Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*, edited by Richard Hurd (London: Luke Hansard & Sons, 1811), vol. 4. The Chinese sense of the pictoriality of Chinese script is discussed in my *How to Use Your Eyes* (New York: Routledge, 2000); 視覺品味 (Chinese translation), translated by Ding Ning (Beijing, 2006). Warburton's ideas, and their influence on Jacques Derrida, are discussed in my *Domain of Images* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).
20. For a pocket historiography of Chinese painting, see James Cahill, [Untitled lecture] in The *Barnhart-Cahill-Rogers Correspondence, 1981*, edited by Richard Barnhart (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1982), 47–50.
21. Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East: An Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia, Especially China and Japan* (London: E. Arnold, 1923), 26. James Cahill pointed out that Binyon's opinion is a kind of inverse of Coomaraswamy's position (that the Renaissance was an unfortunate event in the West). Personal communication, 1991.
22. The place of the Renaissance is the subject of *Renaissance Theory*, edited by Robert Williams and James Elkins, vol. 5 of *The Art Seminar* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
23. In this listing, I am interested only in tenured (permanent) or full-time scholars whose specialty is Chinese painting. Many universities have part-time (adjunct, or hourly) lecturers who offer courses on Chinese painting.
24. See "The State of Irish Art History," *Circa* [Dublin] 106 (2003): 56–59, revised in Slovenian as "Stanje umetnostne zgodovine na irskem," translated by Tina Košak, *Umetnostna kronika* 15 (2007): 31–34, available at www.recirca.com/backissues/c106/arthistory.shtml; and "The State of Irish Art History Revisited," *Circa* 116 (Summer 2006), and "Response" [to eight letters responding to the original essay, by Joan Fowler, Lucy Cotter, Maeve Connolly, Mia Lerm Hayes, Róisín Kennedy, Rosemarie Mulcahy, Sheila Dickinson, and Siún Hanrahan], *Circa* 118 (Winter 2006): 45–47.
25. Information about Scandinavia, Germany, and the U.K. comes from Minna Törmä; information about Germany and other central European nations comes from Ladislav Kesner (May 2008.)
26. Examples of central European institutions with Chinese collections and sinologists include the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Far Eastern Art in Budapest, and the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne.
27. In the Czech Republic Ladislav Kesner offers courses in Brno and elsewhere, but he is not a specialist in Chinese painting.
28. Scholars who specialize in painting and teach in universities: Lothar Ledderose in Heidelberg, and Willibald Veit and Jeeonghee Lee-Kalisch in the Freie Universität in Berlin. Specialists who work in museums: Adele Schlombs and Herbert Butz. Chinese art courses are also offered intermittently in Munich, Münster, and Tübingen.
29. For example Clarissa von Spee and Jan Stuart (who work in the British Museum), Craig Clunas, Anne Farrer, Jessica Rawson, and Lukas Nickel.
30. Textbooks around the world are another subject of *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit.

31. Perhaps the only visual studies text that discusses Chinese painting is my *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 152, and that is only in passing, to make this same point.
32. This is demonstrated using statistics in my "Is There a Canon in Art History?" in *Canon Formation*, edited by Anna Brzyski (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
33. Compare also Western-influenced terms such as 寫实 *xièshí*, "to paint realistically." For 寫貌 *xiěmào* in the context of a discussion of Wu Tao-tzû, see Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, vol. 2, *The Sui and T'ang Dynasties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 50.
34. Gombrich, *The Story of Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 106.
35. That is my reading of the implications of *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). These and other major art historians often temper their interest in Western art in a way that has been traditional in European art history since Aby Warburg and Alois Riegl: they also study Islamic and Byzantine art. In autumn 2007, Belting completed a study of perspective and visuality in the Islamic tradition.
36. I name these two very different scholars to underscore the difficulty of the question. See the chapter on Japanese art in Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and for Kesner's interests, see *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit.
37. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, translation revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 1994); Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, translated by Robert Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).
38. More on this at the end of the book. The expression, "the historical project is […] an indispensable feature of Chinese scholarship," is Ladislav Kesner's. (Personal communication, 2008.)
39. Sherman Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, second edition (New York: Abrams, n.d. [1954]). Henceforth *CLP*.
40. *CLP,* 36. Lee says only that it is a "suggestive aesthetic parallel."
41. *CLP*, 68.
42. *HR*, 42, 46.
43. Benjamin Rowland, *AEW,* 115. I thank Larry Silver for bringing Rowland's book to my attention (and loaning me his copy).
44. The comparison is a traditional one; it can be found for example in Laurence Binyon, "Painting and Calligraphy," in *Chinese Art*, edited by Laurence Binyon (London: Kegan Paul, 1935), 14.
45. For the relevant terms in Michelangelo's case see David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).
46. *AEW,* 20–21.
47. *AEW*, 24.
48. *AEW*, 96–100.
49. For more on this painting, see Zhou Mi's *Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes: An Annotated Translation*, edited by Ankeney Weitz (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 84 n. 329, with identifications of the painting s theme by Cahill and Bo Min.
50. *AEW*, 76–80.
51. Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees, Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting* (New York: China Institute, 1972); see further *BR*, 77, 446.
52. *AEW*, 87–91.
53. There is also the question of the very different politics of the two paintings. For the Friedrich, see Joseph Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), especially 243.
54. *EW*, 244–61; the quotation is on 244.

55. *EW*, 249, 251.
56. *AE*, 251, 253.
57. *AE*, 253.
58. *AE*, 248.
59. *AE*, 256.
60. H. Christopher Luce, "Abstraction and Expression in Chinese Calligraphy" (New York: China Institute, 1995).
61. Karmel, "Seeing Franz Kline in Eastern Scrolls," *The New York Times*, Friday, December 1, 1995, B4.
62. *AC*, xiv, and see David Hall, "Modern China and the Postmodern West," *Culture and Modernity: East-West Philosophic Perspectives*, edited by Eliot Deutsch (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 50–70.
63. *AC*, xv, xvii; the elided phrase is "and of their cultural contingency." A new theory of translation, which avoids the problem of a regress of incrementally increasing sensitivity, is proposed by Shigemi Inaga, "Is Art History Globalizable? A Critical Commentary from a Far Eastern Point of View," an assessment in *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit.
64. *AC*, xvii, xviii, 112–19.
65. *AC*, xvi.
66. *AC*, xviii.
67. *AC*, xx.
68. *AC*, xviii.
69. *AC*, 124.
70. *AC*, 123.
71. The difference between questions susceptible to answers and those that masquerade as legitimate questions is the subject of Wittgenstein, *On Certainty*, edited by G.E.M. Anscombe and G.H. von Wright, translated by Denis Paul and G.E.M. Anscombe (New York: Harper, 1972).
72. In this context Jullien's *In Praise of Blandness: Proceeding from Chinese Thought and Aesthetics*, translated by Paola Varsano (New York: Zone Press, 2004) is the most pertinent; in other texts, such as *Vital Nourishment: Departing from Happiness*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Zone Books, 2007), Jullien aims at a revision of Western concepts, which is a fundamentally different aim. But the ambition of "decoding" China for the West will always carry with it at least the possibility of comparative parallels of the kind that I am investigating here. For "decoding," see *Detour and Access: Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*, translated by Sophie Hawkes (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 22. An extended philosophic assessment of Jullien is overdue. Compare his statement, in *De l'essence ou du nu* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 82, that "la Chine antique … est sans métaphysique." This assertion, which he then develops with few references to current literature, has been widely debated in journals such as *Philosophy East and West*; an excellent book on the subject, which collects the history of the debate (and is missing from Jullien's account) is Robert Wardy's *Aristotle in China: Language, Categories, and Translation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). (*De l'essence ou du nu* has been translated as *The Impossible Nude: Chinese Art and Western Aesthetics*, translated by Maev de la Guardia [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007].)
73. Among these I will mention Anne Cheng, *Histoire de la pensée chinoise* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), which proposes a reconsideration of the concept of concept in Chinese, together with the review by Michael Nylan in *Philosophy, East and West* (October, 2000), and the discussion by Marie-José Mondzain in *What Is an Image?*, edited by James Elkins and Maja Naef, the second annual Stone Summer Theory Institute (forthcoming); Bo Mou, "The Structure of the Chinese Language and Ontological Insights: A Collective-Noun Hypothesis," *Philosophy, East and West* 49 no. 1 (1999): 45–62, which responds to Chad Hansen, *Language and Logic in Ancient China*

(Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1983); and Ulrich Libbrecht, *Within the Four Seas: Introduction to Comparative Philosophy* [Inleiding Comparatieve Filosofie: Opzet en ontwikkeling van een comparatief model] (Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007 [1995]), together with the review essay by Bruno Nagel, "Feature Review: A New Approach to Comparative Philosophy through Ulrich Libbrecht's Comparative Model," *Philosophy, East and West* 47 no. 1 (1997): 75–78.

