



# Post-Impressionism: Universal, British, Global

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## Post-Impressionism as a Style

A tree stands silhouetted against the dusky sky (plate 1). Bereft of leaves, the branches are picked out by single fluid strokes of the brush, and at their higher points seem to blend mist-like into the cloud behind. To the right and below, the leaves of another tree and tufts of tall grass are picked out again stroke by stroke, forming patterns of upward fans or sprays that flatten out against the picture plane even as they suggest some feature of the landscape before us. Elsewhere details shift and flow into one another, with straight edges only hinting at objects with an almost geometrical structure – a cow? a building? a set of fields? – so that there is no chance of a viewer looking ‘in’ to fix on any one object or area. All has the appearance of being painted freely and fast, with fluid brushwork laid across still-wet paint below.

Could this be the kind of painting Clement Greenberg had in mind when, looking back on having travelled the world to spread the good news about modernist painting in the 1960s and 1970s, he talked of a standard international style that had formed by 1910, and that persisted as if modern art had found a natural end point?<sup>1</sup>

[T]he Fauve way of painting – alla prima, no underpainting, no glazing, and so forth – became the lingua franca by 1910. In South America when I was there in '64, the best painting I saw was not the hot shot modernist stuff but landscape and figures done in the essence of the Fauve manner. Like all *alla prima* painting, it was Fauve. And the same thing in Japan. Their efforts to do Western painting weren't so hot except when they went Fauve. I should have written about that. And when painters around here [in Canada] and elsewhere do landscape they paint in essence the Fauve way.<sup>2</sup>

**Detail from Morita  
Tsunetomo, *Scene in Aizu*,  
1916 (plate 8).**

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The ‘major art of our time’ had indeed been ‘preponderantly abstract’, Greenberg had explained in the 1970s. But ‘just below that level the best art has been preponderantly representational – and, as it looks to me, still is’. ‘Over the past fifty years, the less than very best, less than major painting (which less-than-best is still precious) has been mostly of a kind deriving from nothing later than Fauvism.’<sup>3</sup> Despite the rarely questioned assumption that modern art constantly shifted and developed over the course of the twentieth century, could it be that one style in fact dominated throughout the period? And could, as Greenberg’s discovery of this mode wherever he travelled might suggest, this dominant twentieth-century style also be a truly ‘global’ one?



**1** Yorozu Tetsugorō, *Scene with Winter Trees*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 33 x 45 cm. Tsu: Mie Prefectural Art Museum. Photo: Mie Prefectural Art Museum.

As a lead-in to thinking about the potentially ‘global’ nature of post-impressionism, I want to emphasize two extraordinary things in these passages by Greenberg, which dramatically contradict the historical-developmental account of modern art’s progress towards abstraction that he played so large a part in popularizing. The first is the notion of something approaching a general style found throughout the twentieth century. This general style would not be the abstraction more commonly associated with the critic, or the cubism so clearly recognizable in so much of twentieth-century painting.<sup>4</sup> Instead, Greenberg here suggests that there is a generalized way of making representational art that is found wherever and whenever traditional painting technique was abandoned (‘Like all *alla prima* painting, it was Fauve’). This way of painting depicts a definite scene, is worked wet-in-wet without care for traditional or ‘academic’ tricks and standards of optical naturalism, and though fully formed by 1910 never really went away. Does this mean that the twentieth century found its most widespread mode not in abstraction but in an often-unacknowledged fauvism or ‘post-impressionism’, as the 1910 date suggests he also had in mind, and as Roger Fry’s capacious definition of post-impressionism would allow?

The second, going hand in hand with this idea of a general style, is the link between modern art and stasis or stability rather than change or development. Greenberg’s best-known story of modernist painting was based on constant stylistic advance. Successful artists had to continually question and improve upon the strategies used by the best artists of the recent past, creating a chain of artmaking that led step by step from Édouard Manet in the 1860s through to large-scale American abstraction in the 1960s.<sup>5</sup> In the passage above, however, Greenberg alludes to something altogether

different. Beyond any rapid succession of artistic movements, a major element of the history of modern art turns out to be the geographical spread of a single style, growing without developmental story or differentiation. Speaking of the 1960s, Greenberg's words could (if accepted) apply just as readily to a work of the 1920s like Yorozu Tetsugorō's *Landscape with Winter Trees* that also seems to exhibit the right stylistic properties, sweeping aside disparities in dates and (we might assume) aims. Not just a standard 'post-impressionist' style, then, but a 'global post-impressionism' in the sense of one that spread all around the world over the course of the twentieth century, even while retaining its core identity.

In recent years the study of particular artistic movements ('global conceptualism', 'global surrealism') has seemed to some to offer a way to chart the transnational flow of artistic activity while still retaining sensitivity to local difference.<sup>6</sup> A global art history of movements of this kind might map 'flows of [...] exchange across national boundaries and through global circuits', and be 'concerned with the impact of these spatial movements on the production, reception, and interpretation of' works of art.<sup>7</sup> But the post-impressionist style to which Greenberg seemingly alludes is not easy to fit into such an ideal. Historians dealing with general styles in fact tend to operate in an almost inverse way to those examining a movement. In the case of a movement, a group of artists might work in agreed coordination but produce very different looking artworks. The analysis of style instead takes the shared look of a group of works as the 'first step'. The shared look of artworks allows the historian to make assumptions about shared historical origins, most often in the aims and action of a particular artist or group of artists.<sup>8</sup> The worry that results is that the historian or critic is tricked by pseudomorphism, seeing formal similarity and falsely assuming underlying similarity of origin where in fact only the former exists.<sup>9</sup> Even where an artist is meticulously self-conscious about the historical engagements and implications of a style they make use of, the risk remains that because a later viewer assumes that the likenesses they see were relevant in the past, the work ends up being classified only according to what that later viewer recognizes as important.<sup>10</sup> We see this, for instance, when Yorozu's works of the 1910s both deliberately replicated and strategically transformed elements of post-impressionist style – a move made after noting that his own art and van Gogh's alike were part of a longer series of works that draw together Japanese and Western painting – but are dismissed by an art historian as merely 'second and third rate pastiches of Van Gogh and Gauguin'.<sup>11</sup> Most forcefully critiqued in relation to the urgent need to expand art history beyond its twentieth-century Western canon, this is, all the same, a problem that has long been familiar to scholars of British modernism.<sup>12</sup>

Might we be able to examine the historical and geographical arcs of post-impressionism without making the same errors? It could be said that Roger Fry invented post-impressionism when he created the term as part of his plan to introduce modern French art to the British public. Consequently, it has since been maligned as 'a signifier in a camouflaging rhetoric of modernist art history' that blithely disregards 'concrete historical and social relations', 'structures and conditions of art practice': as a term with 'no foundation in history and no pertinence to, or explanatory value for, that historical moment it is used to possess'.<sup>13</sup> As a way of thinking about modern art we might now see post-impressionism as little more than a historical error, even as the basis of one of the most predictable and unenlightening histories of modern art possible: the story enshrined in Alfred Barr's MoMA of three or four 'fathers' of modern art leading the way to an art of personal expression and aesthetic pleasure.<sup>14</sup>

In rejecting post-impressionism as no more than invented, however – and as paintings like Yorozu's remind us – we might miss its reality and causal power in the

years after 1910.<sup>15</sup> Fry's notion of post-impressionism did not emerge out of thin air but was theorized to account for the uniform expressionist tendency he saw throughout world art, child art, and modern art from Cézanne through to Matisse (that is from the end of impressionism to fauvism). And despite its theoretical and after-the-fact origins, post-impressionism came to have a concrete impact on subsequent artmaking and art theory around the world. Through a circular movement, this product of turn of the twentieth century globalization and world art histories – the unifying account of modern art as post-impressionism – was one that itself had the potential, in turn, to be literally globalized. In some cases it was directly exported to other countries, in others it was simply paralleled by those traditions it had fed off in the first place.

A fuller history of post-impressionism, then, might be written as a circular history, one that suggests a tracing of spatial and temporal circulations as much as a focus on individual works or groups of works. An essay of this length can admittedly only gesture at this history. The form it takes is not due to any pretension of offering a total view of post-impressionism, but instead is an attempt to indicate how a broader view of post-impressionism than usual suggests new directions for thinking about the style that supplements the still-dominant legacies of the social history of art in the study of nineteenth-century French painting. The subject also offers an unusual perspective on connections between national art schools ('British' art) and the 'global'. The essay is primarily concerned with connections between actors in Britain and global shifts in artistic practice, not the origin and influence of British works of art. In that sense it is a reminder that thinking about the international engagements and significance of a national art world does not necessarily have to involve art produced within that nation. But this essay does also discuss some art produced in Britain, even though it was often labelled 'English' despite the much broader set of nationalities involved. In that sense it is equally a reminder of the shifting boundaries of national art worlds, with our current designation 'British art' a less important one for the kinds of sub-national, national, and transnational groupings being made by artists and writers at the time.

The essay first turns to Fry's attempts to make sense of post-impressionism as (briefly) a possible universal theory of modern art, an attempt that depended on the widely influential construction of impressionism as a form of naturalism. It then discusses the breakdown of that universality in Britain. Finally, I move to the even more visible and interesting set of consequences or breakdowns that ensued, as post-impressionism was detached from Fry's unifying single-'world' claims, and instead was taken up and put to use in a variety of ways as it circulated spatially around the 'globe'.

