CHINESE ART EXHIBITIONS IN JAPAN, ca 1900 TO 1931

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Master of Arts in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
Mayumi Kamata, B.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
2001

Master's Examination Committee:
Dr. Julia F. Andrews, Adviser
Dr. John C. Huntington

Approved by

Department of History of Art
ABSTRACT

Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan between 1900 and 1931 manifested Japan’s attempt to find its position in Asia and in the world in the context of its relationship with China. The early modern period was the time for Japan to find self-identity both as a modern country and as tōyō. In this context, Japan looked at China as the source of ‘Asianness’ in its tradition and also as “other” in order to define its national identity as a modern country.

The relationship between China and Japan has a long and complicated history. In brief, Chinese culture was an age-old object of appreciation for Japan. Nevertheless, this relationship changed completely after the Meiji restoration of 1868. However, a complete rejection of Chinese culture was not possible because Japanese tradition and its Asianness are so much indebted to China.

The juxtaposition of these two opposed ideologies, being modern at the same time as being Asian, was unreasonable. As a result, the display of Chinese art was distorted before the Japanese audience. In the art exhibitions I discuss in this paper, there was an emphasis on the traditional aspect of Chinese art. The impact of the art exhibitions varied depending on the views of different audiences. The
scholarly audience was aware that Japan was losing the quality of tōyō in the course of its modernization. Therefore, the meaning of Chinese art exhibitions for them was to settle and reinforce the idea of tōyō. On the other hand, through Chinese art exhibitions, the general public found China being "other," which is represented by the word of *Shina*.

The primary information on the exhibitions was taken from newspapers, such as *Asahi shinbun*, exhibition catalogues, and diaries of related figures. In this paper, by focusing on factors that lay behind the construction and reception of art exhibitions, I will discuss the problematic ideologies in the cultural relationship between China and Japan.
Dedicated to my parents
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to my adviser, Professor Judy Andrews, whose intellectual support, encouragement, enthusiasm and admirable patience made this project possible. I wish to thank Professor John Huntington for his constant encouragement. Professor Maureen Donovan helped me a great deal in finding resource materials. I am grateful to Professor James Bartholomew in the History Department for his advice and suggestions on Japanese history. I am also grateful to Dr. Ellen Conant, Professor Fred Notelhelfer, and Professor Henry Smith for their responses to my idea.

I thank those who read my drafts and gave me suggestions, especially Erin Publow, Erica Swarts and David Efurdi. I would also like to thank Su-hsing Lin, Tianshu Zhu and Norihito Mizuno for their help in dealing with Chinese materials.

Finally, my deepest gratitude is for my parents and Tanpopo who have been most supportive and understanding. Without their support, this thesis would not have been possible.
VITA

1998.................................................................. B.A. Art History, Mary Baldwin College.

1998 – 2001.................................................. Graduate Administrative Associate,
East Asian Studies Center,
The Ohio State University

2001 – present............................................... Graduate Teaching Associate,
The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History of Art
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan during the early modern period manifested the way the Japanese attempted to find their position in Asia and in the world in the context of their relationship with China. The early modern period was the time for Japan to search for self-identity. There were two opposing ideologies among Japanese scholars in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, worship for the West on one hand and a quest for Asianness within Japan on the other. In Japan’s process of social and political change, China became an object that provided a norm for Japan to find its national identity both as a modern country and as tōyō 東洋.

Tōyō, which literally means “eastern seas,” is an ambiguous term. According to Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (1873-1961), a historian at Waseda University, the

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1 Stefan Tanaka’s book, Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1993) was much of the inspiration for the basic approach to my thesis. In his book, Tanaka stated that Japan struggled to find “how to become modern while simultaneously shedding the objectivistic category of Oriental and yet not lose an identity (p. 3).” However, whereas Tanaka primarily deals with theories of historians and intellectuals of this era, I focus on the cultural and historical dimensions by studying art exhibitions.
meaning of *tōyō* after the Meiji Restoration was “that which was not the Occident.”² *Toyo* is basically a modern term. Before Western civilization became a significant part of Japanese history, Japan’s typological view of the world consisted of *wa* 和 (Japan), *kan* 漢 (China), and *yō* 洋 (West), which indicated the importance of China.

But when *nihon* 日本 (Japan), *tōyō* 東洋 (The Orient), and *seiyō* 西洋 (The Occident) replaced the former worldview, Japanese mentality was reorganized so that China became merely a part of *tōyō*.³ Although I listed Japan and *tōyō* as separate here, whether Japan should be included in the unit of *tōyō* or not was difficult for Japanese scholars to answer. Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 (1865-1942), professor of history at Tokyo Imperial University, found Japan’s origin in Asia and suggested “*tōyō* represented the hope that a peaceful and harmonious ideal would be reached through an oriental civilization that preserved loyalty, harmony, and communality,”⁴ in an explicit contrast to the West. However, the finding of China within *tōyō* led to Japan’s separation from the group.⁵ This ambiguity is reflected in the categorization of *tōyō* bijutsushi 東洋美術史 (art history of *tōyō*) and *nihon bijutsushi* 日本美術史

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⁴ Tanaka, p. 19.

⁵ Tanaka argues that the conservatism of Chinese Confucianism, which he sees as averse to change, was the cause of China’s decline and that this conservatism was inappropiate to Japan at a time when the nation aimed at progress and accepted other cultures’ ideas.

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(art history of Japan) in the Meiji period. Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1862-1913) taught the class in とうやつuri bijutsushi at the Tokyo School of Fine Art from 1890 for three years. The lecture notes that are preserved indicate that his lectures were actually focused on Japanese art history. At the same time, the lecture notes for the class on nihon bijutsushi contain considerable discussion on Chinese art. Okakura's indefinite way of using the word とうやつuri signified the unsettled meaning of the term at that time. As Japan attempted to find its place within and outside とうやつuri in its relationship with China, Japanese use of the word increased in complexity.

The relationship between China and Japan is a history too complicated to adequately summarize here. In brief, however, Chinese culture was an age-old object of appreciation for Japan, and was taken as a model for Japan's progress. Nevertheless, this relationship changed completely when Japan started to turn its eyes to Western civilization after the Meiji restoration. From that time on, the West replaced China as a model for Japan. In one sense, it is true when Japan surpassed China in terms of modernity, Japan started to look at China as inferior. However, in another sense, a complete rejection of Chinese culture was not possible because Japanese culture is so much indebted to China. A more common Japanese view was that the culture Japan inherited from China assured Japan's succession to leadership of a great tradition.

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6 Satō, Meiji Kokka to Kindai Bijutsu, p. 141.

7 Probably Okakura's idea of とうやつuri was close to Shiratori's because in his writings, Okakura emphasizes とうやつuri-ness of Japan.
As I have mentioned above, the relationship between China and Japan has unique, even peculiar features. In the Western world in the nineteenth century, a trend now called Orientalism, directly or indirectly resulted in Western colonization of what Europeans considered to be the “Oriental,” such as the Middle East and North Africa. One of the features of nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings was to record disappearing cultures as they were submerged by colonialism. The images of the Orient depicted an exotic as well as undeveloped culture in order to implant the impression that the countries of the Middle East and North Africa were inferior to the West and to justify an ideology of colonization.

In Japan, the same ideological pattern seemed to be directed toward China. The ideal for modernizing the country that Japan sought was not found in China but in the West. Thus, the culture and the nation that Japan had appreciated throughout history were disappearing from sight. There was a shift in mentality in which the Japanese began to believe Japan’s superiority over China, and as militarism and imperialism rose, this ideology was practically reinforced. In fact, from the time of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japan started to celebrate the idea of being superior. Prior to that, in the early Meiji period, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835-1901), a philosopher and an educator who founded Keiō 慶應 University, had already expressed Japan’s necessity of “Datsu-A 脱亜,” or escaping from Asia, instead favoring Western civilization. At the same time, Japan’s modernization and China’s
lack of change created an issue around the word, *Shina* (支那), which simply indicates China in a phonetic, westernizing version. This term was used throughout the first half of the twentieth century in Japan, but with often derogatory implications. In the early twentieth century, *Shina* came to evoke “China as a troubled place mired in its past, in contrast to Japan, a modern Asian nation.”

The word *Shina*, therefore, was used negatively and somewhat archaically in place of the modern term *Chugoku*, which became China’s name after the 1911 Republican revolution and represented the backwardness of the country. In contrast with *Shina*, as Shiratori pointed out, the term *tōyō* connotes much more positive aspects of China’s position, a symbol of cultural harmony. Japan’s use of the term *Shina* indicated one aspect of Japanese views on China. However, because of Japan’s great admiration for China in the past, the relationship between China and Japan cannot be explained merely by the Western sense of Orientalism.

The complete rejection of Chinese civilization would mean diminution of Japan’s own culture and tradition, because there was so much Chinese influence in the foundations of Japanese culture. It is undeniable that Japan denigrated China

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9 Although *Chugoku* 中国 has been broadly accepted as the name of China in Japan since the end of World War II, Enoki Kazuo, professor emeritus of Oriental history at the University of Tokyo, continued to claim that the Japanese should call China *Shina*, instead of *Chugoku*. He gives four reasons: 1) *Chugoku* is a name that is only relevant for Chinese people to use for their own country. 2) The term *Shina*, which had been brought to Japan in sutras Kōbō Taishi (Kūkai) brought from China in the ninth century, has a long historical recognition. 3) The term *Chugoku* implies that China is the center of the world, which is inapplicable in the twentieth century. 4) Since Chinese ideographs are used in China and Japan, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between *chūgoku* and *shina*. Tanaka, pp. 4-6.
because of the level of modernization that Japan had achieved. But scholars, particularly Sinologists, were aware of the pitfalls of neglecting China. When they sensed a crisis in their own cultural foundation, they saw a need to reconsider China in order to assure the importance of their own tradition. In order to formulate China and Chinese culture for this reason, it was necessary to seek value in traditional, not modern China. The famous Sinologist scholar, Naitö Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934), paid homage to Chinese culture in these terms; although China had perished politically, her culture would remain prominent in the world.\(^\text{10}\)

In complete opposition to Fukuzawa’s *Datsu-A ron*, Okakura Tenshin advocated focusing on *tōyō*, and especially Japan. Despite the adoption of many Western institutions, there were people such as Okakura Tenshin who resisted the Western way of thinking. Okakura stated that “He (the Westerner) was wont to regard Japan as barbarous while she indulged in the gentle arts of peace: he calls her civilized since she began to commit wholesale slaughter on Manchurian battlefields.”\(^\text{11}\) It is more than obvious that the mainstream Western concept of advanced civilization differs from Okakura’s rather hyperbolic misrepresentation.