74. Wen Fong et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Art Museum, 1984), 20.
75. Wen Fong, *Images of the Mind*, op. cit., 70–71; and see *BR*, 440.
76. Wen Fong, "Toward a Structural Analysis of Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Journal* 28 (1969): 388–97; the quotations are from 395; see also Wen Fong, "Interview with Jerome Silbergeld [January 28, 2006]," forthcoming, in which he wonders about the reluctance of Western art historians to discuss questions of space in Chinese art.
77. For an extended study of senses of space said to be indigenous to Chinese art, see *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*, edited by Chun-chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995). I feel the same about investigations of space as I do about the comparative perspectives I will be exploring in this book; I am skeptical because the concepts that drive the inquiries are specific to Western discourses from the eighteenth century to the present. I thank Ladislav Kesner for drawing my attention to *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*.
78. See Törmä, "Looking at Chinese Landscape Painting: Traditions of Spatial Representation," in *Looking at Other Cultures: Works of Art as Icons of Memory*, edited by Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Studies in Art History* [Helsinki], vol. 22 (Helsinki: Society for Art History in Finland, 1999), 119–35. Törmä's monograph, *Landscape Painting as Visual Narrative: Northern Song Dynasty Landscape Handscrolls in the Li Cheng-Yan Wengui Tradition, Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Humaniora,* vol. 318 (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2002), develops some of the same themes; and see Törmä's contributions to *Landscape Theory*, co-edited by James Elkins and Rachael DeLue (New York: Routledge, 2008.)
79. The most recent formulation, which includes an account of mimetic representation along with other considerations, is "Why Chinese Painting Is History," *Art Bulletin* 85 no. 2 (2003): 258–80.
80. See my *Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 70, 241, and passim.
81. The possible Westernness of space is a central concern in my review of David Summers's "Real Spaces," *Art Bulletin* 86 no. 2 (2004): 373–80, reprinted in *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit., and in the ensuing discussion, recorded in the book.
82. These issues are pursued by David Summers, Friedrich Teja Bach, and others, outside the context of Chinese painting, in *Is Art History Global?*, op. cit.
83. Another example is John Hay's work on the painting's surface, which he finds thematized in colophons, in painting theory, and in the painting techniques themselves. In his account, surface was "discovered," both as a trope and a formal possibility, in the Yuan. See Hay, "Surface and the Chinese Painter: The Discovery of Surface," *Archives of Asian Art* 38 (1985): 95–123.
84. Jackie Reardon, "Structural Tension in the Paintings of Hongren," *Oriental Art* 34 (1988): 20–34. She quotes Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting* (New York: Asia House, 1967), 19, for the term "calculated irrationality."
85. Reardon, "Structural Tension," op. cit., 33.
86. See my "The Failed and the Inadvertent: The Theory of the Unconscious in the History of Art," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 75 part 1 (1994): 119–32, which follows the lead of Meyer Schapiro, *Paul Cézanne* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1988).

87. By implication they come *before* the opening propositions in chapter "0," since the latter begin 0, 0.1, etc., and the former begin 0.0, 0.0.1, 0.0.2, etc.—hence the book forms itself into a loop and avoids the expected ending.
88. *TT,* 31: "Un détour préalable par la Chine me paraît dès lors s'imposer, et la peinture dite des 'lettrés': celle-ci n'accorde-t-elle pas une place centrale au trait, dans la double acception du terme, graphique et linguistique, ou à tout le moins scripturale"?
89. Literally, *yi hua* means "one stroke" or "one mark," and *yi-pi* means "one brush." In Shih-t'ao's text, they are effectively synonyms. I thank Stanley Murashige for this information. (In Damisch's text the latter term is transliterated *yi-pi*.)
90. Ryckmans, *Les "Propos sur la peinture" de Shitao, traduction et commentaire pour servir de contribution à l'étude terminologique et esthétique des théories chinoises de la peinture* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1970); *TT*, 36–37.
91. *TT*, 35: "Le trait comme espèce ou figure du gramme—ou du graphéme—qui nommerait l'élément," with a footnote to Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1967), 19.
92. These etymologies are entertained in my *Domain of Images*, op. cit.
93. I tried to connect philosophic distinctions like Damisch's with historical practices in "Marks, Traces, *Traits*, Contours, *Orli*, and *Splendores*: Nonsemiotic Elements in Pictures," *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1995): 822–60, reprinted as Chapter 1 of *On Pictures and the Words That Fail Them* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Needless to say this kind of work on kinds of marks is wholly different than the Chinese pedagogical tradition that names types of brushstrokes.
94. A useful study here is Zhang Hongxing, "Re-Reading Inscriptions in Chinese Scroll Painting: The Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries," *Art History* 28 no. 5 (2005): 606–25. Hongxing mentions Damisch's book *A Theory of /Cloud/* as an example of Western literature that has "fallen into [the] trap" of thinking that Chinese characters are ideographs (608), and he argues against Zhang Yanyuan's famous dictum that writing and painting share "a common being." The latter is a trope in Chinese literature, and a misleading image in Western studies. See also my *Domain of Images*, op. cit., for a discussion of this in the context of Western image theory.
95. Damisch also touches on a theme that is more central to my purpose here: the way history is inscribed in Chinese painting by means of the mark itself. He considers a set of four landscapes by the minor painter Wang Shou-chi 王守之 (1603–1652); the first three are done in the manner of Ni Tsan, but the fourth, which the artist says was added as an afterthought, is in the manner of Shen Chou (1427–1509). The sequence sets up a very specific historical reference: Shen Chou studied Ni Tsan's work, and ultimately adopted a style that is softer and wetter. In pretending—with "feigned unselfconsciousness," as Damisch says—to just toss off a fourth landscape, Wang Shou-chi turns a "collage" into a series of questions about history. When Damisch makes comparisons like that, he is very close to what I have in mind for later chapters—though his purpose is widely divergent since he is only interested in hinting at the way Chinese marks embody history. *TT*, 33.
96. Personal communication, 2007.
97. *BR*, 6, 8, 10 n. 20 and 11 n. 24.
98. He also uses them to characterize the West: "Since the nineteenth century, Western art has been undergoing a permanent revolution in search of new standards. Representational realism became exhausted, and modernist painting in the early twentieth century turned to abstraction and aesthetic experimentation." Wen Fong, "The Modern Chinese Art Debate," *Artibus Asiae* 53 (1993): 290–304; quotation on 294.
99. Ortiz, "The Poetic Structure of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Pictorial Dream Journey," *Art Bulletin* 76 no. 3 (1994): 257–78; 260–61 n. 11, and 277, respectively.

100. These examples can be multiplied indefinitel , so I will append just one more. In a review of the large edited volume *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, Alfonz Lengyel proposes that nineteenth-century European viewers were ready to take in Chinese painting because they were "well acquainted with the flat, outline-style composition of medieval European stained-glass windows," and that Zhao Mengfu's *Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* is like "the painting Le Douanier by Rousseau." (Sic: Rousseau did not paint a customs officer—douanier—he was a worker in the Customs Office, although he never reached the rank of Customs Office .) Both these comparisons are made in passing, informally, and both are prompted by Cahill's comparisons of Chinese painting to modernism. For me, this is a good example of how the little droplets can come back together again into little blobs: Cahill's more abstract comparisons inspired Lengyel to make more concrete comparisons. The Western parallels are like a living organism, dividing and growing in cycles. See Lengyel, review of *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, edited by Yan Xin, Richard Barnhart, et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 260–69, quotations on 261, 265.
101. Clunas, review of Hay, Shitao: *Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), in *Art Bulletin* 84 no. 4 (2002): 686–89, quotations on 687. The mixtures of Western and Chinese concepts are also noted in my "The Mottled Discourse of Chinese Studies," 482–86.
102. Quotations from Clunas, review of Hay, *Shitao*, 687.

II Tying Some Laces

1. *DM*, 6.
2. For the history of the distinction and material on Zhe School〔浙派〕painters see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Maker (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993). See further James Cahill, "Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming as Artist Types: A Reconsideration," *Artibus Asiae* 53 no. 1/2 (1993): 228–48. For *literati* painting, see Section 10, and also for example Sandra Wetzel, "Sheng Mou: The Coalescence of Professional and Literati Painting in Late Yuan China," *Artibus Asiae* 56 nos. 3–4 (1996): 263–89, Stephen Little, "Literati Views of the Zhe School," *Oriental Art* 37 no. 4 (1991–92): 192–208; and Kathlyn Liscomb, "Shen Zhou's Collection of Early Ming Paintings and the Origins of the Wu School's Eclectic Revivalism," *Artibus Asiae* 52 nos. 3–4 (1992): 215–55. These last three are also cited in Aida-Yuen Wong's important article, "A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernity, a Transcultural Narrative?" *Artibus Asiae* 60 no. 2 (2000): 297–326.
3. For Barnhart's position, see *The Barnhart-Cahill-Rogers Correspondence, 1981*, op. cit., especially 4–7.
4. Brotherton, "Two Farewell Handscrolls of the Late Northern Song," *Archives of Asian Art* 52 (2000–2001): 44–61.
5. This kind of expansion is explored in my *Domain of Images*, op. cit., and *Visual Practices across the University*, edited by James Elkins (Paderhorn, Germany: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007).
6. In Cahill's words: "At the Maine conference … I made, on the spur of the moment, the offer to trade any of the … works of Ch'en Tzu-ho and Cheng Wen-lin and Chang Lu … that I own for any comparable and genuine work of Liu Chüeh or Shen Chou or Wen Cheng-ming that anyone could come up with, and I would stand by that, with no expectation of being taken up on it—and not just because of the greater monetary value of the latter." To which Barnart replied: "Your willingness to exchange any Chang Lu et al. for any Liu, Shen or Wen is the statement of a confirmed partisan. The issue is closed. You aren't looking any more, or thinking. As for me, I

can't think of more than a few Shen Chou's I wouldn't exchange for your Wu Wie, but I would probably give up most of the Tai Chin's I've seen for a good Wen Cheng-ming." *The Barnhart-Cahill-Rogers Correspondence*, op. cit., 1, 5.

