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**Chen Shizeng (1876-1923) and His Practice for Modernising
Chinese Scholarly Painting in Early Twentieth-Century
Beijing**

by

Zi Wang

(s1414457)

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For My Grandmother

Abstract

This dissertation offers the first in-depth and comprehensive study of the approaches deployed by Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923) to modernise and revive *wenren hua* 文人畫 (scholar painting, scholarly painting or literati painting) in the early twentieth century.

This study posits three general questions. Against the background of the eastward spread of Western learning, how did Chinese painterly traditions and ‘new knowledge’ interact and compete with one another in a process of reform? How did Chen Shizeng propel scholarly painting towards modernity and contribute to the formation of modern Chinese art in Beijing? What roles did Chen Shizeng and *Jingpai* 京派 (the Beijing School of Painting) play in reconstructing visual culture in northern China and writing China’s painting history during the first half of the twentieth century?

The introduction elaborates on the art historical context of Chen Shizeng’s guiding principles of modernising scholarly painting. Chapter 2 presents Chen’s earliest attempts to fulfill this goal in his pre-Beijing era - the creation of *manbi* 漫筆 (monochromic ink painting produced casually with abbreviated brushwork) around 1912. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the formation and development of *Jingpai* as well as Chen’s role in this process, through a case study of the *Xuannan huahui* 宣南畫會 (Xuannan Painting Society) and research into Chen’s extended social network in Beijing. Chapter 5 extrapolates how Chen introduced the Western-influenced art salon to the art world in Beijing, and how the localised art salons shaped the professional practice of *Jingpai* artists and connected scholarly painting to modernity. Chapter 6 examines the introduction and promotion of *tu’an hua* 圖案畫 (graphic design) as a new elite art and the realisation of Pragmatism. The last chapter extrapolates the trend of *Jingpai* after Chen’s death in 1923, to see how the changes in political circumstances shaped the narratives of modern Chinese art history.

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Fig. 7. 36 “Li Kuchan’s ‘Lotus in the Summer’ in the exhibition hall of the National Museum of China in 2018,” accessed July 1, 2020, https://www.sohu.com/a/277456641_280470_

Chapter 1

Introduction

The first fifteen years of the Republican China (1912-1927) witnessed great social unrest.¹ The circumstances of Beijing - the capital of the Republican *Beiyang zhengfu* 北洋政府 (Beiyang Government) - were paradoxical. On the one hand, the city experienced a dark time of flux caused by frequently changing warlords, the constant threat of war, a crumbling economy and non-stop natural disasters.² On the other hand, it was also a prosperous time for the arts, witnessing the collision of cultures - old and new, local and foreign.³

Between the late Qing and the early Republican periods, numerous accomplished artists from the varied traditions of *guohua* 國畫 (national painting) and *xihua* 西畫 (Western painting) relocated to the capital Beijing.⁴ They networked and collaborated with each other in various ways and produced large numbers of significant artworks which may be seen as the ultimate artistic achievements of their era.⁵

In the meantime, due to the collision of differing arts and cultures in the city, *wenren hua* 文人畫 (scholar's painting, scholarly painting or literati painting), which had upheld a high standard of achievement over the preceding centuries, experienced an unprecedented crisis.⁶ It was criticised harshly by art revolutionaries such as Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) and Xu Beihong 徐

¹ Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Beiyang junfa shi* 北洋軍閥史 (A History of Northern Warlords) (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 2016), 3-5.

² Ibid.

³ Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 ed., *Ershi shiji Beijing huihua shi* 二十世紀北京繪畫史 (A History of Painting in the Twentieth Century Beijing) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2012), 5-7.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Zheng Gong 鄭工, *Zhongguo meishu de xiandaihua* 中國美術的現代化 (The Modernisation of Fine Arts in China) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2002), 73.

悲鴻 (1895-1953), who particularly attributed the regression in national painting to the long-standing advocacy of literati painting from Yuan to Qing periods (twelfth to nineteenth century), claiming that its decline had now reached its nadir.⁷

The crisis of scholarly painting in the early twentieth century and subsequent heated discussions regarding its resurrection point to one of the most important issues in the field of modern Chinese art history – the modernisation of Chinese national painting. In this context, as scholarly painting was blamed for the decline of national painting, the exploration of how to reform national painting first needed to address how to modernise scholarly painting. Therefore, this dissertation hopes to contribute to the art historical narrative by negotiating the significant yet scantily researched approach developed up and practiced by ‘the pioneer of modern Chinese art’ - Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923), as well as his fellow artists from *Jingpai* 京派 (Beijing School of Painting).⁸

Adopting realism as the remedy, Kang Youwei, Chen Duxiu, Xu Beihong and their followers promoted a Chinese-Western synthesis method in order to save national painting.⁹ In contrast to these radicals, Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists possessed milder opinions thus object to this particular approach.¹⁰ They retained a strong faith in Chinese painterly traditions and believed that the reformation of national painting ‘occurred not only in Chinese-Western synthesis.’¹¹ For them, obtaining new knowledge from the West was only as important as innovation within their own tradition.¹²

⁷ Aida Wong, *The Other Kang Youwei: Calligrapher, Art Activist, and Aesthetic Reformer in Modern China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 105.

⁸ Chen Shizeng was praised by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) as ‘Zhongguo xiandai meishu diyiren 中國現代美術第一人 (the pioneer of modern Chinese art). See: Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Zai Chen Shizeng zhuidaohui shang de yanshuoci 在陳師曾追悼會上的演說 (The Speech Delivered during Chen Shizeng’s Memorial Ceremony),” in *Chen Hengke shiwen ji 陳衡恪詩文集* (A Collection of Poems and Proses by Chen Hengke), ed. Liu Jingfu 劉經富 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2009), 301-302.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Hang Chunxiao 杭春曉, “Wenhe de jianjin zhi lu: yi minchu Beijing diqu zhongguohua chuantongpai huajia wei zhongxin de kaocha 溫和的漸進之路——以民初北京地區中國畫傳統派畫家為中心的考察 (A Mild, Progressive Path: A Study on the Peking Traditionalists)” (PhD diss., Chinese Academy of Arts, 2006).

¹¹ Zhang Jingmin, “Tradition revitalized: The Chinese painting research society of Republican Beijing” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2014).

¹² Ibid.

In the field of twentieth-century Chinese art history, Beijing has been placed alongside Shanghai and Guangzhou as one of the three centres of *guohua* from as early as the 1920s.¹³ While *Haipai* 海派 (the Shanghai School of Painting) and *Lingnan huapai* 嶺南畫派 (the Lingnan School of Painting) have been well-considered in scholarship, both in China and in the West, neither Chen Shizeng nor the *Jingpai* he represented have been given adequate scholarly attention.

To fill in this scholarly gap and to further explore the modernisation of Chinese national painting, this dissertation will explore Chen Shizeng's specific endeavours to modernise scholarly painting through the perspective of tradition-modernity bind. It will also look at the particular historical encounters of Chen's fellow *Jingpai* artists in Beijing from 1912 to 1927, and touch upon the impact of the School and its constituent artists on contemporary Chinese painting beyond their lifetime.

The objectives of this dissertation are threefold: first, to explore the approaches adopted by Chen Shizeng to modernise scholarly painting and direct the trends for the development of modern Chinese painting; second, to fully acknowledge the true role of Chen Shizeng and the *Jingpai* he represented in Chinese painting history; and finally, to understand more deeply the interactions between tradition and modernity in the context of modern Chinese art.

To achieve these goals, this research posits three general questions. Against the background of the eastward spread of Western learning, how did Chinese painterly traditions and 'new knowledge' interact and compete with one another in a process of reform? How did Chen Shizeng propel scholarly painting towards modernity and contribute to the formation of modern Chinese art in Beijing? What roles did Chen Shizeng and *Jingpai* play in reconstructing visual culture in northern China and writing China's painting history during the first half of the twentieth century?

¹³ See: Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, "Zhongguo xiandai huatan de xianzhuang 中國現代畫壇的現狀 (The Circumstances of the World of National Painting in Modern China)," *Zhen mei shan* 真美善 (True, Beautiful and Kind) 2, no. 2 (1928), 1-20.

1.1 Definitions of *Wenren hua*, *Guohua* and *Jingpai*

The first section will elucidate the proper definitions of three key words reoccurring in this dissertation - *wenren hua*, *guohua* and *Jingpai* - particularly in the context of the early twentieth century.

Wenren hua

The idea of *wenren hua* 文人畫 (literati painting, scholar painting or scholarly painting) first appeared in North Song (towards the end of the eleventh century).¹⁴ It is noteworthy that *wenren hua* did not have one singular style.¹⁵ The Song scholar-artists pursued harmony between artistic forms, poetry and philosophy.¹⁶ Under the unrealistic and ambiguous expression of pictorial languages and artists' feelings, Yuan literati artists, most of whom refused to serve the Mongol court and were thus in retirement, developed a highly personal calligraphic approach to achieve the goal of *xieyi* 寫意 (writing ideas or spirits) in landscape paintings.¹⁷ According to Wen C. Fong, Yuan literati painting was a combination of words and images, expressing the complex personality and nuanced emotion of literati painters, which permanently changed the nature of pictorial art in China.¹⁸

Due to the unpleasant political environment at court, when China was ruled once more by a native dynasty in Ming, some literati preferred to return home and join the gentry class and a life of leisure rather than pursue an official career in the government.¹⁹ These educated elites focused on the self-cultivation of painting and formed a learned network with their like-minded friends. The source of income for these literati painters came from exchanging artworks and receiving support from their

¹⁴ Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 1.

¹⁵ Wan Qingli, "Li Keran (1907-1989) and Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting" (PhD diss. University of Kansas, 1991), 33.

¹⁶ Chia-ling Yang, "Power, Identity and Antiquarian Approaches in Modern Chinese Art," *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 10 (June 2014), 22. According to Wan Qingli, the so-called literati had already engaged in the practice of painting before North Song. Su Shi and his literati friends initiated the division between amateur paintings by the literati and professional painters' artworks. While the former focused on the expression of feelings and emotions, the latter emphasised on the depiction of forms. See: Wan Qingli, "Li Keran", 32.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 431-432.

¹⁹ Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, 151.

scholar-official patrons.²⁰ Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) was one such cautious literati artist who carefully avoided politics and devoted himself to artistic interests.²¹ Dong's formula of the Northern School and Southern School theory elevated literati painting to an unprecedented high status in the art history of China, which surpassed the position of academic painting.²²

Dong Qichang's theory led to the rise of the Orthodox School of the early Qing, which was represented by Dong's followers - *si Wang* 四王 (the Four Wangs, [Wang Shimin 王時敏, 1592-1680], [Wang Jian 王鑒, 1598-1677], [Wang Hui 王翬, 1632-1717], and [Wang Yuanqi 王原祁, 1642-1715]).²³ The School retained its dominant position in the eighteenth century.²⁴ The School followed Dong's idea and approach regarding the brushworks of Song and Yuan masters as the highest standard in the practice of painting; it did, however, over-emphasise the method of copying previous works.²⁵ This imitative tendency brought about by *si Wang* and their followers were constantly attacked and criticised until the twentieth century.²⁶

Starting from the mid-Qing, some literati-artists rebelled against *si Wang*'s practice; they introduced epigraphic art, which derived from the influence of *beixue* 碑學 (the study of stele) into the field of scholarly art, which was completely different from the traditions of literati painting seen in Song, Yuan, Ming and early Qing.²⁷ As the founder of *Jinshi huapai* 金石畫派 (The Painting School of Metal and Stone Scripts) in the mid-nineteenth century, Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829-1884) adopted the calligraphic brushwork from *beibei* 北碑 (North Wei Stele) to depict his freehand-style bird-and-flower paintings. Zhao also further developed *sanjue* 三絕 (the three perfections:

²⁰ Yang, "Power, Identity and Antiquarian Approaches in Modern Chinese Art," 22.

²¹ Wen C. Fong, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal," in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: 1555-1636*, ed. Judith G. Smith, Wai-kam Ho (St. Louis: University of Washington Press, 1992), 43.

²² Yang, "Power, Identity and Antiquarian Approaches in Modern Chinese Art," 22.

²³ Wan, "Li Keran", 34.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 35.

poetry, calligraphy and painting) from the traditions of literati art into *sijue* 四絕 (the four perfections: poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal carving).²⁸ This new tradition based on epigraphic art was inherited by Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1925) in Shanghai and was introduced to and continued in Beijing in the early twentieth century by Wu's followers Chen Banding 陳半丁 (1876-1970), Chen Shizeng and Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957).²⁹

When it came to the twentieth century, Huang Binhong aimed to reconstruct the idea of Chinese painting and painting theory. He tried to redefine scholarly painting with *jinshi* 金石 (the study of metal and stone).³⁰ According to Huang, scholarly painting was the first of the three types of painting which constitute 'guohua zhengzong 國畫正宗 (Orthodox national painting)'. For Huang, the definition of scholarly painting depended on the backgrounds of the painters: *cizhang jia* 詞章家 (poets and writers) and *jinshi jia* 金石家 (people who study metal and stone).³¹

In his well-known and widely researched article 'Wenren hua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值 (The Value of Scholarly Painting),' Chen Shizeng defined scholarly painting as 'paintings that contain the features and interests of scholars 畫中帶有文人之性質, 含有文人之趣味.' He also stated that 'one should not dwell on the skill of the painting but on the meaning and individuality of the scholar that the painting expresses. 不在畫中考究藝術上之工夫, 必須於畫外看出許多文人之感想。'³² Chen listed four

²⁸ Ibid., 39-40.

²⁹ Ibid., 40.

³⁰ Yang, "Power, Identity and Antiquarian Approaches in Modern Chinese Art," 22.

³¹ Huang Binhong 黃賓虹, "Huajia pingge zhi quyue 畫家品格之區異 (Differences of Painters' Characteristics)," *Meizhan* 美展 (The Exhibition of Fine Arts), no. 1 (1929): 6.

³² Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值 (The Value of Scholarly Painting)," in *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu* 中國文人畫之研究 (A Study of Chinese Scholarly Painting), ed. Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 and Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishu chubanshe, 2015), 5. Yu Jianhua commented on 'The Value of Scholarly Painting,' saying that this article provided a full, orderly inquiry into scholarly painting, pointing out its true spirit and value, whilst rebutting various biases held against scholarly painting during Chen's time. It not only thoroughly elaborated the achievements of scholarly painting in terms of painterly skills, but also placed an emphasis

criteria for scholarly painting, which were actually requirements for the painters of *wenren hua*: *renpin* 人品 (moral character), *xuewen* 學問 (knowledge), *caiqing* 才情 (capabilities-feelings), *sixiang* 思想 (thought).³³

If we compare Chen Shizeng and Huang Binhong's ways of defining scholarly painting with the aforementioned definitions of previous dynasties, we notice that Chen and Huang placed emphasis on the identity of the painter who produced scholarly paintings, as they did not directly distinguish between amateur artists and professional artists. As Chia-ling Yang points out, this is a better justification for artists living in modern China, because in the early twentieth century, artists sojourning in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai were all professionals despite their educational backgrounds and official titles in the Republican government.³⁴ These artists made their living through multiple means: selling artworks, teaching at local institutions, writing for newspapers and magazines, serving as editors for local publications and engaging in applied arts such as graphic design. These occupations made all of them professionals.³⁵

When discussing *wenren hua* and the painters of *wenren hua* in this dissertation, we should be very careful about the English translation. As Wang Qingli pointed out, traditional terms such as literati painting and literati painter were no longer applicable in the context of the art world in China after the mid-nineteenth century, especially after 1905 when *keju* 科舉 (imperial examination) was abolished and the new-style education replaced traditional forms.³⁶ In this dissertation, I will use terms like scholar-artist and intellectual, instead of literati-artist and literati, to refer to artists like Chen Shizeng, who received a traditional Chinese scholar's education in his early years before experiencing the new, western education in the twentieth century. Chen was a professional rather than an amateur, while traditional literati-painters were all amateurs.

on the moral, literary and artistic cultivations of scholar-painters. See: Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 ed., *Zhongguo hualun xuandu* 中國畫論選讀 (A Selected Collection of Writings on the Study of Painting in China) (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 2007), 471-495.

³³ English translation by Aida Yuen Wong. See: Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-style Painting in Modern China* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 306-307.

³⁴ Yang, "Power, Identity and Antiquarian Approaches in Modern Chinese Art," 22.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Wan, "Li Keran" 21.

For *wenren hua*, I will adopt the translation of scholarly painting, which emphasised the inheritance of the traditions of literati painting from Song to Qing in the early twentieth century, as well as the aspiration and interests expressed in the paintings by twentieth-century scholar-artists. In the meantime, literati painting and literati-artist will still be applicable for the discussion of *wenren hua* before the mid-nineteenth century.

Guohua

According to Julia F. Andrews and Pedith Chan, *guohua* 國畫 (national painting) is an abbreviation of *zhongguo hua* 中國畫 (Chinese painting), literally meaning ‘Chinese national painting.’ This term refers to indigenous Chinese artwork painted using animal-hair brush, ink, with or without colour wash, on a medium of silk or paper, under the conventional categories: landscape, bird-and-flower, and figure. *Guohua* made its debut in the writings of early twentieth century China and since then, has been widely used to distinguish from Western painting in terms of medium and style.³⁷ While investigating into the formation of the concept of *guohua* in the context of the early twentieth century, Chia-ling Yang raises the question of what *guo* 國 means and offers two plausible explanations: *guo* could refer to *Guomin dang* 國民黨 (The Nationalist Party), which ruled mainland China from 1927 to 1949; *guo* could also stand for *Minguo* 民國 (Republic of China), which replaced Qing 清 (1644-1911) after *Xinhai geming* 辛亥革命 (The Revolution of 1911) in 1911 and represented China during the first half of the twentieth century, prior to the People’s Republic of China.³⁸ *Guohua* and *maobi hua* 毛筆畫 (brush painting) were usually translated into ‘traditional Chinese painting’; they were, under many circumstances, associated with conservatism and were regarded as the opposite to modernisation in the first half of the

³⁷ Julia F. Andrews, “Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (August 1990), 555-559; Pedith Chan, “The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of *Guohua*: Art Societies in Republican Shanghai,” *Modern China* 39, no. 5 (September 2013), 541-570.

³⁸ Yang, “Power, identity and antiquarian approaches in modern Chinese art,” 1.

twentieth century.³⁹ Focusing on the continuity of the traditions of painterly techniques and styles, *guohua* could also be translated into national-style painting.⁴⁰ After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, *guohua* as a major category of fine arts in mainland China had to accommodate the needs of social realism under the changing politics of the Communist government. For example, while *guohua* painters like Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957) continued to work in their developed style, they had to compromise with needs of the Party from time to time, especially in terms of subject matter.⁴¹

Jingpai

Artists who were later acknowledged as the first generation of *Jingpai* shared the following characteristics: they were not natives of Beijing and relocated to the city from all across China in the last days of Qing and the first few years of the Republic; they did not have a unified painterly style and they were highly involved with the commercialisation of national painting.

The aforementioned features were not unique for *Jingpai*; they represented the modern art world in China. Compared with Anita Chung and Shan Guolin's definitions of *Haipai*, we find *Jingpai* and *Haipai* were two similar cases in the writing of the early twentieth-century Chinese painting history, where equal attention ought to be paid to the introduction of Western learning and the preservation of Chinese painterly traditions.⁴² Just like *Haipai* artists, *Jingpai* artists reflected the common situation of the Chinese painter living in modern China.

Back to the late Qing, scholar-artists living in Beijing were still in a scattered condition and did not form a fixed group of painters. Some of the scholar-artists still had some sort of impact upon and connections to younger generations of painters who were later labelled as the first generation of *Jingpai* artists. As Huang Jun 黃濬 (1891-

³⁹ Chan, "The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of *Guohua*: Art Societies in Republican Shanghai," 566.

⁴⁰ Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 123.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴² Shan Guolin, "The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School," in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851-1911*, ed. Anita Chung (Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland Publishing, 2000), 9, 23; Anita Chung, "Reinterpreting the Shanghai School of Painting," in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851-1911*, 43-44.

1937) stated: ‘According to my memory, Mr Jiang Yingsheng [Jiang Yun 姜筠, 1847-1919] and Mr Lin Weilu [Lin Shu 林紓, 1852-1924] were the leading figures in the painting history of old Beijing after *gengzi* year [1900]. 舊京畫史，予所記者，庚子後以姜穎生、林畏廬兩先生為巨擘。’ Specifically, Xiao Qianzhong 蕭謙中 (1883-1944), an accomplished painter of landscape painting and a good friend of Chen Shizeng, used to be a disciple of Jiang Yun 姜筠 (1847-1919). Chen and Qi Baishi were also friendly with Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924).⁴³

Chen Shizeng’s student Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1898-1979) provided the earliest definition of *Jingpai*, the names of the first generation of *Jingpai* painters, and the special position of Beijing in the world of national painting during the first half of the twentieth century in his two articles, published in 1928 and 1947 respectively.⁴⁴ According to Yu, *Jingpai* referred to the specific group of painters working on national painting in early Republican Beijing.⁴⁵

At the beginning of his ‘Zhongguo xiandai huatan de xianzhuang 中國現代畫壇的現狀 (The Circumstances of the Contemporary Chinese World of Painting),’ Yu Jianhua equated *Jingpai* with the already well-established *Haipai* when classifying and grouping numerous painting schools in the contemporary Chinese art world.⁴⁶ Subsequently, Yu pointed out the significance of Beijing and Shanghai in the development of national painting:

Only Beijing, the city living in the threat of war, and cosmopolitan Shanghai, are qualified to represent the world of painting in China. Although there are

⁴³ See: Huang Jun 黃濬, “Huajia Chen Shizeng 畫家陳師曾 (Painter Chen Shizeng),” in *Huashuirensheng an zhiyi* 花隨人聖庵摭憶 (A Collection of Memories in Huashuirensheng Studio), Huang Jun 黃濬 (Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2013), 693-694.

⁴⁴ See: Yu, “Zhongguo xiandai huatan de xianzhuang,” 1-20; Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, “Qishiwu nian lai de guohua 七十五年來的國畫 (National Painting in the Past Seventy Years),” *Shen Bao* 申報 (Shen Newspaper), September 21, 1947, 9.

⁴⁵ Yu Jianhua, “Zhongguo xiandai huatan de xianzhuang,” 1-20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

also talents in other areas, those locations are all impacted by these two places - Beijing and Shanghai - either directly or indirectly.

足以代表中國畫壇的地方，只有現在危在旦夕的北京與萬國會同的上海。其他地方雖然不能沒有一二人才，無不直接或間接接受北京上海兩處的影響。⁴⁷

Yu Jianhua's emphasis on the significance of Beijing in the field of *guohua* remained unchanged. Nineteen years later in 1947, Yu published another article, 'Qishiwu nian lai de guohua 七十五年來的國畫 (National Painting in the Past Seventy Years)', in which he divided the development of national painting during the Republican period into four phases. According to Yu, in the first phase - 1912 to 1926 - there were two centres of national painting in China: Beijing and Shanghai. Most importantly, in the analysis of Phase One as presented in this article, Yu listed thirteen renowned painters working in Beijing, who he believed were the absolute core members of the first generation of *Jingpai* painters. They will be the focus of this dissertation:

The flourishing age was from the seventh to the twelfth year of the Republic (1918-1923). At that time, painters gathered in Beiping (Beijing) included Xiao Qianzhong, Xiao Zhiquan [Xiao Junxian 蕭俊賢, 1865-1948], Yao Mangfu [Yao Hua 姚華, 1876-1930], Chen Banding, He Lüzhi [賀履之, 1860-1937], Tang Dingzhi [湯定之,], Chen Shizeng, Hu Peiheng [胡佩衡, 1892-1962], Wang Mengbai [王夢白, 1888-1934], Ling Kezhi [Ling

⁴⁷ It is necessary to clarify that when Yu put Beijing before Shanghai in both articles, he did not mean that in the Republican period, Beijing enjoyed a higher status than Shanghai in the world of national painting. Yu wrote in this way probably because of his personal preference, as he admitted in the first article that he was able to share his views on this subject because he had lived in Beijing for six years, so he knew about the world of national painting in Beijing. Moreover, as Yu started his artistic career in Beijing, he often felt sentimentally attached to the city. See: *Ibid.*, 3-4.

Wenyuan 凌文淵, 1876-1944], Yu Shaosong [余紹宋, 1882-1949], Jin Gongbei [Jin Cheng 金城, 1878-1926], Qi Baishi, etc. (...) It was truly a galaxy of all kinds of talents. (...) After the tenth year of the Republic, masters such as Qianzhong [Xiao Qianzhong], Gongbei [Jin Cheng] and Shizeng [Chen Shizeng] passed away one after another. As a result, the artistic atmosphere in Beijing began to decline as the rest painters either left the city or died. Now only Banding and Baishi are still in Beijing; they are like the last remaining fruits on the tree.

最盛是在民國七年到十二年，那時聚在北平的畫家有蕭謙中、蕭屋泉、姚茫父、陳半丁、賀履之、湯定之、陳師曾、胡佩衡、王夢白、凌克直、余紹宋、金拱北、齊白石諸先生，人才濟濟，各體具備。(…)民國十年以後，謙中、拱北、師曾諸先生相繼歸道山，北平氣象亦日趨沒落，畫家或走或歿，現在僅半丁、白石尚在，如碩果之今存了。⁴⁸

The significance of the aforementioned painters is apparent as due to their efforts the world of national painting in Beijing reached its apogee. This point was further strengthened in Yu's analysis of Phase Two - 1927 to 1937. He claimed that without these painters, the world of national painting in Beijing faced inevitable decline. Even the well-organised *Hu she* 湖社 (Lake Society), which was widely influential beyond Beijing across northern China from the late 1920s to the 1940s, was not able to revive the prosperity of previous years.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Yu, "Qishiwu nian lai de guohua," 9. See Table I and III in the appendix for these artists biographies.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

1.2 The Crisis of Scholarly Painting and the Approaches of the Art Radicals

Since the beginning of the Republic (1912), harsh criticisms were levied against national painting, especially scholarly painting, which was seen by Chinese intellectuals as the pinnacle of national painting.⁵⁰ It was widely acknowledged that national painting was facing an unprecedented decline and the rigid and lifeless convention of copying from and imitating earlier works, as well as the absence of creation, were at the heart of such criticisms.⁵¹ In 1912, renowned scholar Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) revised a previous article written in 1908, where he stated that: ‘Recent painters seldom have had the opportunity to see the actual paintings (...) They barely know how to make copy not to mention how to create. 近世畫師，罕窺真跡 (...) 既模仿之不知，于創作乎何有。’⁵²

This criticism was upgraded to an unprecedented crisis of national painting when it was threatened with being replaced by, or even synthesised with, Western painting.⁵³ As the main targets were mostly scholarly painting and scholar-artists, the crisis of national painting was, in fact, more precisely the crisis of scholarly painting. This crisis was pushed to its highest point by the Art Revolution in 1919, which was advocated by one of the leaders of the *xinwenhua yundong* 新文化運動 (New Culture Revolution) - Chen Duxiu - together with Kang Youwei and Kang’s disciple, artist Xu Beihong.⁵⁴

The main target of the Art Revolution was *si wang* 四王 (the Four Wangs [Wang

⁵⁰ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, “Zhongguo hua gailiang lun 中國畫改良論 (The Reformation of the Chinese Painting),” *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920), 12.

⁵¹ Wang Guowei 王國維, “Zhongguo minghua ji xu 《中國名畫集》序 (Preface to *A Collection of Famous Paintings in China*),” in *Minguo hualun jingxuan* 民國畫論精選 (A Selection of Treaties on Painting From Republican Period), ed. Wu Xiaoming 吳曉明 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2013), 2-3.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hu Jian 胡健, *Xiuzhe buxiu 朽者不朽* (A Monograph on Chen Shizeng) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2012), 163.

⁵⁴ Zheng Gong 鄭工, *Yanjin yu yundong: zhongguo meishu de xiandai hua, 1975-1976* 演進與運動：中國美術的現代化，1875-1976 (Evolution and Movement: The Modernisation of Chinese Fine Arts, 1875-1976) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2002), 97-114.

Shimin 王時敏, 1592-1680], [Wang Jian 王鑒, 1589-1677], [Wang Hui 王翬, 1632-1717] and [Wang Yuanqi 王原祁, 1642-1715), accomplished scholar-artists who had represented the absolute orthodoxy of landscape painting since early Qing Dynasty.⁵⁵ By attacking the Four Wangs, art revolutionaries blamed national painting's harmful inheritance of rigidly imitating the styles, compositions and strokes of previous painters, which resulted in a lack of innovation and vigorousness in early twentieth century paintings.⁵⁶

Kang Youwei targeted on scholar-artists in particular. He pointed out that the brushwork of *si Wang* retained only part of the free, spiritual essence of the brushworks of the Yuan masters, and could barely match the masters of Tang and Song.⁵⁷ On the one hand, Kang appreciated, instead of denigrating, the paintings by the four Yuan masters – Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354), Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374), Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1385) and Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354) - saying that their artworks were ‘chaoyi danyuan 超逸澹遠 (free, unrestrained, tranquil and profound)’. On the other hand, Kang blamed Yuan masters for the decline of national painting and the study of painting in his times, because they promoted literati painting which put emphasis on the expression of spirits and emotions, and demoted the work of artisans, which were focused on realist verisimilitude.⁵⁸

Kang Youwei's student Xu Beihong inherited his ideas by stating that scholarly painting was the origin and starting point of the decline of Chinese painting. Because of the promotion of scholarly painting, Chinese painting had become the trifling skill of the scholars who were unwilling to explore the field more deeply, as they regarded

⁵⁵ Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, “Meishu geming da Lü Cheng 美術革命——答呂澂 (The Art Revolution: Replying to Lü Cheng),” *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (The New Youth) 6, no. 1 (1919), 95-97.

⁵⁶ Kang Youwei 康有為, “Wanmu caotang canghuamu jiexuan 萬目草堂藏畫目 (節選) (Catalogue of Collected Paintings from the Thatched Hall of Ten Thousand Trees),” in *Minguo hualun jingxuan* 民國畫論精選 (A Selection of Treatises on Painting From Republican Period), ed. Wu Xiaoming 吳曉明 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe chubanshe, 2013), 8-12. Chen, “Meishu geming da Lü Cheng,” 95-97.

⁵⁷ ‘蓋即四王、二石，稍存元人逸筆，已非唐宋正宗。’ See: Kang, “Wanmu caotang suocang zhongguohua mu,” 12.

⁵⁸ ‘元四大家大癡、雲林、叔明、仲圭出，以其高士逸筆，大發寫意之論，而攻院體。(…)蓋中國畫學之衰，至今為極矣，則不能不追源作俑，以歸罪於元四家也。’ See: Kang, “Wanmu caotang canghuamu jiexuan,” 10-11.

wenren hua as a means for leisure time entertainment.⁵⁹ Furthermore, in his ‘Zhongnational painting gailiang lun 中國畫改良論 (The Reformation of Chinese Painting),’ Xu attributed the unprecedented decay in the study of Chinese painting to the following two reasons: first, an obsessive adherence to past practices and second, the loss of an independent academic status.⁶⁰ Specifically, for the painters and past practices Xu attacked in support of this arguments and beliefs, Xu blamed the four Yuan masters for the decline of Chinese painting, just like his mentor Kang Youwei, labelling their paintings as the ancestors of *bagu shanshui* 八股山水 (stereotyped landscape painting).⁶¹ If we go through Xu’s writings from his entire artistic career, from the late 1910s to the early 1950s, we find that he had three main targets: Dong Qichang, *si Wang* and *Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜 (Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden).

From 1910s to 1950s, Xu Beihong harshly criticised the aforementioned three subjects for multiple times. Initially, Xu’s criticisms were made based on the analysis of actual artworks, and his language and wording were relatively mild. After viewing paintings exhibited in *guwu chenliesuo* 古物陳列所 (The Display of Antiquities) in 1918, Xu commented on Dong Qichang’s painting and calligraphy as follows: ‘His calligraphy and painting are both weak and lack strength. While his paintings are relatively delicate and refined, his calligraphic works are so frail that they are particularly unbearable and uncommentable. 彼之書畫均薄弱少力量，畫略秀，書則孱弱尤不堪，不足稱也。’⁶² This piece of commentary reveals Xu’s ignorance regarding brushwork, the essence of literati painting as advocated by Yuan masters. In the following decades, Xu’s denouncement of Dong, *si Wang* and *Painting Manuals of*

⁵⁹ ‘中國藝術沒落的原因，是因為偏重文人畫。’ See: Hua Tianxue 華天雪, *Xu Beihong de zhongguohua gailiang* 徐悲鴻的中國畫改良 (Xu Beihong’s Reformation on Chinese Painting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2007), 11. ‘則中國畫尚為文人之末技，智者不深求焉，豈有足存之道哉！’ See: Xu, “Zhongguohua gailiang lun,” 12.

⁶⁰ ‘夫何故而使畫學如此頹敗邪？曰惟守舊，曰惟失其獨立學術之地位。’ See: Xu, “Zhongguohua gailiang lun,” 12.

⁶¹ ‘元四家為八股山水祖宗。 (...) 即取之為文人畫定型，亦中國繪畫衰微之起點。’ See: Hua, *Xu Beihong de zhongguohua gailiang*, 9.

⁶² Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, “Wenhua dian suocang shuhua 文華殿所藏書畫 (Calligraphy and Painting in Wenhua Pavilion),” in *Xu Beihong wenji*, ed. Wang, 1.

the Mustard Seed Garden became extremely severe and biased. For instance, Dong was regarded by Xu as the representation of the stereotyped landscape painting, who, just like his follower Wang Hui, knew nothing about the actual scenic landscapes of China, thus executed their paintings only by copying the artworks of previous masters.⁶³ As for the *Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden*, Xu believed that it was fatal to learners of the practice of painting, as they had grown used to copying directly from the manuals without training their abilities to observe nature and their surrounding environments; their paintings thus became deteriorated and lifeless.⁶⁴

Chen Duxiu's main target was also scholarly painting. He argued that the first step in saving Chinese painting was to revolutionise the paintings of *si Wang*.⁶⁵ For Chen, Wang Hui's paintings particularly marked 'the end of the poor Chinese painting represented by the school of Ni [Ni Zan], Huang [Huang Gongwang], Wen [Wen Zhengming 文徵明, 1470-1559], Shen [Shen Zhou 沈周, 1427-1509] 倪、黃、文、沈一派中国恶画的结束.'⁶⁶

To elaborate the best path forwards for national painting, Kang Youwei, Chen Duxiu and Xu Beihong pointed out, to differing degrees, that revolution should be undertaken based on the basic principle of Chinese-Western synthesis. To be more specific, beneficial aspects of Western painting, such as realism and verisimilitude, should be imported into local practice and learned from.⁶⁷ Kang believed that Chinese painting had the long tradition of realism which dated back to the Tang 唐 (618-907) and Song 宋 (960-1279). Many artisans could paint in extremely realistic styles and this pushed the paintings of Tang and Song to the apogee of Chinese painting history. Therefore, the key for revolutionising national painting was to learn realism from the

⁶³ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Zhongguo shanshui zhi jingshen 中國山水之精神 (The Spirits of Chinese Landscape Painting)," in *Xu Beihong wenji*, ed. Wang, 132. Xu, "Fuxing zhongguo yishu yundong 復興中國藝術運動 (The Movement of Reviving Chinese Art)," in *Xu Beihong wenji*, ed. Wang, 141.

⁶⁴ Xu, "Zhongguo yishu de gongxian jiqi quxiang 中國藝術的貢獻及其趨向 (Contributions and Trends of Chinese Art)," in *Xu Beihong wenji*, ed. Wang, 121-122.

⁶⁵ '若想把中國畫改良，首先要革王畫的命。' See: Chen, "Meishu geming da Lü Cheng," 95-97.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Lü Cheng 呂澂, "Meishu geming 美術革命 (The Art Revolution)," *Xin qingnian 新青年 (The New Youth)* 6, no. 1 (1918): 84-86; Xu, "Zhongguohua gailiang lun," 12.

West and thus regain access to this lost tradition.⁶⁸ Just like his mentor Kang Youwei, Xu Beihong was an advocator of reformism in the stream of national painting.⁶⁹ Responding to Kang's proposals, Xu stressed that when depicting an object, one could only achieve an absolutely lifelike quality by drawing faithfully from life.⁷⁰ Xu summarised his specific method to reform national painting: 'As far as the ancient methods are concerned, maintain the good ones, revive the interrupted ones, improve those that are not good, strengthen the weak ones and assimilate appropriate elements from Western Painting. 古法之佳者守之，垂絕者繼之，不佳者改之，未足者增之，西方畫之可采入者融之。'⁷¹ Similarly, Chen emphasised that Chinese painters must adopt Western realism in order to gain the full use of their talents and break away from the conventions set by previous painters.⁷²

1.3 The Formation of Chen Shizeng's Approaches to Reform Scholarly Painting

Confronted with the same crisis in scholarly painting, Chen Shizeng opposed to the Chinese-Western synthesis approach promoted by the art radicals - Kang Youwei, Chen Duxiu and Xu Beihong. As Aida Wong points out, Chen clearly expressed his objection to the general Eastern-Western synthesis method in an interview with the *Tōyō* 東洋 (Orient) magazine in 1922, when discussing the future paths of Chinese scholarly painting and Japanese *nanga*. Chen first stated that in general, Eastern and Western art each had its own system, history and customs. It was uncertain whether or not Eastern painting and Western painting would converge. Chen then admitted the possibility that

⁶⁸ Kang, "Wanmu caotang suocang zhongguohua mu," 8-12.

⁶⁹ Reformism (*weixin* 維新 or *gailiang zhuyi* 改良主義) was initially a political concept coming from the 1868 Meiji Restoration in Japan. The success of the Restoration inspired the Chinese activists to reform the political scheme in China. Later, the term reformism was applied to cultural and artistic fields in the context of the early twentieth century China. See: Wan, "Li Keran" 16-17.

⁷⁰ '故作物必須憑實寫，乃能惟肖。' See: Xu, "Zhongguohua gailiang lun," 12.

⁷¹ English translation by Wan Qingli, see: Wan, "Li Keran" 24-25.

⁷² '因為要改良中國畫，斷不能不採用洋畫的寫實精神。(…)畫家也必須用寫實主義，才能夠發揮自己的天才，畫自己的畫，不落古人的窠臼。' See: Chen, "Meishu geming da Lü Cheng," 95.

the two categories of paintings might be synthesised in the future; he was, however, highly skeptical about this outcome.⁷³

Chen Shizeng chose a relatively gentler path towards the modernisation of scholarly painting. Chen's approaches could be summarised by the primary stated goal of the *zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui* 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society): 'Jingyan gufa, bocai xinzhì 精研古法，博采新知 (careful research into ancient methods, broad acquisition of new knowledge).'⁷⁴

Following, it is necessary to elaborate the approach in details, both in terms of its original meaning from the Chinese Painting Research Society and, in my opinion, Chen Shizeng's version of interpretation. As one of the largest and most influential painting societies of northern China during the first half of the twentieth century, the Chinese Painting Research Society has always been a significant site for research into the reform engendered by Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists. In her PhD dissertation, Zhang Jingmin argues that although the prerogatives of the Chinese Painting Research Society, namely the use of 'traditional Chinese art, antiquities, and archaeology,' may seem to be conservative, they were in fact a way to assert Chinese cultural and national identity under the impact of Western art. The influence of the Society proves that Chinese-Western synthesis was not the only way to reform and revive national painting, indicating that inspiration could also be sought within tradition.⁷⁵

On interpreting the aim and purpose of the Society, previous scholars have usually believed that the first part of their objective, 'jingyan gufa 精研古法 (careful research into ancient methods),' represented the Society members' dedication to the preservation and study of painterly theories and methods from the long history of Chinese painting.⁷⁶

⁷³ Chin [Chen] 陳, "Nanga ni tsuite 南画について (Concerning *nanga*)," *Tōyō* 東洋 (Orient), October 1922, 131-32.

⁷⁴ English translation by Aida Yuen Wong. See: Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 105.

⁷⁵ Zhang Jingmin, "Tradition revitalized: The Chinese Painting Research Society of Republican Beijing" (PhD diss. The University of Maryland, College Park, 2014).

⁷⁶ Lǚ Peng 呂鵬, "Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui de chengli ji zhongri lianhe huihua zhanlan 中國畫學研究會的成立及中日聯合繪畫展覽 (The Founding of the Chinese Painting Research Society and the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibitions)," in *Hu she yanjiu* 湖社研究 (A Survey of the Lake Society), Lǚ Peng 呂鵬 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2010), 27-29, 33-36.

In practice, the founders of the Society such as Jin Cheng and Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-1954) mainly focused on ‘jingyan gufa.’ They did not provide an explicit explanation on the second half ‘bocai xinzhī 博采新知 (broad acquisition of new knowledge).’⁷⁷ Considering that the Society was established in 1920 under the background of the Art Revolution, ‘bocai xinzhī’ could be easily associated with the artists’ proactive approach towards learning and integrating painterly methods from the Western painting into their own artistic creations.

The *xinzhī* 新知 (new knowledge) advocated by Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists was not just limited to learnings taken directly from Western fine arts. Instead of presenting eclectic Chinese-Western ink paintings, as seen from the *Lingnan huapai*, most paintings of *Jingpai*, either executed in the free-hand style or with the refined brushwork, maintained a more classical appearance. I argue that the role Western influence played upon the artistic reforms propelled by Chen and his colleagues was more specifically related to Western methods of promotion, which connected national painting, especially scholarly painting, to the needs of the modern era, rather than specific painterly techniques and styles.