Modernization and the rise of Japanese nationalism produced a manipulated image of China that was represented as true to the Japanese people. The viewpoints of

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scholars and the general public toward China were therefore somewhat different. In order to explore the different levels within Japanese interpretations of China, I will examine Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan between 1900 and 1931 from the standpoints of organizers, scholarly audiences, and the general public. These exhibitions directly reflected certain Japanese views of China. After the infamous Manchurian Incident of 1931, China and Japan faced a radical change in their relationship, which had an important effect on art exhibitions. Since the purpose of this paper is not to examine the effects of direct political conflict on exhibitions but to investigate a wider range of ideological functions and influences from different points of view, I will not discuss exhibitions after 1931.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part deals with small exhibitions such as those sponsored by department stores or related to scholarly circles. The second part focuses on large-scale events, especially a series of Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions which took place throughout the 1920s. In each section, I will examine factors that lay behind the construction and reception of art exhibitions, including sponsors, people involved as organizers, different layers of the audience, the choices of work for display, and the critical impacts of the exhibitions.

It is useful, to begin with, to examine the origin and development of exhibitions. According to Satō Dōshin 佐藤道信 (1956-), there are three conditions under which exhibitions or tenrankai 展覧会 are held. “Firstly, it is not a permanent thing but an entertaining event. Secondly, it takes the form of an exhibit that
supposes having an audience. Thirdly, in a lot of cases, the audience is not limited to a private group but open for many and unspecific people.” Sato defines this term in a modern sense. The origin of art exhibitions is derived from *shoga tenkan* (Calligraphy and painting display viewings), *shogakai* (Calligraphy and painting gatherings), and *dekaichō* (Temple airings) in the Edo period. *Shoga tenkan* were exhibitions that were held periodically. The show contained a relatively large number of paintings. Based on such characteristics, *shoga tenkan* are considered to be a prototype of modern-style large-scale exhibitions that later developed in the Meiji period. *Shogakai* were held in more private environments. Usually, a host sent invitations to friends and the guests paid a fee that would cover a lunch and alcohol. *Shogakai* were not open to the general public but to art enthusiasts and people from a certain class. Since alcohol and sometimes *geisha* were involved, *shogakai* had a tendency to turn into parties. But there were very scholarly gatherings to study art, as well. *Dekaichō* were events to show temple treasures that were not usually open to the public. The art was on display for a certain period. As one of the purposes of this type of exhibit was to collect money for the temple’s repair and other needs, they were widely publicized to attract people’s attention to the temple. This commercial aspect, although it had a religious purpose as well, was similar to department store exhibitions. In the Meiji and later periods, some characteristics of

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these early exhibitions survived, even though there were changes in the event and the ways they were organized.

Although Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan were significant to cultural and artistic exchanges between China and Japan, the subject has not been thoroughly studied. One reason for this is due to the difficulties of finding materials on exhibitions. This thesis is based on a great deal of primary information gathered from newspapers. But sometimes, even though articles refer to the same event, the names of the exhibitions are inconsistent. In addition, names of the exhibitions that appear in the press often differ from the titles in exhibition catalogues. As Ishiwatari Hiroko points out, exhibition catalogues were/are usually sold at the exhibition sites during the time when the show is being held. Therefore, it was difficult to purchase one at a bookstore. Library collections are usually quite incomplete. Despite the obstacles for research, this topic is an important issue for understanding the modern art history of China and Japan because it will provide a new perspective on the cultural relationship of the two countries.

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13 Furuta Ryō 古田亮, “Nihon no Bijutsu Tenrankai: Sono Kigen to Hatten 日本の美術展覧会: その起源と展開” Museum no. 545 (December, 1996), pp. 30-36. It is worth mentioning that there were several Chinese painting exhibitions in the late Edo period. For example, an exhibition of Ming Qing dynasty paintings was held in 1852. An exhibition catalogue called Shomoku Rinro 触目 珠錦 was published.

14 Ishiwatari Hiroko 石渡裕子, “Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Shozō Senzenki Bijutsu Tenrankai Kankei Shiryo Mokuroku 国立国会図書館所蔵前期美術展覧会関係資料目録” Sankō Shoshi Kenkyū 参考書誌研究 no. 50 (February, 1999), p. 4.
CHAPTER 2

SMALL EXHIBITIONS

By Satō Dōshin’s definition, an exhibition would take place when “the audience is not limited to a private group but open for many and unspecific persons.” Sato’s idea is undoubtedly acceptable in the case of exhibitions. But given the fact that there were roughly two kinds of audiences for Chinese art, namely the scholarly viewers and the general public, the strata of visitors to exhibitions are not always the same. In this part of my thesis, I will examine small shows, including department store exhibitions and more scholarly exhibitions. The word “small” here indicates two aspects: exhibitions that are small in scale, and that have relatively limited viewers. Their small scale was usually related to the nature of the sponsors. The department store exhibitions were open virtually to anybody who shopped there. But unlike government or semi-government shows, there were financial and organizational difficulties with holding enormous exhibitions under such sponsorship.

The limited viewership of exhibitions originated from several factors. Since some small exhibitions were well publicized, the audience was limited to people who were in circles with similar interests. Exhibitions organized by artistic or scholarly
groups fell under this category. In these exhibitions, one could usually find a certain coherence in the themes of the exhibits and a focus on the interests of scholars and collectors. Therefore, this kind of exhibition satisfied people who had trained eyes. I will attempt to clarify the functions of small exhibitions, through investigating issues of scholarly and non-scholarly views of Chinese art.

As the white-collar class grew along with industrialization and urbanization after the Meiji Restoration, department stores started to impart a new consumer culture to this class. The department stores’ art exhibitions were part of their efforts to “create an urban middle class lifestyle.” The idea of organizing art exhibitions essentially derived from a commercial purpose, to educate people in a way that would permit them to fit into the new lifestyle the department store created, not so that it would create a thorough understanding of art, but because art exhibitions in department stores made art accessible to people due to the exhibitions’ strongly commercial nature. The main trend of Chinese art exhibitions organized by commercial institutions was to display contemporary work sometimes for purchase. As Aso pointed out, as department stores attempted to establish a modern lifestyle among the middle class, it was necessary to show art that would fit into the new lifestyle in their galleries, and that could be hung on their walls at home. Also, such commercial institutions played a significant role in supporting contemporary artists.

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15 Noriko Aso, “New Illusions: The Emergence of a Discourse on Traditional Japanese Arts and Crafts, 1868-1945” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1997), p. 188. Regarding the practice of department store exhibitions in prewar Japan, Noriko Aso’s dissertation gives us a thorough study. Based on the evidence of department stores’ active participation in domestic expositions, Aso describes the origin of department exhibitions as attempts to “introduce an exposition atmosphere within the store walls.”
In 1922, art collections of Baron Ishimoto Keikichi 石本恵吉 were displayed at Shirokiya 白木屋. From Ishimoto’s collection there were some thirty pieces by Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (Chen Hengke 陳衡恪, 1876-1923), Chen Banding 陳半丁 (Chen Nian 陳年, 1876-1970), and other modern Chinese guohua 國畫 painters. Although Chen Shizeng studied Western painting in Japan, he pursued a purely Chinese style in his later art. In his free and spontaneous brushstrokes, there is a clear trace of the literati tradition. The sponsor of this exhibition, Shirokiya, was a venerable department store founded by a lumberman Ōmura Hikotaro 大村彦太郎 (1636-1689) in 1651 or 1652. After World War II, Shirakiya was taken over by Tōyoko Hyakkaten 東横百貨店 (Toyoko Department Store), and became the present Tōkyu Hyakkaten 東急百貨店 (Tōkyu Department Store). In 1989, Tōkyu Hyakkaten established a cultural facility called “Bunkamura,” where a large number of art exhibitions, concerts, and theatre performances are held. Succeeding in the lineage of Shirokiya, Bunkamura’s spirit of supporting cultural activities may have originated in its predecessor.

Another example of such an exhibition of Chinese art was held at the department store Ueno Matsuzakaya 上野松坂屋 from July 24 to 30, 1929. It was a

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17 Kokushi Daijiten 国史大辞典, s.v. “Shirokiya.”

18 Nihon Kaishashi Sōran 日本会社史総覧, s.v. “Tōkyu Hyakkaten.”
solo exhibition of Wang Yun 王雲 (Wang Mengbai 王夢白, 1888-1934) that was realized on the recommendation of Masaki Naohikio 正木直彦 (1862-1940), Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874-1945) and others.¹⁹ Wang Yun, originally a Shanghai businessman, studied painting with Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927). Like many Shanghai artists, he painted flowers, birds, and animals with strong brushstrokes in Wu Changshi style.