7. *The Barnhart-Cahill-Rogers Correspondence*, op. cit., 5.
8. Surveys of Chinese painting in Western languages include: R. Petrucci, *Encyclopédie de la peinture Chinoise* (Paris, 1918); N. Vandier-Nicolas, *Peinture chinoise …* (Paris, 1983); Ludwig Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (New York, 1946); James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (New York, 1960); Chen-to Cheng, *The Great Heritage of Chinese Art* (Shanghai, 1952); William Cohn, *Chinese Painting* (London, 1951), second edition; Otto Fischer, *Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei* (Munich, 1921); H.A. Giles, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Pictorial Art*, revised edition (London, 1918); Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1960), second edition; P.C. Swann, *Chinese Painting* (Paris, 1958); and Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London: E. Benn, 1923). See also *LM*, *CLP*, and *BR* in the list of frequently cited sources. More specific sources are listed below, under the individual dynasties. Invaluable aid for a beginning student—particularly in view of issues of individual style particular to Chinese painting—is provided by the picture anthologies, for example S. Harada's encyclopedia of images, *Shina meiga hokan* [A Pageant of Chinese Painting] (Tokyo, 1936); Beijing, Palace Museum, *Ku-kung shu-hua-chi* [Collection of Calligraphy and Painting in the Palace Musem] (Peking, 1929–35), 45 vols.; Taiwan, National Palace Museum, *Three Hundred Masterpieces of Chinese Painting in the Palace Museum* (Tokyo, 1959), 6 vols.
9. Wang Wei's *Wang Ch'uan Villa*, to take a prominent example, was known not only from rubbings taken from an anonymous worker's stone monument made in 1617 (itself probably from a copy), but also in copies made by specific artists. Kuo Chung-shu's (c. 918–78) copy was allegedly from the original, and later Chao Meng-fu (1309) and Li Kung-lin made copies from copies. By contrast, Renaissance authors had to imagine Polygnotos's painting from Pausanius' description or, later, from various neoclassically inspired reconstructions. See M.D. Stansbury-O'Donnell, "Polygnotos's *Iliupersis*: A New Reconstruction," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 no. 2 (1989): 203 ff., and, for earlier reconstructions, C. Robert, *Die Iliupersis des Polygnot* (Halle, 1893), and L. Faedo, "Breve racconto di una caccia infruttuosa: Polignoto a Delfi," *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 30 (1986): 5–15.
10. See *DM*, 120–26. Dong Qichang declared that in painting, unlike some other arts, "the familiar is essential." Quoted in Arthur Waley, *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (New York, 1958 [1923]), 248. For Western terms see my "From Copy to Forgery and Back Again," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 33 no. 2 (1993): 113–20. A range of terms from "precise copies" to "imitations" is mentioned in Jerome Silbergeld, "A New Look at Traditionalism in Yüan Dynasty Landscape Painting," *National Palace Museum Quarterly Bulletin* 14 no. 3 (1980): 1–30, especially 14.
11. See Steiner, *After Babel*, op. cit., 91–95.
12. See first Goodman, "The Way the World Is," in *Problems and Projects* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972), 24–32.
13. Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1978).
14. Donald Davidson, "On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme," *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 183–98. Davidson's thesis is discussed in my *Our Beautiful, Dry and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1997), 26–29. A parallel argument, against the incommensurability of cultures, has been made by Matthew Rampley as part of an inquiry into Alfred Gell's theories: see Rampley, "Art History and Cultural Difference: Alfred Gell's Anthropology of Art," *Art History* 28 no. 4 (2005): 524–51.

15. Steiner, *After Babel*, op. cit., 377–78.
16. This is argued in my "Art History without Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 14 (1988): 354–78.
17. Damisch, *FJC*.
18. Zhang Yanyuan's book is also discussed in my *On Pictures and the Words That Fail Them* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
19. The discussion about Zhang Yanyuan is developed in the Afterword to *Discovering Chinese Painting: Dialogues with Art Historians*, edited by Jason Kuo, second edition (Dubuque, IO: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 2006), 249–56, and in Kuo's conference proceedings, which are in preparation. For a discussion of Vasari along these lines, see *Renaissance Theory*, op. cit.
20. Charkabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for the 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37 (1992): 1–26; quotations are from the revised version in Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007 [2000]), 45.
21. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 46. On the other hand, the entire *Provincializing Europe* ends with a formulation that is not unlike the initial definitions of the "politics of despair": "For me, provincializing Europe has been a question of how we create conjoined and disjunctive genealogies for European categories of political modernity as we contemplate the necessarily fragmentary histories of human belonging that never constitute a one or a whole" (*Provincializing Europe*, 255).
22. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 73, 254, respectively; and see further 18.
23. The book is *The Project of Painting, 1900–2000*; it is aimed at exploring modern painting in South America, Africa, Asia, and eastern Europe, in such a way that the histories can be of compelling interest to scholars in two large groups: first, those for whom studies of marginal or overlooked practices are not sufficient correctives for the ongoing interest in the "master narratives" of modernism; and second, those for whom western European and North American narratives provide the sufficient framework for understanding. Parts have appeared as "Two Forms of Judgement: Forgiving and Demanding (The Case of Marine Painting)," *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 3 no. 1 (2004): 37–46; "Writing about Modernist Painting outside Western Europe and North America," in *Compression vs. Expression*: *Containing the World's Art*, edited by John Onians (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 188–214; and *Master Narratives and Their Discontents*, with an introduction by Anna Arnar, in the series *Theories of Modernism and Postmodernism in the Visual Arts*, vol. 1. (Cork, Ireland: University College Cork Press; New York: Routledge, 2005).
24. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 17.
25. An example of this kind of text, in which agreements about the kinds of misunderstandings that are built into translation comes to serve as a discussion of the subject itself, is the conversation between W.J.T. Mitchell, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, Gottfried Boehm, and Marie-José Mondzain in *What Is an Image?*, vol. 2 of the Stone Summer Theory Institutes (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, forthcoming).
26. For a discussion of the current state of postcolonial theory, and the question of what will follow it, see the discussion with Susan Buck-Morss and Harry Harootunian in *Art and Globalization*, edited by James Elkins, Alice Kim, and Zhivka Valiavicharska, vol. 1 of the Stone Summer Theory Institutes (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, forthcoming).
27. This is explored in my *Master Narratives and Their Discontents*, op. cit.
28. This is a subject of discussion in *Renaissance Theory*, op. cit.
29. Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting*, op. cit.
30. Panofsky's position is explored in my *Our Beautiful, Dry and Distant Texts*, op. cit., 272–97.

III The Argument

1. For the remaining evidence of Tang painting see Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit.; and for older connections, J. Rawson, "The Origins of Chinese Mountain Painting: Evidence from Archaeology," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 117 (2002): 1–48.
2. Su Dongpo saw two original paintings by Wu Daozi, and Mi Fu saw "three or four." See Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China* (Berkeley, 1973 [1967]), 131.
3. See Lewis Calvin and Dorothy Walmsley, *Wang Wei: The Painter-Poet* (Rutland VT: C. E. Tuttle, 1968), 90. Reconstructing the work of Wu Daozi (c. 700–760) is a nearly impossible task, since much of it was probably destroyed in the Buddhist suppression of 843, too early for copies to be widely disseminated. For an account of Apelles' "contest" see my "Marks, Traces, *Traits*, Contours, *Orli*, and *Splendores*: Nonsemiotic Elements in Pictures," *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1995): 822–60. A sign of just how much Chinese painting has been assigned to Wu Daozi's influence is Marsha Weidner's observation that two fifteenth-century Chinese Buddhist paintings in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art "were still travelling in the shadow of Wu Daozi in 1993, when Richard Barnhart published them." Weidner, "Two Ming Ritual Scrolls as Harbingers of New Directions in the Study of Chinese Painting," *Orientations*, special issue in honor of Sherman Lee (January–February 2005): 64–73, quotation on 66.
4. As Zhao Mengfu observes, "ancient masterpieces of the T'ang … no longer survive. As for the Five Dynasties masters … their brushwork is totally different from the more recent painters." Quoted from the colophon to *Twin Pines, Level Distance*, in Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation, Chinese Painting and Calligraphy 8th–14th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 439. In regard to copying, see the interesting account by Elizabeth Brotherton, "Beyond the Written Word: Li Gonglin's [c. 1040–1106] Illustrations to Tao Yuanming's Returning Home," *Artibus Asiae* 59 no. 3–4 (2000): 225–63.
5. *HR*, xiii. For Max Loehr and Wen Fong on the Song-Yuan division, see James Cahill, "On the Periodization of Later Chinese Painting: The Early to Middle Ch'ing (K'ang-hsi to Ch'ien-lung) Transition," in *The Transition and Turning Point in Art History*, Ninth International Symposium organized by the Department of Art History, Faculty of Letters, Kobe University (Kobe, 1990), 52–67. Cahill cites Max Loehr, "Phases and Content in Chinese Painting," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: Palace Museum, 1972), 285–97, and Wen Fong, introduction to *Images of the Mind*, op. cit. Other parallels to the Renaissance are also available, but the theme of conscious archeology and history is sufficient for my purposes here. For other accounts of the importance of the Song-Yuan transition see *LM*; also Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Painting* (Medici Society, 1933); and Loehr, "Phases and Content in Chinese Painting," op. cit.
6. *BR*, 379.
7. *HR*, 3, 5, 21 respectively; Wade-Giles changed to pinyin.
8. See for example Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, translated by Barbara Sessions (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), and Panofsky, "The First Page of Vasari's 'Libro'," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972 [1937]), 169 ff.
9. *PS*, 4: "We have spoken here of a 'revival' of Song painting styles in the early Ming, although, properly speaking, they had never quite dropped into total disuse in the intervening Yüan dynasty."
10. *BR*, 8.
11. Hay, "Some Questions Concerning Classicism in Relation to Chinese Art," *The Art Journal* 47 (1988): 26–34.