### **'Universal' Post-Impressionism?**

As the 'post' implies, pretty much the one thing everyone could agree about post-impressionism was what it was not. As late as his 1945–46 lectures in Haiti, even André Breton was repeating post-impressionism's founding cliché that French art of the late nineteenth century – for Breton as well as Fry and Greenberg the foundation of the canon of 'modern art' – had been a rebellion against impressionism's pure perceptualism.<sup>16</sup> The impressionists neglected the imaginative or artistic, in Breton's words, in order 'to paint only what they see and as they see it'.<sup>17</sup> Impressionism had not been a new beginning, but the final stage of Western art's obsession with reproducing mere visual appearance.<sup>18</sup> Breton, Fry, and many others shared this longstanding notion of modern art as defined against impressionism's pursuit of total optical naturalism.<sup>19</sup> But Fry's particular theorizing of modern art went further, suggesting that post-impressionism might be not a convenient label with which to group art that

rejected impressionist aims, but a true style: united by key elements of the origins, aims, and actions of the artists involved.

Fry's construction of impressionism as a new stage in the 'science of appearances' dated back to at least the 1890s.<sup>20</sup> The spread of the counter-term post-impressionism, however, did not come about until 1910. In that year Fry and Desmond MacCarthy organized the 'Manet and the Post-Impressionists' exhibition, displaying works from the primary trio of van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne, through to those of the contemporary moment such as Henri Matisse's *Girl with Green Eyes*. Fry was a relative latecomer to the art on display. His interest in recent French modernism had been informed by his earlier and far more extensive work on Old Master painting, and he was influenced in his thinking by German and French critics including (probably) Julius Meier-Graefe and (without doubt) Maurice Denis.<sup>21</sup> Fry was nonetheless crucial in drawing together strands and cementing the notion of 'post-impressionism', which he thought up while preparing the exhibition as an alternative to the term 'expressionism'.<sup>22</sup> Post-impressionism as theory as well as practice was thus strikingly international, based on an art formed in France and reliant on French and German writers as early supporters, explicitly theorized and labelled in Britain while again reliant on an international group of critics for support.

But for Fry post-impressionism was not merely international but potentially universal. Perhaps all people across times and places shared the same basic way of processing visual experience and, by extension, creating works of art. This was, in short, because post-impressionism had recovered what Fry suggested might be the 'two main impulses in picture-making': 'the desire to externalize memory images' seen in child art as well as long histories of world art, and 'the desire to make surfaces interesting to the eye' that Western naturalism had long forgotten.<sup>23</sup> The artists of the present, Fry wrote in the lengthiest explanation of post-impressionism that he gave at the time of the exhibition, are attempting 'to discover the visual language of the imagination', 'the laws of that language that speaks directly to the spirit'.<sup>24</sup> We see this in a detail as unlikely as the curve of a dish. When Paul Cézanne ('the originator of the whole idea') tilts the opening of the fruit dish in *Still Life with Bowl of Fruit* towards the spectator to show it as a 'parallelogram with rounded corners', the result is a turn away from 'facts' about momentary visual appearance towards 'imaginative reality' (plate 2).<sup>25</sup> Cézanne's technique had a long history. Fry named Byzantine artists, Quattrocento painters, and others as 'real primitives' of the same kind as the post-impressionists, pointing out that in Europe and the East one can see the 'wheels of chariots' drawn this way, just as in Japanese paintings of the thirteenth century, and St Catherine's wheel in Sieneese paintings of the fourteenth.<sup>26</sup> In all of these cases one found a turn away from Western naturalism towards depicted things shown in their most characteristic shape and flattened against the picture plane, firmly outlined, and set in pictorial space that does not conform to the rules of single point perspective (plate 3). The distinctive look of the work of all of these artists, Fry wrote, like children, 'primitives', and in fact any artists not beholden to naturalism, lay in their ability to let their representations be shaped in part by inner, mental, imagery: they do not 'seek to transfer a visual sensation to paper, but to express a mental image which is coloured by [their] conceptual habits'.<sup>27</sup>

The idea of 'conceptual' art, as Ernst Gombrich later called it, has been a major force in twentieth-century European and US art history, linking post-impressionism to historical and historiographic currents of 'world art' long before and long after 1910.<sup>28</sup> 'Conceptual' or 'mental' imagery as Fry discussed it had its grounds in the late nineteenth-century psychology of figures including James Sully and Ernst Brücke, and



**2 Paul Cézanne, *Still Life with Apples in a Bowl*, c. 1879–82. Oil on canvas, 53 × 43 cm. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.**

by the early twentieth century was being widely absorbed into European art-historical analysis to explain longstanding differentiations between artistic styles. '[H]uman nature is so constituted', Fry wrote in explaining the look of mental images, that 'the normal mental image of a sovereign is of one lying [flat] in the palm of ones [sic] own hand', for the 'mental image' or 'the concept of a thing' distilled in the mind from the 'multiform & fluctuating sensations of nature' takes the specific form 'of the object as seen in its broadest aspect'.<sup>29</sup> Because mental imagery took the form of objects seen in their broadest aspect it was free of foreshortening or three-dimensionality, as Fry pointed out could be seen in children's drawings where all parts of faces and bodies were shown either frontally or in in profile (plate 4). Fry explicitly cited Gombrich's teacher Emanuel Löwy, whose *Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art* had used the idea that non-naturalistic art was based on mental imagery to explain the opposition made by such founding figures of Western art history as Winckelmann and Hegel between the two major currents of world art.<sup>30</sup> Egyptian art exemplified one of these currents, 'conceptual' in its flattened or two-dimensional forms, derived from a reliance on mental imagery. Greek (and by extension 'Western') naturalism exemplified the other, 'perceptual' in its turn away from mental imagery towards the direct seeing from which foreshortening and three-dimensional representation resulted. The assumptions that Fry drew on were widely accepted for long after, perhaps one little noticed reason for the remarkable success and afterlife of the idea of post-impressionism. Critical

as Gombrich was of Fry in 1960, for example, he still suggested that Fry was correct to think we could arrange representations ‘along a scale which extends from the schematic to the impressionist’.<sup>31</sup>

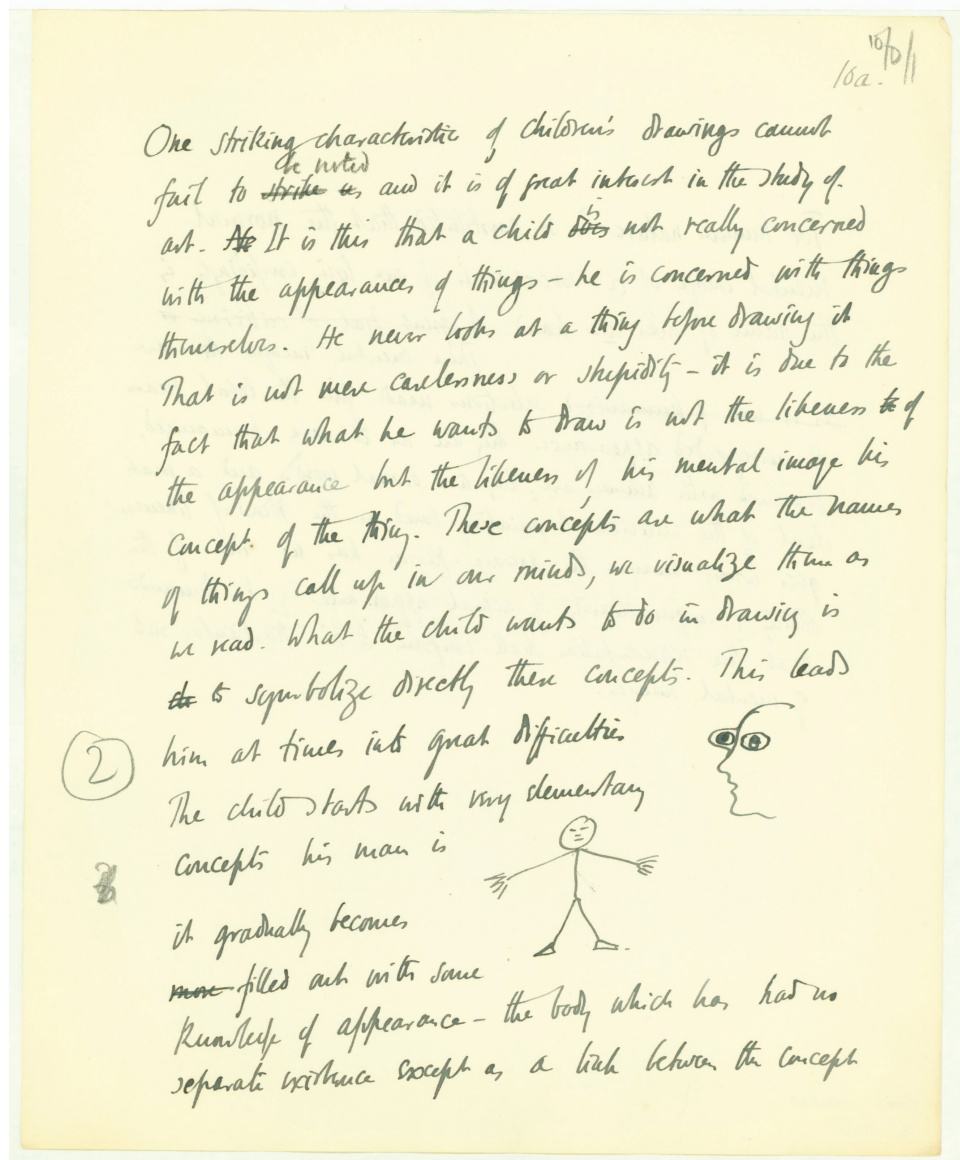
Gombrich’s only partial praise of Fry is also telling, for the source, *Art and Illusion*, is often understood as an ode to the development of naturalism in Western art. Fry’s modernist account absolutely rejected the idea that the rise of Western naturalism was a story of painterly ‘progress’. Where Victorian anthropology and psychology had linked the move towards naturalism with human evolution and development, Fry’s generation knew of highly naturalistic cave art of the Paleolithic era that exploded the Victorian account of naturalism as an evolutionary development that testified to the superiority of modern European art to that of ‘earlier’ and ‘more primitive’ peoples.<sup>32</sup> However much of a revelation Japanese art had seemed back in nineteenth-century Paris, meanwhile, by 1910 the world of art available to see in Europe had changed in far more dramatic ways. Even the years of the major retrospectives of Cézanne, Gauguin, and van Gogh in Paris that helped establish the three as founders of modern art also saw major exhibitions of Islamic art, French Primitives, and ancient Iberian art at the Louvre, and of Japanese Art and Russian Art at the Salon d’Automne. Global trade, world’s fairs, and colonialism all opened up far greater access to art beyond Europe and the US other than that of Japan, in other words, which, given new modes of historical and artistic scholarship, was examined with more sophisticated attention to the histories and aesthetic theories behind them.<sup>33</sup> The new acceptance of ‘conceptual’ art found in the broad range of world art traditions being made available to European audiences suggested that perhaps the ‘early’ conceptual stages were in fact a better and more natural route to artmaking than the pictorial naturalism previously understood as a Western advance. Naturalism might be at best contingent, not an advance but just one way of making art among others, and at worst an actual misstep that had led