In addition to department stores, other commercial institutions organized Chinese art exhibitions. In January 1928, Wang Jiuyan 王濟遠 (1895-1974) had a solo exhibition at the bookstore Maruzen 丸善. Wang Jiuyan, who studied in Shanghai, Japan and Paris, practiced both guohua and oil painting and was involved in art education. Since Maruzen’s specialty was Western books, a number of scholars, politicians and writers such as Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892-1927), and Iō Hirofumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909) went to the bookstore to purchase foreign books.²⁰ Wang showed 50 works, including oil paintings, watercolors, and ink paintings. Among his oil paintings were “南海の濱 (Beach)” and “去思亭椿影 (Camellia).” In Asahi Shinbun’s 朝日新聞 exhibition review, his oil paintings were described as “Although they are small, they are excellent works. The characteristics of his oil paintings are thick, strong lines, a

¹⁹ Asahi Shinbun (July 24, 1929).

²⁰ Nihon Kaishaishi Sōran, s.v. “Maruzen.”
prominent use of green, and skilful compositions. He is China’s Ishii Hakutei 石井拍亭 (1882-1958).”

Shiseidō 資生堂, a cosmetic company, greatly supports, even today, a number of artists and art groups by sponsoring their exhibitions. The company owns a gallery in Ginza 銀座, the center of the art world in Japan. The Shiseidō gallery started by advertising an exhibition space for its cosmetic products. Through the influence of the company’s founder, Fukuhara Shinzō 福原信三 (1883-1948), who had originally wished to be an artist but had given up, the space later became an art gallery. Fukuhara was very much involved in this gallery, and often examined art works himself and proposed ideas for exhibitions. There were solo and group Chinese exhibitions at the Shiseidō gallery. Wang Jiyuan and Pan Yuliang 蕭玉良 (1899-1977), for example, were invited to exhibit there, and did so from October 15 to October 20, 1929. The exhibition displayed 40 oil paintings and watercolors, including Wang’s “南海白雲 (Ocean and Cloud)” and “甘露池 (Pond)” and Pan’s “紫雲洞 (Purple Cloud),” “春意 (Spring)” and “黑女 (Black Woman).” Pan was a European-trained artist who later became a professor at the Shanghai College of Art. 上海美術学校 and the National Central University, Nanjing 南京中央大学. Wang

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21 Asahi Shinbun (January 23, 1928). Ishii Hakutei was a Western-style painter who studied under Asai Chū 浅井忠 and Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折. The naturalism in his oil paintings and watercolors influenced later Japanese yōga 洋画.

and Pan collaborated at Shanghai College of Art and founded an art group called Yi yuăn 藝苑. The show was reviewed by several art magazines and newspapers including Atelier アトリエ, Bi no Kuni 美之国, Bijutsu Shinron 美術新論, and Asahi Shinbun, etc. One article mentions Wang’s impressionistic use of bright colors and brush handling, and Pan’s excellence in her sketches. 23 Umehara Ryuzaburō 梅原龍三郎 (1888-1986), a European-trained artist who was strongly influenced by Renoir, first suggested this exhibition to Wang and Pan. Later, yoga 洋画 painters such as Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867-1943), Mitsutani Kunishirō 溝谷國四郎 (1874-1936), Ishii Hakutei and Hasegawa Noboru 長谷川昇 (1886-1973) joined Umehara to support the realization of the joint exhibition. 24

Let us now attempt to extend our observations as we examine small exhibitions for a limited audience. As I mentioned previously, the second aspect of small exhibitions was that their audience was relatively limited. Unlike department store exhibitions, these exhibitions were generally organized by non-commercial, rather scholarly organizations such as art and literature magazines, or scholars and artists’ circles. Although some exhibitions were meant to be shown only to scholars and art collectors, most of them were open to the public. However, since there was a narrow focus in theme in those more specialized art exhibitions and usually they were

23 Asahi Shinbun (October 20, 1929).

not widely publicized, it was presumably harder for them to attract attention from the general public or to have commercial success. This makes a distinctive contrast between the two types of small exhibitions. Also, while commercial institutions' exhibitions focus on contemporary art, those with a scholarly orientation tend to have classical style paintings on display, and this reflects scholars’ views of Chinese art.

In 1920, *Bijutsu geppō* organized an exhibit, “*Bijutsu geppō dai 200 gō kinen tenkai*” 美術月報第二百號紀念展覧 (Commemorative Exhibition of *Bijutsu Geppō* 200th Issue), displaying works of Shanghai school painters at their office building for the commemoration of the magazine’s 200th issue.\(^\text{25}\) *Bijutsu geppo* was a magazine originally called *Bijutsu shūhō* 美術週報 founded by Iwamura Tōru 岩村透 (1870-1917), who was an art critic and one of the pioneers of Western art history in Japan.\(^\text{26}\) After Iwamura’s decease, the magazine changed its name to *Bijutsu junpō* 美術旬報, and then it was entitled *Bijutsu geppō*.\(^\text{27}\)

Although the exhibit lasted only one day from 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. due to security difficulties in showing paintings in the office, more than a hundred people who were enthusiasts of Chinese art came to view the works. Paintings on display were works of Wu Changshi, Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829-84), Wang Yiting 王一亭...

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\(^\text{25}\) In the commemoration of the magazine, there was another exhibition of Sengai 仙厓, who is a Zen Buddhist painter of the Edo period.

\(^\text{26}\) *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Daijiten* 日本近代文學大辭典, s.v. “Iwamura Toru.”

\(^\text{27}\) Sakai, Saisui 坂井履水, “*Honshū dai 200 gō kinen tenkan ni tsuite: Sengai iboku to Shina kindaiga no chinretsu,*” 本誌第二百號紀念展覧に就いて 仙厓遺墨と支那近代画の陳列 *Bijutsu geppō* 美術月報 vol. 1, no. 10 (1920): 8.
(1867-1938), and others. They were on loan from private collections, such as that of the European-trained sculptor Shinkai Taketarō 新海竹太郎 (1868-1927), the Chinese studies scholar Tanaka Keitarō 田中慶太郎, Nakamura Fušetsu 中村不折 (1866-1943), and others. Among the collectors, Wu Changshi’s popularity was most remarkable. In this exhibition, there were ten works by Wu Changshi himself.

Sakai Saisui 坂井犀水 (1871-1940), who organized this commemorative exhibition, wrote his criticism of Japan’s neglect of China since the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese war in his essay. Sakai’s view was that Chinese art was superior to Japanese not only in the past, but also in modern days. He highly praised Qing dynasty artists such as Wu Changshui and Zhao Zhiqian, whose works were seen in the exhibition, and stated that Japanese artists should learn from their art.

In 1925, Asahi Shinbun reported two Chinese art exhibitions. From May 23rd to May 25th, Daitō Bijutsu Shinkōkai 大東美術振興会 (Association of Great Eastern Art) sponsored Rokuchō Tō Sō Shoga Tenrankai 六朝唐宋書画展覽会 (Exhibition of Paintings and Calligraphy from Six Dynasties, Tang, and Song) held at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō 東京美術学校 (Tokyo School of Fine Arts). A total of 27 pieces were loaned by Japanese collectors for the public display. Among the lenders were prominent businessmen and politicians such as Yamamoto Teijirō 山本悌二郎

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29 Asahi Shinbun (May 21, 1925).
(1870-1937), Kikuchi Seidō 菊地惺堂, Ogawa Tamejirō 小川為次郎, Abe Fesajirō 阿部房次郎, the artist Nakamura Fusetsu and other enthusiasts of Chinese art. One piece in Nakamura’s collections, a Buddhist manuscript discovered at Dunhuang 敦煌, and Yamamoto’s landscape painting by the Song artist Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107), who is better known for his calligraphy, were highly praised because of their rareness. Especially the Dunhuang manuscript was described as “hardly seen by people of Tang and Song.” Works by Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1036-1101) and Li Gonglin 李公麟 (Li Longmian 李龍眠, 1041-1106) of the Song dynasty that were contributed by Kikuchi were survivors of the Kanto earthquake. On the second day of the exhibition, there were lectures by Yamamoto, Nakamura, and Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868-1927), who was one of the pioneers of Asian art history, in an auditorium at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. Although this was relatively a small exhibit, compared with the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions, it was an intellectually stimulating event.

In 1925, as a successor event to the previous year’s successful show, Daitō Bijutsu Shinkōkai again sponsored an exhibition, this time called Genchō Shoga Meiseki Tenrankai 元朝書画名跡展覧会 (Exhibition of Famous Yuan Dynasty Paintings and Calligraphy) at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō from May 20th through the 24th. Although the focus of display was Yuan dynasty paintings, the lenders of the works were almost the same collectors as for the previous exhibition. Collections of
Yamamoto Teijirō, Nakamura Fusetsu, Matsukata Seisaku 松方正作, and Hayashi Heizō 林平藏, in total about viewing 30 pieces, were exhibited. A newspaper review reported that among those paintings, the most eye catching were Huang Gongwang’s 黄公望 (1269-1354) hand scroll, and Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) and Wang Fu’s 王叔 (1362-1416) hanging scrolls. Considering where the show took place, the audience for this exhibition was mostly those who came from artistic backgrounds. Also, since the spectators were only 30 shown exhibited pieces, they were able to look at each painting very closely. Although it seemed that a Chinese painting exhibition at the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō might become an annual event, there is no trace of successive shows in the following years.