12. Wen Fong, "The Modern Chinese Art Debate," op. cit.; quotation on 304.
13. Silbergeld, "The Evolution of a 'Revolution': Unsettled Reflections on the Chinese Art-Historical Mission," *Archives of Asian Art* 55 (2005): 41.
14. Wen Fong, "Silent Poetry: Chinese Paintings in the Douglas Dillon Galleries," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 39 no. 3 (Winter 1981–82): 7.
15. Chu-tsing Li, "Yüan Landscape Painting," in *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*, edited by Christian Murck (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).
16. According to tradition, the handscroll Wang Chuan Villa was transmitted via a copy attributed to Kuo Chung-shu, which was in turn "preserved" as a stone engraving in 1617. A full genealogy devolves from those two, and from other copies attributed to Chao Meng-fu, Li Kung-lin, and others. But the tradition is not reliable: Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., suggests that the tradition of stone rubbings derives from Wang Wei's text and not the original image. Although forty of Wang's works were listed in the Sung Imperial collection, it is safe to assume that many of those were copies and misattributed works.
17. This may be studied in the way Dong Qichang thought he recognized Wang Wei's style through the intermediary of a copy by Zhao Mengfu.
18. *LM*, part 1, vol. 1, 128–29 and 130. The last quotation is Sirén's assessment of Tung's meaning. Tung thought of Wang Wei as his principal artistic ancestor: a variation on a "family tree" kind of revisionist history that happens occasionally in the West, and operates by imagining that the historical field narrows as it recedes in time, and begins ultimately in a single point (in Western art one thinks primarily of Vasari's codification of the singular position of Giotto)
19. For the *wu-Li lun*, or "no Lis theory," see *LM*, vol. 1, 197, and *DM*, 118 and 125.
20. An interesting literature in this regard studies the few *other* surviving works by painters known primarily for just one or two paintings. See for example the attempt to broaden Guo Xi in Ping Foong, "Guo Xi's Intimate Landscape and the Case of 'Old Trees, Level Distance'," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35 (2000): 87–115.
21. *HR*, 88.
22. The best study of the gradual codification of pairs is Jerome Silbergeld, "A New Look at Traditionalism in Yüan Dynasty Landscape Painting," *National Palace Museum Quarterly Bulletin* 14 no. 3 (1980): 1–30.
23. *PS*, 4, 5, Wade-Giles changed to pinyin. In the Ming other early traditions became important, such as the "Large and Small Generals Li," also called the "two Lis," Li Ssu-hsün (651–716) and his son Li Chao-tao (c. 670–730), and "Ching-Kuan," named for Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung (ninth–tenth centuries); and there was also the association of Li T'ang (1049–1130) with the Ma-Hsia tradition in the Zhe School. Li T'ang is today discussed as a transtional figure who left the court of Hui-Tsung to work at Hangchou, the new capital of the Southern Song. This stricter historical placement allows scholars to emphasize the remnants of Northern Song "monumentalism" in his works, where later Chinese painters saw economic and aesthetic complicity with the South. These polarities did not present future generations with an entirely static field. Since the fundamental-style polarity Tung-Chü-versus-Li-Kuo was fixed, it remained to experiment with ways of combining and separating its components. Its invention is credited to Chao Mengfu, and it was dogma for Huang Gongwang, but the ways it was utilized varied greatly. See *HR*, 45, and *DS*, 4, 10.
24. For the "Ma-Hsia" style see Richard Barnhart's comments: "It is really only with Yüan masters like Sun [Chun-tse] and Liu Yao that something described as the 'Ma-Hsia' style came to exist at all." Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Maker (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 28, orthography altered.

Today the "Li-Kuo" pairing appears especially anachronistic, since Li Ch'êng (919–967) and Kuo Hsi (active c. 1068–78) are now imagined as quite different artists; and indeed, Li Ch'êng was separated from Kuo Hsi by Ming artists such as Wen Chengming; and Su Chê, Su Shih's brother, thought Kuo Hsi had "made great progress" over Li Ch'êng. (See *LM*, vol. 1, 216; and see Sirén's own comments on the difference, 217–18.) Yuan and Ming artists apparently did not concern themselves with the development, often cited in Western literature, from the "archaic" painting of Li-Kuo to the fantastic, even "grotesque" creations of Hsu Taoning and Kuo Hsi: for them "Li-Kuo" was a prototype, a kind of static perfection. "Grotesque" is from *CLP*, 24, referring to Kuo Hsi's *Trees on the Distant Plain* (private collection, New York).

25. A parallel is the pairing Masaccio/Masolino, which only exists as a live issue in scholarship up until the mid-twentieth century. See *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts*, op. cit., Chapter 8.
26. The phrases are from *LM*, vol. 1, 198; and compare Mi Fei's description of Li Ch'êng the page before.
27. *LM*, vol. 1, 200, and Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, op. cit., 32.
28. *LM*, vol. 1, 208–9. However, the local influence of Tung-Chü and Li-Kuo continued in their respective areas, as witness the Yuan artists Ch'en Lin, Sheng Mou, and Wu Chen, who were primarily allied to the Tung-Chü tradition, and the artists T'ang Ti, Chu Te-jun, and Ts'ao Chih-po, who were related to the Li-Kuo tradition. See *HR*, 50.
29. *LM*, vol. 1, 208, 214.
30. Speiser, **"Painting," in** *Chinese Art, Painting, Calligraphy, Stone Rubbing, Wood Engraving*, edited by Werner Speiser et al., translated by Diana Imber (London: Oldbourne Press, 1964), 44, and Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, op. cit., 159–60 (Wade-Giles changed to pinyin). There are similar passages in *LM*, vol. 1, 209.
31. *CLP*, 35 and Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, op. cit. 166.
32. Qian Xuan has been an ongoing subject of interest for Wen Fong. See his "The Problem of Ch'ien Hsüan," *The Art Bulletin* 42 (1960): 173–89. For Zhao Mengfu, see Chu-tsing Li, "Recent Studies on Zhao Mengfu's Painting in China," *Artibus Asiae* 53 (1993): 195–210.
33. Those are traits emphasized by Vasari, and later revived in the nineteenth century; but here I am not concerned with the history of Western descriptions. For the history of perceptions of Masaccio's style see the account of the Brancacci Chapel in my Our *Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts*, op. cit.
34. Evidence of interest in this style in Zhao's circle and in the early Yuan is provided by copies such as the Dragon Boat Festival, done "by some artist close to Chao Meng-fu." See *HR*, 43.
35. This is adduced in relation to Zhao's *River Village: The Pleasures of Fishing*, where it appears in the foreground pines, the "flat-topped banks and the bleak river plain." See *HR*, 44.
36. This painter is known by a single work; see *HR*, 42 and plate 93. Cahill traces Zhao's skeletal brushwork to late Northern Sung painters such as Ch'iao.
37. The *Autumn Colors in the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains* has been described as an essay partly in the Tung Yüan manner. It has compositional similarities, including a "removed middle ground," and various "spatial and proportional inconsistencies" announce the archaist intention. See Chu-tsing Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* (Ascona, 1965), and the same author's "Stages in Development in Yüan Landscape Painting, Parts 1 and 2," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* IV no. 2 (1969): 1–10, and IV no. 3 (1969): 1–12, and "The Development of Painting in Soochow in the Yüan Dynasty," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei, 1970), 483–500. Li Chu-tsing's analysis is partly followed in *HR*, 41–42.
38. *HR*, 40.
39. 青綠 *qīnglǜ* is short for 石綠花青 *shílǜ huāqīng*, "stone green and flower blue," more specifically evocative than the abbreviated form.

40. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Thought*, translated by Barbara Sessions (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972 [1953]).
41. Ch'ien Hsüan's *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* may have precedence over *Autumn Colors in the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains* as the earliest deliberate archaism. See *HR*, plate 7.
42. See for example *River Village: The Pleasures of Fishing* (*HR*, color plate 2), in which a Li-Kuo middle ground is succeeded by a Southern background, or *Village by the Water* (ibid., plate 13), in which Li-Ch'êng trees are backed by a swampy Southern plain. The question of combinations and erasures of the style polarity is a complicated one. See Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, op. cit., 50, for the idea that "[m]ost painters seem indeed to have followed one or the other tradition, and only a few, such as Shen Mou, attempted to combine them." Tung Ch'i-ch'ang declared that "different styles must not be mixed"—indicating they had been. Quoted in Waley, *Introduction*, op. cit., 248.
43. This is assuming that the *giornata* including Christ's face was done by the artist who executed the surrounding figures. Roberto Longhi has argued that Masolino is responsible for the "feminine" head. See Longhi, "Fatti di Masolino e Masaccio," *Studi sul Quattrocento*, 1910–1967 (Florence, 1975), 3–66. Against Longhi it might be urged that other quattrocento paintings, e.g. Pollaiuolo's *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, show appropriate changes in technique between the martyr and his tormentors.
44. There were undoubtedly earlier moments in painting that were self-aware. As Ladislav Kesner pointed out, there are for example Zhao Boju's blue and green landscapes in the eleventh century, which refer back to Tang precedents. Outside of landscape painting, the examples reach back even further: there are, Kesner adds, "conscious archaisms in Zhou bronzes." (Personal communication, 2008.)
45. For illustrations see *The Four Great Masters of the Yuan*, edited by Karen Brock and Robert Thorpe (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1975).
46. See *HR*, 74–84. He names, as "art-historically unconscious" followers of the Ma-Hsia tradition, Sun Chün-tse and Chang Yüan, and as followers of the Li-Kuo tradition, Yao Yen-Ch'ing, Chu Te-jun, and Ts'ao Chih-po.
47. See *HR*, 70, 71. Cahill mentions Wu Chen's *Autumn Mountains* (his plate 24), which is an ambitious imitation of Chü-jan. The painting "whimsically" and "playfully" imitates the conventional architecture of the early Song.
48. See *HR*, 112–13, for a discussion of the painting's *non finit* characteristics; for Huang see also Caroline Gyss-Vermande, *La view et l'oeuvre de Huang Gongwang (1269–1354), Mémoires des Hautes Études Chinoises*, vol. 23 (Paris: Collège de France, 1984), reviewed by Jonathan Hay in *Arts Asiatiques* 41 (1986): 132–33; and John Hay, "Huan Kung-Wang's Dwelling in the Fuch'un Mountains: Dimensions of a Landscape," PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1978.
49. The first quotation is from *HR*, 119, and the second is quoted in ibid. from Juan Yüan (1764–1849).
50. See *HR*, 120–27.
51. *HR*, 119.
52. *HR*, 122.
53. *HR*, 123. For the relevant traits see Craig Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera* (Locust Valley, New York, c. 1963).
54. For the theme of the *non finit* see my "On Modern Impatience," *Kritische Berichte* 3 (1991): 19–34.
55. *HR*, 87 and 123. For a discussion of the deformation of stage space see my "Mannerism: Deformation of the Stage," *Storia dell'Arte* 67 (1989): 257–62.