**3** Child’s painting of John Constable’s *Wivenhoe Park*, from Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, London, 1960.





4 Roger Fry's illustration of the human figure as represented based on conceptual imaging, showing tendency towards frontal and profile views. Unpublished lecture, 'Some principles of design', King's College Archive Centre, REF-I-84-11a. Photo: King's College, Cambridge.



Western artists away from a proper understanding of artistic creation. 'It is not I believe till art is completely decadent that all trace is lost of the child's attitude', Fry stated in one lecture, for the child's attitude is 'far superior to that of mere imitation'.<sup>34</sup>

This sense of naturalism as no more than one possible artistic choice - and perhaps even an out and out mistake - had obvious consequences for artistic creation in the present. The modern artist now has a choice whether to 'see' form or to 'think' form, Fry put it in a 1910 article, with his own preference clearly for the 'thinking' of form found in art based on mental or conceptual imagery.<sup>35</sup> There was more to proper artmaking than a reliance on conceptual imagery. In lectures from the early 1900s through to the 1920s Fry developed his account of how modern art's rejection of naturalism would connect it all the more directly with human imagination, arguing that there were in fact two main 'principles' or 'controlling instincts' in 'acts of picture-making', the 'mental image' and the 'decorative impulse'.<sup>36</sup> The artist not only externalized memory images, but also designed the results to create an ordered and pleasing pattern across the picture surface (a second feature that Fry suggested may be what distinguished modern art from the early and child art that it related to).<sup>37</sup> But

whatever the role of the decorative, in Fry's hands the reliance on conceptual imagery involved in 'thinking' form emerged as a universal tendency. Thinking form was a principle of picture making based on mental processes that could be found in all humans, so that conceptual artmaking triumphed over perceptual naturalism not only as the dominant means in modern art, but as the most truly *natural* mode of creation. This was an account rooted in the 'natural basis of artistic activity', to quote the aims of the student of Gombrich and advocate of 'world art studies', John Onians; one that quite deliberately 'takes off the nice clothes of culture in which we like to dress works of art'.<sup>38</sup> And it was the putatively natural basis of this process that lent weight to the clichés spread for decades after that the 'artist's vision' or 'creative imagination' determined the unique look of a work, and that in contemplation of the work 'we feel the controlling personality of the artist within it'.<sup>39</sup>

As a general mode of representation, art based on a combination of the 'mental image' and 'decorative impulse' would involve depiction of a scene that deliberately allows both interference from the artist's mental conception of things in the scene and their feel for patterning across the two-dimensional picture surface. Such painting would be carried out wet-in-wet or at least without the use of academic techniques aimed at verisimilitude (Greenberg: 'alla prima, no underpainting, no glazing, and so forth'). Intuitive and unsystematic as such work must be by definition, we can also assume general features of this mode of artmaking, connected with what in early twentieth-century terms would be called features of 'conceptual imaging' (and in more recent theoretical terms, features of object-centred description, independent view, and mixed projection systems). In the early twentieth-century terms of the conceptual image these might include: figures shown 'with each of their parts in its broadest aspect' or according to their most 'characteristic aspect'; a stress on outlines or heavy contour lines of shapes; uniform and arbitrary rather than naturalistic colouring of discrete objects; lack of occlusion in distribution of figures across surface; limitation to a few typical shapes for figures and movements; stylized forms with regular linear formations; and (either wholly or for the most part) omission of the surrounding environment.<sup>40</sup>

In Vanessa Bell's *Studland Beach* (plate 5) we can imagine Bell sketching from a single point on the sandbanks, yet beach and sea or sky rear up and join the bathing tent to flatten against the picture surface in a way that strikingly departs from the orderly recession and perspective of the tent seen in photographs of the time. The landscape is emptied of detail. Depicted figures are singled out to barely overlap. Figures are also turned to present their backs or sides to the viewer, and reduced for the most part to single colours and contours firmly emphasized in dark paint. (Though the extraordinary levels of texture and gradation displayed within such simplicity are equally key to the painting's hold.)<sup>41</sup> Bell's work is exemplary of post-impressionism at its most imaginative and extraordinary, not only in the sheer interest of the work but also in the seemingly inimitable and unsystematic means of creation. But it is also representative of what, given modern resources of manufactured oil paint and easel-size canvases, Fry's 'natural' form of artmaking – at once externalizing memory images and designing to accentuate the decorative surface – might actually look like. On Fry's account it would be no surprise that the twentieth century would see a general style along these lines, spreading throughout the entire world without great variation because it is the universally 'human' way to represent that world. And as Greenberg's words with which I began suggest, this is a possibility that art history might actually explore. To study the impact of post-impressionism would mean examining not just art that directly acknowledges its engagements with post-impressionism, but also that



5 Vanessa Bell, *Studland Beach*, c. 1912. Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 101.6 cm. London: Tate. © Estate of Vanessa Bell. Photo: Tate Images.

in which the general characteristics of post-impressionism can be seen even if not acknowledged by artists themselves, as in attempts to return to ‘child art’ and intuition as a source of picture-making found in the long histories of both professional and amateur painting that turns away from academic technique to represent the world intuitively and unsystematically.

### ‘British’ Post-Impressionism?

Though Fry’s post-impressionism was conceived as potentially universal, the term post-impressionism quickly came to be used in relation to a diverse set of practices that undermined attempts to group them as one. Examining post-impressionism as actually produced in Britain in the years immediately after 1910 we see how quickly any apparent unity (and posited sameness of intention) fell apart.

Though ‘Manet and the Post-Impressionists’ had itself featured no British artists it was quickly followed by exhibitions that demonstrated the immense influence of post-impressionism on artists in Britain. By 1912 a fair case could be made that there were strong groups of ‘British’ artists who had taken up the lessons of post-impressionist painting. Elements of conceptual imagery alongside intense non-naturalistic colour, free brushwork, and decorative patterning could be found in the work of the artists around the Bloomsbury group (Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant), the Rhythm group (J. D. Fergusson, Samuel Peploe), and the soon-to-be-formed Camden Town Group (Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Robert Bevan, Charles Ginner).<sup>42</sup> An especially concerted effort

to remain true to the lessons of post-impressionism can be seen in what became the 'neo-realism' of Gilman, Gore, Bevan, and Ginner. Works of this group coupled a recognizable post-impressionist style with attention to the modernizing landscape of Edwardian London. In Gilman's *Picadilly Circus* a London omnibus rolls into the picture to give some local specificity to the standard devices of shapes turned with their most familiar aspects facing the picture plane (the side-on profiles of pedestrians and of advertisement-plastered bus with neatly rounded wheels, the directly frontal number plate and lined grille of the nearby car), and high-keyed and often non-naturalistic colour (pavement and wheels painted in yellows and blues that recall van Gogh's *Provençe* more than the streets of London) (plate 6).<sup>43</sup> It is hardly unsurprising, then, that already by 1951 Benedict Nicholson was talking of the influence of post-impressionism on 'British' painting. And that ever since it has been common for discussions in the art market, museums and galleries, and the conferences and publications of university art history, to talk of post-impressionism in 'Britain' or in relation to 'British Art'.<sup>44</sup>



6 Charles Ginner, *Piccadilly Circus*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 81.3 × 66 cm. London: Tate. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

Just like Fry's label 'post-impressionism' for the late nineteenth-century French artists, however, 'British post-impressionism' is a retrospective and still-controversial category. For one, 'British' itself risks anachronism, as the term 'English' was far more common in what we now call the 'British' art world. The major society from which many of these artists broke with their move to post-impressionism was, significantly, the New English Art Club. And when a national grouping of sorts was put forward in the 1912 'Second Post-Impressionist exhibition' this came in the form of the Clive Bell-organized 'English group'.<sup>45</sup> Due to Fry's ambivalence about their work this did not include the Scottish artists around the Rhythm group such as Fergusson and Peplow, so in that sense the label was fitting.<sup>46</sup> But the use of 'English' as a loose general term rather than a precise label is all the same indicated by the international composition of the 'English group', which included one artist born in France (Ginner), one in Australia (Henry Lamb), one half-American (Wyndham Lewis), and one Scot (Grant). Participants and critics alike stuck to the use of 'English' as a label, with P. G. Konody writing on the group as the 'English post-impressionists', and Vanessa Bell for instance worrying to Roger Fry about the 'usual English sweetness coming in and spoiling all'.<sup>47</sup>

The 'post-impressionist' side was equally controversial. Those grouped as 'English post-impressionists' in the 1912 exhibition had not chosen the label and had no clear shared artistic purpose aside from their aim to produce modern art that somehow rejected the impressionist example.<sup>48</sup> Rather than post-impressionism describing a broad but genuinely real and shared mode of artmaking, from the point of view of the divided aims of artist groups and factions 'post-impressionism' could seem to be no more than a critical fiction that papered over all the important differences. Fry's limited understanding of cubism, for instance, which either assimilated it to post-impressionist aims or dismissed its offshoots as overly 'literary', was rapidly challenged by others who saw a need to give a more responsible history of recent events.<sup>49</sup> Frank Rutter, possibly 'the first critic to have used the word "post-impressionist" in print', set this out in two major exhibitions of 1913.<sup>50</sup> Fry had used the term post-impressionism as if it designated an identifiable style underwritten by shared aims. For Rutter, on the other hand, post-impressionism was no more than a loose catch-all term for the multiple forms of modern art produced in recent years: covering 'half-a-dozen distinct and separate art movements' including neo-impressionism, fauvism, cubism and futurism.