Another exhibition called Tōyō Kobijutsu Tenrankai 東洋古美術展覽会 (Exhibition of Ancient Art of Toyo) was organized by Fuji 不二. Fuji was a magazine that introduced contemporary literature, and had a lineage traceable to a literature magazine Shirakaba 白樺, because the same cultural figures were involved in both circles. Although Fuji was a literature magazine, there was a strong connection with art. Until 1924, most of the illustrations for the magazine were created by a Western-style painter Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生 (1891-1929). Around 1925, the overall tendency of the illustrations began to show more Eastern taste as

30 Asahi Shinbun (May 14, 1926).
31 Asahi Shinbun (October 31, 1925).
reproductions of Asian masters from the past such as Wang Wei 王維 (699-759), Muqi 牧溪 (13th c.), and Sesshū 雪舟 (1420-1506) appeared on the title page.\(^{32}\)

The exhibition of the same year displayed Chinese and Japanese art. As the show was called Tōyō Kobujutsu Tenrankai, the ambiguous word “tōyō” this time indicated China and Japan. It was open to the public\(^ {33}\) from November 3rd until the 7th at the Arishima residence 有島邸. In the exhibition, there were bird-and-flower and still-life paintings by Zhao Chang 趙昌 (ca. 960-after 1016), Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (d. ca 1162), and Xu Xi 徐熙 (d. before 975) from the Song period. Among the others were Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), Lan Ying 藍瑛 (Lan Tianshu 藍田叔, 1585-1664), Shen Zhou (Shen Shitian 沈石田, 1427-1509), and Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) from the Ming period, Wang Hui 王煥 (Wang Shigu 王石谷, 1632-1717), Wang Yuanqi 王元祁 (1642-1715), Zhu Da 朱耷 (Bada shanren 八大山人, 1626-1705), Shitao 石濤 (1642-1718), Cheng Sui 程邃 (Gou Daoren 垢道人, active ca. 1605-1691), Li Shan 李禎 (Li Futang 李復堂, 1688-ca. 1757), and Huang Shen 黃慎 (1687-after 1768) from the Qing period.

In 1928, an exhibition called Min Shin Shoga Senmen Tenrankai 明清書画扇面展覧会 (Exhibition of Ming Qing Calligraphy and Painting Fans) was held at

\(^{32}\) *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Daijiten*, s.v. “Fuji.”

\(^{33}\) *Asahi Shinbun* provided the address of the Arishima residence and directions to get there. Although the exhibition was held at a private residence, it was supposedly open to the public, since the newspaper advertised the information to a broad audience.
Asahi Shinbun’s 5th floor gallery from March 28th to March 30th. The exhibition was sponsored by Tōa Kenkyūkai 東亜研究会 (Association of East Asia Studies), an organization that devoted its activities for research and publishing to the Sino-Japanese relationship. This association published a magazine called *Saishin Shina Yōran 最新支那要覧* (The Newest China Survey). The chairperson of the organization, Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉 (1867-1939), a scholar of Chinese philosophy, made an effort to promote cultural exchange between China and Japan. At the exhibition, there were 400 pieces of Ming and Qing dynasty fan paintings which were on loan from Hashimoto Tatsujirō’s 橋本辰二郎 private collection.

According to the exhibition catalogue, the fan paintings were originally collected by Miyamoto Kō 宮本昂 and his brother Gyokuho 玉甫 of the Qing dynasty in Taizhou 泰州 (modern Shandong 山東). After their death, an art collector Lian 廉 succeeded to ownership of the fan paintings following the brothers’ will. In 1916, the collection came into Hashimoto’s hands and had not been seen by people until this


35 *Min Shin Shunga Shūsui 明清俊画集粹* (Tokyo: Tōa Kenkyūkai Shuppanbu 東亜研究会出版部, 1928). This rather deluxe exhibition catalogue (38 x 54 cm) contains pictures of 48 selected works and brief biographies of the artists.

36 I could not identify whether the Miyamoto brothers are Japanese or Chinese. If they are Japanese, their name may be Miyamoto Kō and Gyokuho. If they were Chinese, they would be called Gong Benang and Yufu.

37 Except for his surname, the detail of Lian 廉 is unknown.
exhibition. There were several pieces by Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680) (Figure 1), Wang Jian 王鑑 (1598-1677), Yun Ge 悽格 (Yun Shouping 悽壽平, 1633-1690) (Figure 2), and Wu Li 吳歷 (1632-1718) (Figure 3) on display. Also, Ming masters including Shen Zhou, Dong Qichang, and Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1523) were featured in the show. Although this was a large-scale exhibition with more than 400 works, the specificity in theme indicates the scholarly aspect of the show. Since it was well-publicized in newspapers, presumably a lot of people came to see the exhibition. However, considering the sponsor’s background and that the works were exhibited for the first time, China-related scholars and artists were also attracted to the exhibit.

It is difficult to summarize the significance of the exhibitions mentioned above. The participation of department stores and other commercial organizations played an important role in making art accessible to everyone. At the same time, the accessibility made art a “commodity” to the audience. From the sponsors’ viewpoint, making art a commodity was part of their aim. On the other hand, scholarly exhibitions sought pure appreciation of Chinese art, especially classical art, and there was a certain exclusiveness of the audience for this kind of exhibition. These two perspectives on Chinese art exhibitions, modern and traditional, directly reflected the differences of concept regarding China between the new group of audience and scholars.
CHAPTER 3

LARGE EXHIBITIONS

In large-scale exhibitions, the scholarly audience and the general public share the same atmosphere and experience of viewing works of art. Usually, those exhibitions are widely publicized in such media as newspapers so that regardless of the background or the specificity of the audience’s interest, the information about the event is available to all people. This factor applies Satō Dōshin’s third condition for exhibitions that “the audience is not limited to a private group but open for many and unspecific persons.” Each individual who comes to see works of art has different interests, different levels of knowledge, different expectations and different impressions of what they see. Also, an exhibition’s organizers and sponsors have varied ideas and conceptions. In this part of my paper, I would like to examine large exhibitions that were open to the broader public, and see how they were organized and viewed by the audience.

In the early modern period, there were a series of Sino-Japanese joint art exhibitions. The starting point for this major event was a proposal from an artist,
Watanabe Shimpo 渡邊晨畝 (1867-1938), for an exhibition in which works of art from both China and Japan would be seen together. In 1918, Watanabe visited China where he saw a number of private collections. During the trip, he was particularly impressed by the collection of Wang Honglu 王鴻陸 of Jinan 濟南 (Shandong), and the Hanmutang Collection 寒木堂 of Yan Shiqing 颜世清 (1871-?), the connoisseur, in Beijing 北京. From his first-hand appreciation of Chinese paintings, he realized that it was necessary for Japanese scholars to study the art of China in order to understand the true meaning of Eastern art.\(^{38}\)

Watanabe's motive for the proposal was purely based on scholarly and artistic enthusiasm. In order to realize his plan, however, there was a need for support from the authorities. Watanabe gave his proposal to Yan Shiqing, Jin Cheng 金城 (1876-1926), and Wang Kemin 王克敏 (1873-1945), who were important figures in China culturally as well as politically. Yan was an owner of the famous Hanmutong Collection that Watanabe had an opportunity to see when he was in Beijing. Also, he was the head of foreign affairs in Zhili 直隸 (modern Beijing), and the political advisor of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916) and Li Yuanhong 黎元洪 (1861-1928). Jin Cheng worked in the Supreme Court of Justice, and founded the first National

\(^{38}\) Aida Yuen Yuen, Inventing Eastern Art in Japan and China, ca. 1890s to ca. 1930s, p. 86. For the original reference, see Watanabe Shimpo 渡邊晨畝, “Bijutsu no Hōko Shina fu Nisshō Rengō Bijutsu Tenrankai no koto,” 美術の要庁赴日支連合美術展覧会の事 Bijutsu no Nihon 美術の日本, vol. 11, no. 4 (April 1919): 13-19.
Museum in 1912, where he became the first curator. Wang held prestigious positions such as President of the Bank of China and Minister of Finance.\textsuperscript{39}

The initial success of Watanabe's efforts for his plan was marked when \textit{Jiji shimpō} 時事新報\textsuperscript{40} and \textit{Bijutsu geppō} 美術月報\textsuperscript{41} announced that the first Sino-Japanese joint exhibition was planned to take place in the middle of October 1919 for a month at Dianxin palace in Beijing 北京城內電心殿. According to \textit{Bijutsu geppō}, Japanese representatives at this event were Watanabe Shimpo and Araki Jippo 荒木十畝 (1872-1944), and among the other promoters were Masaki Naohiki, Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂 (1873-1957), Kobori Tomoto 小堀顕音 (1864-1931), and Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874-1945), who were strong members of the academic and artistic establishment.

Although the September 20\textsuperscript{th} issue of \textit{Bijutsu geppō} in 1919 announced the exhibition that would open within a month, the exhibition was canceled at the last moment. There were political and practical reasons for this problem. Following the Paris Peace Conference of January 1919, when Japan successfully gained the German special rights in Shandong that many Chinese assumed would revert to China, anti-imperialism and anti-Japanese sentiment broke out in China. The protest reached its peak in the famous May Fourth Movement in Beijing. The Sino-Japanese joint

\textsuperscript{39} Yuen. p. 88.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Jiji shimpō}, 11 June 1919.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Bijutsu geppō}, 1, no. 2 (1919): 42.
exhibition had potential as an opportunity for Japan to restore the relationship by cultural intercourse. However, since the exhibit venue that was originally planned was in Beijing, where Chinese hatred for Japan was furious, the organizers decided not to risk the chance of violence and to wait until 1921. Another reason was because China had never held such a big exhibition before, and did not have a system to organize a large exhibition.

Since “art exhibition” was essentially a Western concept, even Japan at that time did not have a long history on this kind of matter. Therefore, it is understandable under the circumstances that China was not ready to manage the big art exhibition.

Despite the postponement, the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition that had been planned for October 1919 finally took place in 1921. The exhibit opened on November 23rd and ran for eight days in the Europe-America Returned Students’ Association. Details of the exhibited pieces are little known, especially on the Chinese side. About seventy works were brought from Japan and 580 yuan of the amount sold were donated to Chinese charities.

As a successor event to the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition of 1921 held in China, Japan hosted the second joint exhibition in Tokyo in 1922. Sponsored by

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42 These two reasons are from Aida Yuen Yuen’s dissertation, “Investing Eastern Art in Japan and China, ca. 1890s to ca. 1930s.” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999), 90-91.