56. For introductions to the Ming see, in addition to sources already cited, Yoshio Yonezawa, *Painting in the Ming Dynasty* (Tokyo: Maruyama and Company, 1956), and Harrie Vanderstappen, "Painters at the Early Ming Court and the Problem of a Ming Painting Academy," *Monumenta Serica* 15 no. 2 (1956) and 16 nos. 1 and 2 (1957).
57. Cahill, *PS*, 57, Wade-Giles changes to pinyin. The passage continues: "Wang Fu … was probably the earliest to exemplify this phenomenon."
58. Their detached, somewhat bloodless style was already at two removes from its models, since "the process of homogenization of Yüan styles had begun already in the works of secondary late Yüan masters such as Chao Yüan, Ma Wen, [and] Ch'en Ju-yen." Cahill, *PS*, 57.
59. Max Loehr, "Phases and Content in Chinese Painting," op. cit.; the term is put to the use I mean here in Cahill, *PS*, 59, 86. See also Loehr, "Some Fundamental Issues in the History of Chinese Painting" and "The Question of Individualism in Chinese Art," both in the very useful book *Essays on the History of Chinese Painting by Overseas Scholars (1950–1987)*, edited by Hong Zai-xin (Shanghai : Shanghai ren min mei shu chu ban she, 1992). The book also contains essays by Sullivan, Cahill, Silbergeld, Richard Barnhart, Shermen [sic] Lee, Wen Fong, Lothar Ledderose, Ernst Gombrich, and others.
60. For a critical evaluation of this kind of summary, see Kathlyn Liscomb, "Shen Zhou's Collection of Early Ming Paintings and the Origins of the Wu School's Eclectic Revivalism," *Artibus Asiae* 52 nos. 3–4 (1992): 215–55.
61. See *HR*, 45, for this opinion. The two works adduced are *Gazing at the Stream* (1309, previously unpublished, Cahill's plate 18) and *A Ch'in Meeting* (unpublished).
62. *PS*, 213. "Warm" is often used in relation to Shen Chou; see for example Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, op. cit. 195: "Shen Chou is something of an extrovert, who cannot help infusing a human warmth into his paintings."
63. *PS*, 213. See further James Cahill, "Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming as Artist Types: A Reconsideration," op. cit.
64. *ED*, 38–41, 43, and passim.
65. Jen-Mei Ma, "Shen Chou's Topographical Landscape," PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1990 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1990); Stanley-Baker, "Identifying Shen Zhou (1427–1509) Methodological Problems in Authentication: A Work in Progress," *Oriental Art* 55 no. 3 (2005–6): 48–60; and Chi-ying Alice Wang, "Revisiting Shen Zhou (1427–1509): Poet, Painter, Literatus, Reader," PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1995 (Ann Arbor, MY: UMI, 1995).
66. *PS*, 86–87.
67. *PS*, 213, 214, 215. The last quotation is in contrast with Shen Zhou's "relaxation and amiability."
68. *PS*, 214 and 263 n. 7, quoting and disagreeing with Anne Clapp in Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming (1470–1559)*, with essays by Anne Clapp, Ling-yün Shih Liu, Steven Owyoung, et al. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1976), 47.
69. *PS*, 218, 219: "Li T'ang looms large at the outset of the period, and his conservative followers, later in the Sung, notably Liu Sung-nien, seem more important as stylistic models than Ma Yüan or Hsia Kuei in the same period. Chao Meng-fu is the commanding figure in the early Yüan and Ch'ien Hsüan a much lesser one. The Four Great Masters of the late Yüan are especially revered…." See also A. Clapp, in Richard Edwards, *Art of Wen Cheng-ming*, op. cit., 11: "Wen acquired the distinctive manners of Huang Gongwang…, Wu Chen, Ni Tsan, and Wang Meng in the first decade of the 1500's and continued to work in all of them thereafter, sometimes keeping the style fairly pure, more often as he matured, selecting and combining certain features in ways that eventually obliterated the source." See further ibid., 60 ff. for Huang Gongwang's influence

70. *PS*, 218. For an idea of just how far Wen could get from Li Ch'êng, see his *Awaiting Snow in Winter*, discussed in *WCM*, 156 ff.
71. Named after Jing Hao (c. 855–915) and Guan Tong (early 10th century).
72. Especially Mi Fu, Li Gonglin (c. 1040–1106), and lesser artists such as Zhao Boju (b. c. 1162), Zhao Bosu (1124–82), Qiao Zhongchang (act. early twelfth century), and Zhao Lingrang (act. c. 1070–1100). *PS*, 219, and *WCM*, 11.
73. *WCM*, 1. Against this see Craig Clunas's evaluation (discussed in the closing Sections).
74. A comparison to the Renaissance, based on "wealth, a love of the arts and a devotion to 'classical' truth" is suggested in *WCM*, 1. The same comparison is made by A. Clapp, in *Art of Wen Chengming*, op. cit., 13: "Wen's position vis-à-vis his inheritance was the same as the later sixteenth century in the West vis-à-vis the High Renaissance." The latter statement seems more nearly correct, but as I suggest below, the period of the *maniera* is not as apposite a parallel as the classicizing early Baroque.
75. The quoted terms are from *PS*, 92. A major difference between the two artists is that Shen Chou's sense of spontaneous intimacy was often achieved by his "arbitrary" cutting of the frame, as if he were "opening the window of a sedan chair in which he is escorting the viewer," and his innovative device of letting the horizon disappear above the top border of the painting (*PS*, 93). Nothing in Poussin embraces that kind of apparent randomness, although both painters produced works that inspire an analogously leisurely, touristic seeing.
76. *PS*, 219.
77. For Wen's attitude to the Southern Sung see *WCM*, 12.
78. *WCM*, 12: "A statistical survey of the surviving records and paintings indicates that Wen resorted to Chao as model far more often than any other old master…."
79. *DM*, xv, in reference to late Ming artists.
80. This quality is one that could be pursued through T.J. Clark's meditations on Poussin; see his *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
81. For Dong see Cahill, *The Compelling Image, Nature and Style in 17th Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, 1982), 36–69; Wen Fong, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and the Orthodox Theory of Painting," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 11 no. 3 (1967–68): 1–26; Wai-kam Ho, "Tung Ch'i-chang's New Orthodoxy and the Southern School Theory," in *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*, edited by Christian F. Murck (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1976), 113–29; and Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith, editors, *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555–1636* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992).
82. "Abstraction" in the sense in which I will be applying it to Tung also appears in Ch'ing calligraphy. See for example Huang Shen's *Thoughts about the Li Brothers*, reproduced in Shen Fu et al., *From Concept to Context, Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, 1986), 56. Huang compressed columns and spaces between characters, and tilted the axes of characers, producing an effect in which the "whole composition" becomes "a pattern of rich variation."
83. For an alternative identification of Tung's generation and postmodernism, see John Hay, "Subject, Nature, and Representation in Early Seventeenth-Century China," *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, edited by Wai-ching Hao (Kansas City, MO: Nelson-Atkins Museum, 1991), 4–1 to 4–22.
84. *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*, edited by James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), 5, makes the same parallel: "A pivotal figure among [Yuan] painters was Huang Gongwang…, who, like Cézanne, accomplished a fundamental redirection of painting while ostensibly aiming at nothing more than conveying on a flat surface, more compellingly than anyone had done before, the physical presence of ordinary objects." Cahill also speaks of Huang in Cézannean terms: as the inventor of a "mode of abstract construction"

(ibid., 115). But attractive as these specific parallels can be, I think the more general comparison is more apt; note for example that Cézanne and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang share a "technical inability to imitate closely the styles of old masters" (Cahill, *Compelling Image*, op. cit., 37). That inability has integral relations to the painters' mature styles in each case.

85. *DM*, 92, 125. The "abstraction" in Tung is related to an extra-human quality—often his landscapes are uninhabited—which the artist recognized he got from Ni Tsan, whose landscapes are often empty of habitation save for the stereotypical *t'ing-tzu*, the four-posted rest shelter. The relation between uninhabited landscapes and abstractionist concerns is interesting, and pertains both to psychological issues and to the limitations on figural abstraction. However, while "deliberate distortion" and "creative distortion" are relatively unproblematic, we would not want to go much further toward naming the psychological content of that distortion. Hence I think "expressive distortion" is already problematic. Certainly Tung's distortions are not "fantastic distortions" in the sense that Wu Pin's are. (The three phrases including "distortion" are from Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, op. cit., 222, 198, and 199 respectively.)
86. *DM*, 115.
87. Cahill tentatively suggests that Tung's "paintings must have been felt, at least by the more perceptive, as visual analogues for a widespread loss of faith in an intelligible order in the world, in the stability and permanence of the Confucian state, even, to some degree, in the continuing efficacy of the practice of validating the present through values transmitted from the past" (*DM*, 128).
88. *DM*, 128. See the discussion of "discontinuity" in Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large," *Other Criteria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 159–60.
89. *DM*, 98, 101, 102.
90. *DM*, 128.
91. See Shujiro Shimada, "Concerning the I-p'in Style of Painting," translated by Cahill, *Oriental Arts* 7 (1961): 66–74; 8 (1962): 130–37; and 10 (1964): 19–26, and *DM*, 137, for discussions of the related *i-p'in* or "untrammelled style."
92. Max Loehr, "Phases and Content in Chinese Painting," op. cit., 291, quoted in *DM*, 94.
93. *DM*, 115.
94. *DM*, plate 41.
95. *DM*, 95, speaking of the possibility that Tung was influenced by Western art. That possibility, it seems to me, need not "take away" anything from his achievement; and in this context, it raises his status still more, since he then pushed Western illusionism to places it was not to occupy in the West until Cézanne and Picasso.
96. *DM*, 100.
97. *DM*, 116.
98. *DM*, 116.
99. See *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, edited by Wai-Ching Ho et al. (Kansas City, MO: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1991).
100. See Elizabeth Fulder, "Achievements of Late Ming Painters," in *The Restless Landscape*, op. cit., 19–29.
101. *DM*, 118.
102. See L. Lo-hua Yang, "Late Ming Painting in the History of Chinese Painting," in Cahill, ed., *The Restless Landscape*, op. cit., 11, and E. Fulder, "The Achievement of Late Ming Painters," in ibid., 19–21.
103. *DM*, 94, 101.
104. *DM*, 100, speaking specifically of the influence o Wang Meng and Tung Yüan.
105. For example in Wu Pin and related artists such as Fu Shan, Tai Ming-Yüeh, and Chang Jui-t'u. *DM*, 165, 177.