In this research, I aim to present a new and more precise explanation for the ‘new knowledge’ sought by Chen Shizeng in particular. I argue that the ‘new knowledge’ is two-fold. First, in order to test the utility and sustainability of scholarly painting in the modern era, they applied the principles of scholarly painting to specific Western artforms which were new and popular in China in the early Republican period, such as cartoons and graphic design. Second, aiming to assure the survival of scholarly painting and expand its domestic and international influence, Chen introduced a new platform for artists - the Western-influenced art salon. The modern art salon renovated the traditional art guilds and informal painting gatherings organised by Chinese painters from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Through this platform – the Western-influenced art salon - Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists adopted ‘modern

⁷⁷ Ibid. See Table III in the appendix for Jin Cheng and Zhou Zhaoxiang’s biographies.

organisational techniques' such as organising modern art societies and art exhibitions, selling artworks in public, publicising through print media, and training younger artists to achieve the goal of reforming national painting in general, and of modernising scholarly painting in particular.⁷⁸

Chen Shizeng's approaches were based on his equally critical and unbiased attitude towards Chinese painterly traditions and Western artistic learnings, and his emphasis on the independence of scholarly painting, which were different from art radicals, especially Xu Beihong. It is noteworthy that Chen's attitudes and his choices based on his early learnings in both Chinese and Western paintings. The following parts will extrapolate the formulation of Chen's approaches through his early learnings.

Chen Shizeng was born to a scholarly family; his grandfather Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900) was Hunan's leading reformist in late Qing and his father Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937) was a famous poet. Chen received a traditional Chinese education in his early years. During his years in Hunan Province, Chen learned the practice of painting and calligraphy with Yin Hebo 尹和伯 (active from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century), Hu Qinyuan 胡沁園 (1847-1914), Wang Xiangqi 王湘綺 (1833-1916) and Fan Zhong 范鐘 (1856-1930); learning literature with Zhou Dalie 周大烈 (1862-1934). These experiences laid a firm foundation for Chen Shizeng's later versatility in *sijue*: poetry, calligraphy, painting, and seal carving.⁷⁹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Chen Shizeng entered new-style schools (Nanjing in 1898 and Shanghai in 1901), where he took basic science courses and learned French and English. From 1902 to 1909, Chen studied abroad in Tokyo, Japan, where he obtained a great deal of knowledge regarding Western art. Both as a result of his rigid training in Natural History at the *Tōkyō kōtō shihan gakkō* 東京高等師範学

⁷⁸ Barry Till, *Tradition and Innovation in 20th Century Chinese Painting* (Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1998).

⁷⁹ Gong Chanxing 龔產興, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao 陳師曾年表 (A Chronological Biography of Chen Shizeng)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu*, 38.

校 (Tokyo Advanced Normal College) and his own interest in and passion for Western painting, Chen learned to practice pencil drawing, watercolour and oil painting.⁸⁰ At the Tokyo Advanced Normal College, Chen's tutor of drawing and painting was Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎 (1857-1916), one of the pioneers and educators in the Western painting world of Japan.⁸¹

From 1910 to 1913, Chen Shizeng often commuted between Nantong, where he lived, and Shanghai, in order to receive guidance on painting and seal carving from the most renowned *Haipai* master of the times - Wu Changshi.⁸² As for paintings, Chen inherited Wu's methods of depicting flowers, plants and fruits with calligraphic brushwork brought from antiquarian scripts engraved on ancient bronzes and stone steles, bright and saturated colours, the blend of ink and colour wash, and the plain composition.⁸³ Taking the edible amaranth as an example, which was a subject matter both Wu and Chen often worked on. If we compare Chen's *Qiuhua qishi* 秋花奇石 (Autumn Flowers and Grotesque Rock, Fig. 1. 01) with Wu's *Lao shaonian* 老少年 (Edible Amaranth, Fig. 1. 02), we notice that Chen depicted the edible amaranth in Wu's free-hand style: applying the leaves with red or pinkish colour wash, and then outline the leaf veins with dark ink brush strokes.

The period from 1910 to 1913 was also crucial for Chen Shizeng's self-cultivation in the practice of painting, when he followed the guideline of *shigu* 師古 (learning from the predecessors) and extensively explored the styles and brushworks of previous masters from Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. Three albums of flower and landscape paintings executed by Chen respectively in 1912 and 1913 offered valuable visual and textual records on Chen's wide range of references.

⁸⁰ It was recorded by Yang Jun 楊鈞 (1881-1940), who was one of Chen's roommates in Tokyo. See: Yang Jun 楊鈞, *Caotang zhi ling* 草堂之靈 (Spirits of *Caotang*) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1985), 53.

⁸¹ Takamura Shimbun 高村真夫, "Nenpyō 年譜 (A Chronological Biography)," in *Koyama Shōtarō san* 小山正太郎先生 (Mr Koyama Shōtarō), ed. Takamura Shimbun 高村真夫 (Tokyo: Fudōsha kyūyū-kai 不同舎旧友会, 1934), 305, 309.

⁸² Gong, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao," 44.

⁸³ Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001), 381.

The first album dated 1912 contains thirteen pages of both flower and landscape painting. Five of the thirteen album leaves specified artists and styles Chen Shizeng was after. On the first leaf (Fig. 1. 03) Chen depicted two groups of detached-branch plum blossoms in the style of Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763) with Jin's typical rouge and livid colours. On the third leaf (Fig. 1. 04) Chen claimed that he tried to pursue Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) and Cheng Sui 程邃 (1607-1692)'s mastery of *kebi* 渴筆 (thirsty brushwork) in defining the outlines and textures of the mountains of his landscape. The colophon of the fourth leaf (Fig. 1. 05) showed that this landscape by Chen originated from Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1345). The seventh leaf (Fig. 1. 06) was in the styles of Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717) and Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690). Finally, the twelfth leaf (Fig. 1. 07) shows red bamboos reminiscent of Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733-1799)'s style and brushwork.

About the flower paintings in the second album produced in 1913, Chen Shizeng depicted the chrysanthemum (Fig. 1. 08) with delicate colours in the boneless manner of Yun Shouping and the lotus in full blossom (Fig. 1. 09) after the true-to-life depiction of Jiang Tingxi 蔣廷錫 (1669-1732). He also imitated Yang Wujiu 楊無咎 (1097-1171)'s forceful and experienced brushwork to define ink plum blossoms (Fig. 1. 10). For landscape paintings in the third album executed in 1913, Chen sought inspirations not only from Song painters such as Fan Kuan 范寬 (950-1032, Fig. 1. 11) and Liu Songnian 劉松年 (ca.1131-1218, Fig. 1. 12), but also from idiosyncratic Qing painters such as Bada shanren 八大山人 (1626-ca.1705, Fig. 1. 13) and Mei Qing 梅清 (1623-1697, Fig. 1. 14).

From the two abovementioned albums, we noticed that Chen Shizeng paid a special attention to Qing painters in his early-stage exploration of painterly styles and brushworks. Particularly, some of the Qing artists Chen referred to at this stage became his major sources of inspiration throughout his later career. For instance, Chen showed strong interest in the flower paintings of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou. Apart from

Jin Nong and Luo Pin, Chen had previously imitated Li Shan's 李鱗 (1686-1756) unrestrained and vigorous styles in 1911 to depict flowers such as Hibiscus (Fig. 1. 15), peonies and the orchids (Fig. 1. 16). When he moved to Beijing in the autumn of 1913 and tried to paint the orchid, he turned to Li Fangying's 李方膺 (1695-1755) late works for the method of composition, style and brushwork, as shown in *Orchids and Rocks* (Fig. 1. 17).⁸⁴

Chen Shizeng's early learnings resulted in his respect for Chinese painterly traditions and his open attitude to Western art, which was different from Xu Beihong's. While Xu attacked Dong Qichang, *si Wang* and the *Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden* throughout his artistic career, Chen, in comparison, had different opinions.

About Dong Qichang, we find that Chen Shizeng followed Dong's theory of Northern School and Southern School when discussing landscape painters from Ming and Qing dynasties in his article 'Qingdai shanshui zhi paibie 清代山水之派別 (Schools of Landscape Paintings in Qing Dynasty).' About Dong's paintings, Chen spoke highly of his mastery in brushwork.⁸⁵

As for *si Wang*, Chen Shizeng admitted the advantages of the paintings of *si Wang*: the width of history and the breadth of spirits, as well as the close association between the popular styles of calligraphy and literature in early Qing. These were what made the brushwork of *si Wang* worthy of study and imitation by later artists.⁸⁶ From the perspective of learning from *si Wang*'s paintings, Chen admitted inevitable difficulties

⁸⁴ According to an epilogue written by Chen for the collotype version of *Li Qingjiang molan ce* 李晴江墨蘭冊 (An Album of Ink Orchid by Li Qingjiang), which consisted of twelve album leaves and was published by the Civilization Press 文明書局 in 1922, he had seen the actual album as early as the ninth month of 1919, and appreciated it very much: 'Qingjiang was born in the thirty-fourth year of Kangxi (*yihai*, 1695), and died in the nineteenth year of Qianlong (*jiawu*, 1755) at the age of sixty. This album was executed in the year of *jiawu*. The brushwork was experienced, forceful and sparse, thus [this album] could be recognised as his last work. I got to see it from a senior from my hometown and cherished it in particular. Therefore, I borrowed it and enjoyed it for days before I wrote a few comments and returned it. 晴江生於康熙三十四年乙亥，卒於乾隆十九年甲戌，年六十。是冊作於甲戌，老筆紛披，即謂之絕筆可也。於醒樓鄉先輩得之，尤所珍愛，假觀數日，因誌數語歸之。' See: Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Xu 序 (epilogue)," in *Li Qingjiang molan ce* 李晴江墨蘭冊 (An Album of Ink Orchid by Li Qingjiang) (Shanghai: wenming shuju, 1922).

⁸⁵ "Benxiao jishi: Chen Shizeng xiansheng yanshuo qingdai zhi shanshuihua 本校紀事:陳師曾先生演說清代之山水畫 (University News: Chen Shizeng's Public Lecture on the Landscape Painting of the Qing Dynasty)," *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily), no. 152 (1918): 3; Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Qingdai shanshui zhi paibie 清代山水之派別 (Schools of Landscape Painting in Qing)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Painterly Studies), no. 1 (1920): 3-8.

⁸⁶ '四王之畫，氣魄沉雄，源遠流長，誠足楷模一代。' See: Chen, "Qingdai shanshui zhi paibie," 8.

and troubles, mentioning that if taking the wrong path - learning only by copying - one would end up with weak brushwork and lifeless landscapes, as most of *si Wang*'s followers did.⁸⁷ As his student Yu Jianhua pointed out, Chen would learn the merits of *si Wang* in a more critical way with his own ideas and innovations. As revealed in Chen's inscription to a landscape painting after two of *si Wang*'s followers - Wang Xuehao 王學浩 (1754-1832) and Wang Chen 王宸 (1720-1797): 'The Wangs from Loudong all followed the laws of Dachi's [Huang Gongwang] school; however, the appearances [of their painting] are different. This work lies in between Jiaoqi [Wang Xuehao] and Pengxin [Wang Chen]. Mr Jianhua asked me to execute this one, hereby I reveal my intention [of producing the painting in this way for him]. 大癡一派，婁東諸王，皆從之得法，而各有面目不同。此作在椒畦，蓬心之間，劍華仁弟屬畫，因為道破。’⁸⁸ According to Yu, while Wang Xuehao and Wang Chen usually used thirsty ink brushwork in their landscape paintings, Chen used wet brushwork instead, putting the concept of ‘learning the thoughts instead of the appearance 師其意不師其跡’ into practice.⁸⁹

Considering the circumstances that the Orthodox School and the Qing paintings in general were harshly criticised and belittled in the early Republican period, Chen Shizeng's relatively positive comments on *si Wang* was consistent with his objective views on Qing paintings. In Chen's two articles—‘Schools of Landscape Paintings in Qing Dynasty’ and ‘Qingdai huahui zhi paibie 清代花卉之派別 (Schools of Flower Paintings in Qing Dynasty)’—offering the first systematic summaries and comments in the Republican period on the origins, characteristics, advantages and shortcomings of the leading Qing painters of landscape and flower paintings.⁹⁰ Chen believed that some of the Qing landscape and flower paintings produced before and during Emperor

⁸⁷ Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, “Huaitang huayulu 槐堂畫語錄 (Huaitang's Ideas on Painting),” in *Chen Hengke shiwenji 陳衡恪詩文集* (A Collection of Poems and Proses by Chen Hengke), ed. Liu Jingfu 劉經富 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2009), 273.

⁸⁸ The original painting is missing. This inscription is noted by Yu Jianhua. See: Yu, *Chen Shizeng*, 14

⁸⁹ Yu, *Chen Shizeng*, 14

⁹⁰ Chen Shizeng, “Qingdai huahui zhi paibie,” 8-12

Qianlong's 乾隆 reign (1736-1795) were as competent as those by previous masters. Nor did they represent an age in declining for traditional Chinese painting. About landscape painting, Chen paid attention both to the Orthodox School and the other painters who endeavored to break away from the rules set by the School. Specifically, we can find that most of the aforementioned Qing painters Chen referred to during his self-cultivation in the practice of painting between 1912 and 1913, such as Wang Hui, Yun Shouping, Bada shanren, Shitao, Jin Nong, Li Shan and Luo Pin, were given relatively unbiased reviews in Chen's two articles.⁹¹ However, Chen overlooked the contribution made by the epigraphic art in reviving Qing paintings.

It is possible that Chen Shizeng was the first one among his generation of *Jingpai* artists who could recognise the value of Qing paintings, not confining to the artworks of the Orthodox School. Also in the first issue of the *Magazine of the Studies of Painting*, Chen's fellow artist He Lüzhi published two articles on the Chinese landscape painting, namely 'Zhongguo shanshui tan 中國山水談 (A Discourse on Chinese Landscape Painting)' and 'He Lüzhi tanhua biji 賀履之談話筆記 (A Note of the Discourses of He Lüzhi)'.⁹² Opposite to Chen, He gave relatively negative reviews on Qing painters and their paintings. In the first article, He argued that the Qing painters were not as skillful as Tang painters; their painterly methods could not compete with Northern Song painters; their painterly styles could not match Southern Song painters; the thoughts and emotions conveyed from their paintings were less than Yuan paintings. In the second article, He named a few famous Qing painters such as Wang Hui, Wang Yuanqi and Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690), saying that their paintings were worth reading at some points, but were still not masterpieces.⁹³

Finally, regarding the *Painting Manuals of the Mustard Seed Garden*, Chen Shizeng believed that it was a useful assistance for beginners to get proper training for

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² He Lüzhi 賀履之, "Zhongguo shanshui tan 中國山水談 (A Discourse on Chinese Landscape Painting)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Painterly Studies), no. 1 (1920): 1-2; He, "He Lüzhi tanhua biji 賀履之談話筆記 (A Note of the Discourses of He Lüzhi)," *Huixue zazhi*, 1-3.

⁹³ Ibid.

the skill of copying, which an important first step in learning the practice of painting.⁹⁴ Taking landscape painting as an example, the manual provided examples from individual trees, rocks, creeks and buildings of various kinds, showing the different compositions of these elements to form an entire landscape.⁹⁵ These examples guided the beginners in laying a firm foundation for their use of basic painterly methods such as *dian* 點 (dotting method), *gou* 勾 (outlining), *cun* 皴 (texture method) and *ran* 染 (colouring).

Chen Shizeng kept his strong interest and open attitude to Western art, especially Western painting, throughout his artistic career. This was evident in Chen's Japanese-Chinese translation of an introductory article on different art trends in the world of painting in Europe written by Japanese painter Kume Keiichiro 久米桂一郎 (1866–1934) - 'ō shū-ga-kai saikin no keikō 歐洲畫界最近の傾向 (Current Trends of the World of Painting in Europe).⁹⁶ In 1912, Chen translated the title into 'Ouzhou huajie zuijin zhi zhuangkuang 歐洲畫界最近之狀況 (The Current Situations of the World of Painting in Europe).⁹⁷ In the article, Kume believed that France was the centre of European painting in the nineteenth century. Thus, he offered an overview of different painting schools in France from the eighteenth century until the early twentieth century, namely from Rococo to Impressionism. By doing so, Kume gave his readers a clear idea of what was going on in the European painting circles in terms of ideas, theories,

⁹⁴ According to Chen Shizeng, there were three steps in learning the practice of painting: 'Linhua, fang fanben 臨畫，仿範本 (copying and imitating from example works)'; 'xiehseng, dui shiwu 寫生，對實物 (drawing from life)'; 'jiyi hua 記憶畫 (painting according to past memories from copying and drawing from life).' See: Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian 對於教授普通圖畫科意見 (Opinions on Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920): 9-12.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Kume Keiichiro 久米桂一郎, "ō shū-ga-kai saikin no keikō 歐洲畫界最近の傾向 (Current Trends of the World of Painting in Europe)," *Kyōiku gakujutsu-kai* 教育學術界 (Education and Academia) 24, no. 2 (November 1911), 456-474

⁹⁷ Chen Hengke 陳衡恪, "Ouzhou huajie zuijin zhi zhuangkuang 歐洲畫界最近之狀況 (The Current Situations of the World of Painting in Europe)," *Nantong shifan xiaoyouhui zazhi* 南通師範校友會雜誌 (Magazine of Nantong Normal College Alumni Association), no. 2 (1912): 24-35.

and painterly techniques. Apart from his interest in Western painting, Chen's true motivation to translate Kume's article was revealed in a short appendix to his translation:

While France is widely acknowledged as the centre of the world of painting in Europe, our country is regarded as the leader of the world of painting in the Eastern Sea (East Asia). This argument is agreed by knowledgeable figures both in Europe and in East Asia. The worlds of painting in Europe and East Asia face each other in distance and cannot be compared or judged because they have different painterly systems and approaches. In order to evoke aesthetic sense, first priority should be given to cultivating the noble spirit. Very few Western paintings have been imported into our country, and those sold on the market are mostly vulgar pieces. Therefore, we seldom have the chance to see and learn the true faces of fine arts. A Japanese person, Mr Kume, wrote an article on the current situation of European paintings. Today, I translate and introduce this article to our academic world in order to be aware of the changing trends in Europe. The art of the Western world of painting is in an ever-changing condition, yet our art obstructs. On this point, we could use the world of painting in Europe for reference.

西洋畫界以法蘭西為中心，東洋畫界以吾國為巨擘，歐亞識者類有是言。東西畫界，遙遙對峙，未可軒輊，系統殊異，取法不同，要喚起美感，涵養高尚之精神則一也。西洋畫輸入吾國者甚少，坊間所售，多屬俗筆，美術真相，鮮得而觀焉。日人久米氏有歐洲畫界最近之狀況一篇，今譯之以介紹于吾國學界，藉以知其風尚之變遷。且彼土藝術日新月異，而吾國則沉滯不前，于此亦可以借鑒矣。⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Ibid., 35.

These few hundred words demonstrate Chen Shizeng's art historical perspective. Chen recognised the difference between Western and Eastern paintings and ascertained the significant status of Chinese paintings in the art world of East Asia. He admitted, in the end, the lack of progression in Chinese painting in the early twentieth century and appealed to scholars and artists in China to learn from Western painting and change this situation. Kume's article also provided important points which were taken by Chen in his defense of scholarly painting. In his 'The Value of Scholarly Painting,' one important point Chen made was that the Chinese scholarly painting was progressive and vigorous because it never pursued verisimilitude. To further elaborate this point, Chen made reference to Western painting, saying that scholarly painting prioritised subjectivity over objectivity, just like the latest cubism, futurism and expressionism in the world of painting in Europe.⁹⁹ This argument by Chen was eloquent in fighting against the complete denial of scholarly painting and the solution of reforming it with Western realism, both of which were proposed by the leaders of the Art Revolution in 1919.

Chen Shizeng's early learnings resulted in his respect for Chinese painterly traditions and his open attitude to Western art, which made him a qualified figure for reforming Chinese national painting in the following *meishu geming* 美術革命 (Art Revolution). As listed by Yu Jianhua in his 1928 article 'Guohua tonglun 國畫通論 (A General Survey of National Painting),' such a reformer should meet the following five requirements.¹⁰⁰ About national painting, artists required a penetrating understanding of the theories of painting; they also needed to possess proficient painterly skills and have a comprehensive knowledge of the history of painting. About Western painting, they should also be well-educated in the history, theories and practice. Furthermore, artists should be equipped with diligent spirits, the bravery needed to foster change, and unbiased attitudes towards both kinds of paintings.¹⁰¹ Chen was just

⁹⁹ Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值 (The Value of Scholarly Painting)," *Huixue zazhi 繪學雜誌* (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 2 (1920): 5-6.

¹⁰⁰ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, "Guohua tonglun 國畫通論 (A General Survey on National Painting)," *Zhen mei shan 真美善* (The True, the Beautiful and the Good) 2, no. 3 (1928), 1-23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

this kind of artist.

1.4 Reconsidering the Tradition-Modernity Bind in the Modernisation of Chinese Painting

Contrasting with the prominence of *Jingpai* in the art historical context, neither the School nor its leading artists such as Chen Shizeng have, to date, received adequate scholarly attention in China or overseas. In this section, I will try to highlight why *Jingpai* has been under-researched in art historical literature. I argue that while in China, the scholarly gap has been formed mainly due to political reasons, the same situation overseas was caused by the extensive use of the problematic ‘tradition-modernity model’, as referred to by Paul Cohen. Therefore, I aim to figure out how the objectives of my research will revise the ‘tradition-modernity model’ and contribute to the narrative.

This lack of scrutiny in mainland China started after 1949, and the reason is mostly political. Following the prosperity and slight decline of the *Jingpai* in the first half of the twentieth century, the status of the *Jingpai* experienced further degradation when the Communist Party came into power in 1949 and during the political campaign in the following decades. It was Xu Beihong who first denigrated *Jingpai* after 1949.

Around 1949, Xu Beihong became one of the most powerful and influential figures in the art world in China. Xu’s *xin guohua* 新國畫 (new national painting) was canonised by the new proletariat government. The so called new national painting was chosen because it aimed to pursue the realism and verisimilitude of Western painting; thus, in many cases, especially in figure painting, it could be used for political propaganda to mark the Chinese identity and serve the socialism. Also in 1949, Xu was appointed as the First Principal of the *Zhongyang meishu xueyuan* 中央美術學院 (Central Academy of Fine Arts) in Beijing. With the strong support from the Communist

government, Xu's personal disdain for *Jingpai* was literally 'legitimised.'¹⁰²

In his article 'Sishi nianlai Beijing huihua lüeshu 四十年来北京绘画概述 (A Brief Review of the Paintings in Beijing Over the Past Forty Years)' published in 1950, Xu Beihong harshly attacked the world of painting in Beijing and denied the achievements made by *Jingpai* artists in the past forty years.¹⁰³ At the beginning and the end of his article, Xu believed that the world of painting in Beijing was conservative, lifeless and hopeless, resistant to new breakthroughs and developments in fine arts:

Although Beijing was the place of origin of the New Culture Movement, it is the most feudal and stubborn fortress in terms of fine arts. Strictly speaking, [in terms of fine arts, Beijing] has few points worthy of praise over the past forty years. This is because Beijing is less relevant to the promotion of new art.

北京確為新文化運動策源地，而在美術上為最封建、最頑固之堡壘，四十年來，嚴格言之，頗少足述者：因其于新藝術之開展，殊少關係也。¹⁰⁴

This is the world of fine arts in Beijing, which is dreadfully lifeless and has started to be in its death throes. [I feel] pity for its stubbornness.

此暮氣已深之北平美術界，尚始為垂死之掙扎，其冥頑不靈，殊為可憐。¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See: Zhu Jingsheng 朱京生, "Guoli beiping yizhuan sanjiaoshou bake shijian yu guohua lunzhan shijian kaochao yu yanjiu 國立北平藝專三教授罷課事件與國畫論戰事件考察與研究 (A Research on the Strike of Three Professors from the Beiping Art School and Discussions on National Painting)," *Minguo meishu yanjiu* 民國美術研究 (Studies of the Arts of the Republican Period), no. 13 (2015), 30. However, according to Xu Beihong's daughter Xu Fangfang, the Communist administrators were actually in charge of the Central Academy of Fine Arts. These administrators, not Xu, removed 'traditional Chinese bird-and-flower painting, landscape painting, seal carving and calligraphy from Xu's national painting curriculum,' as they were considered unsuitable for serving the needs of the new socialist China. See: Xu Fangfang, *Gallopers: Artist Xu Beihong and His Family in Mao's China* (Saint Louis, MO: Beihong Arts Publishing, LLC, 2016), 40.

¹⁰³ Wang Zhen 王震 ed., *Xu Beihong wenji* 徐悲鴻文集 (A Collection of Essays by Xu Beihong) (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 2005), 149.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

The suppressed and prejudiced situation of *Jingpai* within academia in mainland China only changed after the reopening of the country in 1978. Chen Shizeng's first monograph, written by his student, art historian and painter Yu Jianhua, was published in 1981.¹⁰⁶ It is abbreviated, yet still functions as a research guidebook, identifying directions for future scholars working on Chen to pursue.¹⁰⁷ It provides reliable information on Chen's biography and a solid overview of Chen's figure, landscape, bird-and-flower paintings, highlighting his painterly sources, both from national painting and Western painting. It also touches on Chen's achievements in calligraphy, seal carving, poetry, and art history and theoretical research. Due to the limitations caused by its length, it lacks detailed visual analysis on many artworks.

Subsequently, in the twenty-first century, art historians such as Xue Yongnian, Wan Qingli and Li Song began to pay attention to artists who were active in early Republican Beijing. Adopting the term *Jingpai*, they see these artists as a group, which was originated from Chen Shizeng and his fellow artists; their focus then expands to include their followers and students.¹⁰⁸ Xue, Wan and Li wrote surveys examining their biographies, the art societies and movements they took part in, as well as relevant art publications appearing during this period.¹⁰⁹

Today, *Jingpai* still remains controversial among art historians. On the one hand, similar to *Haipai*, scholars like Li Chu-tsing question whether or not *Jingpai* existed,

¹⁰⁶ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Chen Shizeng* 陳師曾 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981).

¹⁰⁷ Following in 2003, the book by Zhu Wanzhang mainly follows Yu Jianhua's structure with breakthroughs in reconstructing Chen Shizeng's personal network in Beijing. Furthermore, Zhu also provides a seal index and a chronological list of Chen's paintings. However, the research only includes artworks kept in mainland China and the US., excluding many high-quality paintings kept in Taiwan and Japan. See: Zhu Wanzhang, *Chen Shizeng* 陳師曾 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ See: Xue Yongnian 薛永年, "Minguo chuqi Beijing huatan chuantongpai de zairenshi 民國初期北京畫壇傳統派的再認識 (A Reflection on the Traditionalists of the World of Painting in Beijing in the Early Republican Period)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu* 京派繪畫研究 (Studies of the Beijing School of Painting), ed. Beijing Huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Academy of Painting) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2012), 76-79; Wan Qingli 萬青力, "Nanfeng beijing: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan 南風北漸：民國初期南方畫家主導的北京畫壇 (The South's Influence on the North: The World of Painting in Beijing Dominated by Southern Painters in the Early Republican Period)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu*, ed. Beijing Huayuan, 97-112.

¹⁰⁹ Xue, "Minguo chuqi Beijing huatan chuantongpai de zairenshi"; Wan, "Nanfeng beijing: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan"; Li Song 李松, "Ershi shiji de hushe yu jingjin diqu huajia 二十世紀的湖社與京津地區畫家 (Hu Society and Painters in Beijing and Tianjin in the Twentieth Century)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu*, 72-86, 97-112, 12-34.

because it boasted no unified painterly style.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, Xue Yongnian and Zhu Jingsheng argue for its existence, stating that the classification of the School is mainly based on the painters' shared artistic pursuit of *jiegu kaijin* 借古開今 (promotion of the past to the present) rather than a shared painterly style. It means that they incorporated invaluable painterly sources from previous dynasties, especially the Song, Yuan 元 (1271-1368), and Ming 明 (1368-1644), into their own painting practices.¹¹¹ Basing on the definition of *Jingpai* in section 1.1, I will reassert the rationality of using the term in this dissertation.

In the Western scholarly world, the research gap regarding *Jingpai* also results from its long-standing association with conservatism, as first proposed by Michael Sullivan, an old acquaintance of Xu Beihong. Sullivan argues that *Jingpai* was conservative because it lacked impact from the West: 'By the nineteenth century, Beijing culture, less touched by the aggressive West than that of Shanghai or Canton, had sunk into a stifling conservatism [...] Palace-style conservatism also coloured the painting of many of the scholar-officials who lived in Beijing in the last decades of the Qing Dynasty and the early years of the Republic.'¹¹²

By raising this argument, Michael Sullivan falls into the scholarly dilemma of the 'tradition-modernity model,' which has been followed by many Sinologists when carrying out research into the history and culture of China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹³ The model abruptly divides the complex process of social evolution into two simplified phases - the traditional and the modern. As a result, scholars who adopt this methodology tend to focus more on the side that is in close contact with the West and the changes brought about by this kind of contact, paying

¹¹⁰ Li Chu-tsing 李鑄晉 and Wan Qingli 萬青力, *Zhongguo xiandai huihuashi dier juan* 中國現代繪畫史第二卷 (The History of Modern Chinese Painting, Vol. 2) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2012), 57.

¹¹¹ See: Xue Yongnian 薛永年, "Wo yu Jingpai de yuanyuan 我與京派的淵源 (My Connection to the Beijing School of Painting)," *Zhongguo shuhua* 中國書畫 (Chinese Calligraphy and Painting), 2006, 70-75; Zhu Jingsheng 朱京生, "Jingpai huihua siti 京派繪畫四題 (Four Topics on the Beijing School of Painting)," *Meishu* 美術 (Fine Arts), no. 8 (2005), 98-103.

¹¹² Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Los Angeles & Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 54.

¹¹³ Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 3-5.

less attention to that which seems more traditional and constant.¹¹⁴

It is, problematic and arbitrary to equal *Jingpai* with conservatism and focus only on its traditional side. In fact, the circumstances of the School during the early Republican period were far more complex - just like its home city Beijing. Both Beijing and *Jingpai* were caught in a profound struggle between the old and the new, requiring us to reject an overly simplified account of Chen Shizeng and his fellow artists' work.

Considering this situation, Madeleine Yue Dong elucidates that in the first three decades of the twentieth century, it is less important to argue whether to characterise Beijing as either modern or traditional or to try to assess whether the old outweighed the new, than to analyse the complexity of the city based on an understanding and acceptance of its dualities.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Olivier Krischer also opposes the binaries of 'East and West,' 'Tradition and Modernity,' and proposes what is called an 'in-between' space to explain not only China's situation in the early twentieth century, but other Asian countries as well.¹¹⁶ The particularity of Beijing is also shown in two remarks made by David Strand: '(...) Few cities in China in the 1920s looked so traditional and Chinese and at the same time (...) ' and 'Beijing in the 1920s, as a human and physical entity, clearly preserved the past, accommodated the present, and nurtured the basic elements of several possible futures.'¹¹⁷

This same liminality may be applied to *Jingpai* and its artists, as they were fully entangled with Beijing; their artworks and artistic thoughts were inevitably branded with the mark of the city. Therefore, the tradition-modernity bind that formed and shaped Chen Shizeng's methods is still pivotal in examining the approaches adopted by Chen Shizeng to modernise scholarly painting. Avoiding the same problem caused by the 'tradition-modernity model', I will particularly look at the interplay between tradition and modernity in the process. Following this train of thought, the dissertation

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories, 1911-1937* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003), 23.

¹¹⁶ Olivier Krischer, "Picturing Early Twentieth-Century Sino-Japanese Art Relations in Ōmura Seiagi's 'Shina Rekiyu Dan'," in *Crossing Culture: Conflict, Migration, Convergence*, ed/ Jaynie Anderson (Miegunyah Press, 2009), 821.

¹¹⁷ David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), xi.

aims to accurately reconstruct the role played by the under-researched *Jingpai* in the discourse of defining what is modern Chinese painting and how Chinese national painting contributed to the formation of modern Chinese art. It will also revise the images of *Jingpai* artists other than Qi Baishi, proving that the School's leader Chen Shizeng and his fellow artists were not conservative traditionalists but progressive reformists.

1.5 Chapter Plan

With equal attention given to history and art history, this dissertation avoids using a single, biographical approach. It intends to treat Chen Shizeng as a contributor both to the ecology of *Jingpai* and to the broader art world of northern China in the context of early twentieth century China. The arguments raised in this dissertation will be based on solid analyses of both textual and visual materials written in three languages: Chinese, Japanese and English. The source material of this research is characterised by the extensive, yet critical use of print media and published works as archival sources, which is important for research on East Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To make up for the deficiencies in previous studies on Chen Shizeng and *Jingpai*, this research will pay particular attention to the artworks from public and private collections in China, Japan and Britain.

Chapter 2 begins with Chen Shizeng's earliest attempts to modernise scholarly painting in his pre-*Jingpai* era, demonstrating the close collaboration between artists and the new print media in the early twentieth century. The attempt is exemplified by his artistic creation of *manbi* 漫筆 (monochromic ink painting produced casually with abbreviated brushwork) in 1912.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 reconsider the revised tradition-modernity bind through the changes and development in the modes of network, association, career path and collaboration of Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the initial formation and development of *Jingpai*, as well as the role Chen played in the

process. Chapter 3 begins by presenting a case study of the *Xuannan huahui* 宣南畫會 (Xuannan Painting Society), the first association of painting in early Republican Beijing, while Chapter 4 looks into Chen's extended social network in Beijing, which contained both artists and non-artist figures. Chapter 5 extrapolates how Chen introduced and the Japanese-style modern art salon to the art world in Beijing, and how the localised art salon shaped the professional practice of *Jingpai* artists, thus connecting scholarly painting with modernity.

Chapter 6 investigates into why and how *tu'an hua* 圖案畫 (graphic design) was used as the realisation of Pragmatism by Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists and how this enriched visual culture in early twentieth century Beijing. The practice of *tu'an hua*, as shown in the cases of *xinjian* 信箋 (patterned letter paper) and copper stationery, reflected the transformation between various art media, such as ink painting, woodblock printing and carved copperware, in the daily artistic creations of the practitioners of national painting in Beijing.

Chapter 7 reviews the circumstances of *Jingpai* artists after Chen Shizeng's death in 1923, and the different choices they made to sustain their painting practice according to the changing political situations. Taking the 'Qi Baishi phenomenon' as an example, this chapter elaborates how politics impacted on the writing of China's history of painting during the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2

Chen Shizeng and His Creation of the Chinese *Manbi* in 1912

Chen Shizeng's earliest attempt to modernise scholarly painting is exemplified by his artistic creation of *manbi* 漫筆 (monochromic ink painting done casually with abbreviated brushwork) around 1912. I will mainly look at the sixty ink drawings published in the *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times) from April to June 1912, which, according to Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975) were the first of China's *manhua* 漫畫 (cartoons or comics).¹¹⁸ The series began with *Guangzhu xia hai* 光燭假海 (The Candle Lightens the Sea, Fig. 2. 01), which marked the first issue of the newspaper on 1st April.¹¹⁹

This series of works was rarely seen in Chen Shizeng's painting oeuvre. They are particularly worth examining, not only because they have never previously been discussed independently in the literature, but also because they reflect artistic trends at the turn of the century, upon the establishment of the new Republic.

While exploring the role Chen Shizeng's *manbi* played in modernising scholarly painting, my investigations contextualise the arguments through a consideration of contemporary socio-political issues, popular literature, advertisements and the poetic inspiration behind Chen's choice of subject matter. My study raises four general questions: How do we define Chen's ink drawings in the *Pacific Times*? What is the association between Chen's works and Chinese *manhua*, as well as Japanese *manga*? From whence did the artist derive his inspiration? And finally, what are the functions of these ink drawings?

¹¹⁸ Feng Zikai 豐子愷, "Wo de manhua 我的漫畫 (My *Manhua*)," in *Feng Zikai sanwen* 豐子愷散文 (Essays by Feng Zikai), ed. Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 2009), 288.

¹¹⁹ According to *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Kangxi Dictionary), in ancient Chinese, "xia 假" had the same meaning "yuan 遠 (distant)" as "xia 遐." In the picture, Chen Shizeng used the character "xia 假." See *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (The Pacific Times), April 1st, 1912, 12.

2.1 Artists' Collaboration with the Print Media in the Early Twentieth Century: Chen Shizeng and the *Pacific Times*

In 1912, three years after returning to China from Japan, Chen Shizeng was a natural history teacher in his mid-thirties at Nantong Normal College, a new-style school established by the renowned scholar-official turned industrialist Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853–1926) in 1902.¹²⁰ In the early 1910s, thanks to Zhang's efforts to achieve local autonomy in Nantong by promoting industry and commerce, Nantong became a prosperous industrial city in Jiangsu Province, about 100 miles northwest of Shanghai, and was also praised in the Western press such as *Millard's Review* as the *Model City of China* (Fig. 2. 02).¹²¹ During his time working and living in this city, Chen visited Shanghai often.¹²² A single trip from Nantong to Shanghai by a steamer would usually take about eight to nine hours, considered convenient at the time.¹²³ Furthermore, various means of communication, such as telephone, telegraph, and post, were also now available, allowing easy access to Nantong and Shanghai.¹²⁴

It was under such circumstances that Chen Shizeng became associated with one of the recently published Shanghai newspapers – *Pacific Times*. *Pacific Times* was established with the financial support of Shanghai's military governor Chen Qimei 陳其美 (1878–1916) in 1912, with Yao Yuping 姚雨平 (1882–1974) as the president, Zhu Shaoping 朱少屏 (1881–1942) as the manager, and Ye Chucang 葉楚傖 (1887–1946) as the Editor-in-Chief.¹²⁵ Three other cultural elites of the early twentieth

¹²⁰ Gong Chanxing 龔產興, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao 陳師曾年表 (Chronology of Chen Shizeng)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu* 京派繪畫研究 (Studies of the Beijing School of Painting), ed. Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2012), 42.

¹²¹ "Nantungchow: The Model City of China," *Millard's Review*, June 17, 1920, 71.

¹²² Gong, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao," 44.

¹²³ J. B. Powel, "Nantung: A Heaven Untouched by Japan," *Millard's Review*, May 22, 1920, 71.

¹²⁴ Tokuzō Komai 駒井德三, "Zhang Jian guanxi shiye diaocha baogaoshu 張謇關係事業調查報告書 (A Report on Zhang Jian Related Projects)," in *Xifangren yanzhong de minguo Nantong* 西方人眼中的民國南通 (The Republican Nantong in the Eyes of Westerners), ed. Nantongshi danganguan 南通市檔案館 (Nantong Archive) (Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2012), 77.

¹²⁵ Liu Qiji 柳棄疾, "Xinhai geming qianhou de nanshe 辛亥革命前後的南社 (The Southern Society before and after Xinhai Revolution)," *Nanshe jilue* 南社紀略 (A Concise Overview of the Southern Society), Liu Qiji 柳棄疾 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1983), 52.

century - Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942), Su Manshu 蘇曼殊 (1884-1918), and Liu Yazi 柳亞子 (1887-1958) - served as managing editors for the newspaper. Li was in charge of the literature and fine arts supplement of the newspaper, where Chen Shizeng's artworks and news were published, as well as the design and operations of the advertisements.¹²⁶

Pacific Times was published daily from 1st April to 18 October 1912. Despite its short duration, the newspaper was relatively widespread. Advertisements in the newspaper also showed that *Pacific Times* set up branches and distribution centres in many other cities in China such as Hangzhou (Fig. 2. 03), Nanjing (Fig. 2. 04) and Suzhou (Fig. 2. 05), not to mention that mail subscription was available in more places in China (Fig. 2. 06) and even overseas in Tokyo and Yokohama (Fig. 2. 07). Apart from Shanghai, the founding members also planned for the rest of the four main metropolises of China – Beijing, Tianjin, Wuhan and Guangzhou – to each have a local *Pacific Times*.¹²⁷

It was widely believed that the *Pacific Times* ceased to operate due to financial instability. The more convincing explanation was that it offered a different political voice speaking out against the corrupted *Beiyang zhengfu* 北洋政府 (Beiyang Government). This was because the founding members of the newspaper, such as Chen Qimei, Yao Yuping, Zhu Shaoping and Ye Chucang, were all members of *Tongmeng hui* 同盟會 (the Chinese Revolutionary League); they were thus the strongest advocates and supporters of the democratic stances represented by the newly established Republic.¹²⁸ As we can tell from the seven outlines of the *Pacific Times*,

¹²⁶ Lin Ziqing 林子青, *Hongyi fashi nianpu* 弘一法師年譜 (Chronology of Master Hongyi) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995), 63.

¹²⁷ “Guangdong Taipingyang bao 廣東太平洋報,” *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), April 9, 1912, 6; “Hangzhou huanying benbao kaojian 杭州歡迎本報考鑒 (Hangzhou welcome this newspaper),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8; “Taipingyang bao Nanjing fenguan 太平洋報南京分館 (Nanjing Branch of the *Pacific Times*),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 2nd, 1912, 8; “Suzhou daipai Taipingyang bao 蘇州代派太平洋報 (Distributing the *Pacific Times* in Suzhou),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8; “Faxingbu bi guanggao 發行部之廣告 (The Advertisement from Department of Distribution),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8; “Taipingyang bao Henbin Dongjing jishouchu 太平洋報橫濱東京寄售處 (Mail Subscription Offices of the *Pacific Times* in Yokohama and Tokyo),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8.