43 The term “Western-style exhibition” may have been first applied to the event at Yushima seidō 湯島聖堂 in 1874. Furuta Ryō 古田亮, “Nihon no Bijutsu Tenrankai: Sono Kigen to Hattatsu,” 日本の美術展覧会 その起源と発達 Museum 545 (Dec, 1996): 40.

Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai 日華実業協会 (the Sino-Japanese Business Association), this exhibition, called Nikka Rengō Bijutsu Tenrankai 日華連合美術展覽会 (Japan-China Joint Art Exhibition), was held for two weeks in May at a commercial association in Tokyo, called “Tokyo fuchōnai Shōkō Shōreikan 東京府庁内商工奨励館.”45 Because of the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment since the May Fourth Movement, it was necessary for Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai to invest in the reinforcement of the cultural bonds between China and Japan for their own good in business.46 Prior to this event, Japanese promoters such as Kawai Gyokudō, Komuro Suiun, and Araki Jippo, who were all involved in the first Sino-Japanese joint exhibition, as well as some artists, had a meeting in April to discuss how to welcome the Chinese artists who would soon come to Japan to attend the show.47

For this exhibition, more than four hundred paintings were sent from Beijing and Shanghai. The works were available for sale. Japanese buyers, such as members of the Imperial Household Department and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, showed their appreciation of Chinese art by purchasing the works.48

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46 Yuen, p. 93. Also, see Chūō Shinbun 中央新聞 (April 3, 1922).
48 Yuen, p. 93. Also, see Chūgai Shōgyo Shimpō 中外商業新報 (April 24, 1922), and Watanabe Shimpo, “Hushe bangyuekan chuban ganyan jian yi daowei zhuchang zhongri yishu tixie zhe wangyou King Kungpah,” 漢社半月刊出版感言兼以悼慰主唱中日藝術提攜者亡友金拱北, Hushe yuekan 漢社月刊, vol. 11-11: 27.
The exhibition tended to introduce contemporary Chinese art to the Japanese viewer. Although there is no exhibition catalogue, Sakai Saisui’s review provides some highlights on the display. He describes the brushstrokes in Jin Cheng and Chen Shizeng’s (Chen Hengke) landscape as “sensitive,” and remarks that the work of Wang Yun shows both energy and stillness. Tao Rong’s 鳥 鳥 鳥 bird and flower painting in the exhibit was depicted with soft brushstrokes and clear coloring. Tang Di 湯 湯 湯 (1878-1946) and Ma Jin 馬 畢 叔 also contributed their works to the show. Overall, Sakai concluded that the style of Wu Changshi was prominent among the exhibited works. As for Japan’s exhibits, in contrast to the Chinese ones, there was an emphasis on color, instead of lines, which confirmed their mastering of Western influence.

Watanabe Shimpo’s original intention for the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition was purely based on his scholarly interest in studying “Eastern art.” However, the second exhibition held in Japan started to take on some political implications. In terms of diplomatic issues, Sakai Saisui expressed his impression of the show:

It is delightful to prove that Japan is a peaceful and cultural nation. As a diplomatic first step, this cultural publicity improved our country’s position in the world, which is at stake because of a misunderstanding that Japan has lust for conquest.

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51 Sakai, “Furansu Gendai Bijutsu to Nikka Rengō Bijutsu no tenkan,”: 1.
From the quote, it seems that the artistic purpose of this exhibition that Watanabe first imagined had disappeared. Nevertheless, judging from the works on display, the show had an impact on Japanese artists and enthusiastic viewers, and also gave the general public who visited the exhibit a chance to see the current movement of Chinese art.

In 1923, as another effort in the cultural rapprochement toward China, Chū-Nichi Bijutsu Club 中日美術倶楽部 (China-Japan Art Club), which was established in 1920, initiated their plan to build a headquarters in Shanghai. According to one report, on August 8, 1923, the director of the Club, Ishino Tetsuhiro 石野哲弘, organized a meeting to discuss this matter. As a result, the established yoga artist Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866-1906) became an advisor of the project for the Japanese side, and committee members were the president of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Masaki Naohiko, and academic artists such as Kawai Gyokudō, Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868-1958), Kobori Tomoto, Asakura Fumio 朝倉文夫 (1883-1964) and others. A financial estimate for the new office, 300,000 yuan, would be invested with support from Nikka Jitsugyō Kyōkai. The building would be a place to exhibit Chinese and Japanese art from the ancient to the modern periods, as well a social facility for people of the two countries.\(^{52}\)

\(^{52}\) Asahi Shinbun (August 9, 1923).
The third Sino-Japanese joint exhibition was supposed to have been held in China in the autumn of 1923. However, because of the disastrous earthquake that Tokyo suffered on the first day of September in 1923, this plan was postponed until the next year. In 1924, the third joint exhibition was opened at the Beijing Central Park on April 24th and lasted for a week. More than five hundred paintings from China and Japan were on display. This time, the display was much more sophisticated and well-organized compared to the previous exhibits. Komuro Suiun, Araki Jippo, Watanabe Shimpo, and others visited Beijing as a representative from Japan. After the exhibition was closed, Jin Cheng and the Japanese visitors went on a sightseeing trip to Zhejiang.

The Kantō earthquake had a significant positive impact on Sino-Japanese relationships across artistic circles. Around this time, as the joint exhibition became a standard practice of the Sino-Japanese relationship, the concept of goodwill through art gradually started to prevail among art circles. After the earthquake in 1923, the prominent political thinker, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), who was the president of Nisshi Bijutsu Kyōkai 日支美術協会 (Japan-China Art Association), a Shanghai-based association of Chinese and Japanese art, proposed a charitable exhibition for disaster relief. The exhibition was held in Chiba 千葉, the hometown

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54 Shen Bao 申報 (April 25, 1924).
of Ishino Tetsuhiro, a member of the association. The show was well-received and a considerable amount of money was donated to help Tokyo’s reconstruction. As a part of their promotion of the Sino-Japanese artistic exchange, this art group began to publish a magazine called *Nisshi Bijutsu* 日支美術 in April 1924.\(^5\)

An influential individual, Wang Yiting 王一亭 (Wang Zhen 王震, 1867-1938), known as an accomplished artist, a successful businessman, and a philanthropist, played an important role as a member of the Disaster Relief Committee to raise more than 180,000 yuan for Tokyo.\(^6\) Also, soon after the earthquake, Wang Yiting generously made a donation of paintings that he owned to Japan.\(^7\) He was highly appreciated in Japan, and throughout his life, he played a significant role in terms of Chinese and Japanese friendship.

It is worth noting that the Japanese government supported art educators of both China and Japan for their artistic exchange. On February 8, 1926, Wang Jiyuan, a professor of Shanghai Art Academy 上海美術専門学校, Xue Zhen 薛珍 of Shanghai Fourth Normal Art Academy 上海第四師範藝術専門学校, Yang Qingqing 楊清馨 of Jiangsu Fifth Normal School Art Department 江蘇第五師範美術科, Teng Gu 滕固 of Shanghai National University 上海國民大學, and Zhang

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\(^{56}\) Yuen, p. 98. See also Nishihama Kazuo 西浜一男, *Yūkō no Kane: Ō Ittei Sensei no I toku o Shinonde* 友好の鐘：王一亭先生の遺徳を偲んで (Tokyo, 1983).

\(^{57}\) *Asahi Shinbun* (November 24, 1928).
Yong 張蔚 of Jiangsu Province First Women’s Normal School Art Department 江蘇省第一女子師範藝術科 arrived in Tokyo.\(^{58}\) Their purpose in visiting Japan for two weeks was to study Japanese art, especially Western style painting, and to exchange ideas with Japanese art educators and artists. During their stay, Okabe Nagakage 岡部長景 (1884-1970) of Taishi Bunka Jigyōbu 対支文化事業部 (The section for Cultural Matters toward China) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted a welcome party for the Chinese guests at Kazoku Kaikan 華族会館 (Peer Hall).\(^{59}\) Masaki Naohiko, Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867-1943), and Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882-1958) were invited to the gathering.

Taishi Bunka Jigyōbu was a department that was founded in 1923 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for cultural diplomacy toward China and was funded by the reparations that the government received from the Boxer movement. Since the May Fourth Movement of 1919, an anti-Japanese mood continued to increase among the Chinese people. Taishi Bunka Jigyōbu was a way to calm down the anti-Japanese sentiment by promoting cultural exchange and cultivating understanding between China and Japan. The new department was modeled after the same kind of policy in the United States.\(^{60}\)

\(^{58}\) *Asahi Shinbun* (February 9, 1926).

Saikin ni okeru Eunka Jigyō no Gaikyō 最近ニ於ケル文化事業ノ概況 (A General Condition of Recent Cultural Matters) published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1928 tells us about specific affairs that were carried out for the cultural aspect of an association with China. There are mainly four matters. Firstly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a system to support Chinese students to study in Japan. The students were affiliated with universities such as Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku 東京帝国大学 (Tokyo Imperial University), Kyoto Teikoku Daigaku 京都帝国大学 (Kyoto Imperial University), Tohoku Teikoku Daigaku 東北帝国大学 (Tohoku Imperial University), and others, and they did advanced studies in medicine, engineering, biology, philosophy, etc. Also, there were facilities in Japan and China for Chinese students to study Japanese language before they started scholarly studies in Japan. Secondly, there was financial support for Japanese private and public cultural facilities. The budget was allotted to Japanese schools in Qingtao 青島, Tōa Dōbinkai 東亜同文会, Dōjinkai 同仁会 62, and Nikka Gakkai 日華学会. Thirdly, support was provided for Japanese and Chinese scholars to go on study tours. For instance, from Japan, Watanabe Shimpo, Masaki Naohiko, and Kitaura Daisuke 北浦


61 Gaimushō Bunka Jigyōbu 外務省文化事業部, Saikin ni okeru Bunka Jigyō no Gaikyō 最近ニ於ケル文化事業ノ概況 (1928).

62 Tōa Dōbinkai, the predecessor of Kazankai 霞山会, served to promote the education of both the Chinese and Japanese people for mutual understanding. Dojinkai was established in 1902 to promote goodwill by diffusing Japanese modern medicine in China.
大介 went to China to see the contemporary Chinese art environment. There were also inspecting parties for education, literature, politics, economics, etc. Similarly, Chinese scholars had opportunities to visit Japan to deepen their research interests. Lastly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs furthered Japanese Sinologists' research projects and compilations. Hattori Unokichi, one of the most accomplished scholars of literature, received 9,000 yen for a collaborative project with Beijing University professors to publish dictionaries and catalogues of Chinese literature. More importantly, this part of funding was also applied to the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions.