The sense of post-impressionism as no more than a catch-all term for something like 'the styles of modern art up to 1912' left an obvious space for new movements to stake out a position as effectively post post-impressionism.<sup>51</sup> Though Wyndham Lewis and Camden Town had exhibited together, and despite many stylistic tendencies being subsumed in the London Group, it became clear to Lewis in particular (as Anna Gruetzner Robins points out) that it would be necessary to create a distinct 'ism' with its 'own inherent individual social, political and cultural identity'.<sup>52</sup> The result was first Lewis's much-publicized break from Fry's Omega Workshops design collective, then the foundation of 'vorticism', with its self-conscious adoption of an aesthetic, a tone, and a set of theories, that marked itself out as distinct from anything put forward by Fry.<sup>53</sup> Clive Bell had in 1913 moved away from his universalizing tone to attack British artists exhibiting at Rutter's 'Post-Impressionists and Futurists' exhibition (such as C. R. W. Nevinson and Edward Wadsworth) who in Bell's eyes were doing no more than picking up the 'mannerisms' of French painters.<sup>54</sup> Bell's attack relied on his judgement that too consciously following the styles of others would create merely derivative work. The same concern would soon be turned back against Fry and Bell in quips such as Walter Sickert's that 'what Paris says to-day, Bloomsbury, as the saying goes, will

endeavour to say thirty years hence'.<sup>55</sup> Ironically, however, what Bell reacted against in these works were the cubist and post-cubist stylistic features that Bloomsbury critics and artists struggled to accept, and which allowed artists associated with vorticism to claim that they had moved well beyond Bloomsbury and post-impressionism. What Bell was in fact seeing, in other words, though was unable to accept, were the stylistic markers of a specifically post post-impressionist mode being self-consciously tried out by Lewis and others. Such works were a deliberate preparation for the launch of an art that would be seen as a decisive break with Fry's (and Bell's) vision of modern art as having found its ideal and final point of development in post-impressionism.

### **'Global' Post-Impressionism?**

What lessons, positive and negative, might Fry's analysis have for attempts to write an expanded history of post-impressionism? Fry's identification of a universal post-impressionism seems to suggest that one could chart the global spread of the style based on formal characteristics alone. Yet the fact that any stable (let alone homogeneous) vision of 'post-impressionism' broke down so swiftly even within the country of its coinage might suggest that the style never really did spread, even if some apparent formal similarities might be identified in subsequent works. By extension, accounts of the international spread of 'post-impressionism' after 1910 risk being little more than quasi-histories founded on the treacherous ground of pseudomorphism. Some of Fry's more troubling critical judgements of the time seem to reinforce this sense that reliance on assumed visual similarity will only lead us astray. At the same time that Fry was gathering examples of modern French art to exhibit to the British public, Abanindranath Tagore was in his own art drawing a range of past Indian styles together with Japanese and Western modes and subject matter taken from Indian national mythology. The self-consciously 'Indian' art of the Bengal school that resulted was intended partly as a nationalist reaction against the imposition of Western naturalism in nineteenth-century colonial art schools in the country.<sup>56</sup> Fry must have known this, being involved with the 1910-founded India Society alongside Tagore and others such as E. B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy. Yet in prioritizing his own judgement of the look of the work, Fry was unable to see past what he regarded as the Western and perceptual aspects of Tagore's art, in 1910 describing Tagore's works as 'well-intentioned but regrettable' examples of 'the profound corruption which contact with European ideas has created in Oriental taste'.<sup>57</sup> A look that in this case was judged not post-impressionist enough was assumed to be due to 'regrettable' concessions to 'European' naturalism.

Such wayward judgements should make us alert to the methodological dangers of pseudomorphism, but they also point to a way forward. For to dismiss post-impressionism as falsely based in pseudomorphism would miss that the formal similarities that we find when searching for post-impressionism around the globe, although not always due to identical origins and intentions, do often have complex shared origins that are fundamental to understanding the works and the things that are claimed for and of them. Some of these shared origins are distant. Nineteenth-century French *Japonisme* is the most obvious example of how post-impressionism itself openly drew on earlier traditions, but the conceptual aspects mentioned above in Egyptian and early Greek art should be a reminder that post-impressionism might equally be conceived as the end point of a great number of different and often historically distant practices. Some of the shared origins are recent. Artists after 1910 looked back explicitly to the 1910 grouping and label 'post-impressionism' and reacted directly to the stylistic characteristics identified there. In the global circulations of

post-impressionism, then, we would expect both long histories of shared origins (as in national art traditions stretching far back beyond modernism) and a recent history of shared origins (as in artists looking directly at c. 1910 post-impressionism as a construct). Attending to these different combinations shows more precisely how it was that very different meanings arose in relation to works connected in one way or another with post-impressionism, as artworks that might look similar to a casual observer were used to make dramatically different claims in different times and places.

For example, when the more obvious 'look' of the conceptual image did appear in Indian modernism, its meanings were significantly plural: directly post-impressionist for some and absolutely opposed to Western art for others. In Amrita Sher-Gil's works of the 1930s an apparent 'realist' desire to document contemporary life and surroundings is coupled with characteristic features of art based on conceptual imagery. The reds, oranges and yellows of *Red Verandah* are intensified beyond any

naturalistic basis and sweep through the scene, while the closely observed figures offer up clearly outlined profiles of head and face and the occasional near-frontal eye. Even the textile at lower right is flattened out as to emphasize such painting's overall play between three-dimensional depiction and two-dimensional patterning (plate 7). Sher-Gil was directly aware of the theorizing of Fry and Bell, but she mentioned their thought not for the analysis of post-impressionism as such, but instead the universal artistic appeal of 'form' (as Fry found in artworks that rejected the perceptual bias).<sup>58</sup> All the while Sher-Gil drew on direct knowledge of the work of van Gogh and Gauguin gained during her 1920s training in Paris, and combined this over the course of the 1930s especially with art from India ranging from the cave paintings of Ajanta to northern Indian miniature painting.<sup>59</sup> From the mid-1920s onwards Jamini Roy's work seemed to adhere even more closely to forms of conceptual imagery, with often highly simplified paintings composed of starkly flattened forms, flat planes of colour, and strongly outlined figures. In stark contrast to Sher-Gil's open and self-conscious blending of Eastern and Western origins, however, Roy's artistic devices were adapted from traditions such as rural village scroll-painting, part of what he saw as an avowedly 'local' art that absolutely refused all connection with modern Western art and art theory.<sup>60</sup> In Sher-Gil's case we have a direct engagement with 'post-impressionism', though one that looked as much to the roots of the style as well as the complications that became clear only to those examining the work of its 'founders' from a retrospective and distant position. In Roy's work formal characteristics that relate to post-impressionism seem to arise only because of the complex shared origins of Roy's exemplars and the post-impressionists. The 1910 form of post-impressionism itself here featured largely in the negative, a modern

**7 Amrita Sher-Gil, *Red Verandah*, 1938. Oil on canvas, 73.7 × 146 cm. New Delhi: National Gallery of Art. Photo: National Gallery of Art.**



Western influence to be scrupulously avoided right down to Roy's refusal of oil paint and industrially manufactured colour. To put it more simply, in Sher-Gil we have an art recognizable to contemporaries as an engagement with post-impressionism, in Roy an art that could only (and controversially) be described as post-impressionism based on a retrospective judgement about formal characteristics.

It would be possible to chart a 'global' history of 'post-impressionism' as a retrospectively understood style; that is, a history of post-impressionism often as unnamed and based as much on formal characteristics as expressed aims (in other words something like Greenberg's global fauvism). This history would tell of the worldwide reaction against the near globalization of colonial-sponsored academic art and against impressionist-tinged naturalism, the reaction often as such linked to clear political ends. To provide some inevitably controversial suggestions not discussed below, central figures to consider might be as disparate as Victorio Edades in the Philippines, (briefly) S. Sudjojono in Indonesia, Grace Cossington Smith and Margaret Preston in Australia, Tarsila do Amaral in Brazil, Mahmoud Said in Egypt, Gerard Sekoto in South Africa, and Edna Manley in Jamaica.