¹²⁸ The Chinese Revolutionary League was initiated by Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866-1925) in Tokyo in 1905. Chen, Yao, Zhu and Ye joined the Chinese United League respectively in 1906, 1907, 1905 and 1909. See: Jin Chongji 金

the newspaper demonstrated an international and cross-cultural perspective, aiming to introduce the nation's public opinions to the world, altering the old image of China prevalent since the late Qing period and seeking for mutual, beneficial collaborations with the rest of the world.¹²⁹ Each of the 14 sections of *Pacific Times* including the illustrations section where Chen Shizeng contributed his *manbi* works, set out to fulfil the goal of the newspaper.¹³⁰

Due to the insufficiency of existing historical sources, we can only grasp a rough idea of why and how Chen Shizeng started to submit *manbi* works to the newspaper. It was highly possible that Chen was invited by Li Shutong, his old friend from his time in Tokyo, to produce some ink illustrations using abbreviated brushwork for the literature and arts supplement Li managed. These drawings were likely to have been executed in Chen's Nantong home before being sent to Li in Shanghai by post. The number of Chen's drawings published in the newspaper declined as time went by: thirty-four in April, twenty in May, and six in June. After Li left his job at *Pacific Times* in early July of 1912, no more ink drawings of this kind, either by Chen or by other artists, were seen in the newspaper.

2.2 Basic Information and the Classification of Chen Shizeng's *Manbi* Works

From the 1st to 28 April 1912, Chen Shizeng was the only contributor of ink drawings to the literature and fine arts supplement of *Pacific Times*; both the artist and the editor had a casual attitude towards authorship. Chen only added his signature or seal to his works occasionally. Later, some other artists, such as Song Daoren 松道人 (1852–1917), Shen Moxian 沈墨仙 (active in the early 20c), Lan Huairan 蘭懷人 (active

冲及 and Hu Shengwu 胡繩武 ed., *Xinhai geming shigao: tongmeng hui* 辛亥革命史稿：同盟會 (A History of 1911 Revolution: The Chinese Revolutionary League) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2011), 370-375.

¹²⁹ "Taipingyang zhi taiping 太平洋之太平 ("Peace" of the *Pacific Times*)," *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 1.

¹³⁰ "Guangdong Taipingyang bao 廣東太平洋報 (The *Pacific Times* of Guangdong)," *Taipingyang bao*, April 10 1912, 7.

in the early 20c), Ye Yuren 葉與仁 (1881–1926), and He Tianjian 賀天健 (1891–1977) also contributed their ink drawings to the supplement.¹³¹ It became necessary for the editor to clarify the authorship of artists. On 28 April 1912, Li Shutong officially named the column in which illustrations were usually seen as *Taipingyang huaji* 太平洋畫集 (Pacific Times Pictorials, Fig. 2. 08), and he gave a subtitle for each artist's works, for example, *Xiu daoren bi* 朽道人筆 (The Brushwork of Xiu Daoren, Fig. 2. 08) for Chen's works.¹³² For each issue, the title of the column was shown at the top of the image, while the subtitle was situated below the image. Using a fixed subtitle to further stress authorship was indispensable because the artists' signatures and seals on their works varied according to their preference. Across thirty-seven illustrations, Chen used seven different seals: 'Shizeng 師曾' for ten works, 'Xiu Daoren 朽道人' for eight, 'Xiu 朽' for fourteen, 'Gao Ping 高平' for two, 'Ji Jiao 寄角' for one, 'Zhen Shuai 真率' for one, and 'Zheng Wu 鄭五' for one. The added emphasis on the authorship of each illustration increased Chen's popularity among readers.

In terms of its subject matter and theme, Chen Shizeng's drawings can be roughly divided into three categories.¹³³ The first type, consisting of simplified landscape or bird-and-flower paintings, bearing no inscription and recalling the format of an album leaf, can be represented by *Fengjing* 風景 (Landscape, Fig. 2. 09). The tranquil atmosphere shown here is portrayed by only a few brush strokes; in the foreground, two bare, winter trees stand by the riverbank. In the near distance, a bridge goes across the frozen river. This painting has no title, inscription and does not bear the signature of the artist, so the theme of the picture is left open to its audience. In another example *Niao*

¹³¹ Song Daoren 松道人, "Taipingyang huaji 太平洋畫集 (*Pacific Times Pictorials*)," *Taipingyang bao*, May 28, 1912, 12; Shen Moxian 沈墨仙, "Taipingyang huaji 太平洋畫集 (*Pacific Times Pictorials*)," *Taipingyang bao*, May 29, 1912, 12; He Tianjian 賀天健, "Taipingyang huaji 太平洋畫集 (*Pacific Times Pictorials*)," *Taipingyang bao*, May 30, 1912, 12.

¹³² "Taipingyang huaji 太平洋畫集 (*Pacific Times Pictorials*)," *Taipingyang bao*, April 28, 1912, 10.

¹³³ Guo Changhai 郭長海 and Guo Junxi 郭君兮, *Chen Shizeng manhua ji* 陳師曾漫畫集 (A Collection of Chen Shizeng's *Manhua*) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2009), 4.

shang zhitou 鳥上枝頭 (Bird Perching on a Tree Branch, Fig. 2. 10), a bird is perched on a tree branch, surrounded by a few leaves. Chen added a seal to the upper left corner. The seal reads *Xiu* 朽 (Fig. 2. 10a), which is a character from Chen's self-styled name *Xiu Daoren* 朽道人.

The second type, the group detailing primarily poetic images where the artist illustrates traditional-style Chinese poems, is exemplified by *Xiaolou yiye ting chunyu* 小樓一夜聽春雨 (In My Attic All Night I Hear the Rustle of Spring Rain, Fig. 2. 11). In this drawing published on 4 April 1912, Chen vividly illustrated a line from Southern Song poet Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210)'s poem 'Clear up after Spring Rain in Lin'an 臨安春雨初霽': 'In my attic all night, I hear the rustle of spring rain, at dawn apricot blooms are sold in the deep lane. 小樓一夜聽春雨，深巷明朝賣杏花。'¹³⁴ The artist drew three of the four borders of the picture frame and in the foreground on the left, a branch with apricot flowers in full blossom, representing the vibrancy of spring, stretches out of sight, as though the picture could no longer hold it within its confines. In the middle ground, a small part of a building, mentioned in the poem, is depicted. Similarly, on the theme of spring, Chen illustrated a line from North Song poet Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) 'River Scenes on a Spring Evening Written to Accompany Two Pictures Drawn by Monk Huichong 惠崇春江晚景': 'When spring has warmed the stream, ducks will be the first to know. 春江水暖鴨先知。' (Fig. 2. 12)¹³⁵ In this picture, Chen precisely depicted the season and the temperature of the water through the new buds of the willow, as well as the ducks playing in the river.

The third category, featuring the allegorical depiction of figures and animals, is typified by *Lin Hejing yu xiannü Luofu* 林和靖與仙女羅浮 (Lin Hejing and Goddess Luo Fu, Fig. 2. 13) published on 2nd April 1912, showing an old man holding tightly

¹³⁴ English translation by Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖. Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, *Tang Songshi sanbaishou* 唐宋詩三百首 (Three Hundred Poems of Tang and Song) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2003), 178.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 134.

onto the corner of a young woman's dress. According to the characters written on the figures, the old man was the Song poet and recluse Lin Hejing 林和靖 (ca.967–1028) while the young woman was the goddess Luo Fu 羅浮.¹³⁶ Previously, Lin had been well-known for his lofty spirit, and he admired the plum blossom and the crane so much that he regarded the former as his wife and the latter as his son. In Chen's picture, Lin looks as though he has become another person, one obsessed with the beauty of a female figure as represented by Luo. In the picture, both the plum branch and the crane are bowed down, as if ashamed of Lin's improper behaviour. Chen distorted Lin's image to mock those people who were always advertising their own loftiness by refusing service to the government but who, during the Republic period, jostled to be given an official position.

2.3 Definitions of Chen Shizeng's *Manbi* Works

Regarding the definition of Chen Shizeng's sixty ink drawings in the *Pacific Times*, artist Feng Zikai offered the first critical commentary on 9 June 1939; these observations are often quoted by scholars working on the *manhua* of China.

Compatriots always think that in China I initiated (*manhua*). In fact, the abbreviated strokes in Chen Shizeng's ink brush drawings published in the *Pacific Times* are neat and forceful; the subjects of those drawings are untrammelled and unrestrained. They truly are the first example of China's *manhua*, although the term was not known at that time; it was not until I

¹³⁶ Lin Hejing 林和靖 (ca.967–1028) was a poet from Northern Song dynasty. He refused all prestigious government positions offered to him and lived in recluse by the West Lake in Hangzhou during his later years. Lin was well known for his romantic poems such as 'Xiangsi ling 相思令 (Everlasting Longing).' The legend of the Goddess Luo Fu originated from Sui dynasty. It was said that Zhao Shixiong 趙師雄 (date unknown) dreamed of a goddess of plum blossom in Mt. Luo Fu in Guangdong Province. Later, the goddess of Luo Fu became a famous poetic allusion widely used by generations of Chinese poets such as Lin Hejing. See: Miao Zhuang 苗壯 ed., *Zhongguo gudai xiaoshuo renwu cidian* 中國古代小說人物辭典 (A Dictionary of Characters in Ancient Chinese Novels) (Jinan: Qilu chubanshe, 1991), 196.

published my paintings in the *Literature Weekly* that the term *manhua* was well established.

國人皆以為在中國由吾創始。實則陳師曾在太平洋報所載毛筆略畫，題意瀟灑，用筆簡勁，實為中國漫畫之始，第當時無其名，至吾畫發表《文學週報》，始有「漫畫」之名也。¹³⁷

Later in his 1947 article ‘Wo de manhua 我的漫畫 (My Manhua),’ Feng re-emphasised his earlier argument by referring to Chen’s drawings published in the *Pacific Times*, saying that ‘I think this truly is the beginning of China’s *manhua*. 我認為這真是中國漫畫的始源。¹³⁸ Feng’s argument did not offer a precise definition of Chen’s ink drawings, and many scholars later defined these works as *manhua* based on Feng’s two abovementioned statements.¹³⁹

Whether Chen Shizeng’s ink drawings are *manhua* or not is still open to debate. I argue that a more precise definition for these drawings should be *manbi*, not *manhua*, as the former contains broader meanings than the latter. *Manbi* mainly consisted of *manhua* and *jianbi hua* 減筆畫 (paintings with abbreviated brushwork). Of all Chen’s drawings published in *Pacific Times*, only the third category of works, which convey profound meanings, has the characteristics and functions representative of *manhua*. The first and second categories, a kind of literary sketch adopting the theme, style and brushwork of scholarly painting, can be classified as *jianbi hua*.¹⁴⁰ These two types of ink drawings together reinterpret and enrich early-stage Chinese *manhua*.

¹³⁷ Feng Yiyin 豐一吟, *Wode fuqin Feng Zikai 我的父親豐子愷* (My Father Feng Zikai) (Hong Kong: Zhonghe chuban youxian gongsi, 2014), 176.

¹³⁸ Feng Zikai 豐子愷, “Wo de manhua 我的漫畫 (My Manhua),” in *Feng Zikai sanwen 豐子愷散文* (Essays by Feng Zikai), ed. Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 2009), 288.

¹³⁹ See: Lu Hsuan-fei 盧宣妃, “Chen Shizeng ‘Beijing fengsutu’ zhong de Riben qishi 陳師曾《北京風俗圖》中的日本啟示 (New Insights on the Evidence of Japanese Influence in Chen Shizeng’s Beijing Custom Album),” *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究輯刊 (National Taiwan University Research Journal of Art History), no. 5 (2010): 212; Guo and Guo, *Chen Shizeng manhua ji*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ English translation of *Jianbihua* by Lin Su-hsing. See: Lin Su-hsing, “Feng Zikai’s Art and the Kaiming Book Company: Art for the People in Early Twentieth-Century China” (PhD Diss., Ohio State University, 2003), 164.

Initially, it is believed that the Chinese term *manhua* was derived from the Japanese term *manga*, as these two terms are written in the same *hanzi* 漢字 (Chinese characters; Japanese: *kanji* 漢字). Some scholars, such as Feng Zikai in China and Shimizu Isao 清水勲 (1939-) in Japan, associate the origin of *manga* with a Chinese term *manbi* 漫筆 (a literary term for a short piece with distilled content). Shimizu argues that *manga* belongs to the group of Japanese-style Chinese and that the word first appeared in Japan. Although it is still not clear how this word came into being, it is very likely to have been inspired by the Chinese word *manbi*.¹⁴¹ The artist Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849) first employed *manga* in the title of a book published in 1814, known as *Hokusai manga* 北斎漫画 (Hokusai's Manga).¹⁴² In his 'Manhua de jifa 漫畫的技法 (The Painterly Methods of Manhua),' Feng explains the meaning and usage of the Chinese character 'man 漫' and the words 'manhua 漫畫' and 'manbi 漫筆' in detail:

The word *man* of *manhua* carries the same meaning as the *man* of *manbi* (literally casual writing; Japanese: *manpitsu*) or *mantan* (literally casual talking). In terms of style, *manbi* and *mantan* mean casual writing (*suibi*) or superb personal essays (*xiao pinwen*). They (the authors of *manbi* or *mantan*) usually select their subject matter at random, and the content (of *manbi* or *mantan*) is short and concise.

漫畫這個“漫”字同漫筆，漫談等的“漫”字用意相同。漫筆，漫談，

在文體中便是一種隨筆或小品文，大都隨意取材，篇幅短小，而內容

精粹。¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Shimizu Isao 清水勲, *Nenpyo Nihon mangashi* 年表日本漫画史 (A Chronological History of Manga) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007), 16.

¹⁴² Matsuba Ryoko, "Did Hokusai Create Manga?" in *Manga*, ed. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Matsuba Ryoko (London, Thames & Hudson British Museum, 2019), 278.

¹⁴³ Feng Zikai 豐子愷, *Feng Zikai manhua jingpin ji* 豐子愷漫畫精品集 (A Selected Collection of Feng Zikai's

From this we understand that the Chinese character *man* suggests informality in the organisation of the material.¹⁴⁴

As for the first two categories of drawings, Feng Zikai's comments from his article 'My *Manhua*' properly describe the characteristics and the technique of these works, emphasising that these drawings were produced casually and spontaneously. He referred to Chen Shizeng's drawings as 'small-sized paintings with abbreviated brushwork 小幅減筆畫' and 'impromptu paintings 即興之作.'¹⁴⁵ In terms of technique and style, he said that Chen's drawings were made with 'a few sketchy lines 寥寥數筆' or 'not much ink 著墨不多.'¹⁴⁶ When describing the aesthetic effects of these drawings, Feng used language that conveyed 'endless fun 餘趣無窮' and 'rich in poetic interest and charm 詩趣橫生.'¹⁴⁷ In his article, Feng gave a precise description of the style, brushwork and effects of Chen's ink drawings, he still failed to grasp the essence of these works. In his first two categories, Chen adopted the scholarly brushwork to revive the subject matter and themes of traditional scholarly painting, exemplified by the depictions of traditional Chinese poems. This poetic theme in Chen's simplified ink drawings had appeared more than two decades earlier than Feng's series of *Gushi xinhua* 古詩新畫 (Old Poems in New Paintings).¹⁴⁸ Considering the scholarly characteristics in Chen's ink drawings, *jianbi* 減筆 (abbreviated brushwork; Japanese: *genpitsu* 減筆), a traditional technique of Chinese painting as opposed to *gongbi* 工筆 (refined brushwork), offers a more fitting definition for Chen's works.

Jianbi aims to achieve a pure and abbreviated effect, omitting any superfluous strokes other than those needed to directly express the spirit of the subject. The strokes

Manhua) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2013), 4.

¹⁴⁴ Ryoko, "Did Hokusai Create Manga?" 278.

¹⁴⁵ Feng, "Wo de manhua," 289.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ English translation by Lin Su-hsing. See: Lin, "Feng Zikai's Art," 181.

used to depict the subject are no more than necessary. The brushwork vividly identifies the main characteristics of the subject.¹⁴⁹ Based on the idea that calligraphy and painting share the same origin, Japanese art historian Nagai Shinichi 永井信一 (1925-) explained this painterly technique by drawing an analogy with calligraphy:

Genpitsu is a painting technique with extremely simplified strokes. Originally, this technique bears the same meaning as omitting strokes and even words in writing calligraphy. Therefore, *genpitsu* is to painting what the cursive style is to calligraphy, which contains three styles: standard style, running style and cursive style.

本来は字画を省いて文字を書くことで、省筆、略字と同じ意味であるが、書の楷・行・草の三体のなかの草体のように、筆数を極度に省略した絵画の技法をいう。¹⁵⁰

In the history of Chinese painting, the technique of *jianbi* was used to depict figures, and Shi Ke 石恪 (active in the fifth century) from the Five Dynasties and Liang Kai 梁楷 (active between the twelfth century and thirteenth century) from the Southern Song period are two artists representative of this technique. They both managed to catch the spiritual manners of their figures with simplified, bold and free strokes.¹⁵¹ The idea of *jianbi* is in accordance with the pursuit of traditional literati painting, both of which

¹⁴⁹ Gong Xue 鞏雪, “Jianbi 減筆 (Paintings with Abbreviated Brushwork),” *Zhongguo meishuguan meishu dabaik* 中國美術館美術大百科 (National Gallery of China Encyclopedia of Fine Arts), accessed June 4, 2017, http://www.namoc.org/cbjy/msbk/msjf/201304/t20130418_225268.htm.

¹⁵⁰ Nagai Shinichi 永井信一, “Genpitsu 減筆 (Paintings with Abbreviated Brushwork),” Japan Knowledge, accessed June 4, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/減筆-492995>. Nagai Shinichi’s quotation on *genpitsu* derived from trend of the Six Dynasties School 六朝派 in the early twentieth century Japan. See: Aida Yuen Wong, “Jindai riben shufa gexin: lun liuchao pai ji Zhongcun buzhe de zhongguoshi bei xuefeng 近代日本書法革新：論六朝派及中村不折的中國式碑學風 (Reforming Calligraphy in Modern Japan: The Six Dynasties School and Nakamura Fusetsu’s Chinese-influenced “Stele” Style),” trans. Pu Leeann trans, *Tsing-hua xuebao* 清華學報 (Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies) XL, no. 3 (September 2010): 485-511.

¹⁵¹ Gong, “Jianbi.”

placed more emphasis on conveying spiritual resonance than in constructing formal likeness.

As for Chen Shizeng's literary sketches, the monochromic effect with simple yet spontaneous brushwork, as well as the poetic meanings these images conveyed, echoed the pursuit of scholarly painting. Particularly for the second category of ink drawings in *Pacific Times*, each drawing was a combination of the four scholarly perfections – poem, calligraphy, painting, and seal carving, and the same subject matter was also adopted by Chen in his ordinary painting practice from around 1912, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

The drawing published on 20 April 1912 is entitled *Gumu youhuang* 古木幽篁 (Old Trees and Dark Bamboos, Fig. 2. 14), a theme favoured by generations of scholar-painters, such as Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374) from the Yuan Dynasty, Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) from the Ming Dynasty, and Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690) from the Qing Dynasty.¹⁵² At the bottom of the image is a grotesque rock covered with moss. Behind the rock are the bare trunk and branches of ancient trees and new, vigorous bamboos. The inscription indicated that Chen was inspired by the Qing painter Qian Tuoshi's 錢籀石 (active in the mid-18th century) work. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the seventh album leaf from an album executed by Chen in 1912 illustrated the same topic: *Gumu youhuang* 古木幽篁 (Old Trees and Dark Bamboos, Fig. 1. 06). In the inscription, Chen wrote: 'Old trees and dark bamboo, I don't know whether it was painted by Wang [Hui] or Yun [Shouping]. 古木幽篁不知是王是惲.' The word *youhuang* 幽篁 (dark bamboo) appeared in the Tang poet Wang Wei 王維 (ca.701-761)'s famous poem 'Bamboo Mile Lodge 竹里館': 'Alone I sit in dark bamboo, strumming the lute, whistling away; deep woods that no one knows, where a bright moon comes to shine on me. 獨坐幽篁裡，彈琴復長嘯。深林人不

¹⁵² English translation by Burton Watson. See: Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 201.

知，明月來相照。¹⁵³ Wang Wei was also regarded by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) as the originator of the Southern School of landscape painting.¹⁵⁴

In Chen Shizeng's colophon, the indications of 'Yun 惲' and 'Wang 王' are clear. 'Yun' refers to Qing literati painter Yun Shouping, who painted *Gumu youhuang* 古木幽篁 (Old Trees and Clustered Bamboo, Fig. 2. 15) after Ni Zan. This painting is in the collection of the Palace Museum in Taipei. Apart from the literary theme of the painting, the delicate, calligraphic brushwork executed by Chen in the album leaf demonstrates another important aspect of scholarly painting – *shuhua tongyuan* 書畫同源 (calligraphy and painting have one origin), manifested by the famous literati artist Zhao Mengfu 趙頴 (1254-1322) of the Yuan Dynasty.¹⁵⁵ Chen deployed the middle tip of the brush to produce lean but round brushwork. While the thick tree trunk on the right of the picture was produced with a relatively dry brush (Fig. 1. 06a), the small tree in the middle was depicted with a brush soaked with ink (Fig. 1. 06b). The *feibai* 飛白 (flying white) effect can be found in the trunk of the third tree (Fig. 1. 06c). In the inscription, Chen probably suggested that he learned the brushwork from one or both of the two artists he mentioned. For instance, Chen's brushwork applied to the tree trunk on the right in the album leaf echoed Yun Shouping's dry and wet technique, as shown in Yun's Taipei hanging scroll.

'Wang' refers to Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), one of the four early Qing orthodox painters whose last name was Wang (*si Wang* 四王). Wang Hui and Yun Shouping were good friends, known as two of the six masters of the early Qing Dynasty;

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Wai-kam Ho and Dawan Ho Delbanco, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Transcendence of History and Art," in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: 1555-1636*, ed. Judith G. Smith, Wai-kam Ho (St. Louis: University of Washington Press, 1992), 15

¹⁵⁵ As Zhao Mengfu stated: 'Rocks like the "flying white" [brush stroke], trees like the great seal script. To sketch bamboo also demands conversance with the "Eight Methods" [of calligraphy]. It there should be one who is capable of this, he must know that the calligraphy and painting have one origin. 石如飛白木如籀，寫竹還與八法通。若也有人能會此，須知書畫本來同。' in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1985), 278-279.

both were adept at landscape paintings. It was said that Yun always left colophons and inscriptions on Wang's paintings. Therefore, their names were usually mentioned together, as in the case of Chen Shizeng's album leaf.

When the abovementioned painting album was executed, Chen Shizeng was devoted to seeking painterly inspiration from the brushworks of various old masters. Chen believed that a painter could only make a fair judgement on the merits of others as well as his or her own shortcomings after he or she had learned from many previous painters.¹⁵⁶ As mentioned in Chapter 1, most of Chen's surviving works from this period of two to three years are small-scale albums of flowers or landscapes adopting the styles and brushstrokes of famous painters he admired. Wang Hui was one of these artists. If we compare Chen's abovementioned album leaf with *Gumu youhuang* 古木幽篁 (Old Trees and Clustered Bamboo, Fig. 2. 16) by Wang from the collection of the Palace Museum in Taipei, we can easily find Wang's combination of thirsty and wet brushwork from Chen's depiction of bare tree branches (Fig. 1. 06a and Fig. 2. 16a) and bamboo leaves (Fig. 1. 06b and Fig. 2. 16b).

An undated hanging scroll of a spring landscape by Chen Shizeng after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping is a convincing example proving that during the early stage of his artistic career, Chen carefully studied Wang and Yun's works and excelled in adopting their brushworks. *Landscape after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 仿王翬惲壽平山水 (Fig. 2. 17) was previously owned by the famous American collector Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (1929-2014) and is currently in the collection of the British Museum. The inscription of the painting reads: 'The spring grass appears blue, the spring water ripples green. I attempted to capture the spirit of Wang Hui and Yun Shouping but regret that I cannot. 春草碧色，春水綠波，遊心王惲之間，媿不能得其超秀。'¹⁵⁷ Here the attributions of Wang and Yun are certain: Wang refers to Wang Hui, while Yun refers to Yun Shouping. As for the composition, Chen adopted the typical structure of Ni Zan:

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 274.

¹⁵⁷ *Landscape after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping*, British Museum, accessed July 6, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=267999&partId=1&searchText=Chen+Hengke&page=1.

two riverbanks divided by a river running across. The painting also shows the artist's capability in using ink. Although the painting is monochromatic, the ink colour wash demonstrates multiple shades such as black, charcoal and light grey, vividly depicting the verdant and vibrant spring. When we examine the strokes applied to the tree trunks and branches in *Landscape after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* (Fig. 2. 17a and Fig. 2. 17b), which are quite similar to those in Chen's album leaf *Old Trees and Dark Bamboos* (Fig. 1. 06b and Fig. 1. 06a), we can easily recognise Yun and Wang's featured, yet balanced mastery of dry and wet brushworks.

The abbreviated brushwork and, most particularly, the poetic meanings vividly conveyed through the strokes, asserted Chen's scholarly identity and strengthened this image of the scholar-artist as presented in *Pacific Times*. Given Chen's intention to sell his artworks through newspaper promotion, as demonstrated by his price list *Xiu daoren Chen Shizeng shuhua zhaunke runli* 朽道人陳師曾書畫篆刻潤例 (Xiu Daoren Chen Shizeng's Price List of Calligraphy, Painting and Seal Carving, Fig. 2. 18) published in late May 1912, one reason behind the construction of his public persona as a scholar-artist was probably to present the artist as someone more than a mere merchant of art, as suggested by Roberta Wue; Chen could thus attract potential customers and guarantee sales.¹⁵⁸

We turn now to the third category of Chen Shizeng's ink drawings, which I believe is close to *manhua* in terms of subject matter and function. It is necessary to figure out what was understood by the term *manhua* in the early twentieth century China. According to Lin Su-hsing:

The Chinese term *manhua*, or sketched drawings, was not common in China until 1925, a period when the mass-media art form known as *manga* also became common in Japan... The birth of *manhua* is usually credited to Feng Zikai. However, the appearance of the term *manhua*, as a noun and an

¹⁵⁸ Roberta Wue, "The Shanghai Artist in Advertising and Mass Media," in *Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai*, Roberta Wue (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), 91.

artistic term in China, can be traced back at least to March of 1904, when a column titled *Shishi manhua*, which used *manhua* to depict current affairs, began to appear in the Shanghai-based *Warning of Russian Issues*, which was launched by Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) and Liu Shiwei (1884–1919) on 25 December 1903, and renamed *Warning Bell Daily* on 25 April 1904.¹⁵⁹

Although ideas might vary on the literal meanings of *manhua* and *manga*, scholars working on the Chinese *manhua* believe that its content and function were the same as those of the *manga* of Meiji and Taisho Japan.¹⁶⁰ In the Meiji era, the term *manga* took on a further meaning. Artist Imaizumi Ippyo 今泉一瓢 (1865-1904) referred to it as caricatures.¹⁶¹ Shimizu believes that the founding of the magazine *Malo malo Chinbun* 團團珍聞 (Malo malo Strange Stories) on 24 March 1877 marked the birth of modern Japanese manga. *Malomalo Chinbun* is well known for its *fūshi giga* 風刺戲画 (satirical drawings), targeting the *Jiyū minken undo* 自由民権運動 (Freedom and People's Rights Movement, 1874-1894). Subsequently, numerous satirical drawings focusing on political and social affairs appeared in newspapers and magazines.¹⁶² For instance, Kitazawa Rakuten 北澤楽天 (1876-1955) adopted this term for his American-style Sunday comic publication *Jiji Manga* 時事漫画 (Current Affairs Manga). The politically charged drawings used to depict current affairs in the early-twentieth century, such as *Shishi manhua* 時事漫畫 (Current Affairs *Manhua*), could be an outcome of this Japanese impact. According to Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), the purpose of this new art was to 'expose, satirize, and even vilify 暴露, 譏刺, 甚至至於是攻擊的.'¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Lin Su-hsing, "Cartoons, Comics and *Manhua*," in *Encyclopedia of Modern China*, ed. David Pong (Michigan: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 2009), 313-314.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Matsuba, "Did Hokusai Create Manga?" 282.

¹⁶² Shimizu, *Nenpyo nihon mangashi*, 18-19.

¹⁶³ Geremie Barmé, "An Artist and His Epithet," in *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, Geremie Barmé (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 26.

Examples from Chen Shizeng's third category of drawings in the *Pacific Times* include *Lin Hejing and Goddess Luo Fu* (Fig. 2. 13), *Zinian zhi xinxiang* 子年之新象 (The New Phenomenon of the Year Zi, Fig. 2. 19), and *Fangniu yu taolin zhi ye* 放牛于桃林之野 (Let His Oxen in the Open Country of Taolin, Fig. 2. 20).¹⁶⁴ These were among the works targeting the political environment of the newly established Republic. The latter two examples will be analysed in depth when discussing Li Shutong's impact on Chen's ink drawings. Another Chinese *manhua* artist, Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907-1995), argued that *manhua* can also be interpreted as a kind of 'social art,' the content of which is closely related to the life and circumstances of ordinary people.¹⁶⁵ Chen's three satirical drawings of beggars *Qi shi yi* 乞食一 (Begging for Food: One, Fig. 2. 21), *Qi shi er* 乞食二 (Begging for Food: Two, Fig. 2. 22) and *Qi shi san* 乞食三 (Begging for Food: Three, Fig. 2. 23), which vividly reflect the adversity of lower-class life, can be understood from Ye's perspective. By depicting the beggars, Chen started to connect his scholarly brushwork to the social reality, and this attempt later gave birth to a new painting style which can be found in his 1915 album, *Beijing fengsu hua* 北京風俗畫 (Customs of Beijing).

2.4 Inspirations for Chen Shizeng's *Manbi* Works: Li Shutong, Katsushika Hokusai and Koyama Shōtarō

In this section, I will argue that the art works by Li Shutong and Katsushika Hokusai are two prototypes Chen followed in his *Pacific Times* creations. As the editor of the literature and arts supplement of *Pacific Times*, Li played an important part in deciding

¹⁶⁴ English translation by James Legge. "Book III: The Successful Completion of the War 武成," in *The Books of Chow*, trans. James Legge (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2014), 28.

¹⁶⁵ Hung Chang-tai, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 1994), 28-29.

the subject matter, painterly method and format of Chen's ink drawings. His aesthetic conception as well as his own painting practice also inspired these works by Chen. Furthermore, there may be considered to be some association between Chen's Type Two ink drawings and the poetic illustrations in *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun) by his painting tutor at the Tokyo Advanced Normal College, Koyama Shōtarō.

Before exploring Li Shutong's impact on the *Pacific Times Pictorial*, several advertisements published in the newspaper, very likely to have been written and designed by Li, offer clues for our research into the painterly techniques of these ink drawings. One of the advertisements published on 14 June 1912, is particularly worth examining. As we can see from *Pacific Times Pictorial*, the number of drawings offered by Chen Shizeng started to decrease in June of this year, and the advertisement *Zhengqiu huangji fengci huagao* 徵求滑稽諷刺畫稿 (Soliciting Comical and Satirical Drawings, Fig. 2. 24) was obviously targeting broader contributors. The advertisement stated the following:

Please draw with thick ink on white paper and select paper that is within the size limit. Please indicate 'Comical and Satirical Drawings' on your envelope and submit it to the Advertising Department on the third floor.

用濃墨畫於白紙上，張幅不宜太大，信面註明滑稽諷刺畫稿字樣，交
本社三層樓廣告部收。¹⁶⁶

This paragraph conveys the following information: while not all of Chen's sixty drawings published in *Pacific Times Pictorial* fit with the 'comical and satirical drawings' designation, they were produced as required by this advertisement with the same technique and material – dark ink on white paper. The inscription of one of Chen's drawings *Begging for Food: Two* (Fig. 2. 22) revealed the artist's communication with the editor, namely Li, on the quality of his submitted artwork. *Begging for Food: Two*

¹⁶⁶ "Zhengqiu huaji fengci huagao 徵求滑稽諷刺畫稿 (Soliciting Comical and Satirical Drawings)," *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), June 23, 1912, 5.

shows a beggar with broken foot, who is in a rather peculiar position according to Chen himself – he lies on the ground using a straight wooden stick as his pillow. Below the image Chen wrote: ‘This painting is not done in the right way, please make corrections. 此畫未妥請改正。’ This was clearly the message Chen wanted to send to Li on his draft, showing Chen’s confidence in and appreciation of Li’s opinions; however, Li changed nothing and chose to publish the original draft.

Li Shutong’s solicitation for drawings in the advertisement came together with a reward scheme, as the accepted works would be divided into three classes and the winners would get free copies of *Pacific Times* to read and the opportunity to advertise:

[Authors of] First class prize will be awarded with two months’ free subscription to the newspaper, and free advertisement in new style for one week (without specified column).

一等送閱本報兩個月，送登新式小廣告一星期（地位不定）。¹⁶⁷

[Authors of] Second class prize will be awarded with one month’s free subscription of the newspaper, and free advertisement in new style for three days (without specified column).

二等送閱本報一個月，送登新式小廣告三日（地位不定）。¹⁶⁷

Chen Baoyi 陳抱一 (1893–1945), who later became a famous oil painter, was announced in early July to have won the First Prize (Fig. 2. 25). Later, Li had another advertisement published, soliciting what he referred to in the advertisement as *maobi hua* 毛筆畫 (brush painting) from primary school students, also with a reward scheme (Fig. 2. 26).

According to Lin Su-hsing, commissioning ink drawings with simplified brushwork first from Chen, then from other artists, and later the wider public, reflected

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

Li Shutong's personal preference for this kind of drawing.¹⁶⁸ According to Lin, Li's appreciation for this style is very likely to have been inspired by the time he spent in Tokyo, where he admired the 'brush painting-like' quality of the works by Japanese painters Miyake Katsumi 三宅克己 (1874–1954) and Toda Kenji 戸田謙二 (active between 1900 and 1920), both of which he used as illustrations for his *Yinyue xiaozazhi* 音樂小雜誌 (Small Music Magazine).¹⁶⁹ Miyake's drawing is called *Yinyuetang zhi Violin hezou* 音樂堂之 Violin 合奏 (The Violin Concert in a Music Hall, Fig. 2. 27); the other by Toda is named *Riben jiaohuazi zhi yinyue* 日本叫化子之音樂 (The Music of Japanese Strollers, Fig. 2. 28). As for Miyake's illustration, although Li referred to it as *maobi hua* in the magazine, Lin questioned whether or not this work was produced by a brush.¹⁷⁰ As the image on the magazine was a reprinted version, we cannot be sure of its painting material. The simplified strokes and the brush painting-like effect are beyond question.

Li Shutong's appreciation for the Japanese-style ink drawings is also reflection of his own work, which provides prototypes for some of Chen Shizeng's drawings from *Pacific Times Pictorial*. Prior to publishing Chen's works in *Pacific Times*, Li had already published similar drawings in other Shanghai newspapers, and two out of the three examples from *Minsheng ribao* 民聲日報 (People's Voice Daily) in early 1912 were very likely to have inspired Chen. In the upper left corner of the first illustration by Li, *Zhuang yi fengliu* 狀以風柳 (I could only depict a willow swaying with the wind to express my feelings, Fig. 2. 29), the artist depicts willow branches swaying with the wind, while his calligraphy takes up the majority of the space:

Are you choosing Beijing as the capital? Or are you choosing Nanjing as
the capital? Are you destroying Yuan [Shikai]? Or are you praising Yuan

¹⁶⁸ Lin, "Feng Zikai's Art," 165.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 67.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

[Shikai]? People all fussed up and down but flinched at one or the other. Words failed to describe my emotion. I could only depict a willow swaying with the wind to express my feelings.

都北京欵 (歟)? 都南京欵 (歟)? 毀袁氏欵 (歟)? 譽袁氏欵 (歟)? 公等碌，畏尾畏首。吾無以狀，狀以風柳。

After Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 (1866-1925) was forced to abdicate his position as President of the newly established Republic of China to Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916), Yuan was unwilling to take up the position in Nanjing. Because Yuan's armies were gathered in Beijing. Thus, Yuan deliberately postponed his departure and finally pushed the contemporary Republican government to relocate to Beijing for his own sake.¹⁷¹ Under these circumstances, Li drew this picture to criticise those Chinese people who had no firm principles or did not dare to express their true opinions on such political matters; he castigated those who vacillated and showed them to be just like the willow, swaying with the wind.

Later, Chen Shizeng also drew a satirical picture targeting Yuan, *New Phenomenon of the Year Zi* (Fig. 2. 19), which was published in *Pacific Times* on 13 April 1912. Unlike Li Shutong's straightforward approach, Chen chose a more suggestive pictorial language. In his picture, Chen drew a large squirrel standing on a tree branch eating a nut. The squirrel represents Yuan, who stole the fruit of the 1911 Revolution. Political subject matters were seldom seen in Chen's works. This work was very likely to have been required by Li or commissioned as a follow-up to the numerous satirical images targeting Yuan produced at that time.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Jin Chongji 金沖及 and Hu Shengwu 胡繩武 ed., *Xinhai geming shigao: geming de chenggong yu shibai* 辛亥革命史稿：革命的成功與失敗 (A History of 1911 Revolution: The Success and Failure of the Revolution) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2011), 1368-1443.

¹⁷² Examples include *Lao Yuan Baitai* 老猿百態 (Hundred Faces of the Gibbons) by Qian Binhe 錢病鶴 (1879-1944); *Yuan Shikai qi muma* 袁世凱騎木馬 (Yuan Shikai Riding a Wooden Horse) and *Fantong* 飯桶 (Good-for-nothing) by Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885-1968).

Li Shutong's second drawing published in *Minsheng ribao*, *Xiuzhan* 休戰 (Truce, Fig. 2. 30), is a direct model of Chen Shizeng's drawing *Let His Oxen in the Open Country of Taolin* (Fig. 2. 20) published on 30 April 1912. Here, Li drew a warhorse with saddle on its back in the foreground and a standing flagpole in the far distance. Instead of being sent to war, the horse is seen leisurely enjoying grass under the white clouds. The picture and the title expressed the artist's longing for peace after war. In Chen's picture, similarly, he drew cattle standing under a tree. The inscription 'Let His Oxen in the Open Country of Taolin' is from *Zhou shu* 周書 (The Book of Zhou). The full sentence describes the peaceful scenario after the victory of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 over King Zhou of Shang 商紂王.¹⁷³ Just as Li spoke through his retired war horse, Chen illustrated a line from ancient Chinese texts to convey his wish for peace.

The third category of ink drawings published in the *Pacific Times*, such as the two examples produced under Li Shutong's influence, are among the very few drawings with political themes within Chen Shizeng's painting oeuvre. As a result, the artist's political perspective has aroused curiosity and discussion amongst scholars. Some, such as Olivier Krischer, argue that Chen had a rather ambiguous political stance, especially on Japan related matters.¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately, as far as we know today, no direct evidence from Chen's writings, such as painting inscriptions, letters, articles, and poems, indicates an explicit political viewpoint, domestically or internationally. Apart from several letters sent to his family and friends in China, warning them to be aware of Japan's ambitions towards China during the Japanese-Russian War (1904–1905), the artist rarely discussed political matters, even with his family members or close friends.¹⁷⁵ A more plausible explanation is that Chen had always been extremely cautious towards political issues and was never involved in or intended to get involved

¹⁷³ 'When he hushed all the movements of war and attended to the cultivations of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of Mount Hwa and let his oxen in the open country of Taolin. 乃偃武修文，歸馬於華山之林，放牛於桃林之野。' in Legge, *The Books of Chow*, 28.

¹⁷⁴ Olivier Krischer, "Picturing Early Twentieth-Century Sino-Japanese Art Relations in Omura Seiagi's *Shina Rekiyu Dan*," in *Crossing Culture: Conflict, Migration, Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson Miegunyah Press, 2009), 821.

¹⁷⁵ Record from interview with Mr Chen Yizhu 陳貽竹, Chen Shizeng's grandson, 6 January 2017, Guangzhou, China.

in politics, which is very likely as a result of his family background. Both Chen's grandfather, Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831–1900), and his father, Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853–1937), were active reformists who were dismissed by the Qing government after the failure of the *Wuxu bianfa* 戊戌變法 (Wuxu Reform Movement) in 1898 and were not allowed serve the government again thereafter. From then on, according to Chen's grandson Chen Yizhu 陳貽竹 (1941–), Chen chose to remain uninvolved in politics. This became their unwritten family discourse, passed down orally from generation to generation within the Chen family.¹⁷⁶ Chen's attitude was further confirmed by his deliberate avoidance of any potential political involvement. This was noted by Yuan Siliang 袁思亮 (1879–1939), a student of Chen Sanli, in Chen's epitaph regarding his later time in Beijing:

The Ministry of Education wanted to award Chen an official title, but he refused; then the minister treated Chen with highest courtesy and tried by all means to persuade him, thus Chen agreed to work as an editor for textbooks. (...) Chen was never particularly interested or invested in money or fame and avoided associating with those who were powerful and important.