In 1926, the fourth Sino-Japanese joint exhibition was held in Japan. This was sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a part of the Taishi Bunka Jigyōbu project. The exhibition was held between June 18th and June 30th at the Tokyo Bunka Bijutsukan (Tokyo Municipal Museum). Then, the show traveled to Osaka for viewing at Nakanoshima Chūō Kōkaidō (Nakanoshima Central Public Hall) from July 7th until July 11th. While only 90 works of Japanese paintings appeared on display, the Chinese side brought 376 paintings to the show for the purpose of publicizing their art to the Japanese audience.

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63 Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengō Tenrankai Zuroku 第四回日華絵畫聯合展覽會圖錄 (Tokyo: Tōhō Kaiga Kyōkai, 1926).

64 Asahi Shinbun (June 20, 1926).
The exhibition catalogue that was published allows us to examine concrete choices of works and the characteristics of the show for the first time in the Sino-Japanese exhibitions. Based on the artists’ backgrounds and status, Aida Yuen Yuen attempted to categorize those paintings into four groups:

1) paintings by the organizers
2) paintings by established artists
3) paintings by artists in the circle of left-over Qing aristocrats
4) paintings by lesser known or younger artists

The first group includes Jin Cheng (Figure 4), and Zhou Zhaoxiang (Figure 5) from China, and Watanabe Shimpō (Figure 6) from Japan. The already accomplished painters such as Wu Changshi (Figure 7), Qi Baishi (Figure 8), Wang Yiting (Figure 9), Yokoyama Taikan (Figure 10), and Komuro Suiun (Figure 11) fall into the second category. Pu Jin 溥伒 (1879-1966) (Figure 12) and Chen Baochen 陳寶琛 (1848-1935) (Figure 13) who have aristocratic backgrounds are included in the third group. The last category represents the majority of the painters in the exhibition.

The overall tendency of Chinese paintings shown is that most works are executed in a traditional manner with ink and brush. In terms of subject matter, landscape paintings are the largest portion of the display. Bird-and-flower and figure paintings also can be seen, especially among the women painters. The Chinese artists successfully manifested their mastering of tradition and respect for old art to the Japanese viewers.

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65 Yuen, p. 103.
However, the choice of work that so much focused on painting in the traditional manner and neglected other type of work, including oil painting, is a complicated issue. For the Chinese art community, Japan had become a favorable market for their work, particularly for guohua painters. In the previous joint-exhibitions, paintings were for sale, and Japanese buyers were willing to pay high prices for yet unknown artists such as Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1863-1957). 66 Also, a lot of Japanese intellectuals who would buy Chinese paintings had a thorough knowledge of Chinese culture and history, and the appreciation for traditional painting manifested their higher education and sophistication. Nishihara Kamezō 西原亀三 (1872-1954), a prominent businessman and a politician, wrote in his diary of June 18, 1926 that he visited the fourth Sino-Japanese joint exhibition and bought a hanging scroll painted by Wu Zhongxiong 呉仲熊. In his diary, with his knowledge of Chinese history, he expressed a great admiration for that painting. 67 At first hand, Japan had a possible prosperous soil for Chinese artists in terms of reaching the art market. In order to interest Japanese buyers, the guohua paintings in traditional themes were convenient commodities. Selecting certain types of works for display, this group within the Chinese art community chose a path that was easily accepted by the Japanese

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66 Yuen, p. 93.

67 Yamamoto Shirō 山本四郎, ed. Nishihara Kamezō Nikki 西原亀三日記 (Kyoto: Kyoto Joshi Daigaku, 1983), 393.
audience. Needless to say, this reinforced a stereotype of “Chinese art” in Japan, but in this respect, they made the choice for their own good.

This fourth exhibition had a truly huge impact on introducing Chinese art to the general public in Japan. The exhibition brought Chinese art to the attention of a great number of people. In fact, 3,500 visitors came to see the show solely on June 20th, 1926.68 Presumably, the audience, from educated to common people, viewed the paintings shown there in various ways. For the general public, although it is difficult to document how they saw it, they would have appreciated China’s tradition, while at the same time seeing the guohua paintings that no longer fit the norm of modern Japan, they may have seen China as completely “other.”

Scholars and artistic circles in Japan experienced this whole event quite differently from the general public. There were a lot of highly sophisticated exchanges of ideas between the Japanese and the Chinese who visited Japan. Jin Cheng, Li Wuhu 李五湖, Wang Xiaoshan 王小山, Wu Zhongxiong, and Wang Jimei 王季眉 arrived at Tokyo Station on June 8th in 1926, and Jin Kaifan 金開藩 joined the group later.69 During their stay in Japan, they saw a number of Japanese private collections of Chinese art, visited Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and consulted on the founding of Tōhō Kaiga Kyōkai 東方絵画協会 (Oriental Art Association) with Japanese scholars. Also, Yokoyama Taikan, a famous Nihonga painter, hosted a

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69 Asahi Shinbun (June 8, 1926).
welcome party for the Chinese guests. On the occasion with Chinese artists, Japanese scholars expressed their admiration for Chinese art. One of the most significant results in the cooperation was to establish Tōhō Kaiga Kyōkai. The aim of this association is summarized in the passage from The Year Book of Japanese Art:

This Association was organized in 1926, and its object is to bring the artists of Japan and China together with a view to the study and development of Oriental art. In addition to sponsoring art exhibitions, which are held in China and Japan on alternative years, it undertakes to promote intercourse and exchange of ideas between the artists of the two countries.

This organization was promising to secure the future plans of the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions, and to solidify the project. In fact, it is worth mentioning that Tōhō Kaiga Kyōkai published the first exhibition catalogue, which gives us a significant overall view of the exhibit.

Although the nature of this exhibition originally had a scholarly orientation, as Watanabe Shimpo proposed, the event shifted from one scholar’s enthusiasm to a government-involved matter. As I mentioned above, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan sponsored the exhibition. After Taishi Bunka Jigyōbu was established, the government made a lot of efforts to consolidate the cultural relationship with China, because the Foreign Minister of that time Shidehara Kijūrō 旖原喜重郎 (1872-1951) believed in the principle of “coexistence and coprosperity” to secure Japan’s

economic interests in China. On the other hand, a domestic impact of this exhibition, especially for the non-scholar viewers who comprised the majority of the audience, turned out to not be “coexistence and coprosperity.” The display of the Chinese guohua paintings to the Japanese audience signified double-edged application. On one side, it was a great gesture of rapprochement between the two countries, through promoting the appreciation of the Chinese tradition. However, it is questionable whether the Japanese viewers saw the paintings by contemporary artists as “contemporary art.” Rather, the works may have been seen as remains from the great East Asian past. As a result, this exhibition implanted an impression to the Japanese that China was not as modernized as Japanese society. This implication appeared to be even stronger in the following exhibition.

The fifth exhibition, realized in 1928, was distinctively different from the previous ones. The exhibited works this time were only Chinese paintings of the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, with some Qing dynasty pieces as a reference. In the previous events by contrast, there were both Chinese and Japanese paintings by contemporary artists on display in the previous events. The exhibition called “Shina Komeiga Tenrankai” 支那古名画展覧会 (Exhibition of Famous Ancient Paintings from China), supported by Tōhō Bunka Jigyōbu of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the China legation, Japanese art collectors and artists, and Asahi Shinbunsha, took place at Tokyofu Bijutsukan and Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan 東京帝室博物館

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72 Yuen, p. 100.
(Tokyo Imperial Museum) from November 24th through December 20th. About five hundred paintings from private collections in China and Japan and sixty-three national treasures were exhibited at Tokyofu Bijutsukan and Teishitsu Hakubutsukan, respectively.  

About twenty Chinese guests were invited to the opening ceremony at Tokyofu Bijutsukan. One of the organizers, Masaki Naohiko, the Chinese minister Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, Minister of Agriculture Yamamoto Teijirō, and Wang Yiting spoke to the audience there. Yamamoto Teijirō was one of the most prominent Chinese art collectors and a lender of some excellent works for this show. Wang Yiting’s contribution to the event was enormous. He was responsible for bringing about one hundred twenty paintings that were insured for 660,000 yen to Japan.  

On the occasion of this exhibition Wang Yiting also donated about 200 pieces from his art collection to Shinsai Kinen Jigyō Kyōkai 震災記念事業協会 (Earthquake Memorial Association) in Tokyo. The paintings he donated would be open to the public for viewing to raise funds for the organization. Not only this donation, but after the earthquake of 1923, Wang contributed works of art and money to help handle the natural disasters.  

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73 Tō Sō Gen Min Meiga Taikan 唐宋元明名画大覧 vol. 1 (Tokyo: Ōtsuka Kōgeisha, 1929). See the introductory essay by Masaki Naohiko.  