Yet I want to be clear here about how Fry's universalist ambitions met with specific local fates when the idea of post-impressionism underwent forms of 'global' circulation, by mentioning some cases where an explicit connection with Fry or with Fry's post-impressionism is visible. Post-impressionism in these cases was at least in part, and by some of those involved, recognized at the time as a 'style', and as such understood to have very specific local inflections and significances – triggering 'local cultural formations that depended on dialectical articulation to the global', as Bert Winther-Tamaki has put it.<sup>61</sup>

My first instance sits on the borderlines between possible retrospective recognition of elements of post-impressionism – some hidden at the time – and a more open and self-conscious recognition of an engagement with post-impressionism by the original makers and viewers. This is because the instance relates to Fry's activity after 1910 that attempted to promote what he took to be a truer form of artmaking and art education. Educational programmes that resulted were underwritten by the theory put forward in connection with post-impressionism but without attaching the label 'post-impressionism' to their aims and to the art that they encouraged. Such a form of art education is both a logical consequence of Fry's thought and a source of stark ethical dangers connected with it: art education of this kind would not teach 'post-impressionism' but a 'universally' proper (because supposedly 'natural') form of artmaking that rejected academic copying of the external world in favour of practices such as memory drawing to develop the subject's abilities in externalization of mental imagery alongside decorative patterning. In the 1910s Fry had attempted to promote such a generalized mode of artmaking and instruction in Britain through child art education, a model developed and put into practice with Marion Richardson, and by the 1930s widely accepted in the British art world.<sup>62</sup> Marion Richardson, together with figures around the London County Council and the University of London who took up her work, provided a link between Britain and its colonial interests in Africa, developing initiatives of which Fry was apparently aware.<sup>63</sup> The methods of art education were expanded to parts of British Colonial Africa in the 1920s and 1930s via the University of London's Institute of Education, which had a sub-department devoted to the 'training of Colonial Office probationers for educational work in the colonies' through which it actively promoted the methods of art education developed by Fry and Richardson.<sup>64</sup>

Such practical application was given in art schools set up in Ghana, Uganda, and most famously Nigeria in the 1920s and 1930s, where, through the instruction



of figures like Kenneth Murray in Nigeria, students were taught memory drawing and other practices that would help them develop a style based on inner thought and ostensibly naïve technique, representing scenes of everyday life without falling into a ‘perceptual’ Western naturalism or indeed any other ‘external’ style not true to their own sensibility.<sup>65</sup> Here we see the ideas behind post-impressionism as formulated by Fry applied, that is its fundamental call to have one’s seeing coloured as far as possible by mental imagery and to have this set out in a technique free of academic convention. At the same time the ideas were applied without examples of modern Western art and with the name ‘post-impressionism’ left unspoken, a sign that in this instance the ‘universally valid’ mode of artistic creation would be used to inscribe and shore up forms of difference. This ‘machinery of educational freedom’, as a 1935 textbook put it, would recover indigenous art traditions through the outside guidance of artists sent over from Britain ‘who can judge between what is good and what is indifferent or bad in [African art] with the masterly penetration shown twelve years ago by Mr. Roger Fry when he wrote for the *Athenæum* the memorable article on “Negro Sculpture”’.<sup>66</sup> Overseen by a Colonial Office keen to rejuvenate or ‘salvage’ local cultures (and British participants mired in assumptions about racial difference), students were often allowed to view only ‘indigenous’ art and use local materials.<sup>67</sup> Though post-impressionism had directly inspired the writing and forms of teaching connected with the programmes, as an art with an all-too contemporary and Western origin it was thus set aside. Artists partly connected with the programmes, from Ben Enwonwu to those around the Zaria Arts Society, did break free of the colonial restrictions to gain highly self-conscious perspectives on the relation of their training to post-impressionism and other contemporary modernist styles.<sup>68</sup> The aim of this kind of art education from the colonial office point of view, nonetheless, was to produce artists who in being ‘sincerely themselves’ would produce not an art recognized as connected in any way at all with the modern Western style of creation seen in post-impressionism, but supposedly natural expressions of peoples, society, and times very different from those of the modern West.

A more clearly open and directly acknowledged engagement with post-impressionism, on the other hand, can be seen in Japan. Within a year of the 1910 exhibition in London, and while the critical debate in Britain was still raging, the British art journalist Charles Lewis Hind’s popularizing book that followed the 1910 exhibition *The Post-Impressionists* appeared in translation in Japan. That year Yanagi Muneyoshi wrote a cover essay for Japan’s major avant-garde art magazine (*Shirakaba*) on Cézanne as ‘A Revolutionary Painter’, referring to Fry and the Post-Impressionist exhibition, but in detail drawing largely on Hind’s account of modern art’s search for expression of personality.<sup>69</sup> Though Hind’s account was quickly criticized by others, as Inaga Shigemi has pointed out, ‘expression of personality’ came to be central to a new stage in the development of *yōga* (Western-style painting) in Japan, understood by many as a shared goal that connected modern European and longer-term Japanese artistic ideals.<sup>70</sup> The origins of post-impressionism in Japonisme among other non-Western trends – the ‘fact that all modern painters have been influenced by Japanese painting’ in the words of Arishima Ikuma – was likewise taken by many to reinforce the arrival of post-impressionism in Japan as part of a long-term *coming together* of Eastern and Western art (rather than a one-way flowing of artistic influence from West to East).<sup>71</sup> Artists like Morita Tsunetomo were for this reason able to replicate quite clearly recognizable aspects of an individual post-impressionist like Cézanne’s style – his bright palette, interest in ‘French’ landscapes, and careful building of the painting from parallel ‘constructive’ brushstrokes all seemingly following Cézanne’s

post-1880 painting – yet to see the use of that style as an entirely legitimate and authentically personal route to his own expression (plate 8). Naïve assessments of *yōga* painting of the time have assumed the works to be in thrall to Western example, but this is to miss both the complex shared origins that saw shared ideals going far further back than the mid to late nineteenth century, and the universalizing ambitions that these connections inspired.<sup>72</sup> More than one scholar has recently written of the global ambitions of Japanese *yōga* painting; drawing on the same traditions that post-impressionism had, it was united in aim with manifestations in other parts of the globe by ideas of rhythm, expression of personality, and a striving for universality.<sup>73</sup>

This is, nonetheless, not just a story of the seamless translation and acceptance of post-impressionism. Yorozu Tetsugorō's more direct engagements with post-impressionist works in Japan at the very same time grappled with specific aspects of modern Japanese society, from censorship laws to the figure of the 'new woman'. The following year, however, he moved away in his writing from the self-consciously 'modern' in favour of the primitive as the source of a 'true Expressionism', in 1915 speaking of all current avant-gardisms in the West as finding a synthesis in Eastern art. By the early 1920s Yorozu had gone further in his incorporation of *Nanga* (modern ink) painting alongside other sources, in doing so pursuing neither an Eastern nor a Western art but a form of universal art premised on bringing together Eastern and Western traditions in the expression of a true, 'primitive', self.<sup>74</sup> Works of the

**8** Morita Tsunetomo, *Scene in Aizu*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 65 × 80.3 cm. Saitama: Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Saitama Museum.



9 Xu Beihong, *Stroking the Cat*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 65×53 cm. Beijing: CAFA Art Museum. Photo: CAFA Art Museum.

1920s might be said to show a striking return to the formal characteristics of post-impressionism, just as his theory of a universal art parallels Fry's ideas at their most ambitious and expansive. And yet, Yorozu's work was a strikingly original synthesis of both latter-day post-impressionism and the Japanese traditions that post-impressionism had originally fed off. In a painting of the time such as *Landscape with Winter Trees* his deep engagement with *Nanga* painting informs the calligraphic strokes of thinned matte oil



paint that pick out branches and leaves, all while Yorozu insisted that oil was the most ‘universal’ medium and continued to compare himself to Cézanne.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps because post-impressionism had come to Japan as a style and movement proclaimed by Hind to have originated in the West, Yorozu saw his search for universalism as one that went against and beyond any style or theory of ‘post-impressionism’. As a recognizable style, post-impressionism was not universal enough for Yorozu. That was the task of his own mode of painting, which he christened ‘X’.<sup>76</sup>

In China we can see the terms of Fry’s post-impressionism acknowledged in a similarly direct manner, but in this case being inverted in favour of a return to realism. At the beginning of the 1920s, the poet and Crescent Moon Group member, Xu Zhimo, had befriended Fry while in Cambridge. He had hoped that Fry would give a lecture tour in China to inform the younger generation who are ‘hopelessly ignorant of what art is and what is art about’.<sup>77</sup> He also suggested that Fry might help organize an exhibition of Western art in which works by Cézanne, Matisse and Picasso would be borrowed from Japan. Though the plans did not come to fruition, he took up Fry’s vision of modern art himself in a public debate in 1929 on the ‘relevance of post-impressionism to China’ which was held in connection with the first National Exhibition of Chinese Art, Shanghai.<sup>78</sup> In his 1921 text ‘The Value of Literati Painting’, Chen Shizeng had already defended that branch of traditional Chinese ink painting in terms of its ‘progressive’ refusal of likeness, and connected the aims of literati painting with those of post-impressionism. In Chen’s words, ‘While nineteenth-century Europeans sought likeness in painting, in concert with their scientific pursuit of light and colour, the post-impressionists have overturned this approach in favour of subjectivity’.<sup>79</sup> In the 1929 debate Xu reiterated Chen’s argument by once again linking literati painting and post-impressionism on the basis of their communication of personal feeling and sensibility.<sup>80</sup>