教育部欲官之，不可，禮羅焉，乃往主圖書編輯。(...) 遺外聲利，不與權要人通。¹⁷⁷

In addition to the influence of Li Shutong, Chen Shizeng also admitted that he was inspired by the works of Japanese painter Katsushika Hokusai. Before Chen returned to China from Japan, he drew a simplified figure with colour on silk. In *Yuqiang* 逾牆

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Yuan Siliang 袁思亮, "Chen jun Shizeng muzhiming 陳君師曾墓志銘 (Epitaph of Mr Chen Shizeng)," *Huaguo* 華國 (China) 3, no. 1 (1926), 83.

(Climbing over the Walls, Fig. 2. 31), he depicted the moment a thief climbed over a wall. More importantly, in the inscription, the artist stated the following:

The so-called *manhua* means a painting with a concise and allegorical meaning, and its painting method is outstanding. In Japan, (when speaking of *manhua*), no one is as good as Hokusai...

有所謂漫畫者，意簡拙而託意俶詭，涵法頗著。日本則北齋而外無其人。

Chen's inscription not only proves that he had seen Hokusai's works, which he referred to as *manhua* of Japan, but also shows his admiration for these paintings, as well as his eagerness to learn from the late master. Hokusai's impact is reflected in many aspects of Chen's paintings, particularly in terms of composition and in specific methods used to depict some objects. In this sense, Chen's main references include *Hokusai Manga* 北齋漫画 (The Manga of Hokusai) and *Ippitsu gafu* 一筆畫譜 (Album of Drawings with One Stroke of the Brush).

Chen Shizeng's ink drawings published in the *Pacific Times* are clearly suggestive of the concise structure and composition of Hokusai's landscapes. A striking example is one of the illustrations Chen drew for Su Manshu's novel *Duanhong lingyan ji* 斷鴻零雁記 (The Lonely Swan, Fig. 2. 32), which was serialised in the literature and fine arts supplement from 16 May 1912. The illustration was for part one of Chapter One, which depicted a Chinese-style temple surrounded by trees, a bridge, and a river, was almost the same as *Kameido shrine* 龜戸天神社 (Fig. 2. 33) by Hokusai in terms of composition and the arrangement of items. If we compare the two illustrations, we can easily discover that Chen cut the section to the right of the bridge in Hokusai's image and kept the other parts, thus altering the original composition from a rectangle to a square shape. He also replaced the Japanese-style temple with a Chinese temple in contemporaneous style. Apart from the roofs, the major difference between the two

temples is that, the main structure of the Japanese-style temple was made of wood, while that of the Chinese temple was made of brick. In *A Thatched Cottage beside Pine Trees* 松下茅屋 (Fig. 2. 34), the way in which the cottage was depicted and the placement of the cottage beside the trees were elements probably taken from Hokusai's manga works *A Thatched Cottage beside Pine Trees* (Fig. 2. 35) and *The Plum Estate* 梅屋舗 (Fig. 2. 36).

The nature of these examples from *Hokusai Manga* replicated by Chen Shizeng requires further exploration. They were from the first series of *Hokusai Manga*, which was published in 1814, probably as painting manuals. According to Richard J. Lane, the *manga* series was initiated and drawn by the artist for the several new pupils he took in Nagoya during his first visit there in autumn 1812.¹⁷⁸ Although the drawings appeared like nothing more than 'random sketches,' Hokusai was in fact very careful and serious with every one of his drawings, bearing in mind his hope that in the future, someone who learned from these painting manuals would carry on his artistic style.¹⁷⁹ Another reason behind the publication of these brush drawings was to cater to the growing market, developing since the 1790s, for amateur artists learning how to paint with brushes.¹⁸⁰ As shown by *Varieties of Trees* (Fig. 2. 37) and *Types of Buildings* (Fig. 2. 38) in Series I, the various kinds of trees and houses were apparently designed as a guidance for painting learners.¹⁸¹ This special characteristic of the high-quality *Hokusai Manga*, as well as Hokusai's fame and reputation in the Japanese art world, explains why a foreign amateur artist like Chen would still take this publication as an important reference for learning Japanese art in the early 1900s, decades after its debut on the book market.

As for the figure drawings executed with abbreviated strokes, Chen Shizeng also referred to Hokusai's composition. *A Seated Nobleman* (Fig. 2. 39) was executed by ink and blue wash on square paper; the figure roughly fits into a triangular shape. In its

¹⁷⁸ Richard Lane, *Hokusai: Life and Work* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1984), 121.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 120.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 127.

composition, the painted area and the blank area are roughly divided by the diagonal line of the square, with the figure taking up more than half of the paper. Similarly, on page six of *Album of Drawings with One Stroke of Brush*, *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro* 柿本人麻呂 (Fig. 2. 40), which was completed in 1824, Hokusai portrayed the Japanese poet sitting by the seaside, looking far into the distance at the rocks and ships; the outline of the figure was close to a triangular shape. As for Chen's drawings published in *Pacific Times* on 25 May 1912, *Luoyue gualiu kan xuanzhu* 落月掛柳看懸珠 (The Setting Moon Like Pearl Hangs from Willow Tree, Fig. 2. 41), he adopted similar diagonal and triangular shapes to depict a poet looking at the bright moon showing behind the willow, which was like a pearl suspended in the sky. In the inscription 'The setting moon like pearl hangs from willow tree. 落月掛柳看懸珠,' Chen changed one character *zhu* 蛛 (spider) from the line 'The setting moon like a spider hangs from the willow tree. 落月掛柳看懸蛛' of Su Shi's poem 'Zhou zhong ye qi 舟中夜起 (Getting Up at Night while in a Boat)' into *zhu* 珠 (pearl).¹⁸²

It is interesting to notice that Koyama Shōtarō also contributed monochromatic illustrations inscribed with Chinese traditional-style poems to a famous Tokyo magazine *Sun* on a monthly basis in 1912. He started in February from the first issue of the year, some two months before the debut of Chen Shizeng's ink drawings in *Taipingyang bao*. *Sun* was a general magazine run by the Tokyo publishing house Kakubunkan 博文館 from 1895 to 1928. Topics covered within the magazine were varied, including politics, economics, the military, business and culture.¹⁸³ According to the chronicle of Koyama's life, he published illustrations in *Sun* every month from 1912 to 1913, and the drawings were made in ink and brush.¹⁸⁴ Was it a coincidence that Koyama and his former student Chen both published their ink drawings, both executed with abbreviated brushwork, in print media during the same year? Or could it

¹⁸² English translation by Xu Yuanchong. Xu, *Tang Songshi sanbaishou*, 87.

¹⁸³ "Content," *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun) 18, no. 1 (1912): 1.

¹⁸⁴ Takamura Shimbun 高村真夫, "Nenpyō 年譜 (A Chronological Biography)," in *Koyama Shōtarō san* 小山正太郎先生 (Mr Koyama Shōtarō), ed. Takamura Shimbun 高村真夫 (Tokyo: Fudōsha kyūyū-kai, 1934), 309.

be possible that Koyama's works, which appeared in public two months earlier than Chen's works, inspired Chen's second type of ink drawing—the poetic type?

Koyama Shōtarō started to teach painting at the Tokyo Advanced Normal College in 1878, where Chen Shizeng was enrolled in the department between 1903 and 1909. Koyama was appointed Tutor of Painting for the department of Natural History in 1901 after returning from his trip in France to investigate the curriculum of painting for normal school education.¹⁸⁵ According to Koyama's assistant Hiraki Masatsugu 平木政次 (1859-1943), painting courses and tutorials for natural history students usually lasted for four to five days, finishing with a tea party for the tutor and his students on the last night after class.¹⁸⁶ Koyama would also take students on sketching trips in the suburbs of Tokyo or further afield, as observing nature and outdoor sketching were the two significant painterly methods he had advocated since he himself was a student.¹⁸⁷ Given the schedule and curriculum, we can infer that as a Natural History student, Chen Shizeng must have spent quite some time under Koyama's supervision and would have known the artworks and principles of his teaching.

Two articles written by Koyama Shōtarō, which were related to his ink drawings, were serialised in the *Sun* alongside with his artworks. On 1st February 1912, 'Ga to uta 畫と詩 (Painting and Poetry)' came first, including Koyama's first two ink drawings.¹⁸⁸ This article mainly talked about the interrelation of painting and traditional-style poetry within the field of scholarly painting. At the beginning, Koyama claimed that although the practice of inscribing poems on paintings originated from China, it did not become popular until the age of scholarly painting, when the scholar-artist executed paintings for entertainment. If the inscribed poem and the painting made a perfect match, they would interact with each other and generate endless artistic interests. Subsequently, the author cited many examples of poems on paintings from China's art history. Koyama argued that during the era of interest in Sinology in Japan,

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 305, 309.

¹⁸⁶ Hiraki Masatsugu 平木政次, "Kōtō shihan ni okeru Koyama sensei 高等師範に於ける小山先生 (Mr Koyama at the Advanced Normal College)," in *Koyama Shōtarō san*, ed. Takamura, 101.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 103.

¹⁸⁸ Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎, "Ga to uta 畫と詩 (Painting and Poetry)," *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun) 18, no. 2 (1912): 164-165.

Japanese painters were capable of producing this kind of poetic painting. He felt that this elegant topic rarely caught the attention of his contemporaries as a result of the rapid development of fine arts in general and the blossoming of different painting schools. With the publishing of his poetic ink drawings in this magazine, Koyama hoped that more painters would become interested in the research of how to make the painting and the inscription supplementary to each other, thus they could be actively involved in this type of painting and carry on with his cause.¹⁸⁹

Koyama Shōtarō explained the meaning and intention of every poem he inscribed on his ink drawings in his second article ‘Ga to daiji 畫と題辭 (Inscriptions on the Painting),’ which was serialised in the magazine from March to May and July to August 1912.¹⁹⁰ These poems were all in the Chinese traditional style, composed either by Chinese or Japanese poets, including some by Koyama himself.¹⁹¹ The numbers of the poems mentioned in this article indicate that Koyama had executed at least seventy poetic ink drawings by August 1912, while less than twenty of them were eventually published in the magazine.¹⁹² Among the published examples, the subject matter of the drawings included figure, landscape, still life and vegetables and fruit, respectively shown in *Poetic Illustration: No. 94* (Fig. 2. 42), *Poetic Illustration: Landscape* (Fig. 2. 43), *Poetic Illustration: No. 1* (Fig. 2. 44) and *Poetic Illustration: No. 60* (Fig. 2. 45). These are quite similar to the themes of Chen Shizeng’s ink drawings in *Pacific Times*.

Among Koyama Shōtarō’s ink drawings published in the *Sun* from February to August 1912, three examples require special attention. These works contained the four perfections of Chinese scholarly painting - poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal carving, as well as the technique of using light and shade taken from Western painting. The first two illustrations were shown together with ‘Painting and Poetry’ in the February issue of the magazine in 1912.¹⁹³ In the first illustration *Poetic Illustration:*

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Takamura, “Nenpyō,” 311.

¹⁹¹ Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎, “Ga to daiji 畫と題辭 (Inscriptions on the Painting),” in *Taiyō 太陽* (The Sun) 18, no. 4 (1912): 159-140; no. 6 (1912): 179-181; no. 10 (1912): 179-180; no. 11 (1912): 185.

¹⁹² Ibid., no. 11 (1912): 185.

¹⁹³ Koyama, “Ga to uta 畫と詩 (Painting and Poetry),” *Taiyō 太陽* (The Sun) 18, no. 2 (1912): 164.

Longing for Scissors (Fig. 2. 46), Koyama depicted Ming scholar Li Shimian 李時勉 (1374-1450)'s poem 'Yong jiandao 詠剪刀 (Long for Scissors)' with a pair of traditional Chinese scissors.¹⁹⁴ To the left of the image, Koyama inscribed the whole poem with fluent calligraphy in *xingshu* 行書 (running script). He signed the work with his self-styled name *sakitano sansō shujin* 先樂山莊主人 (Owner of Xianle Mountain Villa) ending with the word *sumi tawa* 墨戲 (ink play) spelling, a phrase commonly used in the inscriptions of traditional Chinese scholar-artists to indicate the spontaneity and informality of their works. Below *sumi tawa* were two seals of the artist, each respectively bearing one character from his surname—*yama* 山, and first name—*shō* 正. In this we can find all of the four perfections of scholarly painting within Koyama's illustration. It seems that the poet only described a pair of scissors, yet his true intention was to praise and show his affection for the beauty who was doing needlework in her boudoir using this pair of scissors. Koyama interpreted this poem in 'Ga to daiji', commenting that without a direct description, one was still able to catch sight of the demure fair lady between the lines by imagining the beautiful scene in his/her mind.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, if we look at Koyama's depiction of the scissors while reading Li's poem at the same time, we will notice that Koyama's drawing conveyed the same meaning as Li's poem. It is also noteworthy that Koyama managed to demonstrate the differences in texture between the sharp blade and the other parts of the scissors through the execution of light and shade using Chinese painting brush and ink.

The second example *Poetic Illustration: Return at Night* (Fig. 2. 47) is dominated by a Japanese-style porcelain teapot and a cup. Similar to the first example, the artist captured the rough texture of the tea-set, as well as the effect of the light on the surface. This picture recorded a specific moment in Koyama Shōtarō's daily life. As explained

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎, "Ga to daiji 畫と題辭 (Inscriptions on Painting)," *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun) 18, no. 4 (1912): 159-160.

in the colophon, which was a Chinese traditional-style poem composed by the artist himself, he returned home drunk from a banquet on a moonlit night, and his cook helped him recover with a cup of tea. As part of the four scholarly perfections, this painting adopted the same signature and seals as shown in the first example.

From February onwards, one or more poetic illustrations by Koyama Shōtarō were shown in almost every issue of the *Sun*. The third example to be discussed, *Poetic Illustration: No. 1* (Fig. 2. 44), depicts lines from a poem written by a Japanese poet. According to Koyama, this poem was inspired by a *yōkyoku* 謡曲 as the author found the ideas conveyed within to be very interesting: during a period of bitter cold, an idler moved pots of plum blossom next to a dove in order to make them bloom sooner.¹⁹⁶ As told in Koyama's colophon, the drawing was executed in the second month of *renzi* 壬子 year (1912) when the dancing snowflakes were flapping the window of his room. Just like the two aforementioned examples, the artist defined the variations of the textures and lights on the surface of the teapot and the pots for the plum blossom with short and long ink brush strokes.

Considering Koyama Shōtarō's well-known role as a famous painter and educator in Western painting, who advocated for including pencil drawings instead of traditional brush drawings in the painting curriculum for primary school students in 1880s, it is necessary to state that his poetic ink drawings in the *Sun* did not emerge from a vacuum. According to Koyama's assistant Hiraki Masatsugu, Koyama enjoyed being a traditional scholar-artist in private, painting with brushes, practicing calligraphy and composing poems. Koyama was particularly good at scholarly painting.¹⁹⁷ The steadiness and elegance shown in Koyama's ink drawings reflect his ability to use the brush. According to some of the original inscriptions on the paintings, we can also learn that he was capable of writing Chinese traditional-style poems. When recalling a November sketch trip to Ishikawa, Hiraki mentioned that when requested to execute a painting for the host family, Koyama did a picture of a poetic ink drawing. He also

¹⁹⁶ Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎, "Ga to uta 畫と詩" (Painting and Poetry)," *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun) 18, no. 2 (1912): 165.

¹⁹⁷ Hiraki, "Kōtō shihan ni okeru Koyama sensei," 103.

reminded Hiraki that next time, they should prepare paper and painting brushes, as well as a copy of the collection of Chinese traditional-style poems, in advance.¹⁹⁸

If we compare Koyama Shōtarō's works in the *Sun* with Chen Shizeng's second type of drawings in the *Pacific Times*, we do not necessarily see similar themes or compositions. Instead of writing down the whole poem, just as Koyama did, Chen only inscribed one line from the poem or a few poetic words to his drawings. Yet, the everlasting beauty of the Chinese traditional-style poems and ink brushworks were conveyed through their pictorial language. When Koyama published his illustrations in the *Sun* in 1912, the Meiji era that represented Westernisation and modernisation was about to end. Under this background, Koyama made it clear in his 'Painting and Poetry' and 'Inscriptions on the Paintings' that he wished to recall the forgotten Chinese scholarly traditions in the fields of literature and art, which used to be an important part of the culture of his country.¹⁹⁹ He also made attempt to achieve this ambitious goal by executing about one hundred poet ink drawings.²⁰⁰ Similarly, the year 1912 witnessed the overthrow of the imperial regime in China and the birth of the Republic. Scholar-artists like Chen, who had received both a traditional and modern style of education and who had experienced the collision of local, traditional culture and foreign culture, were thus sensitive enough to notice that anything old, such as scholarly painting, could become obsolete or outdated at any point. Chen created *Pacific Times* ink drawings not only to recall the prosperous age of Chinese scholarly painting, but to also find a way to modernise it and thus ensure its survival. The three-type *manbi*, which were easier to read and understand than paintings with the four scholarly perfections, and his collaboration with popular print media, which increased access to the once elite art, were the earliest solutions Chen found for scholarly painting.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Koyama, "Ga to uta," 164; Koyama, "Ga to daiji," no. 4 (1912): 159-140; no. 6 (1912): 179-181; no. 10 (1912): 179-180; no. 11 (1912): 185.

²⁰⁰ Koyama, "Ga to daiji," no. 4 (1912): 159-140; no. 6 (1912): 179-181; no. 10 (1912): 179-180; no. 11 (1912): 185.

2.5 The Commercial Application and Artistic Legacy of Chen Shizeng's *Manbi* Works

Chen Shizeng's three types of ink drawings in *Pacific Times* with abbreviated brushwork might seem like a one-time experiment in the context of his painting oeuvre, given that it is a genre he seldom returned to after 1912. They not only reappeared in Chen's artistic practice after his stint at *Pacific Times*, but also making contribution, in different ways, to reviving scholarly painting.

Chen Shizeng adopted Type One and Type Two into his arts and crafts designs, namely the designing of three types of stationery: *xinjian* 信箋 (patterned letter paper, Fig. 2. 48), *tong mohe* 銅墨盒 (copper box for liquid-ink, Fig. 2. 49) and *tong zhenzhi* 銅鎮紙 (copper paperweight, Fig. 2. 50). Chen's motivation, method and style of his arts and crafts designs will be further discussed in Chapter 6 when talk about how he promoted the idea and practice of design both in the academia and in the industry. In this chapter, we will only look at the sketches Chen produced for designing decorative patterns and try to find their origins in Chen's *manbi* works in the *Pacific Times*.

Copper stationery and letter paper had already existed in the Imperial Beijing, yet both arts revived and flourished in the Republican period. Chen Shizeng's designs for both products were noteworthy. In his preface to *Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜 (A Manual of Beiping Letter Paper), Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1935) not only stressed Chen's special contribution to the development of the poetic letter paper in the early Republican period, but also elaborated the close association between Chen's two types of design:

Towards the end of Emperor Xuantong's reign, Mr Lin Qinnan created a kind of letter paper patterned with landscapes. Some people believed that it could be the beginning of contemporary scholars' engaging in the design of patterned letter paper. However, they did not further elaborate this argument. After the founding of the Republic of China, Mr Chen Shizeng,

who was originally from Yining, came to Beijing. Initially, Chen produced sketches for designing decorative patterns of liquid-ink boxes and paperweights, according to which the copper carvers could carve [and get the relief patterns]. When using these relief patterns on copper to make ink rubbings, the impressions were full of elegant taste. Soon after, Chen developed his skill further and adopted it to the letter paper. His drawings were talented with abbreviated brushworks and rich meanings. He also took the carvers into consideration, saving them from unnecessary troubles in carving. The poetic patterned paper had started a new chapter since then.

宣統末，林琴南先生山水箋出，似為當代文人特作畫箋之始，然未詳。

及中華民國立，義寧陳君師曾入北京，初為鑄銅者作墨合（盒），鎮紙畫稿，俾其雕鏤；既成拓墨，雅趣盎然。不久複廓其技於箋紙，才華蓬勃，筆簡意饒，且又顧及刻工省其奏刀之困，而詩箋乃開一新境。

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As we can tell from Lu Xun's words, Chen started to design copper stationery first. Inspired by the satisfying effects of ink impressions made by the carved copper on paper, Chen then drew similar drafts for woodblock-printing letter paper. The main difference between the two kinds of design is that for copper stationery, the drawing was monochromatic, while for letter paper, it could be single-coloured or multi-coloured. The decorative patterns Chen Shizeng produced would be transferred by professional carvers to the surface of the liquid-ink box and paperweight, as well as the woodblock used to print the patterned letter paper.²⁰²

‘The new chapter of poetic patterned paper,’ as mentioned by Lu Xun, referred to the participation of scholar-artists in Beijing such as Chen Shizeng in designing

²⁰¹ Lu Xun 鲁迅, “Xu 序 (preface),” in *Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜 (Beiping Manual of Letter Paper), ed. Lu Xun 鲁迅 and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (Shanghai: first edition, 1933; Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, reprint, 2014), no page number.

²⁰² Ibid.

decorative patterns. If we compare the sketches of decorative patterns Chen produced later with the *manbi* works published in the *Pacific Times* in 1912, we notice that the artist usually reused his types one and two *manbi* works for designing all three kinds of stationery. The chosen *manbi* works were either unchanged or slightly altered. For example, similar depictions of a plum branch with blossoms reappeared in a *Pacific Times* illustration *Mei* 梅 (Plum Blossoms, Fig. 2. 51), a letter paper *Kongshan meishu lao hengzhi* 空山梅樹老橫枝 (Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain, Fig. 2. 52), and the cover of a copper box for liquid ink *Kongshan meishu lao shengzhi* 空山梅樹老橫枝 (Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain, Fig. 2. 53). In all three images, a bold plum branch went through the entire picture along its diagonal length. While the work published in the newspaper bore only the artist's seal, i.e. 'Xiu Daoren 朽道人,' the other two had the same inscription: 'The old and robust branches of plum trees in the desolated mountain 空山梅樹老橫枝,' a line from one of Wu Cangshi's 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) poems written for his painted plum blossoms. In Chen's family collection, there is a small black-and-white ink drawing of plum blossoms on a postcard-size piece of paper (Fig. 2. 54), which I believe is the original design draft for the aforementioned letter paper (Fig. 2. 55). When comparing the three reproductions with the original version, we can hardly overlook the fact that the delicate variation in the different shades of ink is still missing from the reprinted versions. We do still notice the strength of the artist's wrist reflected in each stroke (Fig. 2. 51a, Fig. 2. 52a, and Fig. 2. 53a), especially the strokes deployed to depict plum branches. The copper carver also managed to reproduce the flying-white effects originally found in *Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain* (Fig. 2. 54). In terms of simplified landscape paintings, similar themes and compositions such as a cottage beside the pine trees (Fig. 2. 55, and Fig. 2. 56) or the scene of boating on the lake (Fig. 2. 57, Fig. 2. 58 and Fig. 2. 59) can also be found in Chen's *manbi*, patterned letter paper and copper stationery, such as *A Cottage beside a*

Pine Tree (Fig. 2. 55) and *Landscape* (Fig. 2. 56); *Luori fangchuan hao* 落日放船好 (It is Fine the Boat at Sunset Goes, Fig. 2. 57), *Xingzhou* 行舟 (Sailing a Boat, Fig. 2. 58) and *Xingzhou* 行舟 (Sailing a Boat, Fig. 2. 59). It is safe to say that Chen's designs for copper stationery and letter paper originated from his earlier *manbi* works, especially the first and the second types.

Together, the simplified composition and abbreviated brushwork not only conveyed rich and poetic meanings through two-dimensional black-and-white newspaper illustrations, but also found their way into the designed patterns for stationery used every day by the early Republican scholars. These designs drawn by Chen demonstrated the utility of scholarly painting, which Chen actively promoted in both theory and practice. We will return to this point in Chapter 6.

Apart from the arts and crafts design, Chen Shizeng's *manbi* works also continued within his painting oeuvre by laying the foundation for his most renowned work *Customs of Beijing*, in which Chen used the strokes of a scholar-artist to capture various facets of society. More importantly, the album *Customs of Beijing* introduced a new style to Chinese socialist painting.

Customs of Beijing shows Chen Shizeng's nuanced observations of life, thus bridging the gap between the elite scholarly painting and ordinary people. In this album, he vividly portrayed thirty-four people living in different ways in early Republican Beijing, such as *Renli che* 人力車 (Rickshaw, Fig. 2. 60) showing a man pulling a rickshaw, *Qizhuang sahofu* 旗裝少婦 (Lady in Manchurian Dress, Fig. 2. 61) demonstrating a Manchu lady who still dressed up in the old, Qing fashions even in the Republican period. This album was completed between 1913 and 1916, the artist's first three years in Beijing.²⁰³ It is unclear as to whether this album was commissioned by a patron or was produced as the result of the artist's direct inspiration. *Customs of Beijing* has been researched by many scholars in great detail, considering the Western painterly techniques adopted by Chen, the difference between this album and traditional Chinese

²⁰³ Lu, "Chen Shizeng 'Beijing fengsutu' zhong de riben qishi," 198.

fengsu hua 風俗畫 (genre painting), the inscriptions added by more than twelve famous artists from Beijing and Shanghai, the artistic inspiration Chen received from Japan and his understanding of a new subject – Folklore Studies.²⁰⁴ What previous scholars have failed to notice is the artistic origin of *Customs of Beijing* regarding Chen's own oeuvre, notably from his Type Three *manbi* works in the *Pacific Times*, both in terms of subject matter and brushwork. While some of Chen Shizeng's third category of drawings in *Pacific Times* criticised current affairs in a satirical way, the others were closely related to the life and circumstances of ordinary people, as Ye Qianyu put it.²⁰⁵

The seventh leaf *Qitao po* 乞討婆 (A Female Beggar, Fig. 2. 62) depicts a dreary winter scene in the street of Beijing where a female beggar in tattered clothes is begging to a well-dressed man travelling in a rickshaw. The man turns back and shows an untouched face to the beggar. The colophon on this leaf was written by the scholar and poet Cheng Kang 程康 (active from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century) on the winter solstice of 1915. It reads:

While looking at the album of *Customs of Beijing* by [Chen] Shizeng, I paid special attention to this leaf because all the brush strokes [executed by the artist] could give full expression of the circumstances of the poor. Previously, in his preface to the poem written for Yang Qi, [Su] Dongpo said: "No matter the woman is beautiful or ugly, she would be considered beautiful if she is rich; no matter the gentleman is virtuous or unworthy, he would be looked down upon if he is poor." In that case, [Chen] Shizeng has expended much care and thought on executing this painting.

予觀師曾所畫北京風俗，尤極重視此幅，蓋著筆處均極能曲盡貧民情

²⁰⁴ Lu, "Chen Shizeng 'Beijing fengsutu' zhong de riben qishi," 198; Liu Xilin 劉曦林, "Chen Shizeng de 'Beijing fengsu' 陳師曾的《北京風俗》(Chen Shizeng's Customs of Beijing)," in *Beijing fengsu tu* 北京風俗圖 (Customs of Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2003), appendix (no page number).

²⁰⁵ Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*, 28-29.

狀。昔東坡贈楊耆詩序云：「女無美惡，富者妍；士無賢不肖，貧者鄙。」然則師曾此作，用心亦良苦矣。

According to *A Female Beggar* and Cheng Kang's colophon, we can learn that as a scholar-artist, Chen Shizeng not only demonstrated humanitarian concern for the poor in his surrounding environment, but also criticised the unsympathetic rich. His careful observation and vivid depiction formed a sharp contrast with the indifferent man he portrayed in *A Female Beggar* (Fig. 2. 62).

Prior to *Customs of Beijing*, Chen's artworks, especially the Type Three *manbi* works in *Pacific Times*, had already demonstrated his attention on surrounding environment and his concern for people. The three drawings titled *Begging for Food* (Fig. 2. 21, Fig. 2. 22 and Fig. 2. 23) support this observation and point to the origin of *A Female Beggar* in *Customs of Beijing*. *Begging for Food* depicts three beggars in adversity. Universally tragic, all three are seen begging in rather particular ways. While *Begging for Food: Two* (Fig. 2. 22) has been visually described in section 2. 4, the beggar in *Begging for Food: One* (Fig. 2. 21) has his entire body hidden under a straw mat, as if avoiding the heat of the sun. Each beggar from *Begging for Food: One* and *Begging for Food: Two* holds an empty bowl with both hands to take coins. The beggar in *Begging for Food: Three* (Fig. 2. 23) has lost his sight and has to rely on a hand stick to walk. He has a dog to guide his way, and the dog holds the begging bowl in its mouth.²⁰⁶ The evocative depiction of beggars could not be achieved without Chen's acute awareness of the social reality. Through this kind of drawing the artist showed his sympathy towards their unfortunate situations and appealed to the public to help people in need.

Unlike Chen Shizeng's *manbi* works in *Pacific Times*, paintings in *Customs of Beijing* were not monochromatic. Chen adopted the same abbreviated, calligraphic brushwork to outline the figures in both works. In Chen's abovementioned four-page *Album of Figures* executed in 1909, where he admitted his admiration for Hokusai's

²⁰⁶ Guo and Guo, *Chen Shizeng manhua ji*, 94.

manga in the third page *Climbing over the Mountains* (Fig. 2. 31), the artist had already defined the figures with simplified brush stroke and colour wash. This was the same as *Customs of Beijing*.

In the category of socialist painting, *Customs of Beijing* is not new to China. If we compare it with its well-known predecessors such as *Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖 (Along the River during the Qingming Festival) by Zhang Zeduan 張擇端 (1085-1145) from Northern Song, *Kulou huanxi tu* 骷髏幻戲圖 (Skeleton Fantasy Show) by Li Song 李嵩 (1166-1243) from Southern Song, *Yufu tu* 漁父圖 (Fisherman) by Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354) from Yuan and *Liumin tu* 流民圖 (Beggars and Street Characters) by Zhou Chen 周臣 (1460-1535) from Ming, we can easily notice that Chen Shizeng adopted the most simplified and abbreviated brushwork and successfully conveyed equally profound meanings. Basing on the previous discussions in this chapter, the creativity of *Customs of Beijing* lies in its painterly style, which originates from Chen's learning of the Japanese *manga* and finds its way back in the artist's earlier works such as the 1909 album and the 1912 *manbi* works.

Conclusion

Chapter 2 represents the first thorough and in-depth research into a significant artistic creation produced by Chen Shizeng during his early artistic career: *manbi*. Chen's *manbi* works prompt a reshaping of our current understanding of the origin and development of *manhua* in the history of modern Chinese painting. They not only marked the debut of *manhua*, but also manifested Chen's earliest attempt to modernise scholarly painting via the media and with the support of foreign artistic learning.

Through Chen Shizeng's endeavours, scholarly painting started to grow out of a formerly rigid image of isolation, obsolescence and removal from reality. This proved that

scholarly painting could have practical functions and become closely associated with the real world within the new Republican era.

From 1912 onwards, and particularly during his ‘golden age’ in Beijing, Chen Shizeng tried to rescue and revive scholarly painting in several different ways under the same guiding principle. Chen insisted on making good use of the advantages of Chinese painterly traditions whilst appropriately adopting some of the strengths of Western art without ever fully synthesising the two. In the following chapters, I will explore Chen’s other attempts to rescue scholarly painting from crisis, and how his efforts contributed to the formation of modern art in Beijing.

Chapter 3

Xuannan Painting Society and the Formation of *Jingpai*

During the early Republican period, Beijing, as the capital of the newly established Beiyang Government, retained its position as a city with a large number of immigrants, attracting elites from across the country.²⁰⁷ As Michael Sullivan pointed out, when practitioners of Chinese national painting came to Beijing to make a living between the late Qing and the early Republican periods, they were disunited and disorganised.²⁰⁸ From 1915 onwards, this situation changed as a result of the *Xuannan huahui* 宣南畫會 (Xuannan Painting Society).

Chapter 3 aims to link the initial formation of *Jingpai* 京派 (Beijing School of Painting) to the Xuannan Painting Society. Previous scholars have asserted that the founding of the *Zhongguo huaxue yanjiu hui* 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society) in 1920 marked the beginning of *Jingpai*.²⁰⁹ My research pushes this date forward to 1915.²¹⁰

Due to an under-evaluation of visual culture in northern China in the first half of the twentieth century, the Xuannan Painting Society has rarely been the subject of sustained research. The earliest study on the Society was conducted by Xue Yongnian and Wan Qingli in 2000, in which they both briefly introduce its history, key members and influence; this was not as an independent case study, but as a small component of their survey of Chinese national painting in Beijing.²¹¹ Subsequently, Zhao Panchao

²⁰⁷ Beijing huayuan, *Ershi shiji Beijing huihua shi*, 5-7.

²⁰⁸ Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth Century China*, 54.

²⁰⁹ See: Aida Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 105; Fu Xiaoxia 傅曉霞, Liu Bin 劉斌 ed., *Ershi shiji Tianjin meishu shuliao zhengli yu yanjiu* 二十世紀天津美術史料整理與研究 (Sorting and Researching the Twentieth-Century Art Historical Sources of Tianjin) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2011), 6-7.

²¹⁰ Tongyun Yin, "Ancient Methods and New Knowledge: The Art Market and Traditional-Style Painting Practice in Early Republican Beijing, 1911-1937." PhD diss. San Diego: University of California, San Diego, 2014, 98.

²¹¹ Xue, "Minguo chuqi Beijing huatan chuantongpai de zairenshi," 72-86. Wan, "Nanfeng beijing: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan," 97-112.

and Zhou Rong reconstructed some of the major events of the Society; their detailed articles focus particularly on the experiences of the founder of the Society, Yu Shaosong 余紹宋 (1882-1949), and its first painting advisor, Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1878-1948).²¹² Neither of these studies offer a close reading of one of the most important primary sources pertaining to the Society: the paintings, executed either individually or in collaboration, produced during society gatherings. Previous scholars also regarded the Society as an isolated incident in art history and failed to identify the connection between the Society and the origin of *Jingpai*. Most importantly, none of the pre-existing scholarship acknowledges the pivotal role Chen Shizeng played, not only in the development of the Society, but also in the formation of *Jingpai*.

Chapter 3 will answer the following two questions: what is the association between the Xuannan Painting Society and *Jingpai*? What role did Chen Shizeng play in the Society which facilitating the formation of *Jingpai*?

My research on Xuannan Painting Society focuses on the close reading of a primary source which has not yet received sustained critical attention: *Yu Shaosong riji* 余紹宋日記 (Yu Shaosong's Diaries). Yu Shaosong was the initiator of the Society, and his diaries span from 1st January 1917 to 31st March 1942, with almost no interruptions. The discussion in this chapter will centre chiefly on entries between 1915 and 1927.²¹³ Yu's writings kept a detailed record of over a hundred meetings of Xuannan Painting Society and his association with other key society members, such as Chen Shizeng, Tang Dingzhi, Wang Mengbai, Xiao Junxian and He Lüzhi. The paintings produced by members during the society gatherings, as well as the inscriptions and colophons on these paintings, will also be used as important primary sources to reconstruct the aims, functions, and influence of the Society.

²¹² Zhao Panchao 趙盼超, "Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui shimo 北京大學畫法研究會始末 (The History of the Research on Painterly Studies Society at Peking University)," *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao* 南京藝術學院學報 (Journal of Nanjing Art Institute), no. 3 (2010), 53-59; Zhou Rong 周蓉, "Minguo xuannan huashe chutan 民國宣南畫社初探 (A Research of the Xuannan Painting Society of the Republican Period)," *Rongbaozhai* 榮寶齋 (Rongbao Pavilion), no. 7 (2017), 248-255. See: Table I for Yu Shaosong and Tang Dingzhi's biographies.

²¹³ Yu Shaosong 余紹宋, *Yu Shaosong Riji* 余紹宋日記 (Diaries of Yu Shaosong) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 19.

3.1 A Brief History of *Xuannan* and Xuannan Painting Society

When conducting research into Xuannan Painting Society, the definition of the key term *Xuannan* is an important departure point. There are two elements to the concept ‘Xuannan’: firstly, it is a specific area in the south of Beijing. Secondly, it represents the scholarly culture originating from this location.

Literally, *Xuannan* is a geographical concept.²¹⁴ Following the construction of the southern outskirts of Beijing in early Ming, known as the new city, the concept of *Xuannan* started to gain currency. In his 1560 record of the districts and streets of Beijing, Zhang Jue 張爵 (1485-1566) defined *Xuannan fang* 宣南坊 (Xuannan lane) as following: ‘Between the east of the You’an Gate of the new city and the south of the Xuanwu Gate 新城右安門里東，宣武門大街南 (Fig. 3. 01)’.²¹⁵ During the Qing Dynasty, the Xuannan area expanded, starting with the policy of segregation between Manchu and Chinese people imposed during Shunzhi’s 順治 rule (1644-1661).²¹⁶ As a result, Beijing was divided into three parts: the Imperial City, the Tartar City, and the Chinese City. Since then, the Xuannan area became the core of the Chinese city, which was situated in the southern part of Beijing.²¹⁷ According to Zhu Yixin 朱一新 (1846-1894) ’s notes from 1885, *Xuannan fang* (the name was inherited from the Ming) not only included the area south of Xuanwu Gate Street in the outer City (Chinese City), but also contained a part of the inner City (Tartar City).²¹⁸

The second definition of *Xuannan* related to the local culture of this area. Xuannan culture started to prosper with the influx of new inhabitants following the policy of

²¹⁴ Yue Shengyang 岳升陽, Huang Zonghan 黃宗漢 and Wei Quan 魏泉, *Xuannan* 宣南 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 2012), 3.

²¹⁵ Zhang Jue 張爵, *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji* 京師五城坊巷胡同集 (A Survey on Beijing’s Five Districts and their Sub-districts, Streets and Hutongs) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 17.

²¹⁶ Hedda Morrison, *A Photographer in Old Beijing* (Oxford University Press: Hong Kong, 1985), 3, 15.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Zhu Yixin 朱一新, *Jingshi fangxiang zhigao* 京師坊巷志稿 (A Record on the Districts and Streets of Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 26; Xuannan area’s inclusion of the parts from the inner city was largely due to the fact that the separating-reside policy became loose in late Qing. See: Wei Quan 魏泉, *Shilin jiaoyou yu fengqi bianqian* 世林交遊與風氣變遷 (The Social Network of Scholars and the Change of the General Mood of the Society) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2008), 9.

segregation in 1644.²¹⁹ This group of people were mostly Chinese officials living in various scaled ready-to-live residences left over from the Ming, and students who came to Beijing to take the triennial civil examination, living in *huiguan* 會館 (Provincial and Regional Hall, or Guild Hall) built by officials and merchants from their own native places.²²⁰ The common scholarly identity of the people living in the Xuannan Area dictated the tone of Xuannan culture.²²¹ Following the elegant scholarly gathering of the scholars' class, book and antiquity markets, which were previously situated in the inner city of Beijing, such as Liulichang 琉璃廠, relocated to and flourished within the Xuannan area (Fig. 3. 02 and Fig. 3. 03). Exquisite private gardens such as the Yi Garden 怡園 and Ji Garden 寄園, historical temples like Fayuan Temple 法源寺 (Fig. 3. 04) and Chongxiao Temple 崇效寺 (Fig. 3. 05) and attractions like the Taoran Pavilion 陶然亭 (Fig. 3. 06), became ideal places for the scholars' elegant gatherings and outings. As a result, *Xuannan* gradually became an assembling place for elite culture and scholars, and it became widely acknowledged more as a cultural term than as a geographical notion. As Xia Renhu 夏仁虎 (1874-1963) recorded: 'Because of this, the scholars would sign "Xuannan" after their inscriptions and colophons 士流題詠率署宣南，以此也'.²²²

At the turn of the early Republican era, the Xuannan area became the major base for Chen Shizeng and other artists sojourned in Beijing to associate and communicate with each other. This was because when Chen Shizeng moved to the city in 1913, his first residence was located in the Xuannan area.²²³ Many key artists from Chen's personal network, such as Yao Hua 姚華 (1876-1930) and Yu Shaosong, also resided either within or close to this area.²²⁴ Chen and his artist-friends chose the Xuannan area

²¹⁹ Wei, *Shilin jiaoyou yu fengqi bianqian*, 1-5.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., 4-5.

²²² See: Xia Renhu 夏仁虎, *Jiujing suoji* 舊京瑣記 (Memories of the Old Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1986), 75.

²²³ Gong, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao," 46-48.

²²⁴ Before moving to *Dongdan santiao* in 1923, Yu Shaosong resided in *Xizhuan hutong* on the Luomashi Street,

not because it was residence of Chinese people during the previous dynasty, but because of the rich scholarly environment and heritage this area provided. From 1913 to 1923, many of Chen and his artist-friends' artistic activities, such as the regular meetings of the Xuannan Painting Society and the informal elegant gatherings, took place in the Xuannan area.

Quite different to what is commonly believed, Xuannan Painting Society was never used by the founder Yu Shaosong and the other members as the official title for their organisation. Instead, *Yimao huahui* 乙卯畫會 (Yimao Painting Society) was widely accepted by the society members at the time. When mentioning any society related matters in his diaries, Yu usually referred to the group in a casual and unspecific way—*huahui* 畫會 (painting gathering) or *huashe* 畫社 (painting society), with no risk of confusion for the readers, as it was the only art group Yu joined in during his time in Beijing. On a few important occasions, such as the tenth anniversary of the society, Yu used the title 'Yimao Painting Society' because it was established in the year of *yimao* (1915) according to the Chinese lunar calendar.²²⁵ For instance, on an undated hanging scroll *Ju shi* 菊石 (Chrysanthemum and Rock, Fig. 3. 07) by Chen Shizeng, we find a relief seal reading 'Yimao huashe 乙卯畫社 (Yimao Painting Society)' in the bottom left corner (Fig. 3. 07d).