74 Asahi Shinbun (November 19, 1928).  

75 Asahi Shinbun (November 24, 1928).
There were some notable peculiarities about the fifth exhibition. According to the original idea of the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition, the event would take place alternately each year in China and Japan, and Japan was once again the location for the show of 1928. Also, as I described above, only Chinese so-called classical paintings were shown. Previously, the events were “joint” exhibitions because both Chinese and Japanese works were on display. However, at this time, the sense of “joint” was limited to the organizational aspect. The sponsor on the Chinese side was Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 (1887-1975), leader of the newly established Nanjing government. It was Watanabe Shimpo who approached him for help to organize the exhibition. Due to the anti-Japanese fever that broke out following the Jinan Massacre of 1928, it became impossible to include Chinese national treasures in the show. According to Yuen, although this cooperation with Japan was contrary to the popular mood in China, it gave Chiang Kai-shek an opportunity to rival the communists because the exhibition of Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming paintings fitted in with the idea of evoking Confucianism and Chinese tradition.76

Since Watanabe could not manage to bring Chinese national treasures to Japan, the works from China shown in the fifth exhibition were from various private collections. Nevertheless, about five hundred pieces were put together for display. However, having trouble with the loan of Chinese national treasures, the show was “disappointing” in the quality of the works brought from China, compared with

76 Yuen, pp. 117-119.
Japanese collections. Among famous works from China were Zhou Fang’s 周昉 (ca. 730-ca. 800) Tang dynasty figure painting (Figure 14), Wang Yansou’s 王延秀 hand scroll of a plum tree (Figure 15), and Liu Songnian’s 劉松年 (ca. 1150-after 1225) Song dynasty landscape painting (Figure 16). The prominent artists were Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (Zhao Songxue 趙松雪, 1254-1322) (Figure 17) and Xu Zhen 許震 (Figure 18) from the Yuan dynasty, Tang Yin (Figure 19) and Chen Hongshou 陳洪绶 (1598-1652) (Figure 20) from the Ming dynasty. This exhibition was unquestionably a chance for the Japanese to prove the excellence of their Chinese art collections, which had been appreciated long into the past. Acclaimed works of great masters such as Liang Kai 梁楷 (active 13th century), Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active before 1189-after 1225), Xia Gui 夏珪 (active early 13th century), Muqi, Shen Zhou, and Dong Qichang were exhibited from the Japanese private collections and the national treasures. Regarding Japan’s excellent collection, *The Year Book of Japanese Art* explains:

China gradually lost her priceless art treasures through the civil wars which so frequently ravaged her country. The fact that the copying of masterpieces was looked upon as indispensable to the study of art may, in some instance, have resulted in copies being handed down as originals, moreover, that the making counterfeit paintings was extensively carried on comes from mercenary motives.  


78 *The Year Book of Japanese Art* 1928, p. 72.
Despite some reluctance on the exhibits from China, it was still an incredible occasion especially for the general public to view Chinese art that was acquired by Japanese private collectors. Some Japanese private collectors who contributed to this exhibition were barons, counts, or marquis. Although the works had been in Japan for a long time, presumably there were few occasions for the general public to see them. Also, it is worth noting that two volumes of an exhibition catalogue “Tō Sō Gen Min Meiga Taikan” 唐宋元明名画大覧 (Great Viewing of Tang Song Yuan Ming Painting) that was published was for sale, whereas the catalogue of the last exhibition was not, but was provided only for a limited community who were involved with this event. Therefore, in a way, it was a meaningful event because Chinese art that was only viewed by limited audience such as aristocrats and scholars was shared by other people who did not have access to it.

In contrast to the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions, an art exhibition that was organized by the Chinese authorities provides a different viewpoint in terms of the choice of works displayed. From April 30 of 1929, there was an exhibition called National Art Exhibition sponsored by the Ministry of Education 教育部全国美術展览会 in Shanghai. It was Liu Haisu’s 刘海粟 (1896-1994) idea that China needed to cultivate eyes and appreciation for art by having opportunities for art exhibitions.


80 Liu Haisu is a guohua and oil painter who studied in Europe and Japan. He organized a contemporary guohua painting exhibition in Berlin in 1934. He promoted art exhibitions since he felt the need to modernize the Chinese art world.
Although the show was originally planned for February 1929, it was postponed. But with the efforts of Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), who advocated the importance of art education, the exhibition materialized in April.\textsuperscript{81} This large-scale exhibition would be an example of how the Chinese art world categorized and dealt with its art compared with the Japanese view of Chinese art.

A total of more than 10,000 pieces of art were displayed at the site in Shanghai. Those works were divided into seven sections; Chinese painting, metal and stone works, Western-style painting, sculpture, architecture, crafts, and photography. The biggest section was Chinese painting, which contained 1,231 pieces. It is worth mentioning that 354 works of Western-style paintings were on display.\textsuperscript{82} Although Chinese paintings were the majority, considering the neglect of Chinese-made Western-style paintings in Japanese-organized exhibitions, the number of exhibited works indicates the growing significance of Western-style paintings in China. When we compare these exhibitions, it is clear that the classification of Chinese art was oversimplified in exhibitions held in Japan. Since there was emphasis on displaying classical-style paintings, it seemed to the Japanese audience that only traditional paintings were practiced in China. As this show was divided into seven sections, there were wide ranges of medium included within the definition of art in China.

\textsuperscript{81} Tsuruta, PP. 24-26.

\textsuperscript{82} Tsuruta, p. 26.
More than 100 paintings were brought to the exhibition from Japan, including Ishii Hakutei (Figure 21), Umehara Ryūzaburō (Figure 22), and Wada Eisaku, 和田英作 (1874-1959) (Figure 23). Their works are oil paintings depicting human figures in various styles. In terms of the impression of these works, Michael Sullivan describes, “The presence of works by these Japanese artists made painfully clear how far the Chinese oil painters still had to go.” In Japan at that time, not only oil paintings but also Nihonga was enthusiastically practiced among artists. But by bringing oil paintings into China for display, Japan oversimplified their own art in order to display their modernity.

On November 11, 1929, under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition opened in Shanghai for a two-week showing. The exhibited works were contemporary paintings both from China and Japan similar to the first four joint exhibitions. Two hundred foremost paintings from Japan and the total of over four hundred paintings were displayed. Most likely, the organization of the exhibition went back to the original scheme. Asahi Shinbun reported this event as an “unprecedented large-scale painting exhibition.” One of the Japanese representatives, Nihonga artist Araki Jippo who attended the opening in Shanghai,

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83 Meizhan Tekan 美展特刊 (Shanghai: Zhengyishe, 1929).
85 Asahi Shinbun (September 18, October 26, 1929).
86 Asahi Shinbun (October 26, 1926).
was so impressed that he said, “This is the first time to exhibit such a great number of Nihonga paintings in a foreign country. It will be an enormous stimulus for the Chinese art community.” After the show in Shanghai, the paintings were brought to Fengtian 奉天 and exhibited at the Fengtian Palace under the support of Mantetsu 滿鉄 from December 3rd for three days.

As a successor event to the 1928 joint exhibition at Tokyofu Bijutsukan, “Nikka Rengō Kokin Kaiga Tenrankai 日華連合古今絵画展覧会 (Japan-China Joint Old and New Painting Exhibition)” was held in the spring of 1931 in Tokyo and Osaka. In Tokyo, the exhibition was opened at Tokyofu Bijutsukan from April 28th until May 20th. Then, it traveled to Osaka at Osakafuritsu Bōekikan 大阪府立貿易館 (Osaka Municipal Trade Hall), and held a show from May 23rd to 31st. Similar to the previous exhibition of 1928, this event was widely publicized through such media as newspapers, and drew the attention of many people.

Prior to the exhibition, Masaki Noahiko went on a trip to China in January 1931. He traveled to Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Suzhou to see a number of Chinese

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87 Asahi Shinbun (November 2, 1929).

88 An abbreviation for Minami Manshū Tetsudo Gaisha (南満州鉄道会社, Manchurian Railway Company). With the victory of the Russo-Japanese war, Japan succeeded to a railroad concession in Manchuria from Russia. Mantetsu is a semi-governmental company which played an important role for aggression in the Manchurian area until the end of World War II.

89 Asahi Shinbun (December 5, 1929) According to some accounts, the secondary exhibition was to be held in Dalian. There is no trace of the event in Dalian; but instead, the location for the exhibition seems to have changed to Fengtian, according to my research.
art collections. During the trip, he met Wang Yiting and discussed the upcoming exhibition in Tokyo with him.⁹⁰

Just before the opening, some of art works that would be in the show could not leave Shanghai and Tianjin, because the Chinese government did not allow the loans because of the antique preservation law. The paintings that were in Shanghai included Zhang Xueliang’s 張學良 (1901-2001) private collection.⁹¹ With the guarantee of returning the art works after the show and persuasion by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese minister Wang Rongbao, the works finally left both from Shanghai and Tianjin by April 23rd.⁹²

According to Sakanishi Rihachirō 坂西利八郎 (1870-1950), who was one of the representatives of the Japanese side on this event, this joint exhibition was meant to be “an extension of the Tang, Song, Yuan, [and] Ming painting exhibition”⁹³ of 1928. However, there were slight differences. The exhibited works were mainly Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing paintings borrowed from China and Japan but some contemporary pieces such as Wang Yiting, Di Chuqing 狄楚青, Zhang Shanzhi 張善孖 (1895-1943), Wang Yingbin 王英賓, and Li Zuhan 李祖韓⁹⁴ were also included.

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⁹¹ Asahi shinbun (April 28, 1931). Masaki extolled Zhang Xueliang’s collection, especially a painting by Shen Shitian 沈石田 (Shen Zhou 沈周).


⁹³ Asahi Shinbun (January 18, 1931).
Although only Chinese art was displayed in 1928, Japanese works were exhibited at this time. There was more variety in exhibits compared to the 1928 show.