Xu Zhimo’s rival in the debate, Xu Beihong, had in the early 1920s travelled to Europe with the express aim of learning more of Western academic technique. He studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and spent extensive time in museums copying examples of pre-modernist Western painting. Xu Beihong also met Fry on one such occasion in 1924, the two reportedly conversing in French in London’s National Gallery, where Fry was copying a Rembrandt self-portrait.<sup>81</sup> On his return to China in 1926, Xu Beihong became a highly visible public advocate for the idea that ‘modernity’ was best seen not in ‘modernist’ artistic technique but in pictorial realism (plate 9).<sup>82</sup> Strikingly, he echoed the language of conceptual imagery key to Fry’s account of post-impressionism in his arguments that the art of the world could be divided into two broad categories, ‘realism’ and ‘conceptualism’.<sup>83</sup> Yet for Xu the conceptualism of both European modernism and literati painting was a mistake, and should be rejected in favour of the more ‘modern’, ‘scientific’ spirit seen in Tang dynasty and Western realist painting alike. In this he echoed Kang Youwei, who since the early 1900s had held not only that Chinese painting had developed realism before the West, but that the ‘scientific’ nature of realistic representation made it a universal characteristic. Realism, rather than conceptualism – artistic reproduction of the external rather than the inner – was

**10 Landscape by Roger Fry, from friendship scroll owned by Ling Shuhua, 1925–58. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum. Photo: Ashmolean Images.**



here presented as ‘a universal human achievement’ as well as one ‘in the realization of which Chinese painting had chronological priority’.<sup>84</sup> To pose realism as universal was an extraordinarily neat reversal of the theoretical terms adopted by Fry and Yorozu alike.<sup>85</sup>

The clarity of this reversal of priorities, too, fell apart in the face of the messiness of artistic practice, with neither artist sticking firmly to one side or the other in their own work, experimenting with various combinations and reconciliations rather than clear divisions. The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford now houses a friendship scroll which Xu Zhimo brought to England in the 1920s and to which Fry and Xu Beihong both contributed.<sup>86</sup> Xu Beihong’s painting of two horses galloping through a field is an intimation of later works in which he would endeavour to reconcile realist and literati modes he had earlier separated out in theory. By the 1920s Fry, meanwhile, had in his own painting already turned away from the most easily recognizable elements of post-impressionist style to works that mediated rather than starkly opposed conceptual and perceptual (plate 10).<sup>87</sup> His cypress-lined landscape in misty monochrome ink wash seems at once a return to a naturalistic concern with external appearance and an embrace of literati-painting-style conceptualizing, one more taunt to the historian who wishes to work from their own assumed likenesses alone.

Post-impressionism universalized, localized, an unspoken influence, consciously transcended, and its terms inverted. Despite all these possible variations of post-impressionism, its importance for critics and historians was unable to hold up when faced with artistic practices that went beyond the internal limits of the style. As an expansive theory of universal expressionism, post-impressionism was quickly overwhelmed by developments in each of the countries just covered, as avant-gardes moved on to various forms and combinations of cubism, dada and surrealism, and abstraction. ‘Never before in the history of the world have so many new experiments been tried nor such a variety of directions been followed’, as Fry himself put it in the 1920s.<sup>88</sup> Popularizers throughout the twentieth century continued to spread the notion, central to post-impressionism, that modern art might be unified by its turn away from representation towards expression as a goal. But the ongoing flood of ‘new experiments’ also heralded a new take on modernism beyond post-impressionism’s atemporal universalism. This was Clement Greenberg’s story of a heroic succession of avant-garde artists, each reacting to art of the recent past that compelled conviction in order to add their own contribution and keep modernism moving along. And as Greenberg himself seemed to realize in the 1970s, it was in part this model, of a single chain of modernist practice outside of which neither deep aesthetic significance nor world historicity could be found, that helped obscure the full histories of post-impressionism for so long.

#### Notes

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- 1 For an instance of Greenberg’s travels in the wake of *Two Decades*, see Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations: Artistic Practice, National Identity, and Modernism in India, 1930–1990*, Berkeley, 2015, 27–28, 194–199.
- 2 Clement Greenberg, ‘Edmonton Interview’, *Edmonton Contemporary Artists’ Society Newsletter*, 3 and 4, 1996. (Recorded 1991.)
- 3 Clement Greenberg, ‘The Factor of Surprise’, *Homemade Esthetics*, Oxford, 1999, 37. (First published as ‘Seminar Four’, *Art International*, 1, January 1975.)
- 4 Nor would it, on this account, be impressionism, which Richard Brettell for one has proposed as a candidate – ‘virtually global by 1900’ – for what I discuss in this paragraph; Brettell, *Modern Art, 1851–1929*, Oxford, 1999, 18–19. The view of abstraction as a general and potentially global (later) twentieth-century mode has recently been set

- out in Éric de Chassey, *L'abstraction avec ou sans raisons*, Paris, 2017. Clement Greenberg in other moods indicated that cubism might be a candidate, for instance in 'Picasso at 75', in *Art and Culture*, Boston, 1961, 63.
- 5 The key reference points here are 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' (1939), 'Towards a Newer Laocöon' (1941), and 'Modernist Painting' (1960); Stephen Melville, 'Clement Greenberg', *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, ed. Michael Kelly, Oxford, 2014, vol. 3, 238–241.
  - 6 Though not without controversy. For telling recent discussions of the 'Global Conceptualism' exhibition and the complication surrounding the term, see for instance Miguel A. López and Josephine Watson, 'How Do We Know What Latin American Conceptualism Looks Like?', *Afterall*, 23, Spring 2010, 5–21; Zanna Gilbert et al., eds, 'Global Conceptualism Reconsidered', post, April 2015, <https://post.at.moma.org/themes/19-global-conceptualism-reconsidered>; Camila Maroja, 'Red Shift: Cildo Meireles and the Definition of the Political-Conceptual', *ArtMargins*, 5, February 2016, 30–58.
  - 7 Pheng Chea, *What is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature*, Durham, NC, 2016, 3, 5. Rather than art history I have taken these lines from Chea's description of standard theories of 'world literature' that focus on the 'globe', which he helpfully differentiates from 'world' study that would explore the 'normative force that literature can exert on the world, the ethico-political horizon it opens up for the existing world'. I draw on this distinction below. An art-historical model of global history in terms of spatial circulation, in Chea's terms the 'globe', can be found in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham, 2015.
  - 8 Jaś Elsner, 'Style', in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, Chicago, 2nd edn., 2003, 188–201. A possible implicit basis of even collective or period style in individuals is controversial, though David Summers has suggested that any judgements about a general or 'collective' style really involve a metaphorical expansion of personal style, taking a shared look amongst a group of works to indicate shared action among the group of individuals that produced those works; Summers, *Real Spaces*, London, 2003, 69.
  - 9 Raised as 'pseudomorphosis' by Panofsky in *Medieval Tomb Sculpture*, New York, 1964, 26–27, the comparativist potential and pitfalls of likeness in morphology have recently been addressed in Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions*, New York, 2012, 10–11; and Caroline W. Bynum, 'Avoiding the Tyranny of Morphology; Or, why Compare?', *History of Religions*, 53, May 2014, 341–368, while Yve-Alain Bois has given further examples of look-alikes with different origins in 'On the Uses and Abuses of Look-Alikes', *October*, 154, Fall 2015, 127–149. Whitney Davis has provided the definitive analysis of when and why 'looks like' can and cannot be taken for 'is like', in *A General Theory Visual Culture*, Princeton, 2011.
  - 10 Whitney Davis notes the discipline of art history's 'debilitating' inability to separate involuntary style from the conscious replication of style (which he calls 'stylisticality') and as such its failure to understand how in practice feedback loops between the two will be involved in any stylistic development; Davis, *General Theory of Visual Culture*, 75–112. It is partly this lack that has caused so many modernist critics and historians to make judgements of mere 'derivativeness' when faced with the partial self-conscious adoption of a style, set as they are on reifying 'pure' style alone rather than acknowledging what Davis calls the 'stylistic succession'.
  - 11 James Elkins and Zhivka Valiavicharska, eds, *Art and Globalization*, University Park, PA, 2010, 69. For the analysis of Yorozu as self-consciously engaged with a broad 'post-impressionism', a point I return to below, see Alicia Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism: Yorozu Tetsugorō and Japanese Modern Art*, Berkeley, 2010.
  - 12 Partha Mitter, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde from the Periphery', *Art Bulletin*, 90, December 2008, 531–548; and for an extensive discussion of the problem in conceptual terms, see Sam Rose, *Art and Form: From Roger Fry to Global Modernism*, University Park, PA, 2019, 128–151. The issue has been pointed out and addressed in relation to British art in Kenneth McConkey, *Memory and Desire*, Farnham, 2002, 9–11.
  - 13 Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, 'Les Données Bretonnantes' (1980), in *Avant-Gardes and Partisans Reviewed*, Manchester, 1996.
  - 14 'Four' indicating the later inclusion of Seurat, a history charted in Gavin Parkinson, *Enchanted Ground: André Breton, Modernism and the Surrealist Appraisal of Fin-de-Siècle Painting*, London, 2018. Parkinson's book offers the most sustained attention that post-impressionism as a notion has received in recent years, though see also Belinda Thompson, *The Post-Impressionists*, London, 1994; and Belinda Thompson, *Post-Impressionism*, London, 1999.
  - 15 That is, its 'factish' status; see Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*, Cambridge, MA, 1999, 266–292.
  - 16 I use the slightly awkward term 'perceptualism' here to distinguish it from the very different notion of modernist 'opticality'. Opticality is often connected with Greenberg's account of an art that appealed to 'eyesight alone', and superficially these terms might seem similar. Yet in modernist criticism 'opticality' describes an art that fully engaged the viewer's eyes (rather than thought or other 'literary' content), even creating a form of depth that was purely optical rather than the more traditional 'tactile' depth of pre-modernist illusionistic painting. Perceptualism, on the other hand, shifts from viewer back to artist, and implies the artist's unmediated reproduction of light hitting the eye. (For Greenberg and opticality, see Caroline A. Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses*, Chicago, 2005.)
  - 17 André Breton, 'Conférences d'Haïti, III' [1946], *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3, Paris, 1999, 235–236, as quoted and discussed in Gavin Parkinson, 'Positivism, Impressionism and Magic', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17, 2017, 3–4.
  - 18 This extremely partial construction of impressionism needs to be understood not only in terms of 1870s discussions of impressionist art as reproducing 'sensation', but the 1880s and 1890s dominance of a *juste-milieu* impressionism-influenced naturalism. The former construction and its relation to the symbolist and post-impressionist ideas that claimed to supersede it is discussed in Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism*, Chicago, 1984. The latter has been charted in Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Les avant-gardes artistiques 1848–1918: Une histoire transnationale*, Paris, 2016; and Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Princeton, 1994.
  - 19 This notion of modern art as a unified anti-impressionism has been traced back to the early 1890s, when critics began to discuss the shared aims in the symbolist interest in universally accessible 'objective distortion' and the neo-impressionist interest in the science of pictorial effect. In addition to Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism*, see Catherine Bock-Weiss, *Henri-Matisse and Neo-Impressionism*, Ann Arbor, 1980, 48; T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea*, New York, 1999, 129; and more generally Marnin Young, 'The Death of Georges Seurat: Neo-Impressionism and the Fate of the Avant-Garde in 1891', *RIHA Journal*, July 2012, <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-jul-sep/special-issue-neo-impressionism/young-death-of-seurat>; and Anne Dymond, 'Valiant, Independent, and Harmonious: Paul Signac and Neo-Impressionism after 1900', *RIHA Journal*, July 2012, <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-jul-sep/special-issue-neo-impressionism/dymond-valiant-independent-and-harmonious>.
  - 20 Roger Fry, 'The Philosophy of Impressionism', unpublished typescript, 1894, King's College Archive Centre, REF/1/58. Fry's more developed view of the topic was set out in Fry, 'The Last Phase of Impressionism', *Burlington Magazine*, March 1908, 374–375, reprinted in Christopher Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader*, Chicago, 1996, 72–75. Fry occasionally used 'phenomenology' for 'science of appearances', terms that he developed from his reading of Ernst Brücke and Hermann von Helmholtz's *Principe Scientifique des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1878, and from discussions with Charles Waldstein; see on the former Roger Fry, 'Some Problems of Phenomenology and its Application to Greek Art: A Dissertation' (1891), REF/1/13, 1–3, and on the latter, 'The Philosophy of Impressionism', 3; and Matthew Potter, 'Cambridge University and the Germanist Bridge', in *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the fin de siècle*, ed. Grace Brockington, Oxford, 2009, 156–176.
  - 21 On the significance of Fry's connoisseurship for modernist criticism see Rose, *Art and Form*, 25–61. Fry's connections with Denis are well documented, though the influence of Meier-Graefe is usually assumed based on later reviews and comments by Fry and Bell; Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism*, 141–161; Grischka Petri, 'The English Translation of Julius Meier-Graefe's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst*', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 6, 2005, 171.
  - 22 On Fry and the exhibition see, for instance, Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, London, 1999, 119–134; and Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader*, 48–58.