The name Xuannan Painting Society was espoused by art historians Wan Qingli and Li Song around 2000.²²⁶ It was named according to the location of Yu Shaosong's residence at No. 5 Xizhuan *hutong* 西磚胡同, Luomashi Street 驛馬市大街, which was within the Xuannan area of Beijing, because during the first few years of the society most painting gatherings were held at Yu's studio.²²⁷ Subsequent scholars continued to

while Yao Hua lived in *Lanman hutong*, both locations were within the Xuannan area.

²²⁵ For example, when recording their celebration for the tenth anniversary of the painting society in his diary on 26 April 1925, Yu referred to the society as Yimao Painting Society. See: Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 494.

²²⁶ Wan, "Nanfeng beijian: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan," 100-102; Li Song 李松, "Ershi shiji de hushe yu jingjin diqu huajia 二十世紀的湖社與京津地區畫家 (Hu Society and Painters in Beijing and Tianjin in the Twentieth Century)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu*, 12.

²²⁷ Ibid.

deploy this term.²²⁸ In this dissertation, I will use the term Xuannan Painting Society in accordance with current scholarships.

Xuannan Painting Society started in 1915, lasting for approximately twelve years and came to an end when the initiator Yu Shaosong escaped from the chaotic political situation of the capital in 1927 and relocated to the southern China (Shanghai and Hangzhou). Initially, Yu initiated the Society to learn the practice of painting from artist Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1878-1948). Yu also invited some of his colleagues from the Ministry of Justice, who shared the same passion for the theory and practice of Chinese national painting, to join him (see Table A).²²⁹ Art beginners, such as Yu Shaosong and his colleagues, and Tang Dingzhi, the tutor of painting, comprised of the first batch of Xuannan Painting Society members (see Table A). Chen Shizeng joined in the Society in 1916-1917. Following Yu and Tang's decision to expand the Society in the spring of 1917, Chen then invited in some of the most proficient painters from his own network in Beijing, such as Xiao Junxian, Wang Mengbai and He Lüzhi. At this point, the Society membership became more fixed and Xuannan Painting Society began to gather on a weekly basis. The weekly meetings of the Society continued for another four years after Chen Shizeng's premature death in 1923.

Table A shows key members of Xuannan Painting Society, falling into three categories: officials and staff members from the Ministry of Justice; renowned painters; other cultural elites. In early Republican Beijing, as intellectuals like Chen Shizeng and Yu Shaosong always had multiple occupations, the classification in Table A is designed to serve the purpose of illustrating the backgrounds of the Society members.

Table A Key Members of Xuannan Painting Society: 1915-1927²³⁰

	Names
Officials and Staff	Yu Shaosong 余紹宋 (1882-1949), Lin Zaiping 林宰平 (1879-1960),

²²⁸ Zhao, "Yu Shaosong yu Xuannan huahui yishu huodong zhi tanxi," 53; Zhou, "Minguo xuannan huashe chutan," 249.

²²⁹ Yu Zian 余子安, *Yu Shaosong zhuan 余紹宋傳* (A Biography of Yu Shaosong) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2006), 1.

²³⁰ See Table I in appendix for selected biographies of these members.

Members from the Ministry of Justice	Liang Hejun 梁和鈞 (active during the early twentieth century), Hu Zixian 胡子賢 (active during the early twentieth century), Yang Jinsu 楊勁蘇 (active during the early twentieth century), Wang Lisheng 王立生 (active during the early twentieth century), Liao Yunduan 廖允端 (active during the early twentieth century), Yu Jimen 余戟門 (1882-?), Liu Zhong 劉仲纘 (active during the early twentieth century), Luo Fu'an 羅敷庵 (1874-1954), Xu Xin'an 徐心庵 (1880-1937), Pu Boying 蒲伯英 (1875-1935);
Renowned Painters	Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923), Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1878-1948), Wang Mengbai 王夢白 (1888-1934), Xiao Junxian 蕭俊賢 (1865-1948), He Lüzhi 賀履之 (1860-1937), Wang Shensheng 汪慎生 (1895-1972);
Other Cultural Elites	Yu Mantuo 郁曼陀 (1884-1939), Huang Jie 黃節 (1874-1935), Liu Songsheng 劉崧生 (1877-1941), Liang Youming 梁卣銘 (1876-1962), Fang Weiyi 方唯一 (1867-1933), Huang Tingzhi 黃挺芝 (active during the early twentieth century), Zhu Pinsan 朱品三 (active in the early twentieth century), Meng Chunsun 孟蓴孫 (1868-1938), Hu Kuiwen 胡夔文 (active during the early twentieth century), Yang Jingsu 楊景蘇 (active during the early twentieth century);

As we can tell from Table A, Xuannan Painting Society was a male-dominated society and its members were close in age, coming from different backgrounds from all cross China but sharing the same passion for Chinese national painting. Some of the members, such as the renowned painters listed in Table A, held mixed memberships in more than one painting society in Beijing, while others, especially Yu Shaosong and his colleagues, only attended Xuannan Painting Society during their time in Beijing. We may observe three interesting facts about the Society members. First, they had diverse political stances. More than half of the members worked for the Republican Beiyang Government. Huang Jie was a revolutionary before and during the 1911 Revolution,

while Pu Boying was a supporter of constitutional monarchy and was strongly opposed to the 1911 Revolution.²³¹ He Lüzhi was one of the *yilao* 遺老 (Qing loyalists) who remained in Beijing after the collapse of Qing in 1911.²³² Due to his family background, Chen Shizeng was very cautious about communicating his political views to others, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The second point of note is that Chen, Yu and some of the Society members such as Yu Jimen, Meng Chunsun, Yu Mantuo, Pu Boying and Liu Songsheng studied in Japan during the first decade of 1900s.²³³ Finally, among the Society members, Chen Shizeng, Tang Dingzhi, Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhi, Wang Mengbai and Yu Shaosong were later labelled as the first generation of *Jingpai* artists by art historians.²³⁴

Xuannan Painting Society inherited, in some ways, the traditions of scholarly elegant gathering that had been prevalent in the Xuannan area of Beijing since the early Qing period. Whilst it used the term *huahui* 畫會 (painting society) in its title, the nature of the Society was more of a regular elegant gathering than a modern art society. According to Yu Shaosong's diaries, the Society did not have a clear, written objective, or publications of any kind; nor did it ever hold a painting exhibition. The weekly meetings of the Society usually fulfilled two goals: for beginners like Yu and his colleagues, they got the opportunities to learn the practice and theory of Chinese

²³¹ "Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming duiizhaobiao 日記中人物字號姓名對照表 (A List of People's Names and Self-Style Names in the Diaries)," in *Yu Shaosong riji*, 46, 54.

²³² In celebrating the *Shangsi* 上巳 (the third day of the third month in lunar calendar) of 1925, He Lüzhi was invited by another well-known *yilao* in Beijing - Fan Zengxiang 樊增祥 (known as Fan Fanshan 樊樊山, 1846-1931) to attend the poetry forum Fan organised at the Jiang Pavilion 江亭. Totally 109 poets came, and the majority of them were *yilao*. During the gathering, He executed *Jiangting xiuxi tu* 江亭修禊圖 (A Picture of Spring Purification at Jiang Pavilion) to record this event, which was published in the collection of poems composed during this gathering, using collotype printing technique. It is interesting to notice that all the figures in He's painting did not wear cheongsam or western suit, which were popular during the early Republican period; instead, they were all dressed up in a kind of unidentified scholar's robe, probably conveying the artist's nostalgic feelings for the gone past. See: Xiao Yifei 肖伊緋, "109 wei xianren de zuihou yaji 109 位閒人的最後雅集 (The Last Elegant Gathering of One Hundred and Nine Idlers)," in *Minguo xianren naxieshi* 民國閒人那些事 (Stories of the Republican Idlers), ed. Xiao Yifei 肖伊緋 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2012), 374-391.

²³³ "Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming duiizhaobiao," 19, 23, 24.

²³⁴ Xue, "Minguo chuqi Beijing huatan chuantongpai de zairenshi," 76-79; Wan, "Nanfeng beijing: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan," 97-112. Li, "Ershi shiji de hushe yu jingjin diqu huajia," 12-34.

national painting from senior painters; for accomplished artists such as Chen Shizeng, Tang Dingzhi and others, they were provided with the space to meet, communicate and collaborate. Members would also appreciate their private collections of calligraphy and painting together, discuss different topics, mostly painting-oriented, and have meals together.²³⁵

Most importantly, the Society did not turn commercial-oriented. Members took turns to hold the weekly gatherings of the Society, meaning to provide venues and offer meals. Notably, the society gatherings usually took place at the chairs' private studios and gardens, or in public spaces in Xuannan area. The chair was nothing like the art patron who could commission artworks directly from the painters who attended the gathering, as society members would draw lots to decide who would get the paintings produced during the gathering, instead of paying for them.²³⁶ This point was confirmed many times by Yu Shaosong, as winners happily received the awards, while others were frustrated for lose (see Table II in appendices).²³⁷ While in around 1919, well-established painters from the Society all sold their artworks in the art market in Beijing, even beginners like Yu Shaosong also published his price list of painting later on in 1924 when his was proved to be qualified to do so by his master Tang Dingzhi.²³⁸ However, neither of them utilised their memberships of the Society for commercial use. Another example to support the non-commercial nature of the society is that society members were not obliged to finish a certain number of paintings during each gathering. They could execute a lot of paintings at a time if they were in the mood or could produce nothing at all. On the meeting of 4 July 1921, the attendees only talked about paintings, because it was too hot to work.²³⁹

In Xuannan Painting Society, Chen Shizeng was one of the most important members. The role Chen played in the Society was twofold: he was a tutor teaching the practice and theory of painting; more significantly, he contributed to the expansion of the Society by acting as a point of contact for some of the most talented painters wishing

²³⁵ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 12 February 1917, 7.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1917, 10.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 November 1919, 2 May 1920, 17 July 1921, 118, 133, 188.

²³⁸ Yu, *Yu Shaosong zhuan*, 275.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

to join the gathering. The following two subsections will focus on this issue.

3.2 Chen Shizeng as the Tutor of Painting in Xuannan Painting Society

Before going into details, we shall first consider when Chen Shizeng joined Xuannan Painting Society. I have found a piece of evidence noted that Chen probably participated in the society from an earlier date than that has been stated by previous scholars. Zhao Panchao and Zhou Rong argue that Chen became a member of the Society in 1917 based on Yu Shaosong's diary entry of 4 March 1917, which recorded Chen's participation in the society gathering for the first time.²⁴⁰ This speculation is questionable. Yu's pre-1917 diaries are missing.²⁴¹ When we consult Yu's diaries from 1917 to 1927, we can see that he usually made detailed notes pertaining to every gathering of Xuannan Painting Society (see Table II in appendices); it is thus very likely that he had already mentioned Chen as a member of the Society at an earlier date.

Chen Shizeng's inscription to his 1916 painting *Qiu hua qi shi* 秋花奇石 (Autumn Flowers and Grotesque Rock, Fig. 1. 01) showed the possibility that he might joined the Society in 1916 instead of 1917. Chen's inscription reads (Fig. 1. 01a):

In the early summer of *bingchen* [1916], I produced this work at Yu Yueyuan's [Yu Shaosong] studio for Mr Lin Zaiping. [While I was] working on the painting, Mr Lin pulled the paper for me. When [I] suddenly started to draw, Mr Lin was astonished. While the first brush stroke was done, [I] executed the rock first. At that time, the audience sitting around was satisfied with [my work]. [Then, I] added two kinds of flowers and a poem [in the hope that they would] make [the audience] smile.

丙辰孟夏，於余越園齋中為林君宰平作此。畫時，林君為予牽帨（紙）。

²⁴⁰ Zhao, "Yu Shaosong yu Xuannan huahui yishu huodong zhi tanxi," 53-59; Zhou, "Minguo xuannan huashe chutan," 248-255.

²⁴¹ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 1.

驟尔（爾）落筆，林君大驚愕。既成，乃先為石也。當時座眾旁觀，
頗以為快。補綴雜卉兩種，複題一詩，博笑。

In his inscription, Chen described the whole process of executing this painting in a light-hearted and humorous manner, was to record a casual, happy gathering between friends.²⁴² The specific location – Yu Shaosong’s studio, the attendees specified by Chen – Yu Shaosong and Lin Zaiping, as well as Chen’s painting demonstration in front of the audience, all revealed that *Autumn Flowers and Grotesque Rock* (Fig. 1. 01a) was probably executed during one of the gatherings of the Xuannan Painting Society. If this is the case, then we can tell that Chen became a member of the Society in as early as 1916. Even if this event was not a meeting of Xuannan Painting Society it still suggests Chen’s close friendship with Yu Shaosong and other society members before Chen officially joined in the Society.

During the first few years of Xuannan Painting Society, namely from 1917 to 1923, Chen Shizeng and Tang Dingzhi were the only two tutors during the gatherings. Chen’s very high status in the Beijing art world in the 1910s is beyond doubt. Because in his time, to be asked to demonstrate brushworks in front of a group of audience was a honour. Yu Shaosong often spoke very highly of Chen and his paintings in his diary, there are many dated entries in praising Chen, including 4 March 1917, and 15 June, 21 July and 21 September 1919 (see Table II in appendices).

Chen Shizeng’s method of teaching was different from Tang Dingzhi’s. During the Society gatherings, Tang usually demonstrated the practice of painting by imitating the styles and brushworks of previous masters, such as the Qing orthodoxy practitioners of landscape painting Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680) and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715), instead of presenting his own work.²⁴³ Although Chen would also imitate

²⁴² In the colophon, Chen said that when he was about to start, Lin kindly pulled the paper for him. It astonished Lin when Chen executed the first brushstroke in a sudden. Chen then explained that for this painting, he executed the rock first. When Chen finished the whole painting, all the audience were very excited, thus he added two kinds of flowers and a poem to please his friends.

²⁴³ In a colophon written for Tang Dingzhi’s painting album on 29 July 1927, Yu Shaosong explained master Tang’s method of teaching during society gatherings: ‘Over the year, in the summer, master, once again, came to my residence. Over these months he would paint every day, mostly learning from Yanke and Yuanzhao, and carried the

the styles and brushworks of previous masters when teaching Yu Shaosong and Yu's colleagues, he did not just copy but incorporated his own understandings of the theme, style, brushwork and the spirits of artists into his reproduction of existing works during the demonstration. Chen's method of teaching was in consistent with the guiding principle he followed for his own practice of painting, which came from Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690): 'learning the thoughts instead of the appearance 師其意不師其跡.' As pointed out by Chen's student Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1895-1979), Chen committed to Yun's principle throughout his execution of paintings during his time in Beijing.²⁴⁴

Chen Shizeng realised Yun Shouping's principle in *Fang Mei Qing shanshui* 仿梅清山水 (Landscape after Mei Qing, Fig. 3. 08), which was executed for Yu Shaosong after a gathering of the Xuannan Painting Society held on 28 March 1920, as recorded in Yu's diaries (see Table II in appendices).²⁴⁵ Chen's long colophon added to this painting not only explained the purpose of producing this landscape for Yu Shaosong, but also elaborated his in-depth understanding of and commentary on the development of the painterly styles and techniques of Mei Qing 梅清 (1623-1697). As for the artist's intention, Chen stated the following: '[We had] a painting gathering at Yu's residence. When the guests had left, I still felt in the mood to paint, thus I executed this one for the host, intending to convey the spirits of Qushan and present [my own] view. 余廬畫集，客散，興猶可鼓，遂為主人作此，意在瞿山并論之。' (Fig. 3. 08b)

Chen Shizeng started his critical analysis with a quotation from Wang Shizhen's 王士禎 (1634-1711) commenting on Mei Qing's accomplishment in painting. Wang was a renowned Qing Scholar and also a like-minded friend of Mei, who claimed that Mei's depiction of pine trees was the best in the world. Chen added his own comments

vibrant and intensive brushwork to extremes. Sometimes, he would paint during the painting society gatherings, and he still imitated old masters, never rashly constructing his own art formula. 越歲，夏，先生復來寓月餘，日必作畫，則多學煙客、圓照，極蓬勃鬱密之致。偶在畫社揮毫，仍事臨摹，不妄自立章法。' See: Ibid., 621.

²⁴⁴ Yu, *Chen Shizeng*, 14.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 28 March 1920, 129.

following this praise by Wang, stating that the free and unrestrained manner in which Mei painted the pine trees with twisted branches was derived from Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1385). Chen then criticised the later painters' vulgar and shallow imitation of Wang's *niumao cun* 牛毛皴 (ox-hair texture pattern), saying that they would end up on the wrong side of *tianshu* 甜熟 (sweetness and vulgarity).²⁴⁶ It means that instead of pursuing complete consistency with brushwork and style, one should explore the in-depth meanings of previous masters' painterly styles, in order to establish one's own understanding.²⁴⁷

When we compare *Landscape after Mei Qing* (Fig. 3. 08) by Chen Shizeng with Mei Qing's *Huangshan* 黃山 (The Yellow Mountain, Fig. 3. 09) and *Huangshan Tiandufeng* 黃山天都峰 (The Tiandu Peak of the Yellow Mountain, Fig. 3. 10), we notice that except for the variation of ink wash on the rocks, Chen did not replicate to Mei's style in methods of composition, brushwork and texture technique. Instead, Chen integrated his own understanding of the subject of Mount Huang with Mei's landscape. Just like *Autumn Flowers and Grotesque Rock* (Fig. 1. 01) for Lin Zaiping, *Landscape after Mei Qing* (Fig. 3. 08) was also an example for his students in Xuannan Painting Society, demonstrating how to reconstruct the spirit of Mei Qing's misty, steep and peculiar Mt. Huang.

Adopting *gaoyuan* 高遠 (high distant-view), Chen Shizeng composed the landscape on elongated paper and composed the mountain peaks in the format of *binzhu chaoyi* 賓主朝揖 (a main group of mountain peaks surrounded by others).²⁴⁸ The

²⁴⁶ In the context of Chinese calligraphy and painting, *tianshu* means a skilled and experienced yet unadventurous style. Those who go against *tianshu* object to the excessive pursuit of formal expression that does not communicate any true spirit. See: Tao Mingjun 陶明君, *Zhongguo shulun cidian* 中国书论辞典 (A Dictionary on the Study of Calligraphy) (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2001), 339. The manner of *tian* was also reviled in a famous treaty on painterly methods by Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354) - 'Xie shanshui jue 寫山水訣 (Secret of Describing Landscape)', in which Huang argued that: 'It is of utmost importance in painting to do away with these four qualities: erraticism, sweetness, vulgarity, and derivativeness. 作畫大要，去邪甜俗賴四字。' See: Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih ed., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 266.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Wang Gai 王概, *Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜 (Mustard Seed Painting Manual) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2016), 8.

rocks in the foreground rise from the right corner, leaving blank space to show the effect of the sea of clouds. The area between the foreground and the middle ground was also left blank for the same purpose. The rocks were defined with delicate *niumao cun* 牛毛皴 (ox-hair texture method Fig. 3. 08a) originating from Yuan master Wang Meng and with a light, varied touch of ink wash. On the surface, we recognise Chen's fine execution of moss in dark ink dots, using a centred brush. It is interesting to observe that many of Chen's dots landed slightly removed from the outlines of the rock, which is a typical feature of Ming master Shen Zhou's 沈周 (1427-1509) late landscape paintings with bold and forceful brushwork, known as *cu Shen* 粗沈 (bold Shen).²⁴⁹

In the middle ground, two more peaks above the sky were portrayed in the same way as the one in the foreground, while another two peaks in the background were defined with wet ink wash, creating a sense of distance. Several pine trees with twisted and stubborn branches growing out of the steep cliffs were depicted using the method of *jiaye zhuose* 夾葉著色 (double-hook with coloured ink wash), which uses a light colour wash of ochre and green, and *yangye dian* 仰葉點 (upward leaf dot) specifically for the pine needles. The portrayal of these pine trees clearly diverted from Mei's normal practice demonstrated in *Mount Huang* (Fig. 3. 09) and *Tiandu Peaks of Mount Huang* (Fig. 3. 10). Beside the rocks, we recognise a pagoda executed with abbreviated brushstrokes, eliminating unnecessary details. *Chrysanthemum and Rock* (Fig. 3. 07) also demonstrated that Chen Shizeng integrated his own understanding on the theme, style, brushwork and the spirits of artists into his own reproduction and reconstruction of existing works. *Chrysanthemum and Rock* was executed during a gathering of Xuannan Painting Society, which was revealed by a seal impression reads 'Yimao Huashe 乙卯畫社 (Yimao Painting Society, Fig. 3. 07d).'

It is widely acknowledged by both Chen Shizeng's contemporaneous artists and

²⁴⁹ Jennifer Wong, "Twelve Views of Tiger Hill," in *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting: 700-1900*, ed. Zhang Hongxing (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 250.

later scholars that Chen's most splendid accomplishment in art lies in his flower paintings.²⁵⁰ Chen got artistic inspiration from *Haipai* 海派 (Shanghai School of Painting) master Wu Changshi's 吳昌碩 (1844-1924) free-hand style flowers – the bright colouring and incisive brushwork, as suggested by Roderick Whitfield.²⁵¹

If we compare *Chrysanthemum and Rock* (Fig. 3. 07) with Wu Changshi's *Dongli yese* 東籬野色 (Wild Chrysanthemum Outside of the East Fence, Fig. 3. 11), we notice that Chen Shizeng depicted the chrysanthemum in *Chrysanthemum and Rock* (Fig. 3. 07) following the basic painterly method adopted by Wu – first outlined the petals with forceful calligraphic brush strokes heavily loaded with ink, and then added bright yellow colour wash in between the outlines (Fig. 3. 07a). The five blooming chrysanthemum in Chen's painting displayed two different statuses and views: *quanfang xiayan* 全放下偃 (in full blossom, bowing down) and *chufang cemian* 初放側面 (in early blossom, side view), presenting the flowers to the audience of the painting in all directions.²⁵² It is noteworthy that Chen's depiction of chrysanthemums slightly diverted from Wu's. The main difference was that Chen paid more attention to its botanical structure. For instance, while Chen's petals were arranged tightly in specific orders, Wu's petals were more loosely placed. For the leaves, Chen adopted the method of *dianye goujin* 點葉勾筋 (dotting the leaves and outlining the veins). In this way, leaves were painted with the dark green wash first and then the cursive ink lines were added on top to represent the veins (Fig. 3. 07b), which was also commonly seen in Wu's portrayals of plants, such as *Wild Chrysanthemum Outside of the East Fence* (Fig. 3. 11).²⁵³

To define the rocks in *Chrysanthemum and Rock* (Fig. 3. 07c), Chen Shizeng gave

²⁵⁰ Hu Peiheng commented on Chen Shizeng's achievements in painting saying: 'Of all his works, the flower paintings were the most outstanding. He specialised in executing greater freehand style flowers, on which he received personal guidance from Wu Changshi. 他的作品，以花卉最突出。他專畫大筆寫意花卉，曾得吳昌碩的親傳。' See: Yu, *Chen Shizeng*, 17-18.

²⁵¹ Roderick Whitfield, *Chinese Traditional Painting, 1886-1966: Five Modern Masters* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1982), 5.

²⁵² Wang, *Jieziyuan huapu*, 419.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 420.

up Wu Changshi's unrestrained manner and the use of light, splashing ink, as demonstrated in *Wild Chrysanthemum Outside of the East Fence* (Fig. 3. 11) and *Edible Amaranth* (Fig. 1. 02), and employed a more complicated method combining *gou* 勾 (outlining), *cun* 皴 (texture method) and *ran* 染 (ink wash). Specifically, the simplified texture strokes Chen adopted for the rock was probably a result of the influence of Li Changheng's 李長蘅 (1575-1629) style, as shown in *Song zhu shi* 松竹石 (Pines, Bamboos and Rocks, Fig. 3. 12). Li's paintings had been appreciated and discussed during the gatherings of Xuannan Painting Society (see Table II in appendices).²⁵⁴ For the rocks in *Autumn Flower and Grotesque Rock* (Fig. 1. 01b), Chen formed their shapes by outlining with *cefeng* 側鋒 (slanting edge) of *kubi* 枯筆 (worn-out brush). Following this, to reconstruct the three-dimensional effect of the rocks, Chen adopted a simplified texture method with a thin ink wash. He coloured the different sides of the rocks with different shades of ink wash, leaving blank the sides which were supposed to face the sun. In this way, Chen successfully built a sense of depth and space between rocks and flowers in the same composition.

3.3 Key Members of the Xuannan Painting Society as the Base of *Jingpai*

Upon Chen Shizeng's invitation, three of the most talented painters in Beijing joined Xuannan Painting Society in 1919 – Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhi and Wang Mengbai. In 1919, Xiao Junxian was appointed as Professor at the Department of Chinese Painting in the Beijing College of Fine Arts. He commuted between Nanjiang and Beijing and prepared for a permanent move to Beijing.²⁵⁵ Xiao officially joined Xuannan Painting Society on 7 September 1919, as recorded in Yu Shaosong's diary

²⁵⁴ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 4 March 1917, 10.

²⁵⁵ Shen Xiongping 申雄平, *Xiao Junxian nianpu* 蕭俊賢年譜 (A Chronological History of Xiao Junxian) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2014), 36.

(see Table II in appendices); he took an active part in the activities from this point onwards. Xiao was an old acquaintance of the Chen family and was particularly an old friend of Chen Shizeng's father Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937), who invited Xiao to teach the practice of painting at the family's private school in Nanjing in 1901.²⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Chen Shizeng was not one of the students at the private school, as he was studying in Shanghai during that year. Two pieces of evidence suggested that Chen Shizeng probably met Xiao before 1902. Lang Shaojun believes that they shared a special relationship, both as friends and as a tutor/disciple.²⁵⁷

The first source is Chen Shizeng's Song-style poem inscribed to Xiao's painting *Fengxue guizhou tu juan* 風雪歸舟圖卷 (The Pictorial Scroll of a Returning Boat in a Snowstorm, Fig. 3. 13) written in the early spring of 1902 (Fig. 3. 13a). *The Pictorial Scroll of a Returning Boat in a Snowstorm* is a handscroll executed by Xiao after his visit to Dongting Lake 洞庭湖 in the tenth month of 1899. This work was one of Xiao's favourites, as he kept the handscroll with him for the following five decades and asked more than ten people, including Chen Shizeng, to write colophons on the painting at different points.²⁵⁸ The sixth line from the poem describes the scene of old friends reuniting, which reads: '[We] were parted for a few years, and when it was time for plum blossoms again, we reunited in Baixia [Nanjing]. Old memories came flooding back, but we could not bear to mention them again. 與君小別三年，又梅花開時，白下萍聚，舊事如雲，忍重說。' Before heading for Tokyo in December of the same year, Chen visited Xiao in Nanjing for several times, giving him a poem, a piece of calligraphy and a painting depicting peonies, as farewell gifts.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ In the preface to Xiao Junxian's landscape catalogue *Xiao Longqiao shanshui jingpin* 蕭龍樵山水精品 (Selected Works of Xiao Longqiao's Landscape), which was published in Shanghai in 1925, Chen Sanli wrote that Xiao had been a friend of his for decades. When Chen moved to Nanjing and opened up a private family school, he invited Xiao to be the painting tutor for his daughters. See: Ma Weizhong 馬衛中, Dong Junjue 董俊珏 ed., *Chen Sanli nianpu* 陳三立年譜 (A Chronological Biography of Chen Sanli) (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 2010), 265-267.

²⁵⁷ See: Lang Shaojun 郎紹君, "Dahuashi Xiao Junxian 大畫師蕭俊賢 (Great Painter Xiao Junxian)," *Yishu yu zhongguo* 藝術與中國 (Arts and China), no. 1 (2015), 91-103.

²⁵⁸ Shen, *Xiao Junxian nianpu*, 24.

²⁵⁹ Shen, *Xiao Junxian nianpu*, 36.

The second piece of evidence is a letter sent by Chen Shizeng from Tokyo to Xiao Junxian, written on 16 December 1904.²⁶⁰ The letter conveyed three pieces of information, which help us to better understand why Chen would invite Xiao to join Xuannan Painting Society right after Xiao's arrival in Beijing. First, just like Chen Shizeng, Xiao Junxian was also interested in Western painting, so Chen purchased some works for him in Tokyo:

Additionally, [I] also bought a few pieces of Western painting [for you]. As it is inconvenient to send the parcel by post, [I] will take [those paintings] back if [I] return to China next summer.

此外尚為購西洋畫數張，因包裹不便郵寄，明年夏或可歸國，爾時即攜歸。²⁶¹

Secondly, Chen and Xiao would comment frankly on each others' paintings and exchange painterly ideas. From Chen's comments to Xiao, we can also see trace their shared training in traditional scholarly painting:

[I have] had the honour to read your accomplished works. One of the two paintings, which was executed using dry texture methods, truly demonstrated the demeanour and style of Pengxin [Wang Chen 王宸, 1720-1797]. Another landscape painting done with ink and colour wash displayed your ordinary level. If I have to make a criticism, then I think [when you] executed the tree branches using big dots, your brushwork was slightly hasty. Only Xiangguang [Dong Qichang 董其昌, 1555-1636] and Yunlin [Ni Zan 倪瓚, 1301-1374] were able to draw these places with forceful and abbreviated brushwork. Furthermore, the mountains on top

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 44-45.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

were composed of too many layers. This is because [we] are better to not pile up things [when depicting] a level distance scene. May I have your opinion [on the points I just brought up]?

拜讀佳作，其一幅幹皴大有蓬心之風；其一設色乃平常之境，如須加批評，則愚以為大點樹之幹用筆稍率，此等處唯香光、雲林能以遒勁簡練之筆寫之，而上層之山層壘太多，平遠之景不宜堆砌故也，法家以為如何？²⁶²

Finally, we find that Chen had a huge amount of faith in Chinese painting and had already established his goal of reviving it back in 1904:

As [I have] got these two paintings, I will show them off in front of the Japanese. One can well perceive that the lingering charm of the motherland of East Asian fine arts still exists. If we wish to see the prosperity [of Chinese fine arts] in the future, we cannot help but make a determined effort during this era of transition.

得此二幅，將大吹于日本人之前，足見東洋美術之祖國流風餘韻尚有一線之存，故欲發達於將來，而此過渡時代，不能不奮勉也。²⁶³

Following Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhì joined the Society on 16 November 1919, as mentioned in Yu Shaosong's diary (see Table II in appendices). It is likely that he grew close to Chen Shizeng in the first place due to their shared Hu'nán background. Due to the tradition and culture formed around *huiguan*, people coming from the same geographic place tended to form alliances in order to survive in a new city. As a result, the regional bond became a very important factor that united a specific group of Beijing painters together. Through this connection, artists could also receive mutual support in

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

their artistic careers. Although Chen's family was native to Jiangxi Province, Chen was born and raised in the Hu'nán Province before he left for further education at the age of 23.²⁶⁴ Even after he moved far north to Beijing, he was still very interested in his second hometown Hu'nán, and often made friends with Hu'nanese artists and intellectuals.²⁶⁵ In the early Republican Beijing, artists from Hu'nán often worked together in various contexts. For instance, in support of the flood disaster in Hunan during the summer of 1917, Chen, He Lüzhì and Qi Baishi organised a disaster relief exhibition in the Central Park from 13 to 14 August, and each donated paintings for fund raising.²⁶⁶

Among these artists who became a part of Xuannan Painting Society upon Chen Shizeng's invitation and introduction, Wang Mengbai was particularly close to Chen. This was because Chen helped Wang to settle down in the art world in Beijing, bringing Wang into Chen's elite cultural circles, as well as promoting Wang's reputation as an accomplished painter and tutor of the practice of painting. The important role Chen played in discovering and promoting Wang's talent is similar to the help he offered Qi Baishi; however, it has been discussed much less frequently in scholarship.²⁶⁷

In 1920, Chen Shizeng recommended Wang Mengbai for a teaching position at the Beijing College of Fine Arts.²⁶⁸ Before he left for Tianjin in 1928, Wang's artistic career in Beijing was promising. Various primary sources indicate that not only were his paintings highly sought after, he also socialised frequently with the elite of the Beijing art world. He joined in art societies and went to various elegant gatherings together with Chen; he even met with celebrities such as Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳 (1894-1961), at that time the most famous Beijing Opera artist, and became Mei's personal

²⁶⁴ Gong, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao," 39-41.

²⁶⁵ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Chen Shizeng* 陳師曾 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 1.

²⁶⁶ "Lüjìng xiàngren zhì yóuyuanhuì 旅京湘人之遊園會 (Disaster Relief Exhibition of Calligraphy and Painting for Hunan Province)," *Shuntian shibao* 順天時報 (Shuntian Daily), August 15, 1921, 8.

²⁶⁷ Chen Shizeng and Qi Baishi's association in Beijing has been widely researched by scholars in China. See: Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章, "Chen Shizeng yu Qi Baishi guanxi yanjiu 陳師曾與齊白石關係研究 (A Research on the Association between Chen Shizeng and Qi Baishi)," in *Shuhua jiankao yu meishushi yanjiu* 書畫鑒考與美術史研究 (Issues of Authenticity in Calligraphy and Painting and An Art Historical Research), Zhu Wanzhang (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011), 357-377.

²⁶⁸ Wang Qingfang 王青芳, "Wang Mengbai huashi 王夢白畫師 (Artisan Wang Mengbai)," *Yifeng* 藝風 (The Wind of Art) 3, no. 3 (1935), 95-100.

tutor for painting.²⁶⁹

Primary sources supporting this argument come from Wang Mengbai's contemporaries. The following is an extract from Wang's epitaph written by Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-1954), the second chair of the Chinese Painting Research Society following founder Jin Cheng 金城 (1878-1926):²⁷⁰

Mr. Yun Wang, known as Mengbai, was born in Feng Cheng City of Jiangxi province. With advice from Ren Bonian and Wu Changshuo, Mengbai's painting improved greatly. In middle age, Mengbai came to the northern region. With recommendations from Chen Shizeng, Mengbai gained a distinguished reputation among the nobility. Mengbai had a good sense of humour, made friends regardless of class or status, and loved to mock others. Due to his strange personality, lots of people chose to keep their distance from him. He passed away whilst travelling on the day of 16 April, at the age of 47. If Mengbai had not died at such a young age, with his extraordinary talent in art, he could have enjoyed a reputation equal to Baiyang and Futang.

君諱雲，字夢白，姓氏王，其先江西豐城人。得任伯年，吳昌碩諸老遊，畫大進。中歲北來，陳師曾掄揚縉紳間，聲譽日起。君好談諧，與人無貴賤，每嘲罵為樂，以是人多遠之。歿于逆旅，是四月十六日，年僅四十有七耳。以君資藝殊絕，天假以年，白陽復堂，詎得專美。

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From this we learn about Wang's life experiences, eccentric personal character, an

²⁶⁹ Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳, *Mei Lanfang huiyilu* 梅蘭芳回憶錄 (A Memoirs of Mei Lanfang) (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2006), 461-468.

²⁷⁰ See Table III for biographies of Jin Cheng and Zhou Zhaoxiang.

²⁷¹ Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥, "Wang Mengbai xiansheng mubiao 王夢白先生墓表 (Epitaph of Mr Wang Mengbai)," *Liyan huakan* 立言畫刊 (Thoughts in Paint Pictorial), no. 50 (1939), 25.

objective contemporary view on his artistic achievement, and most importantly, Chen Shizeng's significant role in building Wang's fame in the Beijing art world.

Regarding the support Chen Shizeng gave to Wang Mengbai's art career, one of Wang's students from the Beijing College of Fine Arts, artist and educator Wang Qingfang 王青芳 (1900-1956), provided more detailed information in the article he wrote in memory of his late master, written right after Wang's death in 1934:

[Wang Mengbai] regarded Chen Shizeng as his best friend in life. When Mengbai came to Beijing, he was barely known. At that time, Shizeng was already respected as a great painter. One day, Shizeng saw Mengbai's paintings of flowers and birds, and was astonished by his remarkable skills. After that, when people asked for Shizeng's paintings, he only took orders for landscape paintings. For paintings of flowers and birds, he either referred the works to Mengbai or worked together with Mengbai. He told everyone he met that Mengbai was the best painter after Xinluo [Hua Yan]. Because of this, Mengbai's reputation was greatly boosted.

自謂生平知己，以陳師曾為第一。當初來京師，無人知名，其時師曾畫名已為世重。一日見先生所作花卉翎毛自詡不如。以後有請師曾畫者，但多作山水，而花卉翎毛，即推與先生，或與之合作。逢人說項，稱為新羅以後一人，由是畫師之名大振。²⁷²

The most noteworthy point mentioned in Wang Qingfang's article is that Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai used to collaborate with each other often on different occasions to produce *hezuo hua* 合作畫 (joint painting or collaborative painting). In their collaborations, Chen usually drew flowers and plants, while Wang pictured birds and animals. Specifically, Yu Shaosong's diaries provide the earliest textual record of

²⁷² Wang, "Wang Mengbai huashi," 95.

the collaboration between Chen and Wang, occurring during the gatherings of Xuannan Painting Society. For instance, Yu recorded one of such exciting moment when both Chen and Wang were very productive during the members' gathering on 15 June 1919:

Mengbai and Shizeng created no less than ten paintings together, with the subjects that are rarely seen in other painters' works, such as snakes, tortoises, pigs and so on. All of the works were bizarre and unusual. They would start to paint together at 8 am and leave the party at 6 pm. This could be the most cheerful activity that we have ever had in our painting society over the years.

夢白與師曾合作不下十餘幀，而所畫又皆他人所不畫之物，如蛇如龜如豬等類，皆甚奇特。自上午八時直至下午六時半始散，蓋近年來畫社無此暢快矣。²⁷³

Unfortunately, these collaborative works noted in Yu Shaosong's diaries are missing, thus we need to look into the paintings jointly produced by Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai on other occasions instead. The collaborative bird-and-flower paintings by Chen and Wang are typical examples of joint paintings in early Republican Beijing. They represent the most advanced level of free-hand styles—*xiao xieyi* 小寫意 (lesser freehand style) and *da xieyi* 大寫意 (greater freehand style) in the world of painting in Beijing.

Yingwu tu 鸚鵡圖 (The Picture of Budgerigars, Fig. 3. 14) was dated the second month of spring in 1922. In the centre of the painting, Wang Mengbai painted a pair of budgerigars standing on a tree branch. Below the light-coloured leaves are some pink crepe myrtle flowers, painted by Chen Shizeng, extending from the left to the right of the painting surface. According to Chen's inscription on the right (Fig. 3. 14a), as well

²⁷³ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 107-108.

as the order of the brush shown in the painting, Wang depicted the budgerigars first, and then Chen added the branch, leaves and flowers. As Wang was influenced by the *xiao xieyi* of Hua Yan 華喾 (1682-1756), the budgerigars are finely and vividly depicted with sophisticated brushwork and true-to-life colour wash, one showing the front view while the other the profile. The eyes are so bright and smart, as if the birds are having some sort of interaction. The feathers of the birds are rendered in great detail with a mixture of dry and wet brush textures, giving the feathers a fluffy finish. This technique is also from Hua, as shown in Hua's depiction of parrots. In Huang Yan's oeuvre, he was particularly interested in one kind of parrot—the lovebird with black cheeks and green body, as shown in *Yingwu zhushi tu* 鸚鵡竹石圖 (Parrot, Bamboo and Rock, Fig. 3. 15), *Shuangzhi yingwu tu* 霜枝鸚鵡圖 (Parrot on a Frosty Branch, Fig. 3. 16) and *Wutong yingwu tu* 梧桐鸚鵡圖 (Parasol Tree and Parrot, Fig. 3. 17). Despite its name, Hua usually portrayed the lovebird alone, rather than in a pair.

In keeping with the style of the bird, the way in which Chen Shizeng depicts the leaves and flowers diverts slightly from his featured *da xieyi*, although he continued to apply a scientific attitude and follow botanic law as strictly as ever. While both the leaves and the flowers are beautifully and accurately executed in *mogu* 沒骨 (boneless style), the brushwork adopted by Chen in this painting is neat and elegant, not as vigorous and wild as may be seen in his other flower paintings from 1922, such as *Huahui tu* 花卉圖 (A Picture of Flowers, Fig. 3. 18), not to mention that the colouring is lighter and more lyrical.

The aforementioned painting by Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai is just one of the numerous examples of the close collaboration between Chen and his artist-friends. As Xuannan Painting Society advanced, Yu Shaosong's diaries documented more and more group works completed by two or more painters. Examples include but are not limited to 21 September and 16 November 1919, 4 and 11 April 1920 (see Table II in appendices).