106. *CLP*, 93.
107. *CLP*, 97.
108. *CLP*, 102.
109. See the introduction in Wen Fong, "The Modern Chinese Art Debate," op. cit., 290–304.
110. The lack of even reasonably successful models (at least, ones that might be emulated) in the past four centuries since Western contact makes this issue one of the most difficult in contemporary art. That is why I do not think it is appropriate to assume that as cultures become more mixed, and artists become more "confident," solutions will present themselves "automatically." See Wen Fong, "The Modern Chinese Art Debate," op. cit., 304: "For a while longer, the struggle in the Chinese academies between traditionalists and Westernizers will rage on. But as security and confidence return to Chinese life, I hope traditionalists and rebels alike will feel free to study and imitate a multitude of models, from China's own past as well as from the West, and literally re-invent themselves."
111. That vacuum is the subject of a book and conference on contemporary Chinese painting, "What is Contemporary Chinese Art?", co-organized with Qigu Jiang, set for Beijing University in 2009.
112. There are counter-examples, work that treats contemporary Chinese artists thoughtfully and critically. But the great majority of the literature is more along the lines of *Contemporary Chinese Women Painters* (Beijing: Wai wen chu ban she, 1995), or *China's New Art, Post-1989*, edited by Valerie Doran (Hong Kong: Hanart T.Z. Gallery, 1993).
113. David Barboza, "Schooling the Artists' Republic of China," *The New York Times*, Monday, March 30, 2008, Arts Section, 31; Alfonz Lengyel, review of *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, edited by Yan Xin, Richard Barnhart, and others (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), in *China Review International* 7 no. 1 (2000): 260–69, quotation on 268.
114. I am not decrying the lack of historical scholarship or critical analysis, as much as noting it. The idea that the art market somehow needs academics and art theory has been a refrain in Western criticism since the 1960s. It is analyzed, from a non-prescriptive point of view, in my pamphlet *What Happened to Art Criticism?* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2003).

IV The Endgame, and the Qing Eclipse

1. Danto, "The Shape of Artistic Pasts: East and West," in *Philosophical Imagination and Cultural Memory, Approaching Historical Traditions*, edited by Patricia Cook (Burham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 125–38; quotations are on 132.
2. I have written two critiques of Danto: in *Master Narratives and Their Discontents*, op. cit., and in reference to his problematic ongoing practice of art criticism after the proposed end of the history of art, in *What Happened to Art Criticism?* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press [distributed by University of Chicago Press], 2003).
3. This is argued with further references to such texts in my *Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 259–60.
4. Jan Fontein, "Die Kunst der Chinesen," in *China, Korea, Japan*, edited by Jan Fontein and Rose Hempel, vol. 17 of *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1968), 11–74, quotation on 74.
5. *CLP*, 132.
6. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, fifth edition (New York: Prentice Hall, 1994), 10–11.
7. Wu Chuangshuo is also known as Wu Changshi. See "Innovation within Tradition: Shanghai Scholar-Painters of the Early Twentieth Century," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 58 no. 3 (2001): 14–19, especially 15–17.

8. Ho Ch'uan-hsing, "The Ch'ing Dynasty" [part four of a survey of Chinese painting in the Palace Museum, Taipei], *Arts of Asia* 16 (1986): 112–21, quotation on 121.
9. The early essay "Toward a Structural Analysis of Chinese Landscape Painting" ends with a reference to Ch'ing painting, but its last illustration is Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Wen Fong, "Toward a Structural Analysis of Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Journal* 28 (1969): 388–97.
10. *BR*, 497.
11. Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Switzerland: Skira, 1960), 192, 194, and Cahill, "Afterword: Hsieh-i [as opposed to *kung-pi*] as a Cause of Decline in Later Chinese Painting," *Three Alternative Histories of Chinese Painting* (Spencer Museum of Art, 1988), 100 ff.
12. Cahill, "On the Periodization of Later Chinese Painting: The Early to Middle Ch'ing (K'ang-hsi to Ch'ien-lung) Transition," paper given in Kyoto, 1990. Courtesy of the author.
13. See Binyon, "Painting," in *Chinese Art, An Introductory Review of Painting, Ceramics*, *Textiles, Bronzes, Sculpture, Jade, Etc*. (contributions by Binyon, Roger Fry, Osvald Sirén, and others) (London: B. T. Batsford, 1925), 5–12, especially 12; and Binyon, "Painting and Calligraphy," in *Chinese Art*, edited by Laurence Binyon (London: Kegan Paul, 1935), 1–30, especially 28.
14. Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Maker* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 325.
15. Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, fourth edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999 [1967]), 170
16. Jung Ying Tsao, *Chinese Painting in the Middle Qing Dynasty* (San Francisco: San Francisco Graphic Society, 1987), 20.
17. Claudia Brown and Ju-Hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil, Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992).
18. Twentieth-century Chinese painting is the subject of part of a work in progress. I noted the denial of Fu Baoshi's Westernness in Hanghzou in 1998; but one of his surviving students, Yan Bo, told me Fu Baoshi never denied he was influenced by the West, and he took it as a natural component of his work.
19. Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai," *Art Bulletin* 86 no. 3 (2004): 550–72.
20. Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders,", op. cit., 554, quoting Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, op. cit., 143. For Chen Hongshou, see Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Between Representations: The Historical and the Visionary in Chen Hongshou's 'Yaji'," *Art Bulletin* 84 no. 2 (2002): 315–33.
21. Wong, "A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernisty, a Transcultural Narrative?" *Artibus Asiae* 60 no. 2 (2000): 297–327, reprinted in *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). Wong chronicles Japanese interpretations of Chinese *literati* painting from Bada Shanren and Shitao through Jin Cheng and others in the 1920s.
22. Postmodernism in this book refer to selected understandings of Western postmodernism; I am not engaging with the expression *hou xiandai zhuyi* or its uses in contemporary Chinese criticism.
23. Willetts, *Chinese Art* (New York: Penguin Books, 1958), 305–6.
24. Sullivan, *Arts of China*, op. cit., 224: "The art of Shih-t'ao, and indeed of all the Individualists, represents a private protest against the new academicism of the literati. But as the Ch'ing settled deeper into that stagnation which seems to have been the fate of every long-lived dynasty in Chinese history, the lamp of individualism burned more and more dimly. During the nineteenth century the growing foreign menace produced not more action but paralysis at the centre, and patronage shrank to almost nothing. A handful of literati kept the tradition alive, however, until in the twentieth century there took place a revolution over which the artists themselves had little control."

25. Miyagawa, *Chinese Painting*, translated by A. Birnbaum (New York, 1983), 149.
26. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, op. cit., 189.
27. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art* (New York: Dover, 1963 [1912]), vol. 2, 51–52, 141, 144, 147. To Fenellosa, the Southern Song was the epitome of Chinese painting, and the *wen-jen* were "pedants," "Confucian atheists," who clung to their "simple and uniform" ideal of the past (ibid., 140 ff.).
28. Waley, *Introduction*, op. cit., 251. For Gong Xian see Jerome Silbergeld, "Kung Hsien: A Professional Chinese Artist and His Patronage," *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (July 1981): 400–10, and Silbergeld, "Kung Hsien's Self-Portrait in Willows, With Notes on the Willow in Chinese Painting and Literature," *Artibus Asiae* 42 no. 1 (1980): 5–36.
29. Sometimes also Sonderlinge, "recluses." Fontein, "Die Kunst der Chinesen," op. cit., 71. The best study of the term *eccentric*, I think, is Katherine Burnett, "A Discourse on Originality in Late Ming Chinese Painting Criticism," *Art History* 23 no. 4 (2000): 522–58.
30. Hans van der Meyden, "Jin Nong—The Life of an Eccentric Scholar and Artist, A Study of His Socio-Cultural Background," *Oriental Art* 31 no. 2 (1985): 174–85, quotation on 174.
31. Foster, *Compulsive Beauty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993). My review, *Art Bulletin* 76 no. 3 (1994): 546–48, addresses the question of what it means to describe an entire movement (in this case, surrealism) using a single term (the uncanny). See also the ensuing exchange, "Construction and Deconstruction in Psychoanalysis," *Art Bulletin* 77 no. 2 (1995): 342–43.
32. Burnett's argument is that the pejorative stain of the English word can be removed by considering it as part of an overlooked discourse that also includes expressions like "distorted" (變體 *biànti*) and "transforming" or "transfigurative" (變形 *biànín*g), and that seems a promising way forward. Burnett, "A Discourse on Originality in Late Ming Chinese Painting Criticism," op. cit., 523.
33. This point is also made in Burnett, "A Discourse on Originality in Late Ming Chinese Painting Criticism," op. cit., 5523.
34. Silbergeld, *Mind Landscpaes, The Paintings of C.C. Wang* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1987), 98.
35. Richard Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Maker (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 2.
36. Eugene Wang, review of *Latter Days of the Law, Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, edited by Marsha Weidner (Kansas City, KA: University of Kansas in association with the University of Hawaii Press, 1994), in *Art Bulletin* 78 no. 3 (1996): 556–59. The situation has suggestive parallels with Hegel's meliorist views of history, since the internal structure of both accounts does not give explicit place to later readers. Hegel neither denied nor described a succession beyond the Prussian government and the "final" state of the Spirit
37. Speiser, "Painting," in *Chinese Art, Painting, Calligraphy, Stone Rubbing, Wood Engraving*, edited by Werner Speiser et al., translated by Diana Imber (London: Oldbourne Press, 1964), 7–189, especially 52, 54, and 56.
38. Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (New York: Pantheon, 1944), 127.
39. Fontein, "Die Kunst der Chinesen," op. cit., 71, 72.
40. *BR*, 469.
41. Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Maker (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 325.
42. Cahill, "Style as Idea in Ming-Ch'ing Painting," in *The Mozartian Historian: Essays on the Works of Joseph R. Levenson*, edited by M. Meisner and R. Murphey (Berkeley, 1976), 137 ff.; the concept is also adumbrated in Cahill, *Compelling Image*, op. cit., 184 ff.
43. See Robert Harrist's elegant dismissal: "Coined in the nineteenth century, this label was one of the most useless in the number-happy history of Chinese critical writing on art." Harrist, review

of Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 no. 4 (2002): 850–52, quotation on 850. For a fuller list of the painters in the group (originally more than ten) see van der Meyden, "Jin Nong," op. cit., 184–85 n. 6; for illustrations see *The Selected Paintings and Calligraphy of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou*, edited by Chang Wan-li and Hu Jen-mon, 8 vols. (Kowloon: CAFA Company, Ltd., 1970).