- 23 Roger Fry, 'I early art', unpublished lecture, 1924, King's College Archive Centre, REF/1/112/1/c/9.
- 24 Fry, 'Post-Impressionism', *The Fortnightly Review*, 1 May 1911, 856–867, reprinted in Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader*, 100.
- 25 Fry, 'Post-Impressionism', 100.
- 26 Fry, 'Post-Impressionism', 100.
- 27 Fry, 'Post-Impressionism', 100; Roger Fry, 'Bushman Paintings', *Burlington Magazine*, 16, March 1910, 334. Fry's seemingly obscure journal article on German art history and San rock art was reprinted in his 1920 *Vision and Design*, and widely read. His thought on the topic was also spread at the time through lecturing at the Slade, as recently discussed in Caroline Elam, 'From Giotto to the Bushmen: Roger Fry at the Slade, 1909–13', *Burlington Magazine*, 160, September 2018. And it was also endorsed, as Frances Spalding points out, in Clive Bell's widely read *Art*; Spalding, *Roger Fry*, 155.
- 28 Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, London, 1960, 101.
- 29 Roger Fry, 'Some Principles of Design', unpublished lecture, c. 1905, King's College, REF /1/84, 10a–10c.
- 30 See Fry, 'Bushman Paintings', and for Fry's clearest published discussion, Fry, 'Principles of Design. I.' in Christopher Green, *Art Made Modern*, London, 1999, 213–221. Among other thinkers Löwy mentioned Ernst Brücke in connection with the memory picture and Julius Lange with analysis of forms of frontality that were key to its formal specifics, as well as figures outside of Germany including James Sully for its wider application; Emanuel Loewy [Löwy], *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art*, trans. John Fothergill, London, 1907, 7, 10, 20. For a broader analysis of these terms and this history, see Whitney Davis, *Visuality and Virtuality: Images and Pictures from Prehistory to Perspective*, Princeton, 2019, 115–140. The fullest analysis of Fry's thought about this topic is given in Richard Shiff, 'From Primitivist Phylogeny to Formalist Ontogeny: Roger Fry and Children's Drawings', in *Discovering Child Art*, ed., Jonathan Fineberg, Princeton, 1998.
- 31 Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 247.
- 32 A reassessment indicated at the time in Emile Cartailhac, 'Les cavernes ornées de dessins. La grotte d'Altamira, Espagne. "Mea culpa d'un sceptique"', *L'Anthropologie*, 13, 1902, 348–354. Here I diverge most fully from Teukolsky's otherwise suggestive discussion of Fry c. 1910, which reads Fry as effectively continuing the project of the Victorian anthropologists; Rachel Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye: Victorian Art Writing and Modernist Aesthetics*, New York, 2009, 204–219. Closer to my analysis are Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, London, 1970, 328–329; and Shiff, 'From Primitivist Phylogeny'.
- 33 For the 'world' ambitions of the art history of Fry and others in Britain at the time see Green, *Art Made Modern*, 119–132, 135–212; Rupert Richard Arrowsmith, *Modernism and the Museum: Asian, African, and Pacific Art and the London Avant-Garde*, Oxford, 2010; and Colin Rhodes, 'Burlington Primitive: Non-European Art in the Burlington Magazine before 1930', *Burlington Magazine*, 2004, 98–104. On the exhibitionary aspect of this process more generally see Caroline A. Jones, *The Global Work of Art: World's Fairs, Biennials, and the Aesthetics of Experience*, Chicago, 2016.
- 34 Fry, 'Some Principles of Design', 10c.
- 35 This is not to suggest that Fry was especially innovative in joining form and imagination, being preceded by recent works such as Adolf von Hildebrandt's *The Problem of Form in the Visual Arts*. For a longer examination of links between form and imagination see the analysis of Kant and David Summers in Sam Rose, 'The Significance of Form', *nonsite*, January 2017, [nonsite.org/feature/the-significance-of-form](https://nonsite.org/feature/the-significance-of-form).
- 36 For instance Roger Fry, *Untitled lecture transcript*, c. 1905, King's College, REF/1/85, 16; and Roger Fry, 'Two Lectures on Pictorial Design', 21 November 1924, King's College, REF 1/112, 10/c/9.
- 37 Roger Fry, *Untitled unpublished lecture*, c. 1905, King's College, REF/1/85. Richard Shiff has developed this point in detail in 'From Primitivist Phylogeny'.
- 38 John Onians, 'A Brief Natural History of Art', in *Compression vs. Expression: Containing and Explaining the World's Art*, ed. Onians, Williamstown, MA, 2006, 235.
- 39 Thomas Munro, 'Creative Imagination and Nature', *American Magazine of Art*, 25, July 1932, 5–12. For an instance of how these clichés had taken hold in Britain by the 1930s, see Sam Rose 'The Visual Arts in the BBC's "The Listener", 1929–1939', *Burlington Magazine*, 155, September 2013, 606–611.
- 40 These are drawn from Löwy, *Rendering of Nature*. Though beyond the scope of this essay the ideas of representation based on mental imagery and of spatial representation beyond linear perspective have since been updated in analyses that describe these features in terms of 'object-centred descriptions', combinations of multiple projection systems, and 'independent view', notably in John Willats, *Art and Representation*, Princeton, 1999; Summers, *Real Spaces*; and Davis, *Visuality and Virtuality*. An extended consideration of the art history of late nineteenth and early twentieth century figurative art in terms of 'post-formalism' of this kind can be found in Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen, *Modern Art and the Remaking of Human Disposition, Europe circa 1900*, Chicago, 2021.
- 41 This being only the first step to a proper analysis of the work, as explored in Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century*, London, 2000, 117–141.
- 42 For indications of post-impersonism in these groups see Richard Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury*, Princeton, 1999; Philip Long, *The Scottish Colourists, 1900–1930*, Edinburgh, 2000; Wendy Baron, *The Perfect Moderns: A History of the Camden Town Group*, Aldershot, 2000.
- 43 Ysanne Holt has observed that the assimilation of 'the intense colours and decorative, often rhythmic effects of the post-impersonist painters Gauguin, Cézanne and van Gogh', was visible in the work of Gore, Gilman and Ginner by the time of the December 1912 exhibition, and from 1914 continued in the Cumberland Market Group founded by Gilman, Ginner and Bevan; Ysanne Holt, 'The Camden Town Group: Then and Now', in *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Publication, ed. Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, and Jennifer Mundy, May 2012, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/ysanne-holt-the-camden-town-group-then-and-now-r1105679>, accessed 31 October 2019. This separated the group from Walter Sickert, even as Fry spent the rest of his life attempting to assimilate Sickert's art to his own way of thinking; Sam Rose, "'With an Almost Pathetic Fatality Doing What is Right": Late Sickert and his Critics', *Art History*, 37, February 2014, 126–147.
- 44 Benedict Nicholson, 'Post-Impressionism and Roger Fry', *Burlington Magazine*, 93, January 1951, 11–15. Major recent examples of this use include the Pallant House exhibition of 2019 'Art-Quake: Post-Impressionism and British Art', the majority of the essays gathered in Tate Britain's *Camden Town Group in Context* research publication (<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group>) and the conference 'Crossing Borders. Constructing Canons: Post-Impressionism in Britain, America and Beyond' (Courtauld Institute of Art, 2021).
- 45 Spalding, *Roger Fry*, 146–151.
- 46 Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain, 1910–1914*, London, 1997, 108.
- 47 P. G. Konody, 'Art and Artists: English Post-impersonists', *The Observer*, 27 October 1912, 10. Letter from Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, 21 July 1912, in *Selected Letters of Vanessa Bell*, ed. Regina Marker, London, 1994, 121. See more generally J. B. Bullen, 'English Criticism and French Post-Impressionist Painting', in *Studies in Anglo French Cultural Relations: Imagining France*, ed. Ceri Crossley and Ian Small. London. 1988. The label has been continued in some prominent writing on the subject, notably Simon Watney, *English Post-Impressionism*, London, 1980.
- 48 Wendy Baron, *Sickert: Paintings and Drawings*, London, 2006, 81.
- 49 Robins, *Modern Art in Britain*, 69.
- 50 Robins, *Modern Art in Britain*, 116.
- 51 The divisions of this moment are particularly clearly brought out in Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects*, 1–9.
- 52 Robins, *Modern Art in Britain*, 137.
- 53 Sascha Bru, 'Lewis and the European Avant-Gardes', in *The Cambridge Companion to Wyndham Lewis*, ed. Tyrus Miller, Cambridge, 2015, 20.
- 54 Robins, *Modern Art in Britain*, 137.
- 55 Sickert, in *Walter Sickert: The Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Anna Gruetzner Robins, Oxford, 2000. For Sickert's attacks on Bloomsbury see Anna Gruetzner Robins, 'Fathers and Sons: Walter Sickert and Roger Fry', in Green, *Art Made Modern*; and Rose, 'With an Almost Pathetic Fatality Doing What is Right'.
- 56 The standard histories are Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850–1920*,