This is because the advent of skilled painters such as Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhi and

Wang Mengbai changed, to some degree, the pattern of the activities of Xuannan Painting Society, compared with the Society's initial pursuits. From this point onwards, the Society was no longer an amateur painting society for the beginners like Yu and his colleagues. It gradually became a place where skilled artists of comparable skill living in Beijing were able to socialise and exchange painterly ideas and skills. Apart from discussions on appreciating and authenticating ancient paintings and calligraphy, judging artworks by society members and producing collaborative works became the most common way for Chen and his fellow artists to communicate with each other.²⁷⁴

3.4 The Legacy of Xuannan Painting Society in the Art World of Beijing

Founded in 1915, Xuannan Painting Society was the earliest example of an art association focusing solely on Chinese national painting in the art world of the early Republican Beijing, although it did not develop into a modern art society. Other art societies which were important and influential in the painting history of Beijing during the first half of the twentieth century were established after Xuannan Painting Society. Examples include *Beida huafa yanjiuhui* 北大畫法研究會 (Painterly Method Research Society of Peking University, founded in 1918), Chinese Painting Research Society (1920), *Huayin huahui* 花陰畫會 (Shadow of Flowers Painting Society, 1922), *Songfeng huahui* 松風畫會 (Wind through Pine Painting Society, 1925), and *Hu she* 湖社 (Lake Society, 1926).²⁷⁵

Activities held during the gatherings of Xuannan Painting Society set examples for Beijing's later painting societies, especially the Chinese Painting Research Society,

²⁷⁴ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 4 March 1917, 4 July 1921, 31 July 1921, 10, 186, 191.

²⁷⁵ "Ershi shiji Beijing huihuashi nianbiao 20 世紀北京繪畫史年表 (A Chronological History of Painting in the Twentieth-Century Beijing)," in *Ershi shiji Beijing huihua shi* 20 世紀北京繪畫史 (A History of Painting in the Twentieth-Century Beijing), ed. Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Painting Academy) (Beijing: renmin meishu chubanshe, 2007), 471-508.

to follow. Chen Shizeng and Tang Dingzhi's painting tutorials for the members of Xuannan Painting Society was known as *qunxue* 群學 (group learning).²⁷⁶ This form of teaching later became popular among art societies in Beijing after it was adopted by Painterly Method Research Society of Peking University and Chinese Painting Research Society to train the student-members.²⁷⁷

Chen Shizeng, He Lüzhì and Tang Dingzhi were appointed as the first group of painting tutors for Painterly Method Research Society of Peking University in 1918.²⁷⁸ Later in 1920, Chen, He, Tang, Wang Mengbai and Xiao Junxian were in the pioneer batch of nine *pingyi* 評議 (advisors) for Chinese Painting Research Society. As advisors for Chinese Painting Research Society, their most important responsibility was to offer guidance to student-members on the 3rd, 6th and 9th of each month during the society gatherings, which were known as *guanmo hui* 觀摩會 (demonstration meeting). During these meetings, the advisors would execute paintings according to their own specialties in front of student-members and offer comments on students' paintings. Chen usually presented his free-hand style flowers and Wang showed his vivid depictions of animals while He, Tang and Xiao demonstrated their landscape paintings.²⁷⁹ As a result, many students were cultivated through *qunxue* of the art societies. Among them were the elites of the second generation of *Jingpai* painters, such as Hui Xiaotong 惠孝同 (1902-1979) and Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文 (1896-1974).²⁸⁰

Conclusion

This chapter posits that the formation of *Jingpai* during the early Republican period

²⁷⁶ Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 105.

²⁷⁷ Zhou, "Minguo xuannan huashe chutan," 250-252.

²⁷⁸ Li, "Ershi shiji de hushe yu jingjin diqu huajia," 18-21.

²⁷⁹ Zhu Jingsheng 朱京生, "Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society)," in *Zhongguo meishu baike quanshu* 中國美術百科全書 (An Encyclopedia of Chinese Fine Arts) 4, ed. Shao Dazhen (Beijing: renmin meishu chubanshe, 2009), 2050-2051.

²⁸⁰ Lang Shaojun 郎紹君, "Hu Peiheng he tade yishu 胡佩衡和他的藝術 (Hu Peiheng and His Art)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu* 京派繪畫研究 (Studies of the Beijing School of Painting), ed. Beijing Huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Art Academy) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2012), 70-71.

could be attributed to the Xuannan Culture, which originated among scholars in the Xuannan area of Beijing during the early Qing period and contributed to the scholarly feature of *Jingpai*.

Xuannan Painting Society was the base upon which *Jingpai* was established. Chen Shizeng played a pivotal role in this process by inviting some of the most proficient painters in Beijing to join the Society.²⁸¹ Chen and the artists he gathered together, namely Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhi and Wang Mengbai, became the foundation of *Jingpai*. Xuannan Painting Society also provided the first example in early Republican Beijing of intellectuals coming from diverse backgrounds and holding different political stances assembling together in one painting association. In this sense, the Society was the epitome of *Jingpai*.

For Chen Shizeng and some of his artist-friends from Xuannan Painting Society, their association became more solidified as a group through the weekly gatherings of the Society. In the meantime, these painters would also attend other informal gatherings together, which will be discussed in the following Chapter. As the group began to foster a sense of self-identity, the recognition of common artistic pursuits was strengthened through their inclusive painting gatherings.

²⁸¹ Wei, *Shilin jiaoyou yu fengqi bianqian*, 1.

Chapter 4

The Private Ecology of *Jingpai* and the Inheritance of Scholarly Traditions

Following the discussion on the initial formation of *Jingpai* through the platform of Xuannan Painting Society, Chapter 4 will further explore the development of the School via its private ecology, which was constructed by artists, non-artist figures and their various informal painting gatherings. This private ecology kept the School functioning. To achieve this goal, I will mainly look into Chen Shizeng's extended social network in Beijing, which formed the base for most of *Jingpai*'s group activities.

In this chapter, we will investigate the revival of the popular Qing scholarly elegant gatherings such as *shou Su hui* 壽蘇會 (elegant gatherings in celebration of Su Shi's birthday) and *xiaohan hui* 消寒會 (elegant gatherings of dispersing cold) in early Republican Beijing. A special kind of painting - *hezuo hua* 合作畫 (joint painting) - which was commonly executed by Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists during the informal painting gatherings, will also be examined.²⁸² By investigating these

²⁸² Two reference books published in the Republican period provided rich and detailed summaries of the joint paintings from the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period to Qing Dynasty, as recorded in more than three hundred types of compilations on painting. The two books are American art historian John Calvin Ferguson (1866-1945)'s *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 (Catalogue of Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties) and Chinese scholar Rong Geng 容庚 (1894-1983)'s *Lidai zhulu huamu xubian* 歷代著錄畫目續編 (A Continuation of Catalogue of Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties), published respectively in 1934 and 1948. According to the examples provided by the two abovementioned reference books, a joint painting is usually done by two to more than ten artists. In the history of Chinese painting, specifically, there are two types of joint painting: that by court painters who serve the *huayuan* 畫院 (imperial painting academy); and that by artists who attend elegant gatherings. The subject matter of collaborative work is not different from individual work, which includes landscape, figure and bird-and-flower paintings. Furthermore, the collaborative work could be done by different hands on the same day or finished in turns within an either short or longtime span. The indexes of both reference books listed the category of joint painting separately, demonstrating not only the two scholars' interest in this special type of painting, but also a general concern over this field. It was probably due to the large numbers of joint paintings produced in the Republican period. See: The English translations of the two catalogues are from Lara Jaishree Netting, in Lara Jaishree Netting, *A Perpetual Fire: John C. Ferguson and His Quest for Chinese Art and Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 11; John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 (Catalogue of Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007), 957-960; The index of Ferguson was more of a group work than individual accomplishment. It was compiled with the help from Chinese scholars he

occasions and the collaborative works produced, we can understand the basic means of communication between *Jingpai* artists and how their identity as members of the group was cultivated.

Chapter 4 will answer the following three questions: Who were the artists and the non-artist figures who made up Chen Shizeng's extended social network in Beijing and what were their different networking needs? What were the motivations of Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists in organising scholarly, elegant gatherings popular in Qing and participating in the collaboration of joint paintings? What roles did the non-artist figures play in the function and development of *Jingpai*?

4.1 Chen Shizeng's Extended Social Network and the Informal Painting Gatherings of *Jingpai*

In this subsection, we investigate the composition of the extended social network of Chen Shizeng in Beijing through informal painting gatherings Chen and his friends attended. We look at the basic rules, conventions and customs of organising and participating in informal painting gatherings in Beijing during the first two decades of the Republican period. To do so, we shall be analysing three primary sources.

The first of these is an article written by Huang Jun 黃濬 (1890-1937), a Republican politician who was contemporaneous with Chen Shizeng. Huang's article summarised people from Chen's network, most of whom had already been labelled as painters of *Jingpai* in Yu Jianhua's 俞劍華 (1895-1979) 1928 article.²⁸³ We will consider two paragraphs from the text. In the first paragraph, Huang classified these painters according to their closeness to Chen, which also demonstrated Chen's position

associated with and secretaries he hired in Beijing. For instance, before its publication in 1934, paleographer and archaeologist Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991) did the final editing for this work.

²⁸³ Huang Jun 黃濬, "Huajia Chen Shizeng 畫家陳師曾 (Painter Chen Shizeng)," in *Huashuirensheng an zhiyi* 花隨人聖庵摭憶 (A Collection of Memories in Huashuirensheng Studio), Huang Jun 黃濬 (Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2013), 693. Huang's series of essays was first published in *Zhongyang shishi zhoubao* 中央時事週報 (The Central Current Events Weekly) between 1934 and 1937.

at the centre of his network:

When it came to the fifth and sixth year [of the Republic], Chen Shizeng devoted himself to painting. His brushwork was advanced and archaic, which was highly praised by his contemporaries. In person, [Chen was] gentle and maverick. His friends gathered [around him] were like stars [around the moon]. [Chen] met up with Yao Mangfu [Yao Hua 姚華, 1876-1930], Wang Mengbai [王夢白, 1888-1934], Chen Banding [陳半丁, 1876-1970] and Qi Baishi [齊白石, 1864-1957] most frequently. [He] was friendly with Jin Beilou [Jin Cheng 金城, 1878-1926], Zhou Yang'an [Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥, 1880-1954], Ling Zhizhi [Ling Wenyan 凌文淵, 1876-1944], Yan Yunbo [顏韻伯, active in the early twentieth-century], Xiao Qianzhong [蕭謙中, 1883-1944], Luo Fukan [羅敷堪, 1874-1954] and Ling Yanchi [凌宴池, active in the early twentieth-century]. [Chen] would also meet with Tang Dingzhi [湯定之, 1878-1948] and Wang Shensheng [汪慎生, 1896-1972] once in a while.

至五六年間，陳師曾肆力于畫，筆力高古，為一時推重。其人溫雅而有特行，友朋星聚，姚茫父、王夢白、陳半丁、齊白石最數往還，而金北樓、周養齋、凌直支、顏韻伯、蕭謙中、羅復堪、凌宴池次之，湯定之、汪慎生亦偶來。²⁸⁴

The paragraph above also offers clues on the non-artist figures within Chen's circle, showing their varied backgrounds (see Table III in the appendices for selected

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

biographies of Chen Shizeng's friends in Beijing). For instance, Luo Fu'kan 羅復堪 (1874-1954) was recognised more as a poet and calligrapher than as a painter, and was very cautious about showing his paintings to others;²⁸⁵ Ling Yanchi 凌宴池 (active in the early twentieth century), who came from a financial background and was very interested in painting, more often acted as a host rather than a painter during painting gatherings between mid-1910s and early 1920s.²⁸⁶

In the second paragraph selected from Huang Jun's article, Huang analysed the various expertise and painterly styles of the aforementioned painters, re-emphasising their good relationship with Chen Shizeng:

At that time, Xiao Qianzhong was known together with Xiao Zhiquan as the 'Two Xiaos'. Gongbei [Jing Cheng] was proficient in refined brushwork, and his imitation of the Song style was almost real. Mengbai's [Wang Mengbai] drawing-from life was close to that of Xinluo's [Hua Yan 華岳, 1682-1756]. Banding's [Chen Banding] painterly styles] were extensive [and his brushwork] was refined. Baishi's [Qi Baishi] depiction of insects was unique among his contemporaries. Yunbo [Yan Yunbo] imitated Song painters using bold hand and forceful strength. However, they were all friendly with Shizeng [Chen Shizeng].

其時蕭屋泉與謙中并稱二蕭，拱北長于細筆，仿宋逼真，夢白寫生近新羅，半丁博而精，白石草蟲絕代，韻伯規模宋人，膽手壯勁，然皆善師曾。²⁸⁷

We notice that Huang's article failed to provide a complete list of key figures within Chen Shizeng's network. A few more names should not be overlooked: Chen

²⁸⁵ In Chen Jinghong 陳荊鴻, *Lingnan shuhua mingjia* 嶺南書畫名家 (Famous Calligraphers and Painters in Lingnan) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe), 90.

²⁸⁶ Chunming jiuzhu 春明舊主, "Ji Ling Yanchi jun huazhan 記凌宴池君畫展 (A Painting Exhibition of Ling Yanchi)," *Tianjin shangbao huakan* 天津商報畫刊 (Tianjin Business Pictorial) 5, no. 41 (1926), 2.

²⁸⁷ Huang Jun, "Huajia Chen Shizeng," 693.

and Yao Hua's common friend Luo Yinggong 羅癭公 (1880-1924) and Luo Hongnian 羅鴻年 (1880-?); two female painters – Ling Shuhua 凌叔華 (1900-1990) and Chen's student Jiang Nanping 江南蘋 (1902-1986); finally, Jiang's husband Wu Jing'an 吳靜庵 (active in the early Republican period).²⁸⁸ We will encounter these names very often in the informal painting gatherings attended by Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists to be discussed in this chapter.

To sum up Huang Jun's article, we notice that Chen Shizeng's network in Beijing consisted of people from various backgrounds: artists, collectors, poets, dramatists, businessmen, bankers and politicians. Following, we will figure out their purposes of attending informal painting gatherings with Chen and the different roles they played in the private ecology of *Jingpai* which kept the School in sustainable functioning.

As for painters from Chen Shizeng's network, the reasons why they were closely associated with Chen were far more complicated than a common passion for national painting and their admiration for Chen's artistic achievements and personality. For painters who sojourned in Beijing and wished to develop a successful career, there were also practical considerations to take into account when trying to build connections in a new environment. Chen's eminent family background, which laid the firm foundation for the leading role he came to occupy in the art world in Beijing, attracted some artists into his network. As already mentioned, Chen played a vital role in promoting the reputation of at least two painters: Wang Mengbai and Qi Baishi.

The second source testifies this argument. It began by recalling the prosperity of the worlds of literature and arts in Beijing. Specifically, this source put a special emphasis on the significant power of the social network in developing *Jingpai* artists' careers in the city. It is noteworthy that the author also stressed the importance of associating with local officials, which he believed to be necessary for a prosperous career in the art world in Beijing:

²⁸⁸ Also see Table III for biographies of these figures.

The capital was a galaxy of culture and talents. In the field of arts and literature, if one had a specialty, it would be unnecessary to worry about the talent remaining unknown. Thanks to the open and broad prospect of the field, there were only like-minded friends instead of jealous peers. Taking painters as an example: both Qi Baishi and Tang Dingzhi relocated to the capital quite late. Within a few years' time, they became the well-known celebrities even though they were not connected with officials in Beijing. If one happened to have the support from an eminent fellow [in Beijing], a ~~senior family~~, he/she would not need to worry about their livelihood.

京師人文薈萃，文墨一道，苟有所長，不患人之不知，以其局面宏闊，故但有氣類之相從，而不慮同行之相妒，舉畫家言之，齊白石、湯定之入都皆甚晚，數年間即名動公卿，此猶與京中仕宦無甚淵源者，若有世交前輩之提攜，尤不患無噉飯處。²⁸⁹

Due to the special position of Beijing, it was fairly common to find Beijing politicians had an equally strong discursive power in art scene as they did in other fields. Therefore, it is not surprising to notice that among Chen Shizeng's close contacts in Beijing were quite a few high-ranking officials of the Beiyang Government: Ling Wenyan 凌文淵 (1876-1944) temporarily acted as the Vice-Minister and Minister of the Ministry of Finance between 1922 and 1923 and Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-1954) was the head of the Capital Police from 1912 to 1915.²⁹⁰ Yu Shaosong, the founder of the Xuannan Painting Society, was a Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Justice.²⁹¹

The two sources above not only uncovered Chen Shizeng's relatively complete

²⁸⁹ Huang Pingsun 黃萍蓀, "Cong Chen Shizeng shuoqi 從陳師曾說起 (Speaking from Chen Shizeng)," in *Sishinian lai zhi Beijing* 四十年來之北京 (Beijing over the Past Forty Years), ed. Huang Pingsun 黃萍蓀 (Beijing: Ziyue she, 1950), 38.

²⁹⁰ See: Ling Wenyan 凌文淵, *Yao'an Dongyou riji* 鑰廬東遊日記 (Yao'an's Travel Diaries in Japan) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016), 1-2; Shi Shuqing 史樹青, "Xu 序 (Preface)," in *Liulichang zaji* 琉璃廠雜記 (Miscellanies of Liulichang), Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (Beijing: Beijing lianhe chubanshe, 2016), 2.

²⁹¹ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 1-2.

social network in Beijing, but also identified the significance of networking in the Beijing art world. This has also offered a clue for establishing the purpose of the informal painting gatherings organised within Chen's circle. We will turn now to look at further primary sources to reconstruct the background, nature, functions and basic conventions of such informal painting gatherings. These gatherings were both the platform for networking between painters, and the painters' campus for developing connections with non-artist figures would support their artistic careers.

In 1943, Ling Shuhua published an article 'Huiyi yige huahui he jige laohuajia 回憶一個畫會和幾個老畫家 (Recalling a Painting Gathering and a Few Senior Painters),' which recorded an informal painting gathering held at her own painting studio with Chen Shizeng and some other renowned *Jingpai* painters.²⁹² This painting gathering was co-organised by Ling and Jiang Nanping, which showed that within the *Jingpai* circle, female painters could host mix gender painting gatherings. In the following subsection, we will see that female painters could also collaborate with male painters on joint paintings. In her article, Ling rekindled her memory by providing a short summary of this kind of meeting – they were neither regularly scheduled nor held at fixed places. Most attendees were very engaging and produced quite many artworks during the gatherings.²⁹³

Ling Shuhua also explained how this kind of informal painting gathering functioned, demonstrating its free, unrestrained and spontaneous nature:

Painting gatherings at that time were mostly initiated by local collectors, calligraphers and painters who would send out invitations. Most of the activities took place at tranquil gardens or temples chosen beforehand.

²⁹² Ling Shuhua 凌叔華, "Huiyi yige huahui he jige laohuajia 回憶一個畫會及幾個老畫家 (Recalling a Painting Gathering and Some Senior Painters)," *Shi yu chao wenyi* 時與潮文藝 (Times and Fashion: Literature and Arts) 1, no. 3 (1943), 23-27. Ling Shuhua is a Beijing-born writer in the twentieth century. During her time in Beijing, she was closely associated with *Jingpai* artists through the network of her father Ling Fupeng 凌福彭 (1856-1931), who was a high official of Qing and was very interested in calligraphy and painting.

²⁹³ Ibid.

Usually there was a group of a dozen attendees. After having tea and wine, they would devote themselves to painting. While some could be very enthusiastic and executed as many paintings as they wanted to, the others might not be in the mood for creating and could just enjoy a cup of tea with friends by the spring in the woods. The former would not be seen as ignorant and the latter would never be judged either.

那時的畫會，大都是由當地幾個收藏家，書家，畫家折柬相邀，地點多是臨時選擇幽雅的園林與寺院舉行。人數常是十余人，茶余酒後往往濡毫染紙，意興好的，畫多少幅，人亦不以為狂，沒有興趣作畫，只管在林下泉邊，品茗清談，也沒有人議論。²⁹⁴

From this paragraph, we can clearly discern that the locations specifically chosen for these painting gatherings, namely gardens and temples, coincided with the spaces where the scholars used to hold traditional scholarly elegant gatherings from early Qing to the early Republican periods. Ling's words also demonstrated the close connection between Beijing collectors and artists, as testified by Chen Shizeng's own network; Wu Jing'an, Yan Yunbo and Ling Yanchi were all renowned collectors in early Republican Beijing.²⁹⁵ There are a few possible reasons why painters associated with local collectors. They would associate for the purpose of education; it was necessary for painters of national painting to view and copy actual artworks executed by previous masters. Before the opening of the Imperial Collection in 1915, Beijing artists could only rely on private collections. Such a network also indicated the possibility of patronage of Beijing artists by local collectors.²⁹⁶

The casual spontaneity of informal painting gatherings provided a free, easy and pleasant environment for like-minded friends to exchange painterly ideas and skills, as

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 103; Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章, "Chen Banding yu Chen Shizeng 陳半丁與陳師曾 (Chen Banding and Chen Shizeng)," in *Chen Banding de yishu shijie 陳半丁的藝術世界* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2017), ed. Zhang Tao 張濤, 75-88.

well as maintaining their networks. Interestingly, just as the adage goes: freer strokes were fueled by drink. Wine was an indispensable part of the painting gathering. As Ling Shuhua mentioned in her article, her guests only started to produce their exciting artistic creations after enjoying enough wine.²⁹⁷ Apart from being refreshments offered by the host or hostess, drinking wine also became a convention to start the collaboration of a joint painting during the painting gathering. For instance, in the preface to a poem composed in memory of his belated friend Chen Shizeng, Qi Baishi listed some basic rules of executing a collaborative work:

According to the custom of Beijing, the initiator of the collaboration would drink a cup of wine and then ask [other painters] to work together on a joint painting. The person who executed the first brush stroke would be considered as the primary painter of this joint painting, and his name would come the first when [the finished work was] published in the newspaper. Shizeng would usually seize the painting brush and made a quick stroke.

京華風俗，招畫人一飲，求合作畫一幅，先動筆者為主，登報紙者必居首。師曾每奪筆一揮。²⁹⁸

Another painting gathering fueled by wine was held by Chen Shizeng's younger brother Chen Longke 陳隆恪 (1888-1956) in 1919. The host recorded this event in the preface of a poem he wrote in 1949. The author recalled that while the two drunk painters Chen Shizeng and Chen Banding portrayed an equally drunk scholar together on the paper, other guests, namely Qi Baishi, Tang Dingzhi, Yao Mangfu, Wang Mengbai, Mei Lanfang, Luo Yinggong and Luo Fu'an were reading the painting and

²⁹⁷ Ling Shuhua 凌叔華, "Huiyi yige huahui he jige laohuaji 回憶一個畫會及幾個老畫家 (Recalling a Painting Gathering and Some Senior Painters)," *Shi yu chao wenyi* 時與潮文藝 (Times and Fashion: Literature and Arts) 1, no. 3 (1943), 23-27.

²⁹⁸ Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章, *Shuhua jiankao yu meishushi yanjiu* 書畫鑒考與美術史研究 (Authenticating Calligraphy and Painting, Researching the History of Fine Arts) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011), 367.

singing excitedly at the same time.²⁹⁹

The last convention to be mentioned is the ownership of paintings produced during the gatherings. While some of the works were given to the host/hostess of the event as gifts, the ownership of others would be decided by drawing lots, as was the practice of the Xuannan Painting Society. In the documentation by Chen Shizeng's brother-in-law Wang Dong 汪東 (1890-1963) on the first and the only gathering of the *Xishan huahui* 西山畫會 (Western Mountains Painting Society), which was attended by Chen Shizeng, Jin Cheng and Tang Dingzhi, the author made it clear that artworks executed on the day of the gathering were to be in the possession of the host.³⁰⁰

4.2 The Revival of the Qing Scholarly Elegant Gatherings and the Production of Joint Paintings

After establishing the basic format, nature and convention of the informal painting gatherings Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists attended together, we will look at two examples of joint paintings they produced during such gatherings and extrapolate their motivations and purposes.

The first example to look at is *Su Dongpo xiang* 蘇東坡像 (A Portrait of Su Dongpo, Fig. 4. 01). The painting was jointly produced by Chen Shizeng, Wang Mengbai, Jin Cheng, Zhou Zhaoxiang, Xiao Qianzhong and Qi Baishi in the Luo Garden 羅園 (Luo Yanfeng's private garden) on the nineteenth day of the ninth month of *renxu* year (1922), celebrating of Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) 885th birthday.³⁰¹

Luo Yanfeng's mansion situated in Mengduan hutong in the West District of

²⁹⁹ Chen Longke 陳隆恪, *Chen Longke shi xuan* 陳隆恪詩選 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2009), 66.

³⁰⁰ Wang Dong was Chen Shizeng's brother-in-law from Chen's second marriage. See: Wang Dong 汪東, "Xishan huashe diyiji 西山畫社第一集 (The First Gatherings of the West Mountain Painting Society)," in *Ji'an suibi* 寄廬隨筆 (Essays of Ji'an), Wang Dong 汪東 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1987), 37.

³⁰¹ Du Pengfei 杜鵬飛, *Yao Mangfu biannian shiji* 姚茫父編年事輯 (A Chronological Biography of Yao Mangfu) (Beijing: gugong chubanshe, 2016), 239.

Beijing. The mansion, which used to be an ancestral hall, was built on a very large scale.³⁰² Unfortunately, no photo of the Luo Garden survives. We can only grasp a rough idea of what the garden was like from the brief description provided by Jiang Nanping, one of the attendees of the gathering.³⁰³ As Jiang recalled: '[The Luo Garden] boasted the view of pavilions, terraces and open halls, with verdant colour of trees and grass. In the time of autumn, there was a pleasing scent given off by the chrysanthemum and the osmanthus in the garden. 有亭台樓閣之勝，草木蔥蘢，菊桂飄香。’

This kind of gathering held in the Luo Garden is known as *shou Su hui* 壽蘇會 (the gathering in celebration of Su Shi's birthday), which originated among official scholars in Beijing in the early Qing.³⁰⁴ Initially, Song Luo 宋瑩 (1634-1714) organised the first *shou Su hui* in 1700 on Su Shi's birthday (the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the year). This gathering set the basic form of activities for later *shou Su hui*: offering Su's favourite foods such as chicken, pork and wine; displaying the representation of Su – *Dongpo li ji tu* 東坡笠屐圖 (Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs) and collections of Su's poems and prose; and composing poems during the gathering.³⁰⁵ In 1773, Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733-1818) organised his first *shou Su hui* in Beijing. Throughout Weng's lifetime, he held such meetings more than twenty times and made it a tradition for scholars in Beijing to follow until the twentieth century.³⁰⁶

The earliest known *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs* was created by Su Shi's friend Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1040-1106). While the original painting is missing, Li's

³⁰² Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳, "Paishe shangyuan furen shi de zhengzhi 拍攝《上元夫人》時的爭執 (Disagreement during the Filming of Lady Shangyuan)," in *Mei Lanfang quanji* 梅蘭芳全集 (A Complete Collection of Mei Lanfang's Writings) 7, ed. Fu Jin 傅謹 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2016), 155.

³⁰³ See: Jiang Nanping 江南蘋, "Renxu luoyuan yaji 壬戌羅園雅集 (An Elegant Gathering in the Luo Garden in Renxu Year)," *Duoyun* 朵雲 (Floating Clouds), no. 4 (1983), 74, 132.

³⁰⁴ I Lo-fen 衣若芬, "Shijian, Wuzhi, Jiye – Qingdai shousuhui zhi wenhua tujing 時間·物質·記憶—清代壽蘇會之文化圖景 (Time, Material and Memories: The Cultural Scape of 'Shou Su Hui' (Gathering for Su Shih's Birthday Remembrance in Qing Dynasty)," *Changjiang xueshu* 長江學術 (Yangtze River Academic) Serial No. 52, 2016 No. 4, 57-69.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

inscription was recorded, explaining the background of executing this portrait of Su: when Su was in exile on an island called Danzhou 儋州 in Hainan, he was caught in a sudden downpour one day. Su borrowed a bamboo hat and a pair of clogs from a peasant and continued on his way. While the villagers laughed at his eccentric appearance, Su delighted in the wild.³⁰⁷ *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs* became a prototype of Su's portrait and numerous high-quality works from Ming and Qing survived. According to Zhu Wanzhang, among the numerous *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs* executed during Ming and Qing, Su was usually portrayed in two styles: holding the edge of his robe with both hands, slightly leaning forward and continuing to walk, or holding a long bamboo stick in one hand and the edge of the robe in another, while moving forward in delight. Type one is shown in Zhu Zhifan's 朱之蕃 (?-1624) *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs* (Fig. 4. 02), while the second type can be found in Sun Kehong's 孫克弘 (1532-1611) *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs* (in the collection of Tianjin Museum, image unavailable).³⁰⁸

If we examine *A Portrait of Su Dongpo* (Fig. 4. 01) produced by Chen Shizeng and his artist-friends from *Jingpai* during a *shou Su hui* held in early Republican Beijing, we notice that this portrait does not fall into the category of *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs*.

In *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, Su Shi is shown sitting on a large, flat rock. His head is turned away, avoiding direct eye contact with the viewer, as if lost in his own thoughts or drunk, because his wine cup was also on the rock, and a wine jar is placed slightly further away. Su wears a long, folded robe and an abbreviated version of *Dongpo jin* 東坡巾 (the scarf of Dongpo, Fig. 4. 01b), both of which demonstrate the sitter's scholarly identity.³⁰⁹ In general, to achieve visual harmony in this joint painting, the

³⁰⁷ '先生在儋，訪諸梨不遇。暴雨大作，假農人簑笠木屐而歸。市人爭相視之，先生自得幽野之趣。' See: Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章, "Ming Qing shiqi Dongpo liji tu yanjiu 明清時期《東坡笠屐圖》研究 (A Study of Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs in Ming and Qing Dynasties)," in *Dajiang zhi men* 大匠之門 (Research of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy) 26, ed. Wang Mingming 王明明 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2020), 60.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ *Dongpo jin* was a special scarf-turn-cap made popular among the literati class of Song Dynasty after Su Dongpo. See: Zhang Qiuping 張秋平 and Yuan Xiaoli 袁曉黎 ed., *Zhongguo sheji quanji* 中國設計全集 (Design in

seven artists adopted a relatively unified painting style – adopting dry, thirsty and concise calligraphic brushwork, as well as linear approach and limited ink wash. The composition was also simple and clear. It was very likely that they intended to pay tribute to Su, who was strongly against formal likeness and ‘valued spontaneous creation over practiced technique.’³¹⁰ Su was also a representation of scholarly painting and distinguished this kind from those made by artisans; he also believed that the style of the painting was able to reflect the character of the artist.³¹¹

This appearance of Su Shi – sitting on a rock and drunk, is also derived from Li Gonglin’s portrait. Unfortunately, the original painting is also lost. A detailed visual description of it was documented in a colophon written by the famous calligrapher Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) after one of Su’s calligraphic copy books:

Recently, Li Boshi [Li Gonglin] from Luzhou executed a portrait of Zizhan [Su Dongpo] sitting on a rock holding a rattan stick, which very closely resembled Su when drunk. This painting was well-received, and [I think that we] can beg Boshi [Li Gonglin] to paint another portrait of Zizhan [Su Dongpo] and put it in a seat during our gathering. It will be like seeing Su in person, which is a nice thing, too.

廬州李伯時近作「子瞻按藤杖坐盤石」，極似其醉時意態，此紙妙天下，可乞伯時作一子瞻像，吾輩會聚時開置席上，如見其人，亦一佳事。³¹²

China) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2012), 44. The order in which this painting was executed was recorded in Chen Shizeng’s inscription: ‘On the birthday of Dongpo in *renxu* year, Mengbai [Wang Mengbai] defined a portrait of Dongpo; Baishi [Qi Baishi] and Mangfu [Yao Hua] added rocks; Yang’an [Zhou Zhaoxiang] drew a wine jar; Qianzhong [Xiao Qianzhong] depicted a crane; Gongbei [Jin Cheng] painted plum blossoms in a pot; Shizeng [Chen Shizeng] arrived later and finished the work with a set of screens. Fu’an [Luo Fu’an] saw this painting and asked for it. 壬戌東坡生日，夢白畫東坡像，白石、茫父補石，養庵畫酒甕，謙中鶴，拱北盆梅，師曾後至補屏風，複庵見而索去。’ (Fig. 4. 01a)

³¹⁰ Bush and Shih, “Sung Literati Theory and Connoisseurship,” 211-213.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅, *Shangu tiba* 山谷題跋 (Colophons by Shangu) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016), 81.

The first part of the colophon described what the portrait of Su looked like, demonstrating that Li intended to portray a drunk Su with what were associated with a traditional Chinese scholar: a hand stick and rock. The second part praised Li's marvelous skills; he was able to paint a lifelike and well-received portrait of a living celebrity that could be recognised instantly by his close friends.

Qing painter Zhu Henian 朱鶴年 (1760-1844) adopted Li Gonglin's second type - Su Shi sitting on a rock holding a rattan stick whilst drunk - when depicting a *Su Dongpo xiang* 蘇東坡像 (A Portrait of Su Dongpo, Fig. 4. 03). Zhu's portrait was attached to Su's calligraphic work *Tianji wuyun tie* 天際烏雲帖 (Dark Clouds at the Edge of the Sky), which was in the private collection of Weng Fanggang and was appreciated by attendees during Weng's *shou su hui* in honour of the master.³¹³ As Weng's *Dark Clouds at the Edge of the Sky* was first published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1915 using the collotype printing technique, and reprinted in 1917 and 1920, it became the most well-known version of this calligraphy during the early Republican period.³¹⁴ Therefore, it is very likely that Chen Shizeng and his artist friends had seen the print version of *Dark Clouds at the Edge of the Sky* and Zhu Henian's portrait before they worked on their joint painting *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*. It is also possible that they appreciated the print version of *Dark Clouds at the Edge of the Sky* during their *shou su hui*, following the example of Weng Fanggang. As a result, in *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, Chen and his fellow artists adopted the prototype of Su sitting on a rock whilst drunk, instead of the more common *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs*.

Su Shi's scholarly robe and the Dongpo scarf shown in Zhu Henian's portrait (Fig. 4. 03) and in *Su Dongpo xiang* (Fig. 4. 01), as well as the motif of bamboo in *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, were probably inspired by Zhao Mengfu's 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) portrayal of the master. In 1301, Zhao Mengfu added a full portrait of Su Shi at the

³¹³ Michele Matteini, "The Aesthetics of Scholarship: Weng Fanggang and the Cult of Su Shi in Late-Eighteenth-Century Beijing," *Archives of Asian Art* 69, no. 1 (2019): 103–120.

³¹⁴ I, "Shijian, Wuzhi, Jiye –Qingdai shousuhui zhi wenhua tujing," 7.

beginning of his calligraphy album on Su's *Chibi fu* 赤壁賦 (Odes to the Red Cliff), which is currently in the collection of the Palace Museum in Taipei (Fig. 4. 04). Against the blank background, Zhao portrayed Su with the technique of *baimiao* 白描 (linear approach), using mainly *yuanbi* 圓筆 (the round brushwork). According to his inscription, this portrait was a spontaneous work produced after the calligraphy was finished, thus the concise and forceful lines show a natural and unpolished effect. In the painting, Su wears a long, yet casual robe and his typical Dongpo scarf; both were defined by Zhao with long, free and smooth lines. Three-quarters of Su's face are shown to the audience, and he looks serious and determined. Zhao replaced the rattan stick from Li Gonglin's earlier version, as mentioned in Huang Tingjian's colophon, with a bamboo stick. In the context of traditional Chinese culture, bamboo belonged to the category of *si junzi* 四君子 (the four gentlemen), often representing plainness and the model of behavior. The bamboo also recalled Su's poem line 'Better having no meat in eating, than having no bamboo in living. 寧可食無肉，不可居無竹。' By depicting Su in this way, the portrait highlighted the upright and direct character of the late master.

The symbolic representation of bamboo was also adopted by Chen Shizeng in *Su Dongpo xiang*, replacing the bamboo stick seen in Zhao Mengfu's version with a set of patterned screens (Fig. 4. 01c). Chen executed the decorative bamboo mostly in the same way as his ordinary bamboo paintings, as shown in his *Yuzhu* 雨竹 (Bamboo in the Rain, Fig. 4. 05): adopting calligraphic brushwork in the style of *zhuan* 篆書 (seal-script); applying different shades of ink and depicting bamboo leaves in the shape of the Chinese character *ren* 人 (human). The major difference found in this depiction of the bamboo pattern was that Chen used small painting brush instead of the larger ones he normally used to execute such brushwork.

After analysing the visual information provided by the collaborative work – *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, we will look at the long colophon of the painting to understand the purposes of Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists to continue with the

scholarly tradition of *shou Su hui* in the early Republican Beijing, as well as the ideas and emotions they wish to convey through their parts in *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*.

Chen Shizeng's intimate friend Yao Hua wrote the long colophon which stretched from the upper middle of the painting to the left corner in 1926 upon the request of the owner of the portrait - Luo Fu'an's request (Fig. 4. 01). It is noteworthy that Yao was usually responsible for writing colophons for the joint painting produced during their gatherings, because he was recognised as the most accomplished in words in the art world in Beijing.

In terms of context, Yao Hua's colophon combined the literary narrative with poem. After explaining the reason why he added this colophon four years after their *shou Su hui* held in the Luo Garden, Yao wrote down a poem he composed during the previous gathering, faithfully documenting and commenting on many paintings executed during the gathering, including *A Portrait of Su Dongpo* (Fig. 4. 01). For example, apart from the portrait, Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai also produced another work together, which was humorous but fit in well with the theme of the gathering. Wang painted a pig on the paper first, and then Chen added bamboo, ingeniously referring to the lines from one of Su Dongpo's poems: 'Better having no meat in eating than having no bamboo in living. 寧可食無肉，不可居無竹。'³¹⁵

In his poem, Yao Hua revealed the purpose of his group was to organise and attend *shou Su hui*, and to work together on *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*; however, this is detailed in an implicit way. After expressing his admiration of Su Shi's marvelous talent and scholarship, Yao brought up the story of Su gathering together with his like-minded friends, in order to pay tribute to previous masters and to make an analogy between the old masters and Yao's own circle of artist-friends. The true intentions of Yao and his friends at the gathering were twofold: first, they regarded Su as a role model who could be imitated and reproduced; second, they put emphasis on the association between the experiences of Su and their own lives in the early 1920s, thus trying to forge an

³¹⁵ Du, *Yao Mangfu biannian shiji*, 239.

intergenerational connection with Su.³¹⁶

It is noteworthy that throughout his life, Su was exiled no fewer than three times and was not able to realise his dreams and ambitions due to political corruption.³¹⁷ As mentioned above, many *Jingpai* artists worked for the new, Republican Beiyang Government after 1912, either as high-rank officials or as staff members; they generally shared some sort of ambition to make the country a better place when they first entered their official careers. However, they were disillusioned within a few years due to the dark and corrupted political scene in Beijing. For instance, as a returning student from Japan, just like Chen Shizeng and Yu Shaosong, Yao Hua became Senator in 1912 and resigned soon after due to the fighting between warlords. As for Chen Shizeng, although he was very cautious about his own political stance and always refused the position of an official in the government due to his family background, he was also disheartened by the depressing political environment in the capital. As shown in a colophon inscribed on a posthumous painting of Chen – *Huahui* 花卉 (Flowers, Fig. 4. 06), by his friend, painter and collector Xu Zonghao 徐宗浩 (1880-1957): ‘He used to tell me that people like us produce paintings only to express the indignation dwelling in our hearts. 嘗謂余曰：我輩作畫，聊以寫胸中不平氣耳。’ (Fig. 4. 06a)

Apart from reasons of empathy, two other contributors to *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, namely Wang Mengbai and Qi Baishi, had more practical concerns over attending *shou Su hui* and executing joint paintings. Their main purpose was to prove that they were as capable in painting and as respectable as the scholar painters from the group.

Despite the mixed occupations of the Republican painters, the division between scholar-painter and professional painter still existed in a significant way. In 1922, Wang Mengbai and Qi Baishi were already very skilled painters, yet they were always underestimated and labelled by their contemporaries as *huajiang* 畫匠 (artisan) instead of as accomplished artists. This was because both of them came from humble

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Zhu, “Ming Qing shiqi Dongpo liji tu yanjiu, 66-67.

backgrounds and had not received much formal education when compared with the renowned and extremely well-educated scholar-artists such as Chen Shizeng and Yao Hua. Wang and Qi were worried about this uncomfortable experience of being dismissed as an artisan, thus they were determined to alter the situation. Wang once told his student Wang Qingfang that ‘People see me as an artisan and think that I am at their beck and call. I have to keep arrogant and uppity, otherwise I will be despised and treated with levity by the world. 人常以畫師蓄我，人皆以為呼之即來，揮之即去，若不自高其身價，自擡其分位，夢白將為天下之賤責矣。’³¹⁸ This unsatisfactory situation only changed after Chen recognised Wang and Qi’s talents, invited them into his network of the cultural elites in Beijing and promoted their reputation throughout the art world.³¹⁹

It was positive for Wang Mengbai and Qi Baishi to take an active role in elegant gatherings such as *shou Su hui* and the production of joint paintings. Not only could Wang and Qi socialise with the elites of the art world in Beijing, but they were also able to lay a claim to an equal status by the collaborative works.

In *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, it is interesting to note that Wang Mengbai played the role as the lead painter by depicting the main character, Su Dongpo (Fig. 4. 01b). By vividly defining the great scholar with abbreviated lines and dry, calligraphic brushwork, Wang not only proved his ability in painting, but also built connections between himself and the elegant scholarly world, as well as the man who advocated for scholarly art. More well-known as a talented painter of animals and flowers, Wang was also good at figure painting, and was probably the best among Chen Shizeng’s artist-friends in Beijing. However, Wang’s figure painting was too often overshadowed by his bird-and-flower painting.³²⁰ Apart from Su Dongpo’s portrait, the half-length portrait of Chen painted after Chen passed away in 1923 also demonstrated Wang’s ability to accurately capture the physical appearance and emotional status of a person (Fig. 4. 07).