44. *CLP*, 124.
45. *CLP*, 129.
46. Yoshiho Yonezawa, *Shorai bijutsu* [Painting of Sung and Yüan Dynasties] (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1971).
47. *CLP*, 129.
48. Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Discarding the Brush, Gao Qipei (1660–1734) and the Art of Chinese Finger Painting* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992); the quotation is from a review in *Oriental Art* 39 no. 2 (1993): 54–55, quotation on 55.
49. A good reflection on such questions is Thierry de Duve, *Faire école (ou la refaire?*), nouvelle édition revue et augmentée (Geneva, 2008).
50. See also *DM*, Chapter 2.
51. *CLP*, 123, Wade-Giles changed to pinyin.
52. Speiser, "Painting," 145.
53. "Spindly trees" is from *FE*, 48.
54. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, edited by Yang Xin, Nie Chongzheng, Lang Shaojun, Richard Barnhart, James Cahill, and Wu Hung (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 169.
55. *CLP*, 124, and plate, 98 and 99 facing p. 116.
56. The connection with Kung Hsien is mentioned in *FE*, 50.
57. See Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, op. cit., 146–83; *FE*, 73; Kung Hsien, *Theorist and Technician in Painting*, with an essay by Marc Wilson, *Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, vol. 4 no. 9 (Kansas City, MO: Nelson Gallery, 1969).
58. See my "Uccello, Duchamp: The Ends of Wit," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 36 (1991): 199–224 and 10 plates. For Chu Ta, see Wen Fong, "Stages in the Life and Art of Chu Ta, AD 1626–1705," *Archives of Asian Art* 40 (1987): 7–23. For madness, see James Cahill, "The 'Madness' in Bada Shanren's Paintings," *Asian Cultural Studies* (International Christian University Publications vol. III–A) 17 (March 1989): 119–43, and my "La Persistance du 'tempérament artistique' comme modèle: Rosso Fiorentino, Barbara Kruger, Sherrie Levine," *Ligeia* 17–18 (October 1995/June 1996): 19–28.
59. This is said of the architecture in Wu Chen's copy of *Autumn Mountains after Chü-jan* (Taipei). See *HR*, plate 24.
60. Sullivan, *Arts of China*, op. cit., 222.
61. The telescoped past has been theorized for example by Guy Sircello, "Beauty in Shards and Fragments," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 48 no. 1 (1990): 22, and Sircello, *A New Theory of Beauty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
62. This characterization is in *CLP*, 111–13.
63. The famous passage in which he asserts his independence of precedent is cited for example in Torao Miyagawa, *Chinese Painting*, op. cit., 147. As Jonathan Hay correctly observes, as a statement of autonomy it is also deeply dialogic. See Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 229, and the discussion of precedents (which is in turn indebted to Western concepts of artists' indebtedness to the past, especially those of Michael Fried and through him, Harold Bloom).

64. The disconnection of the Renaissance from modernism and postmodernism is a theme of *Renaissance Theory*, op. cit.
65. See the statement in the "Picturing 'Greatness'" exhibit (Museum of Modern Art, 1988); I have discussed the untenable nature of such claims in "La Persistance du 'tempérament artistique' comme modèle: Rosso Fiorentino, Barbara Kruger, Sherrie Levine," *Ligeia* 17–18 (October 1995/June 1996): 19–28.
66. *FJC*, 167. See also Damisch, *Moves: schaken en kaarten met het museum = Moves: Playing Chess and Cards with the Museum*, with an essay by Ernst van Alphen (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1997).
67. *FJC*, 167.
68. *FJC*, 170.
69. A painter such as Ad Reinhardt, acutely aware of the limited field of possibilities, defines "un champ—on serait aujourd'hui porté à écrire: un lieu—commun, partagé: le lieu, le champ d'un jeu où ceux qu'on à cités, bien d'autres encore, auront été impliqués, chacun pour sa part et avec ses intérèts, suivant sa stratégie propre." *FJC*, 157. I thank Laure Faber for bringing this passage to my attention.
70. *FJC*, 154, quoted in Bois, *Painting as Model* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), and in "Painting as Model," *October* 37 (1986): 125–37, quotation on 134. Henceforth *Painting as Model* will be abbreviated *PM* and the article "*Painting as Model*" as "PM."
71. "PM," 135.
72. Yve-Alain Bois, "Painting," in *Endgame: Reference and Simulation in Recent Painting and Sculpture* (Boston, 1986). The term has been taken in a different sense by Leo Steinberg, "Picasso's Endgame," *October* 74 (1995): 105–22.
73. "From Criticism to Complicity: *Flash Art* Panel," edited by P. Nagy, *Flash Art* 129 (Summer 1986): 49.
74. For the anti-anti-Hegelian argument, see my *Our Beautiful Dry and Distant Texts: On the History of Art as Writing*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2000).
75. Harries, *The Meaning of Modern Art* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968).
76. Gombrich, "The Leaven of Criticism in Renaissance Art," is discussed in my *Master Narratives and Their Discontents*, op. cit.
77. Marin, To *Destroy Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Derrida, "By Force of Mourning," in *The Work of Mourning*, translated by Michael Naas and Pascale-Anne Brualt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
78. In connection with Bois see *Endgame: Reference and Simulation in Recent Painting and Sculpture*, op. cit., and the review of *Painting as Model* by Akira Mizuta Lippit, *MLN* 106 no. 5 (December 1991): 1074–78, especially 1077; René Démoris, *Les fins de la peinture* (Paris: Editions Desjonquières, 1990), reviewed in Jacques Berne, "Comment parler de la peinture aujourd'hui?" *Critique* 47 no. 534 (November 1991): 874–81.
79. Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-hung's Late Work*, in the series *Asian Thought and Culture* vol. 35 (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).
80. An-yi Pan, *China Review International* 12 no. 1 (2005): 29–51.
81. *China Art Book*, edited by Uta Grosenick and Caspar H. Schübbe (Cologne: Dumont, 2007).
82. Personal communication, 2008.
83. This is so even though both artists—but especially Wenda Gu—have extended their work far beyond the experiments with Chinese painting and calligraphy that continue to attract attention in the Western press. For Wenda Gu and landscape painting, see the typically short notice by Carol Lufty, "Wenda Gu Has Infused the Genre of Chinese Ink Painting With Unexpected Characters—and Materials," *ARTnews* 99 no. 8 (2000): 140.

84. Among the movements that call for extended study are New Literati Painting (新文人画, *xīn wénrénhuà*) and Post Literati Painting (后文人画, *hòu wénrénhuà*). For the early twentieth-century roots of the literati revival see Aida-Yuen Wong, "A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernity, a Transcultural Narrative?" *Artibus Asiae* 60 no. 2 (2000): 297–326, especially the discussion of Chen Hengke 陳衡恪 (Chen Shizeng, 1876–1923) on 306. For Shanghai painters see "Innovation within Tradition: Shanghai Scholar-Painters of the Early Twentieth Century," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 58 no. 3 (2001): 14–19. There are many examples of individual painters who could sustain the attention of a scholarly monograph: Yang Zhengxin 揚正新 (1942–) paints gestural marks that are comparable to Western photographic abstractions (see Shelagh Vainker, *Modern Chinese Painting: The Reyes Collection in the Ashmolean Musuem, Oxford* [Oxford: Ashmolean, 1996], 80–81, cat. 109); Wu Guanzhong 吳冠中 (b. 1919), paints very free patterned landscapes (for example, one in the collection of the Ostasiatisches Museum, Berlin).
85. Silbergeld, *Contradictions: Artistic Life, the Socialist State, and the Chinese Painter Li Huasheng* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993); I will return to this at the end of the book. See also Ellen Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988); Lucy Lim, *Six Contemporary Chinese Women Artists* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Cultural Center, 1992), and Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906–1951* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988). Standout examples of dissertations include Siliang Yang, "Pan Tianshou [1897–1971] and Twentieth-Century Traditional Chinese Painting," PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1995; Qingli Wan, "Li Keran (1907–1989) and Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting," PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 1991 (for a measure of the change in the quality of scholarship, compare this, for example, with Victor Dove, "Searching for Li Keran and the Eight Eccentrics," *Arts of Asia* 25 no. 6 [1970]: 100–109, which is a travelogue and resumé of received knowledge); Ju-hsi Chou, *Art at the Close of China's Empire* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1998); David Clarke, "Fu Baoshi and Water," *Art History* 29 no. 1 (2006): 108–44.
86. For socialist realism, see Julia Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China 1949–1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), and Xiaoping Lin's ambitious essay "Challenging the Canon: Socialist Realism in Traditional Chinese Painting Revisited," *Third Text* 21 no. 1 (2007): 41–53.