The day before the opening, Wang Yiting arrived in Tokyo with his wife, and brought some of the paintings for the exhibition. Wang, who worked with the Japanese as a businessman and had a profound understanding of Japan, was one of the major contributors for a realization of this event. In addition to Wang, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Zhengting 王正廷, and Dai Tianqiu 戴天仇 comprised the Chinese side of organizers. From Japan, Masaki Naohiko, Kawai Gyokudō, and Watanabe Shimpo were involved in planning the exhibition.\(^{95}\)

At the opening ceremony, Kiyoura Keigo, the chairman of the exhibition, and Wang Rongbao, the honorable chairman, gave addresses. Also, there were appearances of representatives from the Japanese government, and Chinese contributors from each region such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Hangzhou, Fentian, and Dalian.\(^{96}\) In 1918 when Watanabe Shimpo visited China, he was inspired by the idea of the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition by private collections in Jinan and Beijing. Now, art works were brought from various places in China. Especially, Japan’s interest in northern China, which indicated the new degree of relationship with the continent, reflected the choice of exhibited works.

\(^{94}\) *Young Companion*, no. 59 (July, 1931), p. 22.

\(^{95}\) *Asahi Shinbun* (October 12, 1930).

\(^{96}\) Masaki, vol. 2, p. 848.
This seventh exhibition would be the last one before the Manchurian Incident of 1931. Throughout the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions, there were scholarly views at the foundation, advocating displaying Chinese art as Watanabe Shimpo had in the beginning. In order to organize such a large-scale show, the government supported and also interfered with its political interests. However, the greatest impact of the whole event concerned the general public, because it was the first opportunity for ordinary citizens to view Chinese art that was mostly in private collections. The majority of the work that they saw was so-called “traditional painting.” Presumably, the show did not function very well to cultivate a broad understanding of Chinese art of that time. Instead, in those paintings, the audience saw China as a great culture from the past. At the same time, along with the enormous exhibitions and their power of publicity, there was a phenomenon of popularizing Chinese art. It is rather difficult to define whether this change in the view of Chinese art was beneficial to the Chinese and Japanese. On the Chinese side, the exhibitions were successful at the commercial level. It is still doubtful whether it gave the Japanese audience a chance to comprehend Chinese art as the scholars did. As an institution of Manshūkoku 満州

97 In Masaki’s diary (April 6, 1934), there is a trace of planning on the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition for May 1934. However, I could not find any documentation that proves the plan was realized. Therefore, it would be safe to say that the Sino-Japanese joint exhibition ended with the seventh show in 1931.

98 Also, Andrews and Shen point out that art exhibitions gave guohua painters opportunities to demonstrate their group identity as traditionalist, and to resist the wave of Western culture which prevailed in China. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, “Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: The Chinese Women’s Calligraphy and Painting Society” Modern Chinese Literature and Culture vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 1-29.
the Japanese government started a series of Nichi-Man Rengō Bijutsu Tenrankai 日满連合美術展覽会 (Japan-Manchuria Joint Art Exhibition). Since I deal with exhibitions up to 1931, I will not attempt further inquiry on the Japan-Manchuria joint exhibition in this paper.

Throughout this series of enormous exhibitions, there was a tendency to display Chinese traditional manner paintings to the Japanese audience. As I mentioned at the beginning, Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan reflected an attempt to find Japan’s self-identity as a modern nation and as tōyō. Chinese paintings in the exhibitions helped to confirm the two contrary states that Japan sought in themselves. Showing traditional paintings from China implanted the impression that China was not a modern country, and that Japan was more civilized in the Western sense. On the other side of Japanese mentality, there was an appreciation of Chinese art and the belief that Japan stood in the same excellent lineage. Therefore, the homage to the Chinese tradition signified the greatness of tōyō, while Japan could recognize itself as modern.

Besides the Sino-Japanese joint exhibitions, there was a Chinese painting exhibition that drew a number of people’s attention. Chūka Bijutsu tearankai 中華美術展覧会 (Chinese Art Exhibition) was held at Asahi Shinbunsha 5th floor gallery in July 1927. About 200 pieces by contemporaries such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao 林鶴超, as well as works by old masters were brought to Japan by Liu Haisu
and Wang Jiuyan. Since both Liu and Wang were devoted to the development of Chinese art in modern terms, it was meaningful that they introduced Chinese contemporary art, especially oil paintings, to the Japanese audience. For the Japanese, this was almost the first time to take a close look at Chinese oil paintings. As mentioned, there were about 200 paintings on display. This is a significant number of exhibited paintings for a non-government-sponsored exhibition. As *Asahi Shinbun* reported this event as “a novel exhibition,” the mixture of old and new, the West and the East, which one hardly found in government-related shows, provided a new view of Chinese art to the general public in Japan. In fact, the exhibition was so popular that it extended the exhibition period for three days until July 13 upon many requests.

Since there were not a lot of privately organized exhibitions that contained a large number of works, and it is difficult to find information in this regard, I only discussed one particular event at *Asahi Shinbunsha*. Although we cannot presently provide sufficient material for a generalization, the government-free exhibition presumably could attempt experiments, or greater variety in terms of choice of works, and might not fall into political ideology. The government-sponsored exhibitions were able to attract people’s attention because of the great publicity and the enormousness in its scale. Although the scale of Asahi Shinbun’s show did not reach

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99 *Asahi Shinbun* (July 2, 1927).

100 *Asahi Shinbun* (July 2, 1927).

101 *Asahi Shinbun* (July 10, 1927).
that of the government’s joint exhibitions, the degree of attention from the public was equally significant. It seems that there may have been growing interest in new aspects of Chinese art among some Japanese. The eyes and consciousness of Japanese people towards Chinese art were educated enough to accept “novelty.” It is necessary to do more research on large-scale exhibitions sponsored by private organizations in order to confirm this assumption. However, it is almost certain that those exhibitions played an important role in cultivating a new level of Japanese audience.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In the early modern period, the relationship between China and Japan in terms of artistic exchanges had some peculiarity. Japan’s interests in Chinese art was turned towards art of the past, and they paid limited attention to that of their contemporaries. Miyagawa Torao 宮川寅雄 (1908-) describes this relationship as “not a healthy exchange”\(^\text{102}\) because of Japan’s lack of interest in contemporary Chinese culture.

In this paper, I have examined various Chinese art exhibitions held in Japan up to 1931. It is evident that the Japanese attitude towards Chinese culture that one can find in those exhibitions was problematic. Generally, it is believed that Japan went through a successful modernizing process. However, it is questionable whether the cultural shift to modernization was such a success. The Japanese were aware of the importance of acknowledging that they were culturally a part of Asia. At the same time, however, the force towards the modernization pulled Japan in a different

direction. To Japan, China was a reference to measure their progress as a modern nation and also as tōyō. This juxtaposition of two opposed ideologies was unreasonable. Therefore, the display of Chinese art in exhibitions was somehow distorted before the Japanese audience.

Through my investigation of the Chinese art exhibitions, I attempted to answer the question of how those exhibitions affected the views of different audiences. For the scholarly audience, who thoroughly understood that the root of Japanese tradition was derived from China, China was still very much an object of appreciation. The concept of tōyō, as Shiratori describes, “represented the hope that a peaceful and harmonious ideal would be reached through an oriental civilization that preserved loyalty, harmony, and communality.” My assumption is that over the modernization and westernization of Japan, this audience was aware that Japan was losing the quality of tōyō, which is why they were eager to find the sensitivities to admire Chinese culture within them. That is to say, the Chinese art exhibitions were for them an act of settling and reinforcing the idea of tōyō.

On the other hand, through Chinese art exhibitions, the general public found China being Shina. Japan’s national mentality towards China in the first half of the twentieth century can be signified by the rather insulting word, Shina. Therefore, I would like to say with fair certainty that the Chinese art exhibitions played a part in directing people to perceive China as Shina. The emphasis on the traditional aspects of the exhibits conveyed the backwardness of China to the audience. Needless to say,

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103 Tanaka, p. 19.
the majority of the audience consisted of this group of people. The message of China being unchanging may have been subtle, but it penetrated into the audience directly through the visual images.

It is easy to criticize the political incorrectness of the Chinese art exhibitions, especially for us who look at those events as a history, and for me who received my postwar education in Japan. However, considering the currents of that time, it was an inevitable pitfall for the nature of the exhibitions. Because of the potential of visual arts to influence people, the importance of researching the history of exhibitions has increased in recent years. I believe that the study of this subject will be a provision for the development of art exhibitions in the future.
APPENDIX A

FIGURES
Figure 1: Wang Shimin, *Landscape*, from *Min Shin Shunga Shusu*
Figure 2: Yun Ge (Yun Shoupings), *Poenies*, from *Min Shin Shunga Shusui*
Figure 3: Wu Li, *Landscape*, from *Min Shin Shunga Shusui*
Figure 4: Jin Cheng, *Landscape*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 5: Zhou Zhaoxiang, Landscape, from Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku
Figure 6: Watanabe Shimo, Peacock, from Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankan Zuroku
Figure 7: Wu Changshi, *Peonies*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 8: Qi Baishi, *Budaoweng*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 9: Wang Yiting, *Old Tree and Birds*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 10: Yokoyama Taikan, *Weasel*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 11: Komuro Suiun, Landscape, from Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku
Figure 12: Pu Jin, Landscape, from Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku
Figure 13: Chen Baochen, *Pine Tree*, from *Dai 4-kai Nikka Kaiga Rengo Tenrankai Zuroku*
Figure 14: Zhou Fang, *Ladies Listening to the Koto*, from *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 15: Wang Yansou, *Plum Tree*, from *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 16: Liu Songnian, *Landscape*, from *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 17: Zhao Mengfu (Zhao Songxue), Douchatu, from To *So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 18: Xu Zhen, *Zhongli Quan*, from *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 20: Chen Hongshou, *Landscape*, from *To So Gen Min Meiga Taikan*
Figure 21: Ishii Hakutei, *Girls Playing Game*, from *Meizhan Tekan*
Figure 22: Umehara Ryūzaburō, *Woman with Fan*, from *Meizhan Tekan*
Figure 23: Wada Eisaku, *Nude*, from *Meizhan Tekan*
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