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Wang, “Wang Mengbai huashi,” 95.

³²⁰ Liang Hong 梁鴻, “Wang Mengbai lishi diwei zai renshi 王夢白曆史地位再認識 (A Revision of Wang Mengbai’s Historical Status),” *Rongbaozhai* 榮寶齋 (Rongbai Pavilion), no. 2 (2017), 142-161.

Wang Mengbai depicted Chen with abbreviated brushwork, using *zhongfeng* 中鋒 (the centre edge). With wrinkles emphasized by thin and smooth lines, Chen looks exhausted, unhealthy and sad on the paper, implying his premature death and expressing the painter's sadness over the loss of his beloved friend. This example convinced us why, among so many big names, Wang was capable of portraying the key figure Su Dongpo.

Just like Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi was also desperate to gain recognition in the art world in Beijing by actively socialising with the cultural elites. In addition to painting, he also practiced calligraphy and composed poems diligently as a scholar-artist often did.³²¹ Unlike Wang's major role, Qi only got to contribute a small and less important part to *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*—a rock (Fig. 4. 01d). This reveals his relatively minor status within the circle of *Jingpai* artists in the early 1920s.

The background of the second joint painting to be discussed, *Xiaohan yunshi* 消寒韻事 (The Pleasure of Dispersing the Cold, Fig. 4. 08), was another Qing scholarly elegant gathering – *xiaohan hui* 消寒會 (the gathering to disperse the cold).³²² This collaborative work was jointly made by Chen Shizeng, Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi, Jin Cheng, Jiang Nanping and Chen Banding in a winter gathering held at Ling Yanchi's residence in 1923.³²³

In 1804, scholar-officials who received a *jinshi* 進士 degree from *keju* 科舉 (imperial examination) in the same year (1802) - Taoshu 陶澍 (1779-1839), Gu Chun 顧尊 (1765-1832), Zhu Jian 朱珔 (1769-1850) and others - organised a *xiaohan hui* in the Xuannan area of Beijing.³²⁴ During the gathering, they appreciated chrysanthemums and composed poems accordingly. In the winter between 1805 and 1806, the same group of scholars organised *xiaohan hui* nine times in total, which established a prototype for this kind of gathering to be followed by later scholars in

³²¹ Zhu, "Chen Shizeng yu Qi Baishi guanxi yanjiu," 357-377.

³²² Yue, Huang and Wei, *Xuannan*, 238-239.

³²³ See: *Yilin xukan* 藝林旬刊 (Art Forrest Periodical), no. 17 (1928): 3.

³²⁴ Yue, Huang and Wei, *Xuannan*, 238-239.

Beijing.³²⁵ *Xiaohan* 消寒 (dispersing the cold) became a subject in paintings produced thereafter.³²⁶ In the winter of 1809, *Xuannan shishe* 宣南詩社 (the Xuannan Poetry Society) was born, based on the *xiaohan hui* held in the previous years. As the *shou Su hui* discussed in the previous example was usually held towards the end of each year, some *xiaohan hui* in Beijing, although not held exactly on Su Shi's birthday, also paid tribute to Su.³²⁷

The Pleasure of Dispersing the Cold (Fig. 4. 08) was published in the society magazine of the Chinese Painting Research Society - *Yilin xukan* 藝林旬刊 (Art Forrest Periodical) – in 1928 and the original painting is now missing. According to Chen Banding's inscription (Fig. 4. 08a), the painting was executed in the following order by the six painters: Chen Shizeng started the creation by drawing the plate with a pumpkin and some other unidentified fruits on it in the middle of the paper. Wang Mengbai depicted two mice at the bottom. Qi Baishi portrayed a fingered citron below the mouse with its back to the audience. Jin Cheng placed a pear to the left of the fingered citron while Jiang Nanping added some peanuts between the two mice. Finally, Chen Banding finished the whole painting by defining a vase with detached branches of plum blossoms beside Chen Shizeng's plate and wrote a colophon on the upper right corner to record their gathering and collaboration.³²⁸ The six painters unified their painterly styles when executing this collaborative work, adopting the boneless-manner and free-hand style for each part.

The objects chosen by the six painters, particularly the plum blossom and the fingered citron, were commonly seen in one specific type of painting – *suizhao qinggong* 歲朝清供 (Elegant Offerings for New Year). According to the Chinese lunar calendar, the first day of the year was called *sui zhi zhao* 歲之朝; *qinggong* 清供

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ I, "Shijian, Wuzhi, Jiye – Qingdai shousuhui zhi wenhua tujing," 257.

³²⁸ '槐堂寫盤果，夢白寫鼠，白石寫佛手，拱北寫梨，南蘋寫花生，半丁補瓶梅並記。時癸亥冬月小集凌氏文光精舍。' See: Fig. 4. 08a.

meant elegant offerings such as *jingshi* 金石 (metal and stone), *shuhua* 書畫 (calligraphy and painting) and *penjing* 盆景 (bonsai or potted landscape and plant), could be enjoyed and appreciated by scholars.³²⁹ *Suizhao qinggong* originated from Song and became a popular painting category in Ming and Qing.³³⁰ The inclusion of the plum blossom – one of the *suihan sanyou* 歲寒三友 (three friends of winter), and the fingered citron – the symbol of auspiciousness in *The Pleasure of Dispersing the Cold* (Fig. 4. 08), was based on the prototypes set by the *suizhao qinggong*.

4.3 Patrons and Patronage for *Jingpai*

In the last section, we will examine the roles played by non-artist figures in the function and development of *Jingpai*, with a focus on the patrons of Chen Shizeng and his fellow artists.

All of the three potential patrons for Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists were from the financial circles: Luo Yanfeng, Wu Jing'an and Ling Yanchi (see Table III in appendices for their biographies). They were all passionate about the art of calligraphy and painting and would not only participate in painting gatherings together with local artists, but more often be the hosts who organised such events at their private gardens or studios in Beijing. As already mentioned in 4.2, *A Portrait of Su Dongpo* (Fig. 4. 01) was jointly done during a gathering at Luo Hongnian's garden, while *The Pleasure of Dispersing the Cold* (Fig. 4. 08) was executed at Ling Yanchi's residence.³³¹

About these three bankers, sources currently available tell us only that Wu Jing'an was the patron of Chen Shizeng and other Beijing painters within Chen's network. This argument was first established by scholar Zhu Wanzhang, who argues that Wu Jing'an was very likely to be the patron for Chen Shizeng and Chen Banding. Zhu's speculation

³²⁹ Wang Zengqi 汪曾祺, "Suizhao qinggong 歲朝清供 (Elegant Offering for New Year)," in *Suizhao qinggong 歲朝清供* (Elegant Offering for New Year) (Beijing: Sanlian, dushu, xinzhi, sanlian shudian, 2010), 32.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ See: *Yilin xukan* 藝林旬刊 (Art Forrest Periodical), no, 17 (1928), 3.

is mainly based on the following three aspects: Wu's fame both as a banker and a collector, the many paintings Wu commissioned from both artists, and the colophons and dedications they added to these paintings.³³² Although Zhu's opinion is reasonable, more evidence is still needed to make the argument more convincing.

One of the most solid pieces of evidence is a collotype printing of a painting catalogue called *Huacui* 畫萃 (A Collection of Selected Paintings, Fig. 4. 09), which was self-funded and published by Wu Jing'an in 1922. It contained Wu's private collection of bird-and-flower paintings executed by Wu Changshi and *Jingpai* artists such as Chen Shizeng, Chen Banding, Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi and Ling Zhizhi, in Wu's free-hand style. This catalogue was planned with great consideration. In the preface (Fig. 4. 09a), Wu stated that the purpose of planning and publishing this painting catalogue was to redress the uneven attention paid to landscape painting and bird-and-flower painting, old masters and contemporary painters, when selecting artworks; this imbalance had existed for publication ever since the collotype printing technique allowed for the reproduction and printing of paintings. Wu pointed out that prior to his catalogue, Wu Changshi was the only contemporaneous artists whose paintings had been seen in published catalogues.³³³

In the main body of *A Collection of Selected Paintings*, a short biography of each selected artist was placed before the images of their paintings. As for the part of Chen Shizeng's paintings, we notice two folding fans of very high quality (Fig. 4. 10, Fig. 4. 11), which are now in the collection of the National Art Museum of China. *Chongxiao si shang mudan* 崇效寺賞牡丹 (Appreciating Peonies at Chongxiao Temple, Fig. 4. 10) shows a close-up portrait of a peony in full blossom, which was executed by Chen in the year of *jiwei* 己未 (1919) upon return from Chongxiao Temple 崇效寺 in the Xuannan Area. Chen also inscribed an old poem on the same subject matter written by him in March of the previous year (year of *wuwu* 戊午, 1918). Chen used a large brush

³³² Zhu, "Chen Banding yu Chen Shizeng," 75-88.

³³³ Wu Jing'an 吳靜龢 ed., *Huacui* 畫萃 (A Collection of Selected Paintings) (Beijing: Jinghua yinshuguan, 1922).

to depict the peony swiftly with casual, freehand-style brushwork. The red colour of the petals was bold and vigorous (Fig. 4. 10a), and the leaves were tinted with a thin and light green, while a thicker layer of indigo was added on top of some leaves (Fig. 4. 10b). Furthermore, Chen defined the leaf veins with curled-shape lines using *zhongfeng* 中鋒 (centered brush, Fig. 4. 10c).

While the paintings included in *A Collection of Selected Paintings* came from Wu Jing'an's private collection, he chose the aforementioned five Beijing artists not only due to the influence of *Haipai* master Wu Changshi on their bird-and-flower paintings, but also due to their attendance at his painting gatherings. Considering Wu Changshi's peerless status in the art world of early twentieth-century China, we can interpret this painting catalogue as Wu Jing'an's deliberate attempt to use Wu Changshi's name to promote the reputation of the five *Jingpai* painters. The publishing of *A Collection of Selected Paintings* thus implied Wu Jing'an's sponsorship of *Jingpai* artists like Chen Shizeng and Chen Banding. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in 1922 Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists had not published a painting catalogue. In comparison, *Wu Changshuo xiansheng huahui ce* 吳昌碩先生花卉冊 (Mr Wu Changshi's Painting Album of Flowers) had already been published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1914.

Following *A Collection of Selected Paintings*, two versions of the posthumous collection of Chen Shizeng's paintings were published respectively in 1924/25 by the Liulichang's famous shop *Chunjing ge* 淳菁閣 (Chunjing Pavilion) and in 1936 by Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 (1877-1938); the first catalogue of Xiao Qianzhong's landscape painting, *Xiao Qianzhong xiansheng shanshuihua ce* 蕭謙中先生山水畫冊 (A Collection of Landscape Paintings by Mr Xiao Qianzhong) was published in Beijing 1925.³³⁴ *A Collection of Selected Paintings* is among the first publications to introduce

³³⁴ *Chen Shizeng xiansheng yimo* 陳師曾先生遺墨 (Posthumous Paintings of Mr Chen Shizeng) (Beijing: Chunjing ge, 1924-1925), vol. 1-4; Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 ed., *Chen Shizeng yihua ji* 陳師曾遺畫集 (A Collection of Posthumous Paintings by Chen Shizeng) (Beijing: Chunjing ge, 1936); *Xiao Qianzhong xiansheng shanshui huace* 蕭謙中先生山水畫冊 (A Collection of Landscape Paintings by Mr Xiao Qianzhong) (Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju, 1925), vol. 1.

Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists to a wider public, not only in Beijing but also in other major Chinese cities.

Finally, Wu Jing'an's wife Jiang Nanping had first learned the theory and practice of painting with Chen Banding around 1919 and then officially became Chen Shizeng's disciple in 1921.³³⁵ Thus, it was quite natural for the Wu couple to collect these two artists' works.

The discussion of art patronage is important when considering the income of *Jingpai* artists. It also deepens our understanding of how the private ecosystem of *Jingpai* functioned in the art world in Beijing during the early twentieth century. Due to the limit of primary sources, we can only touch briefly upon this topic. Hopefully future discoveries of new sources will aid further understandings of this practice.

Conclusion

In the research for Chapter 3 & 4, we notice one interesting situation: apart from the weekly meetings of the Xuannan Painting Society, some of the society members - namely Chen Shizeng, Xiao Junxian, He Lüzhi, Wang Mengbai and Wang Shensheng - also attended many other informal painting gatherings together during the same time.

Just like Xuannan Painting Society, these informal gatherings also offered painters the opportunity to exchange painterly ideas and skills, particularly through producing joint paintings during such events. Through a combination of poetry, calligraphy and painting, Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists expressed the anxiety, uncertainty and anger of their times in a subtle way. Their admiration for China's cultural elites of the past and their eagerness to build connections with scholarly traditions, as manifested in their revival of the Qing scholarly elegant gatherings and their production of joint paintings on related themes, demonstrated the scholarly aspect of *Jingpai*. This feature differentiated *Jingpai* from its counterparts, namely the *Haipai* and the *Lingnan huapai*, in the early twentieth-century art world in China.

³³⁵ Jiang Nanping 江南蘋, "Mianhuai wushi Chen Shizeng 緬懷吾師陳師曾 (In Memory of My Mentor Chen Shizeng)," *Duoyun* 朵雲 (Floating Clouds), no. 2 (January 1982), 64.

As shown by Chen Shizeng's extended social network in early Republican Beijing, the close association between artists and non-artist figures was significant in the development of both the individual artist's career and *Jingpai* as a whole.

Based on the extended social network of Chen Shizeng, *Jingpai* developed and expanded, starting to disseminate its aims publicly. The unified *Jingpai* laid a firm foundation for the revival and modernisation of scholarly painting through a variety of ways, which will be further discussed in the following two chapters. However, all this could not have happened without the gathering together of talented local painters through *Xuannan huahui* and other informal painting gatherings.

Chapter 5

Introducing the Western-Influenced Art Salon to the Art World in Early Republican Beijing

The art salon has always been a heated topic of discussion in the field of Western art history; for scholars working on Chinese art history, its relevance for research into national painting is not broadly understood.³³⁶ Against a background of the eastward spread of Western learning, the art salon turned out to be an effective tool for Chen Shizeng to sustain scholarly painting.

In the context of the early twentieth century art world in China, the foundation of the art salon was the art society. Relying on the various art societies they organised, painters in Beijing adopted what was referred to by Barry Till as ‘modern organisational techniques’ to fulfill the functions of the art society and thus revive scholarly painting:

Between 1910 and 1937 numerous painting groups were formed and used modern organisational techniques such as exhibitions, public relations, advertising, and sales to assure the survival of traditional painting.³³⁷

Barry Till’s general argument still leaves the following questions unanswered: How did the Western-influenced art salon enrich visual culture in Beijing during the first half of the twentieth century? How did Chen Shizeng connect scholarly painting to modernity by introducing the art salon to Beijing? In what ways did the art salon further facilitate the commercialisation of painting and change the career paths and identities of *Jingpai* painters? These questions will be the focus of Chapter 5.

³³⁶ Bruce Altshuler, *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions that Made Art History* (London, New York: Phaidon, 2008).

³³⁷ Barry Till, *Tradition and Innovation in 20th Century Chinese Painting* (Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1998), 8.

5.1 The Chinese Translation and Adaptation of Salon

The first section reconstructs the translation and reception of the word *shalong* 沙龍 (salon) in the Chinese language throughout the Republican context. The research into this terminology will demonstrate the interactivity of the two processes: *shalong* became a buzzword in Chinese language and the art salon became a national phenomenon in the art world.

As Lydia H. Liu points out in her book *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture and Translated Modernity China, 1900-1937*, the Chinese word *shalong* 沙龍 (salon) is a transliteration from Western languages.³³⁸ While in English, the word salon is directly adopted from French with no change of spelling and meaning, the Chinese equivalence of this word *shalong* is very likely to have been translated from either of the two languages.³³⁹ One of the earliest explanations for the Chinese translation of salon in northern China during the early Republican period can be found in *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (Northern Pictorial) of Tianjin in 1926:

The word *salon* is derived from French. The British continued to use this word in English, meaning a spacious room and place for display. Now, our countrymen have abandoned the method of literal translation and adopted the way of transliteration, thus translating the word salon into *shalong* in

³³⁸ Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture and Translated Modernity China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 370.

³³⁹ Originally, salon is a French word which refers to 'a cultural institution consisting of a weekly social gathering at the private house of an aristocratic lady, at which social, artistic, and scientific questions are discussed'. It also means 'a meeting of intellectuals or other eminent people at the invitation of a celebrity or socialite'. Furthermore, salon stands for the official art exhibition of living artists in France, which was first held in 1677 among members of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris. Although many other venues had been previously used, the exhibitions derived the long-known name salon after 1725 when the exhibitions were held in the Galerie d'Apollon and Salon Carré in the Louvre.

See: *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, accessed August 4, 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198715443.001.0001/acref-9780198715443-e-1011?rskey=hTFdrR&result=3>.

The Oxford Dictionary of Art, accessed August 4, 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198604761.001.0001/acref-9780198604761-e-3088?rskey=hTFdrR&result=4>.

Also see: Bruce Altshuler, *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions that Made Art History* (London, New York: Phaidon, 2008), 12.

Chinese. This translation actually fails to express the exact meaning of this word.

沙龍一字，在法語作 *Salon*，英人亦沿用之，蓋即廣室及陳列所之稱也，今吾國舍義而譯音，則誠非所解已。³⁴⁰

Although the author's definition of *salon* was not accurate or comprehensive enough, his article demonstrated an awareness of this new word, as well as the cultural phenomenon behind it. The author's understanding came from a small group of Chinese people who had the opportunity to get in contact with the Western art world.

Due to a lack of historical sources, we do not know exactly when the word *salon* was translated into Chinese. The earliest use of this transliteration can be found in a Shanghai pictorial *Dongfang sheying* 東方攝影 (Oriental Photography), from which we notice that *shalong* represented local art exhibitions in the context of Chinese language and culture in as early as 1911.³⁴¹

To grasp a general idea of what *shalong* meant and how it was understood and used in the Republican period, I looked into newspaper and magazines published between the early 1910s to the late 1940s, with a focus on major cities such as Beijing and Tianjin in northern China, as well as Shanghai and Guangzhou in the south. Selected articles on *shalong* are listed in Table IV (see appendices).

Generally speaking, we can see from Table IV (see appendices) that between the 1910s and 1940s, the Chinese transliteration of *salon* – *shalong* - reappeared in articles introducing French *salon* culture, published both in the north and the south of China. In these examples, the word kept its original meaning after being translated into Chinese, standing for either the receptions for scholars held in French noblewomen's drawing rooms (Fig. 5. 01), or the art exhibitions held by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture held in Paris twice a year (Fig. 5. 02).

³⁴⁰ Longfu 龍父, "Shalong zhihua 沙龍之畫 (The Paintings of the Salon)," *Beiyang huabao* 北洋畫報 (The Northern Pictorial), no. 2 (1926): 2.

³⁴¹ Lei Luping 雷魯萍, "Shalong zuopin jiangshu 沙龍作品講述 (A Description of Salon Exhibits)," *Dongfang sheying* 東方攝影 (Oriental Photography), no. 6 (1911) 1911: 26-27.

Deriving from such initial explanations, this word was later given broader meanings. For instance, *shalong* was used to represent art exhibitions of different kinds in Shanghai; these included such as photography and painting, as mentioned above. From the late 1920s onwards, it started to refer to the meetings of intellectuals, with different purposes, held either in private spaces, such as a member's living room, or in public places, such as a tea house. Newspaper and magazine columns on literature and art, and even some of the magazines, started to be named after *shalong*. In the late 1940s, *shalong* became, in a way, a buzzword for use in artistic, intellectual, or commercial contexts.

When considering the reception and usage of *shalong* in Beijing, we find that this word appeared on local media much later than in fashionable Shanghai. The earliest source uncovered thus far is a short piece of news on the Japanese Prince's visit to the autumn salon in Paris, which was published in the *Jing bao* 京報 (Beijing Newspaper) in 1930. This further proves Tsuruta Takeyoshi's argument regarding the occurrence of art exhibitions in the early twentieth century China.³⁴² He once claimed that from late Qing to the first few years of the Republic, while some art exhibitions were held from time to time in the southern cities of China, especially Shanghai and Guangzhou, there was almost no sign of exhibitions as such in northern China (especially Beijing).

The delay in using the buzzword *shalong* did not hinder the prosperity of the Western-influenced art salon in Beijing during the 1910s and 1920s, after it was introduced to Beijing from Japan by forerunners such as Chen Shizeng. During this period, the city witnessed the flourish of art societies and society-based art exhibitions.

³⁴² Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良, "Kjinhyakunen rai chugoku kaigashi kenkyu -1- minkokuki ni okeru zenkoku kibo no bijyutsu tenrankai 近 100 年来中国絵画史研究-1-民国期における全国規模の美術展覧会 (A Research on Chinese Painting History of the Past 100 Years: National Fine Arts Exhibitions in the Republican Period)," *Bijyutsu kenkyu* 美術研究 (Fine Arts Research), no. 349 (1991): 108-133.

5.2 Chen Shizeng's Encounter with the Western-Influenced Art Salon in Tokyo

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a boom in Western-influenced art salon culture in Tokyo. This new cultural activity was brought to Japan from Western Europe by returning students in the late nineteenth-century.³⁴³ Confronted with the severe crisis of Western painting, Japanese artists with the same goal - reviving and developing the Western painting traditions - gathered together around the platform of the art society, which was the solid basis of art salon culture.³⁴⁴

According to Ueno Kenzou, modern art societies appeared during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, marking a transition in the Japanese art world.³⁴⁵ For both Japanese and Western painting, the previous mentor-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships basing on *gajuku* 画塾 (a specific private painting school) lead by a single artist was gradually being replaced by a new kind of association. The association was formed by members of the same art society, which was self-organised and self-lead.³⁴⁶ On 5 June 1902, *Bijutsu shinpō* 美術新報 (The Art Newspaper) published an article called 'Bijutsuka no dantai 美術家の団体 (Artists' Societies),' saying that Tokyo was well known for its societies of artists. Including the famous *Hakuba-kai* 白馬会 (White Horse Society), there were in total 44 major societies in the city, with numerous smaller groups.³⁴⁷

In early twentieth century Japan, the Western-influenced modern art society was a professional association with a clear purpose and objective for active contemporary

³⁴³ Urasaki Eishaku 浦崎永錫, "Daijyusansetsu hakubakai no kessei 第十三節 白馬会の結成 (Section 13: The Founding of the White Horse Society)," in *Nippon kindai bijyutsu hattatsushi Meijihen daikyū* 日本近代美術発達史 明治篇 第9 (A History of Modern Japanese Fine Arts History: Meiji, no. 9) (Tokyo: Daichoukai shuppanbu, 1960), 277-278.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 279.

³⁴⁵ Ueno Kenzou 植野健造, "Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou 白馬会 組織と活動 (White Horse Society: Organisation and Activity)," in *Nippon kindai youga no seiritsu · hakubakai* 日本近代洋画の成立・白馬会 (The Origin of Western Painting in Modern Japan: White Horse Society), Ueno Kenzou 植野健造 (Tokyo: Chuon Kouron Bijyutsu, 2005), 22.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ "Bijyutsuka no dantai 美術家の団体 (Associations of Artists)," *Bijyutsu shinpou* 美術新報, June 5, 1902, no page number.

artists.³⁴⁸ These societies were organised by artists who practiced the same style and medium in order to assure the survival of Western painting in Japan, as well as securing increased representation and a greater say in the art world. Specifically, artists from the same art society usually adopted three organisational techniques to promote the painterly styles and artistic thoughts initiated by their group: holding exhibitions, publishing specialised journals and magazines, as well as training of younger artists. The art society also had practical functions. For example, societies' exhibitions began to be held in public spaces and open art markets for society members allowed them to sell their artworks to a wider range of customers.³⁴⁹

In Tokyo, Chen Shizeng had two major points of contact with the local art salon culture: Koyama Shōtarō; Li Shutong, his close, like-minded friend, who was a student at the Department of Western Painting at *Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō* 東京美術学校 (Tokyo College of Fine Arts).³⁵⁰ Through these two figures, we have good reason to believe that Chen encountered three significant and interrelated Western painting societies in Tokyo, which were active from late 1800s to early 1900s: *Meiji bijutsu kyōkai* 明治美術協会 (Meiji Fine Arts Association), *Taiheiyō gakai* 太平洋画会 (Pacific Painting Society) and White Horse Society.

Since 1884, Koyama Shōtarō and his artist-friends and followers had been actively involved in the movement of reviving Western painting in Japan in light of the anti-Western painting trend. To achieve this goal, the Meiji Fine Arts Association, the first Western painting society of modern Japan, was founded in 1889. In the charter of the association, it stated that the chief objective of the Association was to revive fine arts on the basis of the truth.³⁵¹ The Association hosted annual painting exhibitions in Ueno

³⁴⁸ Urasaki, "Daijyusansetsu hakubakai no kessei," 277-278.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Lu Weirong 陸偉榮, "Ri Shukudo no zainichi katsudo ni tsuite 李叔同の在日活動について (About Li Shutong's Activities in Japan)," *Nicchu geijyutsu kenkyū* 日中藝術研究 (Sino-Japanese Art Studies), no. 37 (March 2002): 90-91.

³⁵¹ Urasaki Eishaku 浦崎永錫, "Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu 第九節 明治美術会の創設 (Section 9 The Founding of the Meiji Fine Arts Association)," in *Nippon kindai bijyutsu hattatsushi Meijihen daihachi* 日本近代美術発達史 明治篇 第8 (A History of Modern Japanese Fine Arts History: Meiji, no. 8) (Tokyo: Daichoukai shuppanbu, 1960), 233.

Park and remained the only society of its kind in Japan until the establishment of the White Horse Society in 1896.³⁵²

The White Horse Society was initiated by two former members of the Meiji Fine Arts Association: Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866-1924, Fig. 5. 03) and Kume Keiichirō 久米桂一郎 (1866-1934, Fig. 5. 04); both were returning students from Paris. The two artists joined in Meiji Fine Arts Association not long after they returned to Japan. Their painterly style, which originated from the *plein-air* painting of French Impressionism, as well as their unrestrained manners, formed a sharp contrast with the bureaucratic Meiji Fine Arts Association, which promoted more realistic and classical academic painting.³⁵³ After being labelled as *shinpa* 新派 (New School) as opposed to the *kyūha* 旧派 (Old School) represented by Koyama and his followers during the seventh exhibition of the Meiji Fine Arts Association in 1895, Kuroda and Kume decided to start up a new society. This marked the split of Meiji Fine Arts Association.³⁵⁴

In the declaration of the establishment of the White Horse Society, which was published in *Mainichi shinbun* 毎日新聞 (Daily News) on 27 May 1896, it was made clear that the Society aimed to pursue liberty and equality, thus there were neither rules nor a Chair.³⁵⁵ This was completely different from the regulated and hierarchical Meiji Fine Arts Association. The White Horse Society lasted for approximately fifteen years until 1911, organising in total thirteen exhibitions, mostly inside the *Ueno kōen* 上野公園 (Ueno Park, Fig. 5. 05).³⁵⁶ As Japanese scholars Urasaki Eishaku and Sato Michinobu have identified, despite the art historical controversy caused by the White

³⁵² Ueno, “Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou,” 263-270.

³⁵³ Urasaki Eishaku 浦崎永錫, “Daijyusansetsu hakubakai no kessei 第十三節 白馬会の結成 (Section 13: The Founding of the White Horse Society),” in *Nippon kindai bijyutsu hattatsushi Meijihen daikyu* 日本近代美術発達史 明治篇 第9 (A History of Modern Japanese Fine Arts History: Meiji, no. 9) (Tokyo: Daichoukai shuppanbu, 1960), 277.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyou 白馬会と日本近代美術史関連年表 (White Horse Society and A Chronological History of Modern Japanese Fine Arts),” in *Nippon kindai youga no seiritsu · hakubakai* 日本近代洋画の成立・白馬会 (The Origin of Western Painting in Modern Japan: White Horse Society), Ueno Kenzou 植野健造 (Tokyo: Chuon Kouron Bijyutsu, 2005), 257-272.

Horse Society, it lead to a significant step forward in the history of Western painting in Japan through its conflict with the Meiji Fine Arts Association.³⁵⁷

Being a student in the Department of Western Painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts College from 1905 to 1910, where Kuroda Seiki worked as a Professor, Li Shutong showed his oil paintings at the twelfth and thirteenth exhibitions of the White Horse Society. Specifically, Li displayed one work, *Ting qin* 停琴 (Halting the Zither) in 1909, and three more, *Zhao* 朝 (Dawn, Fig. 5. 06), *Jingwu* 静物 (Still Life)' and *Zhou* 昼 (Daytime) in 1910.³⁵⁸

After Li Shutong moved back to China, he also introduced the White Horse Society to Chinese artists in the influential Shanghai newspaper *Pacific Times*, where he worked as an editor of the arts and literature supplement in 1912.³⁵⁹ Two pieces of news written by Li were published in the newspaper respectively on 7 and 11 April, 1912.³⁶⁰ While focusing on the confrontational relationship between the White Horse Society and the Pacific Painting Society, Li claimed that although White Horse Society had broken up, its profound influence still outweighed the Pacific Painting Society. The significant progress of Western painting in Japan during recent years should be credited to the Chair of the White Horse Society, Kuroda Seiki, who was also widely acknowledged as the preeminent advocate of Western painting in Japan.³⁶¹ Through his connection with Li, the White Horse Society exerted a significant impact on Chen Shizeng's understanding of Japanese art salon culture.

The Meiji Fine Arts Association did not officially break up until 1901, some six years after the establishment of the White Horse Society.³⁶² In the spring of the following year (1902), followers of Koyama Shōtarō and Asai Chū 浅井忠 (1856-1907) in the Meiji Fine Arts Association, some of whom were also returned students

³⁵⁷ Urasaki, "Daijyusansetsu Hakubakai no kessei," 20.

³⁵⁸ Lu, "Ri Shukudo no zainichi katsudo ni tsuite," 90-91.

³⁶⁰ "Wenyi xiaoxi 文藝消息 (Literature and Art News)," *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), April 4 & 7, 1912, 10.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Urasaki, "Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu," 243.

from the West, decided to revive the declining society.³⁶³ These figures included but were not limited to Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博 (1876-1950), Nakagawa Hachirou 中川八郎 (active from the late nineteenth century of the early twentieth century) and Mitsutanikuni Shirou 満谷国四郎 (1874-1936). The name of the new Society they organised – the Pacific Painting Society – was announced in a proposal drafted by thirteen committee members, where they also stated that the new society would follow the previous organization in terms of its nature and objectives.³⁶⁴ Apart from 1907, when the first *Monbushou bijutsu tenrankai* 文部省美術展覧会 (Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition, known as Bunten) was held in Ueno Park, the Pacific Painting Society hosted exhibitions annually from 1902 to 1909 (see Table V in appendices).³⁶⁵ The close links between Koyama and the two societies, as well as the easy access he had to the exhibitions of Pacific Painting Society, enabled Chen Shizeng to become intimately acquainted with both the Meiji Fine Arts Association and the Pacific Painting Society.

In Tokyo, the most direct and easiest way for Chen Shizeng to get to know the aforementioned art societies was to see their exhibitions. During his time studying in Tokyo, his institution - Tokyo Advanced Normal College, located in the city centre – was close to both Li Shutong's Tokyo Fine Arts College and Ueno Park, where most of the fine arts exhibitions took place. According to the diaries of Huang Zunsan 黃尊三 (active in the early twentieth century), who studied in Tokyo between 1905 and 1912, Ueno Park was the place where Chinese students in the city would usually go to during weekends or holidays. They would not only appreciate cherry blossoms, but also view exhibitions of various kinds at different venues in the park.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Urasaki Eishaku 浦崎永錫, “Dainanasetsu, taiheiyou gakai no sousetsu 第七節 太平洋画会の創設 (The Founding of the Pacific Painting Society),” in *Nippon kindai bijyutsu hattatsushi Meijihen daishisan* 日本近代美術発達史 明治篇 第13 (A History of Modern Japanese Fine Arts History: Meiji, no. 13) (Tokyo: Daichoukai shuppanbu, 1960), 405.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 405-406.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Huang Zunsan 黃尊三, *Liuxue riji* 留學日記 (Diaries of Studying Abroad) (Changsha: Hunan yinshuguan, 1933), 41.

Table V (see appendices) shows selected art exhibitions held between 1902 and 1909 in Tokyo, including all of the regular exhibitions held by the White Horse Society and the Pacific Painting Society. It was very likely that Chen Shizeng would have visited, or at least been aware of, some of these exhibitions. The themes of the exhibitions included Western painting, sculpture, *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese-style painting) and *nanga* 南画 (southern painting).

5.3 The Adaptation of the Western-Influenced Art Salon in the Art World in Beijing

Chen Shizeng's experience in Tokyo exerted a profound influence on his own practice of the art salon back in China.³⁶⁷ Chen began engaging with the Chinese version of the art salon in Shanghai during early 1912, as exemplified by *Wenmei hui* 文美會 (Society of Literature and Fine Arts, see Table B), before he played a significant part in the development of the Beijing art salon, particularly during the ten years he spent between 1913 to 1923.

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of many art societies and numerous art exhibitions held by these societies, featuring both national painting and Western painting, in major cities of China, especially in Beijing and Shanghai.³⁶⁸ Table B introduces some of the major art societies in which Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists participated, taking into the societies' objectives, types of activities and publications. Table C lists selected art exhibitions at which Chen and his fellow artists showed their paintings.

Table B: Selected Examples of Major Art Societies Participated by Chen Shizeng and His Fellow *Jingpai* Artists

Society	Aim	Location	Duration	Activity	Publication

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Till, *Tradition and Innovation in 20th Century Chinese Painting*, 8.

Society of Literature and Fine Arts 文美會	Research on Literature and Fine Arts 研究文學與美術 ³⁶⁹	Shanghai	1912	Monthly meeting (executing artworks, exhibiting private collection, organising public lecture, jointly composing poems and reading society magazines) ³⁷⁰	<i>Literature and Fine Arts</i> 文美
Research on Painterly Methods Society of Peking University 北京大學畫法研究會	Research on Painterly Methods, Promote Art Education 研究畫法，發展美育 ³⁷¹	Beijing	1918-1923	Weekly lectures and tuition on painting. Non-scheduled joint exhibitions by professors and students. Non-scheduled fun fairs.	<i>Magazine of the Study of Painting</i> 繪學雜誌
Chinese Painting Research Society 中國畫學研究	Carefully Research Ancient Methods and Broadly Acquire New Knowledge 精	Beijing	1920-1946	Three meetings per month (appreciating ancient and contemporary painting and calligraphy,	<i>Art Forest Periodical</i> 藝林旬刊; <i>Art Forest Monthly</i> 藝林月刊

³⁶⁹ “Wenmei hui 文美會 (Society of Literature and Fine Arts),” *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), April 1st, 1912, 5.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ “Huizhang 會章 (Charter),” *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920): 12.

	研古法，博采 新知			lectures and tuition on painting). ³⁷² Annual degree show. Organizing Sino-Japanese Painting exhibitions.	
Shadow of Flowers Painting Society 花 陰畫會	Research on the Painterly Methods of Chinese and Western Paintings and the Promotion of Fine Arts 研 究中西畫法， 提倡美術 ³⁷³	Beijing	1920	Joint exhibitions by painters of Chinese and Western paintings. Offered summer courses to the public on both Chinese and Western painting.	None
Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University 北京大學造	Researching on Fine Arts and Uplifting the Mind and Spirit 研究美術，陶 冶性質 ³⁷⁴	Beijing	1923-ca. 1931	Joint exhibitions by painters of Chinese and Western paintings. Offered summer courses to the	<i>Plastic Arts</i> 造型美術

³⁷² Lü Peng 呂鵬, "Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui de chengli ji zhongri lianhe huihua zhanlan 中國畫學研究會的成立及中日聯合繪畫展覽 (The Founding of the Chinese Painting Research Society and the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibitions)," in *Hu she yanjiu* 湖社研究 (A Survey of the Lake Society), Lü Peng 呂鵬 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2010), 33.

³⁷³ "Huayin huahui zhi benxiao han 花陰畫會致本校函 (A Letter from the Shadow of Flower Society to the University)," *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily), June 4, 1920, 2.

³⁷⁴ "Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui 北京大學造型美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University)," *Peking University Daily*, December 13, 1929, 2.

形美術研究 會				public on both Chinese and Western painting.	

Table C: Selected Examples of Art Exhibitions Participated by Chen Shizeng and His Fellow Jingpai Artists

Exhibition	Organiser	Location	Date
Funfair at Peking University 北京大學遊園會	Research on Painterly Methods Society at Peking University 北京大學畫法研究會	Peking University, Beijing 北京，北京大學	2 February 1919 ³⁷⁵
Shadow of Flowers Society Exhibition 花陰畫會展覽	Shadow of Flowers Society 花陰畫會	Shidazi Temple, Beijing 北京，石達子廟	5-7 June 1920 ³⁷⁶
Disaster Relief Exhibition of Calligraphy and Painting for Hunan Province 旅京湘人之遊園會	Hunanese People sojourning in Beijing 旅京湘人	Central Park, Beijing 北京，中央公園 (Fig. 5. 09)	13 -14 August 1921 ³⁷⁷
The First Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition	Chinese Painting Research Society 中國畫學研究會	Shidazi Temple, Beijing 北京，石達子廟	23 – 30 November 1921 ³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ “Beijing daxue youyuanhui 北京大學遊園會 (Funfair at Peking University),” *Peking University Daily*, February 3rd, 1919, 3.

³⁷⁶ “Huayinhua zhanlan 花陰畫會展覽 (Shadow of Flowers Society Exhibition),” *Peking University Daily*, June 8, 1920, 3.

³⁷⁷ “Lüjing xiangren zhi youyuanhui 旅京湘人之遊園會 (Disaster Relief Exhibition of Calligraphy and Painting for Hunan Province),” *Shuntian shibao* 順天時報 (Shuntian Daily), August 15, 1921, 8.

³⁷⁸ “Diyijie zhongri huihua zhanlanhui 第一屆中日繪畫展覽會 (The First Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition),” *Shuntian Daily*, December 1st, 1921, 8.

第一屆中日繪畫展覽會			
The First Sino-Japanese Modern Painting Exhibition 第一屆中日現代繪畫展覽會	Sino-Japanese Association of Fine Arts 中日美術協會	Hongkou Japanese Club, Shanghai 上海，虹口日本人俱樂部	1-5 April 1922 ³⁷⁹
The Second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition 第二屆中日繪畫展覽會	Chinese Painting Research Society 中國畫學研究會 & Sino-Japanese Business Association 日華實業協會	Tokyo Prefectural Institute of Awards for Commercial and Manufacturing Achievements 東京商工獎勵館	1-14 May 1922 ³⁸⁰
Chen Shizeng's Individual Painting Exhibition 陳師曾個人畫展	Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Society 上海書畫會 & Shanghai Charity Society of Calligraphy and Painting 上海書畫善會	Hongkou Japanese Club, Shanghai 上海，虹口日本人俱樂部	22-23 November 1922 ³⁸¹
Heavenly Horse Society Exhibition 天馬會展覽	Heavenly Horse Society 天馬會	Shanghai College of Fine Arts, Shanghai 上海，上海美術專科學校	4 August 1923 ³⁸²

³⁷⁹ “Diyijie zhongri xiandai huihua zhanlanhui 第一屆中日現代繪畫展覽會 (The First Sino-Japanese Modern Painting Exhibition),” *Shuntian Daily*, April 6, 1922, 8.

³⁸⁰ “Dierjie zhongri huihua zhanlanhui 第二屆中日繪畫展覽會 (The Second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition),” *Shuntian Daily*, May 17, 1922, 8.

³⁸¹ “Chen Shizeng geren huazhan 陳師曾個人畫展 (Chen Shizeng's Individual Painting Exhibition),” *Shen Bao* 申報 (Shen Newspaper), December 3rd, 1922, 13.

³⁸² “Tianmahui zhanlan 天馬會展覽 (Heavenly Horse Society Exhibition),” *Shen Newspaper*, August 7, 1923, 13.

Most of the art societies listed in Table B were from Beijing, with a few exceptions from Shanghai; the majority of art exhibitions listed in Table C were organised by these aforementioned art societies. While societies such as Chinese Painting Research Society consisted only of painters working on national painting, the rest, such as Society of Literature and Fine Arts, Research on Painterly Methods Society, Shadow of Flowers Painting Society and Research on Plastic Arts Society, were co-organised by painters working respectively on national painting and Western painting. These artists would also show their artworks together at the society-run exhibitions. The Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibitions and the annual exhibitions of the Heavenly Horse Society, as well as Chen Shizeng's solo exhibition, reveal the frequent communication and collaboration between the art worlds of Beijing and Shanghai, both in terms of national painting and Western painting. As the leader of *Jingpai*, Chen Shizeng would commute between Beijing and Shanghai from time to time in order to take part in artistic activities held in both cities.

Following, I will provide a detailed comparative case study on the Research on Painterly Methods Society. This society will exemplify how Chen Shizeng adapted the Japanese model of art societies to his local practice of art salon in Beijing. The influence of the Meiji Fine Arts Association, the White Horse Society and the Pacific Painting Society can be found in many aspects of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, in terms of its main objectives, method of organisation, pattern of activity and the structure of the Society publication.