V Postscripts

1. I have copied a wide range of Chinese paintings over the years, and I am interested in the experience of copying and how it might be pertinent for art historical scholarship. But that is not my topic here. Some material on that subject is available in the essay, "Histoire de l'art et pratiques d'atelier," translation of "Why Art Historians Should Draw: The Case for Studio Experience," *Histoire de l'art* 29–30 (1995): 103–12 (a revision of material in *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing* [University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1997]), and, more recently, in "Warum Kunsthistoriker malen lernen sollten—ein Plädoyer für Werkstatterfahrung," in *Subjekt und Medium in der Kunst der Moderne*, edited by Michael Lüthy and Christoph Menke (Zurich and Berlin: Diaphanes, 2006), 87–114.
2. I am thinking especially of Jerome Silbergeld's essay contrasting Yuan-style choices with those codified in the Ming. Silbergeld, "A New Look at Traditionalism in Yüan Dynasty Landscape Painting," *National Palace Museum Quarterly Bulletin* 14 no. 3 (1980): 1–30.
3. This is argued in my letters to James Cahill, in *Stones From Other Mountains*, edited by Jason Kuo (forthcoming), and in "Can We Invent a World Art Studies?" in a book on world art studies, edited by Wilfried van Damme and Kitty Zijlmans (Leiden, forthcoming).

4. In addition to the sources in the previous note, see *Art and Globalization*, vol. 1 of the Stone Summer Theory Institute, edited by James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, forthcoming).
5. It is important to note that while this makes me concerned about the nature of the project called art history, there is another, more optimistic interpretation. Ladislav Kesner epitomizes this for me; he wrote me, in relation to an earlier version of this MS, "I do believe there is an immense benefit in Western art history taking over the Chinese painting tradition in early 20th century. When I was looking at Chinese paintings with Fu Shen in the Freer gallery, or with C.C. Wang (Wang Jiqian) in his studio in New York in 1990, I had an acute sense of the distance between my ability to see and comprehend and what surely was theirs—the contemporary living embodiment of a Chinese understanding of the painting. But of course Fu Shen is part of Western art history and C.C. Wang was not outside of western art world either. So to repeat: we have nothing better to do than to continue practicing Western art history on Chinese painting, provided art history has allowed itself to absorb and utilize Chinese ways of seeing and thinking about painting." (Personal communication, 2008.)
6. In this I agree with Wen Fong, as against his interlocutor Robert Harrist. See Robert E. Harrist Jr., "A Response to Professor Cahill's 'Some Thoughts on the History and Post-History of Chinese Painting,'" *Archives of Asian Art* 55 (2005): 35–37, esp. 36. Wen Fong's reply is in his "The Modern Universal Art Museum and Chinese Art History: On the Benefits of Belatedness," forthcoming.
7. Nelson, "Catching Sight of South Mountain: Tao Yuanming, Mount Lu, and the Iconographies of Escape," *Archives of Asian Art* 52 (2000–2001): 11–43, quotations on 13, 14 respectively.
8. Harrist continues: "This view, which reflects trends in the not-so-new 'new art history,' leads her to focus on social and economic issues that determined the history of taste; visual analysis is not her primary concern. Nevertheless, the occasional readings of paintings she does offer are so consistently rich and insightful that it seems regrettable that she did not address more tenaciously the pictorial innovations that Yangchow painting displays." Harrist, review of Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 no. 4 (2002): 850–52, quotation on 851.
9. See Shane McCausland's review in *Art History* 25 no. 3 (2002): 380–81: "In terms of his book's value to Chinese art history, Hay must face the consequences of his 'downplaying … issues that would normally be thought important, even primordial' (xv). In completely sacrificing style and connoisseurship for social history, Hay may have failed to enlighten all readers as to the broad base of his own critical judgment." It is possible to agree that without critical engagement with visual analyses, it can be difficult to understand an author's sense of which works matter—even without agreeing that those analyses need to look at "style" or "connoisseurship." McCausland continues: "Hay's analysis of form in the paintings is to be found in his identification of 'iconic signs' (a bridge as 'transition'; a mountain as 'stability'), and of 'indices' of distance, space, height, and so on. Works … were adjudged worthy [to be included in the book] on their merits within Hay's overall social history of Shitao's painting …" (quotation on 381).
10. Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
11. See the long and largely unsympathetic review by Michael Fuller; he does not believe Murck's central claim regarding a series of paintings by Song Di. Fuller also remarks on the book's propensity for political meanings: "Murck's assertion that the 'meaning' of the painting [*Early Spring*] is its paraphrasable political message reveals a serious flaw in her general interpretive scheme, even though it is a view shared by many moralists within the Chinese tradition itself. This flattening of the aesthetic structuring of imagery and allusions to the larger cultural traditions

insists that political centrally defines meaning for actions, objects, and individuals. Yet much of the cultural and intellectual transformations within Song *literati* culture was an attempt to find source of meaning outside of service to the state. So there is a certain irony in Murck's insistence that this will not do—that meaning must be dragged back to political argument. Guo Xi's *Early Spring* may encompass themes about the state of current politics, but its iconography and aesthetics resist reduction to such themes." Michael Fuller, review of Murck, *Poetry and Painting*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 no. 2 (2001): 442–53, quotation on 443–44. For a Daoist reading see for example Liu Yang, "Fantastic Mountains: Where Man Meets Nature in Chinese Landscape Painting," *Oriental Art* 55 no. 3 (2005–6): 2–21.

12. Murck, *Poetry and Painting*, 36–37, 252.
13. Bickford, "Emperor Huizong and the Aesthetic of Agency," *Archives of Asian Art* 53 (2002–2003): 71–104, quotation on 71. She offers an extensive footnote to this scholarship, listing about twenty sources.
14. Silbergeld, *Contradictions: Artistic Life, the Socialist State, and the Chinese Painter Li Huasheng* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), xix.
15. Clark, review of Silbergeld, *Contradictions*, in *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 32 (1994): 219–20, quotation on 220. John Clark's *Modern Asian Art* does not deal with Chinese landscape painting, but it is one of the best examples of a book that bids to escape from the problems I have raised in this book by deconstructing socioeconomic and postcolonial contexts. See my "Writing About Modernist Painting outside Western Europe and North America," in *Compression vs. Expansion: Containing the World's Art*, edited by John Onians (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 188–214; and Clark, *Modern Asian Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).
16. Most reviews are uncritical. See for example Ellen Laing's review in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 no. 2 (1994): 331–32; Richard Kraus, in *Journal of Asian Studies* 52 no. 4 (1993): 993–94; and Sheldon Lu in *The China Quarterly* 153 (1998): 190–91.
17. Clunas, *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004). The jacket copy is promotional, and so it is reasonable to assume the line responds to what was perceived as a common interest among potential readers. (Such texts are anonymous, but in theory they are always vetted by authors, and written by them or by their editors.)
18. The study of gifts and exchanges is inspired principally by the work of the anthropologist Marcel Mauss. In a review, Jennifer Purtle raises an interesting objection to the use of such sources—she finds Mauss and other theorists Clunas uses to be very Western. Using the anthropological terms "emic" (in this context, meaning a description that would be meaningful to Wen Zhengming) and "etic" (a description that would be meaningful to contemporary, Western readers of Clunas's book), she notes that readers "might consider how the etic framework of Western art history responds to, reconstructs, and perhaps remakes, the emic categories of the mid-Ming." In other words, she doubts that the critical language of exchanges and gifts, and the sense of Wen's paintings as cultural objects, gets closer to the original Ming Dynasty ways of conceptualizing Wen's output. This thesis, if it were developed, would be directly pertinent to my argument in this book; unfortunately, I have no points of comparison that would help me judge. As time passes, if Clunas's book is seen increasingly as a product of Western (or Anglo-American) academic preoccupations of the late twentieth or early twenty-first century, then Purtle's claim will may seem increasingly compelling; but it would still be necessary to revisit the original sources to construct an alternate "emic" self-description of Ming Dynasty exchanges. From my point of view as an outsider, Purtle's critique seems very plausible simply because anthropological and sociological theories have been in vogue in North Atlantic art history from the 1980s onward. The same issues are raised in my response to an essay by Jonathan Hay, discussed in Chapter 1. See Purtle, "Even Exchange: Craig Clunas's *Elegant Debts* and What Art History and Sinology

Offer Each Other," *Ming Studies* 54 (2007): 107–14, quotation on 114; and see similar concerns in Purtle, review of Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368–1644 (London: Reaktion, 2007),* review *in The China Quarterly* 194 (2008): 428–61.

19. Clunas offers a useful précis of this aspect of his book in his review of Jonathan Hay's book on Shitao. I quote it here because it might be overlooked by readers of Clunas's book: "Shitao is 'an artist' in a way someone like Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), a figure of the previous century who is often taken to personify the literati ideal, is not; Shitao has none of Wen's extensive obituary texts written for aunts or other relatives (indeed, there is no family), no failed political career with its constant search for patronage, commemorated in a legion of poems, no commemorate essays for the coming and goings of local grandees. Similarly, of other figures of the Chinese canon, one could argue that Shen Zhou (1427–1509) was a landlord who painted and Dong Qichang (1555–1636) a senior official who painted. They were not primarily 'artists,' even if art history as a discipline has tended to occlude these other activities that formed their identities. But for Shitao the works are the main thing requiring explanation." Clunas, review of Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), in *Art Bulletin* 84 no. 4 (2002): 686–89, quotation on 688.
20. One way to make the case that a study of Wen's gifts and debts is really the larger, abstract framework for a study of Wen's paintings is to note, as Clunas does, that Wen also engaged in metaphorical exchanges with Li Cheng, Zhao Mengfu, Mi Fu, and others. In that sense, terms like *fang* (tradition) become part of the economy of exchange (*ED*, 160). Another way to answer the question is to note that contemporaries of Wen, such as a diarist named Li Ruhua (1565–1635), whom Clunas mentions toward the end of the book, described Wen's work "not so much as inherently *possessing* certain qualities [but] as being like the work of other figures of the canon." In that way, Wen's works become part of a web of exchanges, and cannot be understood in terms of the traditional art historical *identification* of influence *ED*, 179).
21. It is possible to argue that Clunas's book is not the abstract or general basis of a possible study of Wen's paintings, but a different kind of study. That argument could be pursued by comparing Clunas's book with studies of exchanges and gifts outside art history. One could look, for example, at Eva Shan Chou, "Tu Fu's 'General Ho' Poems: Social Obligations and Poetic Response," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60 no. 1 (2000): 165–204. For me, at least, such comparisons suggest that Clunas's book is indeed outside the realm of specifically visual questions

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