- Cambridge, 1992; and Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations*, Cambridge, 1994.
- 57 Roger Fry, 'Oriental Art', *Quarterly Review*, 212: 422, January 1910, 236–237. On Fry and figures around the India Society in Britain see Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India*, Cambridge, 1994, 307–314; and Tanya Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain in the Twentieth Century*, London, 1999, 177–183.
- 58 For a key statement see Vivan Sundaram, *Amrita Sher-Gil: A Self-Portrait in Letters and Writing*, vol. I, New Delhi, 2010, 249–255; and more broadly G. H. R. Tillotson, 'A Painter of Some Concern: Critical Writings on Amrita Sher-Gil', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 24, Winter 1997, 57–72.
- 59 Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*, 41–89; Saloni Mathur, 'A Retake of Sher-Gil's Self-Portrait as Tahitian', *Critical Inquiry*, 37, Spring 2011, 515–544.
- 60 Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922–47*, London, 2008, 115–122.
- 61 Bert Winther-Tamaki, 'Yōga: The Western Painting, National Painting, and Global Painting of Japan', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 25, December 2013, 134.
- 62 On Richardson and Fry see Bruce Holdsworth, 'Marion Richardson (1892–1946)', *Journal of Art & Design Education*, 7: 2, 1988, 137–154; Gillian D. Robinson, *The Aesthetic Theories of Roger Fry: Their Significance for Art Education in the Primary School*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (Institute of Education), 1989; Sarah M. Haberman, 'The Art of the Child: Roger Fry and Marion Richardson', *Charleston Magazine*, 17, Spring/Summer 1998, 13–18; Daniel Porter, 'How little the children know and how right they are': *The Significance of Marion Richardson's Teaching to the Aesthetic and Social Concerns of Roger Fry*, Unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1999.
- 63 Richard Carline, *Draw They Must: A History of the Teaching and Examining of Art*, London, 1968, 177–178.
- 64 Anon., 'The University of London Institute of Education', *Oversea Education*, 3: 4, July 1932, 183–186. The activities were documented from 1931 in the yearly University of London Institute of Education Studies and Reports. See also Tanya Harrod, "'Sincerely Themselves": Child Art in Britain and Colonial West Africa', in *The Century of the Child: Growing by Design, 1900–2000*, ed. Juliet Kinchin, New York, 2012; Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*, Durham, NC, 2015, 39–69; and Rose, *Art and Form*, 129–138.
- 65 Opinion is divided on these schemes, treated with partial (though still cautious and critical) sympathy in Clementine Deliss et al., *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*, London, 1995, 192; Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbachie, *Ben Enwonwu: The Making of an African Modernist*, Rochester, 2008, 36–84; and more firmly critiqued in Olu Oguibe, *The Culture Game*, Minneapolis, 2004, 50–55; and Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*, 52–64.
- 66 Michael Sadler, in *The Arts of West Africa (Excluding Music)*, ed. Sadler, London, 1935, 10, 8. The almost unanimous endorsement of the book's goals (of 'saving' or even re-creating 'native' art) in reviews in Britain was telling. See, for example, Trevor Thomas, 'The Arts of West Africa by Michael Sadler', *Folklore*, 46: 2, June 1935, 186–187; Trenchard Cox, 'The Arts of West Africa', *Oversea Education*, 4: 2, January 1935, 136–137; A. B. V. Drew, 'The Arts of West Africa by Michael Sadler', *Man*, 35: April 1935, 61–62.
- 67 On the racism underpinning these forms of art education see Oguibe, *The Culture Game*, 50–55; and Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*, 52–64.
- 68 Ogbachie, *Ben Enwonwu*; Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*.
- 69 Inaga Shigemi, 'Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage: Paul Cézanne in Japan', *Japan Review*, 28, 2015, 136; J. Thomas Rimer, 'Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo', in Shuji Takashina and J. Thomas Rimer with Gerald D. Bolas, *Paris in Japan: The Japanese Encounter with European Painting*, St Louis, 1987, 61.
- 70 Shigemi, 'Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage', 139.
- 71 Alicia Volk in Christine Guth et al., *Japan & Paris: Impressionism, Postimpressionism, and the Modern Era*, Honolulu, 2004, 43, 39–40.
- 72 See, for instance, Bolas, 'American Responses to Western-Style Japanese Painting', in *Paris in Japan*, 13; Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism*, 4–6.
- 73 In particular Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism*, an argument made in condensed form in Winther-Tamaki, 'Yōga'.
- 74 For this history given in this paragraph see Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism*, 103–205.
- 75 Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism*, 166–197, especially 195.
- 76 Volk, *In Pursuit of Universalism*, 110.
- 77 Letters from Xu Zhimo [as Tsemou Hsu] to Roger Fry, 15 December 1922 and 5 June 1923, King's College, REF/3/90.
- 78 Eugene Y. Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency', in *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith, New York, 2001, 103–159.
- 79 This translation of the essay, which draws on the revised 1922 version, is given in Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China*, Berkeley, 2012, 48. Chen's considerations of a possible future synthesis of Eastern and Western art, including the relation to Japanese painting, are further discussed in Aida-Yuen Wong, 'A New Life for Literati Painting in the Early Twentieth Century: Eastern Art and Modernity, A Transcultural Narrative?', *Artibus Asiae*, 60, 2000, especially 309–311, 322. For the context in Chen's art, see Craig Clunas, *Chinese Art and its Audiences*, Princeton, 2017, 175–183.
- 80 Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency', 113–114.
- 81 Da Zheng, *Chiang Yee: The Silent Traveller from the East: A Cultural Biography*, New Brunswick, 2010, 55; Chiang Yee, *The Silent Traveller in London*, London, 1938, 245–246.
- 82 Wen C. Fong, *Between Two Cultures*, New York, 2001, 88–96.
- 83 Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency', 111. It should be emphasized that this division was polemical rather than descriptive of modern art in China; for a sense of the many divisions being made at the time see Kuiyi Shen, 'Concept to Context: The Theoretical Transformation of Ink Painting into China's National Art in the 1920s and 1930s', in *Writing Modern Chinese Art: Historiographic Explorations*, ed. Josh Yiu, Seattle, 2009, 24–34.
- 84 Clunas, *Chinese Art and its Audiences*, 174.
- 85 It was also a common argument among academic art schools around the world; see for the case of Britain and India at the time, Rose, *Art and Form*, 138–145.
- 86 Michael Sullivan, 'A Small Token of Friendship', *Oriental Art*, New Series 32: 2, Summer, 1989, 76–85; Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art: The Khoan and Michael Sullivan Collection*, Oxford, 2009, 213.
- 87 See Green, 23–24, 129–132, 166–168.
- 88 Roger Fry, 'Somerville Lecture Modern Art I', unpublished lecture, 19 February 1923, King's College, REF 1/108, 2. On the 'structural fact' of an explosion after 1905 of a wide range of self-consciously experimental and incompatible avant-garde styles, see Joyeux-Prunel, *Les avant-gardes artistiques*.