On the topic of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, previous scholars such as Gao Xindan and Zhao Panchao have conducted solid historical works.³⁸³ By reading into two primary sources, *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily) and the Society publication *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of

³⁸³ Zhao Panchao 趙盼超, "Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui shimo 北京大學畫法研究會始末 (The History of the Research on Painterly Studies Society at Peking University)," *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao* 南京藝術學院學報 (Journal of Nanjing Art Institute), no. 3 (2010): 53-59; Gao Xindan 高昕丹, "Chen Shizeng yu Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui 陳師曾與北京大學畫法研究會 (Chen Shizeng and the Research on Painterly Studies Society at Peking University)," *Xin meishu* 新美術 (New Fine Arts), no. 29 (2008): 35-47.

Painting), they have clarified the context of its development, as well as Chen Shizeng's role as the advisor for bird-and-flower painting in the Society.³⁸⁴ Both scholars argue that Chen was a key figure in the Society from the very beginning.³⁸⁵ Gao and Zhao fail to specify Chen's dominant contribution to conceiving and constructing the basic structure and organisation of the society; in this, Chen mainly followed the examples of the aforementioned art societies in Tokyo. I will investigate how Chen adapted and transplanted his knowledge and understanding of the Western-influenced salon culture in Tokyo to his own practice in the context of the Research on Painterly Methods Society.

The impact of different Japanese models on the Research on Painterly Methods Society is reflected from the following perspectives: the structure and main content of both the Society charter and magazine; the mentoring and educational system dedicated to training junior artists. I will first reconstruct Chen Shizeng's vital involvement in planning and preparing for the Society from late 1917 to early 1918. In this, I will use the letters exchanged between Chen and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), who was the Principal of Peking University and also the initiator of the Society. From these letters, we can infer that Chen shared his knowledge about organising modern art societies and more specifically, provided examples of charters from the aforementioned art societies in Tokyo. These pieces of information dictated the initial structure and many details of the Research on Painterly Methods Society.

Beijing daxue rikan 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily) of 4 December 1917 stated that the idea of organising an art society had originated from a public lecture given by Chen Shizeng on 1 December 1917, which provoked a significant response from the audience.³⁸⁶ On 21 February 1918, the newspaper published four letters: a letter from Cai Yuanpei to Chen on 4 February 1918; a letter from Di Fuding 狄福鼎 (active in the early twentieth-century) and Chen Bangji 陳邦濟 (active in the early

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ "Huafa zhi yanjiu 畫法之研究 (The Study on Painterly Methods)," *Peking University Daily*, December 4, 1917, 4.

twentieth-century), who were students-secretaries of the future society, to Chen on the same day; Chen's reply to Cai on 5 February 1918; and Cai's letter to the two secretaries on 8 February 1918.³⁸⁷

The four letters were all about drafting and editing the charter of the Society, which indicate Chen Shizeng's significant contribution to the whole process. In the first letter, Cai Yuanpei told Chen that the Society would commence very soon and requested Chen's authorisation of the initial draft of the charter before publishing. From the second letter, which was attached to Cai's first letter, we learn that the charter was first drafted by the two student-secretaries. In Chen's reply to Cai, Chen was mostly satisfied with the draft and only advised that the Society should appoint some painting advisors in advance. In the last letter, Cai informed the two secretaries that he had asked for Chen's recommendation for potential advisors, and the charter would be finalised after meeting with all advisors.³⁸⁸ This meeting was further confirmed by another letter from Cai to the two students on 8 March 1918.³⁸⁹

According to the content, writing style and wording of the aforementioned letters, we can see that the correspondence between Chen Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei on the preparation of the Society had already started before February 1918, probably right after the public lecture Chen gave in December 1917. We can thus infer that Cai and Chen had reached a consensus on the general structure of the Society charter before Cai distributed the specific writing work to the two student-secretaries according to Chen's ideas and suggestions.

In the following year (1919), a revised charter was published in the *Peking University Daily* from 15 to 17 February, which became the final version and was reprinted in the first issue of the society magazine, *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, in 1920.³⁹⁰ The updated charter consisted of nine chapters and forty-eight articles and

³⁸⁷ "Huafa yanjiuhui jishi: jianzhang caoan zhi jingguo 畫法研究會紀事：簡章草案之經過 (Record on the Research on Painterly Methods Society: the process of drafting the charter)," *Peking University Daily*, February 21, 1918, 2-3.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ "Chen Bangji, Di Fuding qishi 陳邦濟，狄福鼎啟事 (A Notice from Chen Bangji and Di Fuding)," *Peking University Daily*, March 12, 1918, 2.

³⁹⁰ "Huizhang 會章 (Charter)," *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, no. 1 (1920): 12-19.

was well-structured and efficiently informed, best representing a new modern art society in the early Republican Beijing. According to Chen Bangji and Di Fuding, the structure and main content of the charter remained unchanged. Minor revisions occurred based on feedback given by advisors, society members and staff throughout the Society's activities over the course of the year.³⁹¹

Even with Chen Shizeng's suggestions, it was impossible that Chen Bangji and Di Fuding could draft a complete charter like this independently. In 1918, Chen Bangji and Di were only undergraduate students with no experience of formal art education or studying abroad, nor had they previously organised a modern art society. Following this train of thought, the two secretaries must have had one or more specific references when drafting the society charter. The reference was likely to have come from Tokyo art societies and in all probability was provided by Chen Shizeng.

The highly systematic and detailed charter of the Meiji Fine Arts Association is worthy of consideration in this context. Although the Society had already come to an end when Chen Shizeng arrived in Tokyo in 1902, its successor the Pacific Painting Society, with which Chen was familiar, continued with the objectives and regulations of its predecessor and did not even publish a new charter.³⁹²

When comparing the charters of the Meiji Fine Arts Association and the Research on Painterly Methods Society, we may notice many similarities. In general, the latter was a Chinese adaptation of the Japanese version, both in terms of the structure and main content. Both charters consisted of nine chapters, as shown in Table D:

Table D: A Comparison of the Charter of the Meiji Fine Arts Association and the Charter of the Research on Painterly Methods Society

	Meiji Fine Arts Association 明治美術 協会 ³⁹³	Research on Painterly Methods Society 畫 法研究會 ³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ "Xiugai Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui jianzhang yijianshu 修改北京大學畫法研究會簡章意見書 (Revisions on the Charter of the Research on Painterly Methods Society of Peking University)," *Peking University Daily*, February 15 -17, 1919, 2-4, 3, 3.

³⁹² Urasaki, "Dainanasetu, taiheiyō gakai no sousetsu," 405-406.

³⁹³ Urasaki, "Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu," 231-237.

³⁹⁴ "Huizhang," *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, 12-19.

Chapter 1	<i>Shushi</i> 主旨 (Objective)	<i>Zonggang</i> 總綱 (Objective)
Chapter 2	<i>Ichi</i> 位置 (Location)	<i>Menlei</i> 門類 (Division)
Chapter 3	<i>Jigyō</i> 事業 (Business)	<i>Daoshi</i> 導師 (Advisor)
Chapter 4	<i>Kaiin</i> 會員 (Member)	<i>Huiyuan</i> 會員 (Member)
Chapter 5	<i>Yakuin</i> 役員 (Staff)	<i>Zhiyuan</i> 職員 (Staff)
Chapter 6	<i>Shokumu</i> 職務 (Responsibility)	<i>Jihui</i> 集會 (Meeting)
Chapter 7	<i>Shūkai</i> 集会 (Meeting)	<i>Huiwu</i> 會務 (Business)
Chapter 8	<i>Kaikei</i> 會計 (Accounting)	<i>Jingfei</i> 經費 (Founding)
Chapter 9	<i>Zakken</i> 雜件 (Additions)	<i>Fuze</i> 附則 (Additions)

In summary, both charters contained chapters on societies' main objectives, society members, society staff, types of meetings, the source and use of funds, as well as supplementary matters. In the two charters, chapters discussing the same issue were listed in different orders. For instance, Chapter 7 - *Huiwu* 會務 (Business) - of the charter of the Research on Painterly Methods and Chapter 3 - *Jigyō* 事業 (Business) - of the Meiji Fine Arts Association charter both discussed the major activities organised by the two societies. In the charter of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, only the second chapter *Menlei* 門類 (Division) and the third chapter *Daoshi* 導師 (Advisor) were original. These two chapters were about the training programme of the society, which regulated the categories of painting courses offered and the responsibilities of the advisors. They were not included in the charter of the Meiji Fine Arts Association as the Society did not have an educational function.

In each chapter of the charter of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, we can find many details which initially appeared in the charter of the Meiji Fine Arts Association. The business of the Research on Painterly Methods Society contained artistic creation, internal review of members' art works, organising public lectures and holding exhibitions. They had already been listed in the charter of the Meiji Fine Arts Association. In terms of society management, the personnel of the Research on Painterly Methods Society consisted of general members and executive staff, which

followed the example of the Meiji Fine Arts Association. The various kinds of meetings adopted by the Research on Painterly Methods Society also came from the Meiji Fine Arts Association.³⁹⁵ These meetings included: the annual meeting for all personnel on the revision of charter and election of executives; the monthly meeting for staff on the operation and management of the Society; the temporary meeting called by staff when necessary; the meeting for mentors on ways to improve instructing and advising, as well as recruiting new members.³⁹⁶

The publication of the Research on Painterly Methods Society - *Magazine of the Study of Painting* – had Japanese models to follow, too. The Magazine, which aimed to ‘tichang meiyu, fayang huafa 提倡美育，發揚畫法 (promote art education and carry forward painterly methods),’ was a semi-annual journal edited by Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡 (1892-1962) and published by the Society between 1920 and 1922. The magazine was influenced by the two official magazines of the White Horse Society, *Koufu* 光風 (Light and Wind) and *Bijutsu kōwa* 美術講話 (Discourses on Fine Arts), in terms of author, structure and content.

The *Light and Wind* was first published in May 1905. The magazine lasted for four years, with four issues in each year between 1905 and 1906, and two issues in 1907 and 1908.³⁹⁷ Regarding content, the magazine consisted of members’ non-academic writing as and artistic creations, emphasising the literary and artistic characteristics of this publication. Occasionally, *Light and Wind* also introduced the annual exhibition of the White Horse Society. The second issue of 1907 included a full list of the paintings on display at the eleventh exhibition of the Society, as well as photos of the exhibition site.³⁹⁸

Compared with the free and casual *Light and Wind*, *Discourses on Fine Arts* was more academic. It was published by *Hakuba-kai yōga kenkyūjo* 白馬会洋画研究所 (Research Institute of the White Horse Society on Western Painting) in 1901, prior to

³⁹⁵ Urasaki, “Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu,” 231-237.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ueno, “Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou,” 33-34.

³⁹⁸ *Koufu* 光風 (Light and Wind) 3, no. 2 (1907): 1-10.

the release of *Light and Wind*. It mainly contained the scripts of lectures on Western art history given by Kuroda Seiki, Kume Keiichirō and other supervisors from the Institute every fortnight.³⁹⁹

Magazine of the Study of Painting was like the combination of *Light and Wind* and *Discourses on Fine Arts*. A comparison of the content of the three publications is listed in Table E:

Table E: A Comparison between the *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, *Light and Wind*, *Discourses on Fine Arts*

	Main Content
Light and Wind 光風	<i>Hyōron</i> 評論 (Review); <i>Zuihitsu</i> 隨筆 (Essay); <i>Kaiga</i> 絵画 (Painting); <i>Hanga</i> 版画 (Print); <i>Kikō bun</i> 紀行文 (Travelogue); <i>Tanka</i> 短歌 (Short Poem); ⁴⁰⁰
Discourses on Fine Arts 美術講 話	<i>Seiyō bijutsu-shi kōwa</i> 西洋美術史講話 (Discourses on Western Art History); ⁴⁰¹
Magazine of the Study of Painting 繪學雜誌	<i>Tu'hua</i> 圖畫 (Drawing and Painting); <i>Tonglun</i> 通論 (General Treaty); <i>Zhuanlun</i> 專論 (Specialised Treaty); <i>Huajue</i> 畫訣 (Painterly Method); <i>Yanjiang</i> 講演 (Discourse); <i>Shizhuan</i> 史傳 (Art History and Biography); <i>Jishi</i> 紀實 (Record of Actual Event); <i>Zazu</i> 雜俎 (Addition); <i>Shici</i> 詩詞 (Poem and Lyric); ⁴⁰²

Just like the *Light and Wind*, the *Magazine of the Study of Painting* contained non-academic casual writings, known as belles-lettres, and artworks by society members. The sixth section of the *Magazine of the Study of Painting* had the same focus as *Discourses on Fine Arts*: Western art history. The *Magazine of the Study of Painting*

³⁹⁹ Ueno, “Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou,” 34.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 33.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² “Huizhang,” *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, 2.

contained articles on Western art history and biographies of Western masters, which were written by advisors from the Department of Western Painting. In the first issue, the article by Wu Fading 吳法鼎 (1883-1924) presented a detailed biography of Rembrandt.⁴⁰³ Similar to the *Discourses on Fine Arts*, the fifth section of the *Magazine of the Study of Painting* published public speeches delivered by advisors of the Society. These speeches were on a broader range of topics across the fine arts and were not limited to Western art history.

The *Magazine of the Study of Painting* had its own distinguishing feature - it paid equal attention to the theory and the practice of painting. While *Tonglun* 通論 (General Treaty) discussed general issues pertaining to the fine arts, *Zhuanlun* 專論 (Specialised Treaty) showed members' research into certain topics in both Chinese and Western painting. *Zhuanlun* of the first issue of the Magazine included three articles by Chen Shizeng: 'Qingdai shanshui zhi paibie 清代山水之派別 (The Schools of Qing Landscape Paintings)', 'Qingdai huahui zhi paibie 清代花卉之派別 (The Schools of Qing Flower Paintings)' and 'Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo 繪畫源於實用說 (The Theory of the Origins of Painting from Usefulness).'⁴⁰⁴ The section of *Huajue* 畫訣 (Painterly Method), which was about the specific painterly methods of both Chinese and Western paintings, was also unique in the *Magazine of the Study of Painting*.

The last issue to be discussed in this case study is the setup of an educational training system in the Research on Painterly Methods Society, which can also be credited to Chen Shizeng. In Chen's responses to Cai Yuanpei, he emphasised the necessity of establishing an advisor system in the Society, and this suggestion was immediately acted upon by Cai. Chen also recommended potential advisors upon Cai's request. This was the basis of the Society's educational system.

Attached to the Peking University, the Research on Painterly Methods Society paid great attention to training both junior artists and art amateurs, in order to fulfil its

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 1-3.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 3-12, 17-19.

ultimate goal of promoting art education. According to the Society charter, there were two departments: Chinese painting and Western painting. Each department offered training courses on different categories of paintings. In the Department of Chinese Painting there were landscape, flower and figure paintings. The Department of Western painting was further divided into three categories: monochromatic drawing (pencil drawing, pen drawing, ink drawing and charcoal drawing); colour painting (watercolour, oil painting and lacquer painting) and graphic design.⁴⁰⁵

Each advisor was responsible for teaching at least one category of painting offered by his Department, and he could decide the teaching method and the content of the course. For the Chinese painting department, there were roughly four ways of teaching: delivering speeches, leading tutorials, commenting on students' paintings and demonstrating the practice of painting.⁴⁰⁶ Before the first semester of the Society began on 1 April 1918, advisors' responsibilities had already been published in the *Peking University Daily* on 11 March of the same year.⁴⁰⁷ It showed that Chen would be the advisor for both landscape and flower paintings, and he would deliver speeches once a month and comment upon students' artworks once a week. As it turned out, during the first term (April to June 1918), Chen only supervised students on flower painting.⁴⁰⁸

Establishing a mentor system in a modern art society in Beijing was not Chen Shizeng's original idea. This idea also originated from art societies in Tokyo. The motivation was that training art students was an important way for senior artists in the Society to expand the influence of their artistic ideals and painterly styles. Unlike the Research on Painterly Methods Society, the initial objectives of the three aforementioned Tokyo art societies with which Chen was associated - the Meiji Fine Arts Association, the White Horse Society and the Pacific Painting Society - did not include promoting art education.⁴⁰⁹ Later, all of the three societies founded their own research institutes or art schools to train young artists; these included the *Meiji bijutsu*

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 13-14.

⁴⁰⁶ Zhao, "Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui shimo," 53.

⁴⁰⁷ "Huafa yanjiuhui tonggao 畫法研究會通告 (A Notice from the Research on Painterly Methods Society)," *Peking University Daily*, March 11, 1918, 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Zhao, "Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui shimo," 56.

⁴⁰⁹ Urasaki, "Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu," 231; Ueno, "Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou," pp. 20-22; Urasaki, "Dainanasetu, taiheiyō gakai no sousetsu," 405-406.

gakkō 明治美術学校 (Meiji Fine Arts School, 1892), the *Hakuba-kai yōga kenkyūjo* 白馬会洋画研究所 (Research Institute of the White Horse Society of Western Painting, 1898) and the Research Institute of the *Taiheiyō gakai kenkyūjo* 太平洋画会研究所 (Pacific Painting Society, 1905).⁴¹⁰

Out of the two Institutes that were still in function during Chen Shizeng's time in Tokyo – the Institute of the Study of Painting and the Research Institute of the Pacific Painting Society – the former's teaching mode and curriculum had a significant influence upon the Research on Painterly Methods Society. From the very beginning, the Institute of the Study of Painting aimed at offering the opportunity to graduates from the Tokyo Fine Arts College to continue their research into Western painting. In terms of the art practice, senior members of the White Horse Society, such as Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichirō, instructed on painterly techniques. The content of the painting courses - charcoal painting, oil painting, watercolour, as well as life sketches from both plaster and nudes - reflected the ways in which Kuroda and Kume were trained in Paris.⁴¹¹ French language courses were also provided to prepare students for their future study in France. Lectures on Western painting history were provided every fortnight.⁴¹²

Barring the language courses, the Research on Painterly Methods Society adopted exactly the same teaching method – the combination of practice and history, which was applied to the teaching of Western painting and Chinese painting alike.⁴¹³ This method not only improved students' skills in art practice, but also enhanced their understanding of painting from an historical perspective.

The modern organisational techniques adopted by the Research on Painterly Methods Society, such as publishing a society magazine and training junior art students, set examples for later modern art societies in Beijing to follow. The Society also held

⁴¹⁰ Urasaki, "Daikyusetsu Meiji bijyutsukai no sousetsu," 241; Ueno, "Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou," 32; Urasaki, "Dainanasetsu, taiheiyō gakai no sousetsu," 408.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 33.

⁴¹² Ueno, "Hakubakai soshiki to katsudou," 32.

⁴¹³ Zhao, "Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui shimo," 53.

art exhibitions, which were more like degree shows for student-members and did not cause a sensation in Beijing.⁴¹⁴

5.4 The Role of Art Salon in Commercialising National Painting

In 5.4, we will mainly look at the commercial art exhibitions organised by art societies in Beijing, such as the Chinese Painting Research Society and the Shadow of Flowers Painting Society, which adopted all of the aforementioned modern organisational techniques from the case study of the Research on Painterly Methods Society. We will establish how art salon further facilitated the commercialisation of painting and shaped the career path and identity of *Jingpai* painters.

Both the art society and the art exhibition increased the public recognitions of the artists and their works, which helped secure their income and enabled them to continue exploring the theory and practice of painting.

The modern art societies in early Republican Beijing continued with one of the practical functions of traditional Shanghai art guilds: publishing the price lists of members' calligraphy, painting and seal carving. This had been seen before in *Pinghua she* 萍花社 (Duckweed Society) and *Haisahng tijinguan jinshi shuhua hui* 海上題襟館金石書畫會 (Shanghai Tijin Association of Epigraphy and Painting).⁴¹⁵

From an art historical perspective, the price list has always been an important lens through which to see artists' involvement in the commercial circulation of their artworks in the art markets of major Chinese cities during the Republican period. The price list demonstrated an artist's self-evaluation and his/her orientation in the art market.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ "Beijing daxue youyuanhui," *Peking University Daily*, February 3rd, 1919, 3.

⁴¹⁵ On a brief history of art associations in Shanghai from the late Qing, see: Shan Guolin, "The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School," in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851-1911*, ed. Anita Chung (Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland, 2000), 10-11.

⁴¹⁶ Craig Clunas, "Reading a Painter's Price in Republican Shanghai," *Notes in the History of Art* 35, no. 1-2 (Fall 2015/Winter 2016), 22-31.

The price list also revealed the artist's social network. An artist's price list can be self-designed, or set up by the artist's superior, such as his/her painting master or a local famous figure. It can be also compiled by one or more fellow artists from the same art society. For new artists, the price list acted as a ticket to open the door to the art world. Chen Shizeng's first price list *Xiu Daoren Chen Shizeng's Price List of Calligraphy, Painting and Seal Carving* (Fig. 5. 10, Fig. 5. 11), as mentioned in Chapter 2, was drafted by Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926), who was a famous Nantong entrepreneur and the founder of the Nantong Normal College.⁴¹⁷

The experience of Chen Shizeng's artist-friend Chen Banding in Beijing is also a good example to demonstrate the functions of the price list. Chen Banding was a famous painter of free-hand style bird-and-flower painting. When he first moved to Beijing from Shanghai in 1906 to make a living by selling his paintings and seal carvings upon the invitation of Jin Cheng, things did not go as planned for the first three years.⁴¹⁸ In 1910, Chen Banding asked for help from his master Wu Changshi, who supported his pupil by travelling to Beijing in person and drafting a price list for him (Fig. 5. 12). This price list functioned as a strong recommendation letter for Chen Banding to build his reputation in the art world in Beijing.⁴¹⁹ In his handwritten autobiography of 1956 (Fig. 5. 13), Chen recalled his early experience in Beijing, and apparently, his efforts in networking turned out to be successful:

I invited the well-respected Wu Fou [Wu Changshi 吳昌碩, 1844-1925] to
Beijing for a couple of months. [I also] made friends with Wu Guandai [吳
觀岱, 1862-1929], He Lüzhì [賀履之, 1861-1937] and Chen Shizeng [陳

⁴¹⁷ *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), May 31, 1912, 2, 5.

⁴¹⁸ Zhu Jingsheng 朱京生, "Chen Banding yu Haipai de jinshi shuhua yuan 陳半丁與海派的金石書畫緣 (Chen Banding and the Worlds of Epigraphy, Calligraphy and Painting in Shanghai)," in *Chen Banding de yishu shijie* 陳半丁的藝術世界 (The Art World of Chen Banding), ed. Wang Qingyun 王青雲 and Zhang Danlu 章丹露 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2017), 56-57.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

師曾, 1876-1923] through us helping each other. [As a result, my paintings] were better recognised and more popular than before.⁴²⁰

邀吳缶老來北京盤桓數月，與吳觀岱、賀履之、陳師曾相處互助，較前起色。

Apart from the local newspaper, artists' price lists were usually published in the magazines run by the art societies where these artists had memberships. The price lists would be shown alongside the artists' artworks, which could best demonstrate their abilities in art. The price lists and the artworks together acted as the advertisements for the artists, increasing their media exposure and attracting more buyers. For example, Hu Peiheng's price list and two landscape paintings (Fig. 5. 14 and Fig. 5. 15) were seen in the first issue of *Zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (Plastic Arts) published by another society attached to the Peking University, *Zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui* 造形美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society). Just like the *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, Hu was also the editor for the *Plastic Arts*.⁴²¹ Hu's price list was drafted by Cai Yuanpei, the principal of the Peking University, and He Lüzhì, his senior fellow-artist in three Beijing art societies: the Research on Painterly Methods Society, the Chinese Painting Research Society and the Research on Plastic Arts Society.⁴²²

The emergence of art salon culture in Beijing also fundamentally changed local artists' customary ways of selling artworks. Previously, Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists usually had two channels of selling their artworks: directly through patrons and indirectly through *nanzhi dian* 南紙店 (the shop that sold paper produced in the southern China) at Liulichang. As revealed in Chapter 4, one of Chen Shizeng's

⁴²⁰ Chen Bandin 陈半丁, *Banding zishu* 半丁自述 (Self-statement of Chen Banding), ink and paper, 1956, Beijing: National Gallery of China.

⁴²¹ "Behui zhiyuan yialnbiao 本會職員一覽表 (Names of the Society Staff)," *Zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (Plastic Arts), no. 1 (1924): 126.

⁴²² "Hu Peiheng Shanshui 胡佩衡山水 (Landscape Paintings of Hu Peiheng)," "Hu Peiheng shanshui runli 胡佩衡山水潤例 (Price List of Hu Peiheng's Landscape Painting)," *Zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (Plastic Arts), no. 1 (1924): 10, 122.

patrons - Wu Jing'an - could either commission artworks directly from Chen, or receiving paintings from his guests during the painting gatherings he held.

In terms of acting as a mediator between artists and buyers, the numerous *nanzhi dian* in Beijing functioned similarly to the fan shops in Shanghai from the late Qing to the early Republican periods.⁴²³ Apart from selling various kinds of stationery, one of the major businesses run by these shops was selling artworks executed by living artists, such as calligraphy, painting and seal carving.⁴²⁴ The collaboration between an artist and a shop worked in the following way: the artist first submitted a copy of his/her price list to the shop.⁴²⁵ The shop then received orders on behalf of the artist according to the price list and received a commission of approximately 20%, which had been agreed upon by the two actors in advance.⁴²⁶ The artist would also purchase writing and painting materials at the same shop. *Jingpai* artists usually collaborated with more than one shop at Liulichang. As we can see from the example of *Beiping Manual of Letter Paper*, Chen Shizeng worked with *Rongbao zhai* 榮寶齋 (Rongbao Pavilion), *Chunjing ge* 淳菁閣 (Chunjing Pavilion) and *Songhua zhai* 松華齋 (Songhua Pavilion), among others.⁴²⁷

After the art salon came onto the stage, art societies and art exhibitions worked in symbiosis to openly sell artworks in early Republican Beijing – the societies acted as agents and the exhibitions provided a platform for exposure.⁴²⁸ Given that most paintings by living artists shown at art exhibitions listed in Table C were available for sale, the introduction of the art salon culture to Beijing also bore commercial significance. Gradually, organising or participating in art exhibitions became a major commercial enterprise for Beijing artists.

⁴²³ On a brief history of fan shops and their locations in Shanghai from the late Qing, see: Shan Guolin, “The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School,” p. 10.

⁴²⁴ Dai Yusheng 待餘生, *Yanshi jibi* 燕市積弊 (Deep-Rooted Shortcomings of Markets in Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1995), 26.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁴²⁶ Zou Dianfei 鄒典飛, “Beijing shuhua xiaoshou ye 北京書畫銷售業 (Sales of Calligraphy and Painting in Beijing),” in *Minguo shiqi de beijing shufeng* 民國時期的北京書風 (The Calligraphy of the Republican Beijing), Zou Dianfei 鄒典飛 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2014), 31-40.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ It is necessary to clarify that after the emergence of art exhibitions, the traditional ways of selling artworks - through patrons and through southern paper shops, were still existed and in function.

It was the special kind of space – the park - that made selling paintings in public possible. I argue that using parks to hold art exhibitions in Beijing also came from Japan, and in the case of Beijing, *Zhongyang gongyuan* 中央公園 (Central Park) was a Chinese replacement for Ueno Park in Tokyo in terms of its artistic and cultural functions. The third Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition to be discussed in this section took place in the Central Park in 1924.⁴²⁹

In early twentieth-century Tokyo, most of the art exhibitions were held in the different venues of Ueno Park. The park was established in 1873 and was among the country's first public parks. In the following decades, the park became the home of Tokyo's major museums and art galleries.⁴³⁰ Interestingly, when Beijing's first public park - Central Park, the previous Altar of Land and Grain of the Ming and Qing Dynasty - was opened in 1914, it followed the Japanese example and became the major venue for Beijing's various art exhibitions. While in Ueno Park most of the art exhibitions were on display at the *Takenodai* 竹の台 (The Takenodai Exhibition Hall), there were three different spaces for art exhibitions in the Central Park of Beijing.⁴³¹ In terms of hiring exhibiting venues, the Central Park adopted similar regulations to Ueno Park.⁴³²

Apart from charity exhibitions, most art exhibitions held at the Central Park were free of charge, thus attracting large numbers of art lovers and random visitors alike.⁴³³ The audience could purchase their interested artworks instantly on-site and receive the

⁴²⁹ Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 110.

⁴³⁰ Toshima Hiroaki 豊島寛彰, *Uenokōen no rekishi to shiseki* 上野公園の歴史と史跡 (History and Historical Sites of Ueno Park) (Tokyo: Sōgō shubbansha, 1956), 15-16, 46, 56-57, 59-60.

⁴³¹ As a witness, Wu Wenbin 吳文彬 (1923-2012) - student of the first generation of *Jingpai* painters - provided in his article "Beiping de hualang 北平的畫廊 (Art Galleries of Beiping)," a detailed account on the three buildings located in different parts of the Central Park, which were renovated to put up art exhibitions. The three venues were: Rooms of the Trustee, Chunming Pavilion and the Waterside Pavilion. See: Wu Wenbin 吳文彬, "Beiping de hualang 北平的畫廊 (Art Galleries of Beiping)," in *Yiwen jiutan* 藝文舊談 (Old Talks on Art and Culture), Wu Wenbin 吳文彬 (Taipei: Zhiyuan shuwu, 1975), 14-16.

⁴³² Normally, people who were responsible for the upcoming exhibitions should register for the venues in advance, as the place was highly competitive. Towards the end of each year, the administration office of the park would prepare a register, listing all the available dates and venues for the new year. Anyone who would like to organise an exhibition could register in advance and pay a deposit. The full schedule would be provided by the administration office and published in local newspaper for potential audience's information. See: Wu Wenbin 吳文彬, "Beiping de hualang," 14-16.

⁴³³ Ibid.

order when the exhibition finished. The fact that the authenticity and quality of the artworks put on public display were better guaranteed encouraged more potential buyers.⁴³⁴ Through the public exhibitions, as well as the reports and reviews in newspapers and magazines, not only did the artworks of Chen Shizeng and his *Jingpai* artists become more well known in Beijing and nationwide, their customer base also expanded.

The formation of the platform for selling paintings in public was pushed forward by a commercial trend occurring in the art world in Beijing during the first two decades of the twentieth century. According to Japanese sinologist Imazeki Tenpō 今関天彭 (1882-1970), who had been friendly with Chen Shizeng ever since Chen's time studying in Tokyo, this trend was brought to Beijing from Japan.⁴³⁵ In his article 'Enkyou ekai kankyuroku 燕京畫界感舊錄 (Memory of the World of Painting in Beijing),' Tenpō posited the following statements:

However, after the European war, our economy witnessed an unprecedented growth, which promoted the trend of fine arts. The sales of modern artworks skyrocketed and some painters from Kyoto even became millionaires overnight. This trend had an invisible impact on Beijing and urged local painters not to restrict the beauty of landscape to paper alone, but to make money in the market. Under these circumstances, Chen Shizeng and Jin Cheng came on to the stage and soon the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition followed. From then on, Chinese painters took the opportunity to enrich their pockets instead of their oeuvres.

然るに歐洲戦争の結果、我が經濟界は無前の好景氣となり、延いて美術の流行を促し、現代畫家の作品も、羽が生へて飛ぶやうに賣れ

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ See: Imazeki Tenpou 今関天彭, "Minkoku shonen no bunjintachi 民國初年の文人たち (The Scholars in the Early Republic)", in *Chugoku bunka nyumon* 中国文化入門 (An Introduction of Chinese Culture), Imazeki Tenpou 今関天彭 (Tokyo: Gengensha, 1955), 93; Imazeki Tenpou 今関天彭, "Enkyou ekai kankyuroku 燕京畫界感舊錄 (Memory of the World of Painting in Beijing)," in *Chugoku bunka nyumon* 中国文化入門 (An Introduction of Chinese Culture), Imazeki Tenpou 今関天彭 (Tokyo: Gengensha, 1955), 202.

行き、京都畫家の甲乙は、畫成金となった位であつた。この風潮が何時しか北京にも押寄せて、今まで胸中の山水を筆端に上せて、獨り靜かに樂んで居た當地の畫家に大なる衝動を起した、陳師曾が出た、金北樓も現はれた。程なく日支繪畫展覽會が出来、支那畫家の畫囊ならぬ財囊が膨れる機會も多くなった。⁴³⁶

Despite his negative attitude towards this commercial trend, Imazeki faithfully recalled the change which took place among scholar-artists in Beijing: they started to treat their artworks not only as entertainment and the manifestation of mind, but also as a means to gaining profit. Imazeki also brought up a significant event in modern Chinese art history – the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition Series - in which both Chen Shizeng and Jin Cheng played important roles.

Previously, scholars working on the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition series, such as Tsuruta Takeyoshi and Aida Wong, mainly focused on the cultural-exchange aspect of the exhibition series, as well as the political factors behind it.⁴³⁷ A re-interpretation of the motivations for this exchange exhibition series will help us to better understand the impact of the commercial trend on *Jingpai* artists.

The exchange exhibitions between China and Japan showed considerable commercial potential. The following three primary sources respectively record the sales of paintings by Japanese artists in China (Beijing and Shanghai) during the first exhibition in 1921 and the third exhibition in 1924, as well as the sales of paintings by *Jingpai* artists in Japan (Tokyo and Kyoto) during the second exhibition in 1922. Apart from the initiators' common desire to learn from each other thus facilitating the development of Chinese national painting and Japanese *nanga*, as previously argued by Tsuruta and Wong, I posit that the issue of commercial gain was an indispensable force which kept the exhibitions going for more than a decade.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Imazeki, "Enkyou ekai kankyuroku," 202.

⁴³⁷ Aida Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 100-121; Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良, "Kinhyakunen rai chugoku kaigashi kenkyu -7- nikka (chunichi) kaiga rengou tenrankai shuppin mokuroku 近 100 年来中国絵画史研究-7-日華 (中日) 絵画聯合展覽會出品目録 (A Catalogue of Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition)," *Bijyutsu kenkyu* 美術研究 (Fine Arts Research), no. 384 (2004): 104-134.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

As compared to the Japanese media, Chinese media reported on the sales of paintings by Japanese artists in Beijing and by Chinese artists in Japan in greater detail. Some even included exact prices. From December 14 to 18, 1921, *Shibao* 時報 (Times) of Shanghai serialised a review of the first Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition held in Beijing, which provided prices of selected Japanese paintings (see Table F).⁴³⁹ In accordance with the original news report, I will use traditional Chinese characters to record the Japanese artists' names and the titles of paintings:

Table F Selected Paintings by Japanese Artists Sold at the First Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition

Name of Artist	Title of Painting	Sold Price
Watanabe Shinkyu 渡邊 晨畝 (1867-1938)	<i>Appreciating the Reflection by the Stream</i> 臨 流顧影	800 <i>yuan</i> ⁴⁴⁰
Araki Juppo 荒木十畝 (1872-1944)	<i>Swimming Fish</i> 游魚	800 <i>yuan</i>
Koyama Eitatsu 小山榮 達 (1880-1945)	<i>Picture of Ancient Battlefield in Osaka</i> 大阪古 戰場圖	500 <i>yuan</i>
Takase Goho 高瀨五畝 (1878-1961)	<i>Waning Crescent</i> 殘月	100 <i>yuan</i>
Yuge Kouho 弓家恒畝 (1900-?)	<i>Morning Fog</i> 朝霧	120 <i>yuan</i>
Yamada Shinzan 山田真 山 (1885-1977)	<i>Portrait of Dharma</i> 達摩尊者像	170 <i>yuan</i>

⁴³⁹ “Diyijie zhongri huihua zhanlanhui 第一屆中日繪畫展覽會 (The First Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition),” *Dongfang shibao* 東方時報 (Eastern Times), December 14-18, 1921, 3.

⁴⁴⁰ According to the survey on the price of Beijing from 1912 to 1926 by Sydney Gamble and Meng Tianpei, which was published in 1926, *yuan* refer to *yinyuan* 銀元 (silver *yuan*). From 1920 to 1923, the price of 50 kilo flour was 6.99, 7.32, 7.1 and 7.51 *yuan*. Between 1922 and 1923, the annual budget of a worker's household is 99.8 *yuan*. See: Sydney Gamble 甘博 and Meng Tianpei 孟天培, *Ershiwunianlai Beijing zhi wujia gongzi ji shenghuo chengdu* 二十五年來北京之物價工資及生活程度 (The price, salary and living standard of Beijing in the past 25 years), trans. Li Jinghan 李景漢 (Beijing: Guoli Beijing daxue, 1926), 21, 24, 58.

Itou Ryoushun 伊藤綾春 (1881-1932)	<i>The Leaping Carp</i> 躍鯉	80 yuan

Three years later during the third exhibition in China (1924), Japanese painters' artworks sold even more successfully. This great achievement in selling paintings was partly due to the high quality of artworks displayed in China. According to a review published in the Japanese journal *Geiten* 芸天 (Art Sky), in total 200 paintings by Japanese painters were sold, with a value exceeding 8700 yuan. Among these works, 16 were sold in Shanghai, while 80 were sold in Beijing. The journalist also pointed out that contrary to expectation, most buyers of Japanese paintings turned out to be Chinese rather than Japanese. Jin Cheng's family purchased a large horizontal scroll called *Yu* 雨 (Rain), which depicted hens under flowers, at the amazing price of 800 yen.⁴⁴¹ The same report revealed that the majority of Japanese paintings had been previously shown at the exhibition of *Nihon bijutsu kyōkai* 日本美術協会 (Japanese Association of Fine Arts), taking place at the *Takenodai* in Tokyo earlier in the same year. Jin Cheng and his family made a considerable effort to make it happen.⁴⁴²

About the second exhibition held in Japan in 1922, *Shutian shibao* 順天時報 (Shuntian Daily) of Beijing reported the successful sales of paintings by Chinese artists in Japan:

About one fourth of the paintings sold were from China and the revenue added up to around 10,000 yuan. As paintings by students from the Chinese Painting Research Society were sold at a low price, their sales volume was the highest. As for works by renowned painters, the numbers were as below: 16 pieces for Jin Gongbei [Jin Cheng], 11 pieces for Chen Shizeng, 6-8 pieces each for Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi and Chen Banding, and only 3

⁴⁴¹ "Nikka rengouten jissaiteki kansatsu 日華聯合展實際的觀察 (A Review of Japanese-Sino Exhibition)," *Geiten* 芸天 (Art Sky) 1, no. 5 (1924): 13; About the price, in the early Taisho period, the exchange rate between Japanese yen and US dollar is 2:1 and it remained unchanged until the Second World War. In 1921, the price of an egg is 0.065 yen; the annual tuition fee at Tokyo University is 50 yen.

⁴⁴² "Nikka rengouten jissaiteki kansatsu," no page number.

pieces for Wang Yiting from Shanghai as he did not submit many works. It was unexpected to see that only one piece of Wu Changshi's paintings was sold, given his popularity among Japanese.

中國出品售去者約四分之一，共計售價約一萬元。畫學研究會學生出品定價較廉，故所售最多，而大畫家中金拱北畫售十六幅，陳師曾畫售十一幅，王夢白、齊白石、陳半丁三人之畫各售六七幅、七八幅。上海王一亭出品不多，售去三幅。有一怪事：日本人平素最喜吳昌碩之畫，此次僅售去一幅⁴⁴³

Apparently, paintings from China sold very well in Japan. It is noteworthy that although the Chinese Painting Research Society represented China's side, initiating and organising this exchange exhibition, artists attending the exhibition did not limit to *Jingpai* artists. The report from *Shuntian shibao* also included names of famous *Haipai* painters, such as Wu Changshi and Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867-1938). This is because Chen Shizeng was responsible for selecting paintings for the exhibition before he went to Tokyo to attend the exhibition. As already mentioned, Chen was involved in the art worlds of both Beijing and Shanghai. The Chinese paintings shown in Japan not only reflected Chen's personal preference, but also demonstrated the collaboration between *Jingpai* and *Haipai*, the two pinnacles of national painting in the early twentieth century.

A Chinese artist's success on the art market of Japan facilitated, in turn, the sales of his/her artworks on the domestic art market, not to mention that public exhibitions enjoyed increased popularity as a platform for selling and buying artworks. As has already been discussed by many scholars, Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957) was just such an example; he only started to build his reputation in the art world in Beijing after

⁴⁴³ "Dierjie zhongri huihua zhanlanhui 第二屆中日繪畫展覽會 (The Second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition)," *Shuntian Daily*, May 19, 1922, 7.

his success in selling paintings in Japan during the second Sino-Japanese exhibition in 1922 due to Chen Shizeng's support.⁴⁴⁴

5.5 The Localisation of the Western-Influenced Art Salon in China

When we consider the Chinese version of the Western-influenced art salon in Beijing, two interesting features catch our attention immediately. The first feature has been discussed at the beginning of this chapter – that the art salon was introduced to and promoted in the art world of Beijing by painters working on national painting rather than those working on Western painting. The second feature is that painters from different fields - national and Western painting - worked closely with each other via the art salon, which was not seen in the Japanese context.

In the early twentieth century, *nanga*, *nihonga* and *yoga* painters in Japan took unparalleled paths in their careers, organising art societies and society-based exhibitions separately. These groups of artists could only overlap during national exhibitions such as the Bunten and the *Teikoku Bijutsu-in tenrankai* 帝国美術院展覧会 (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition, known as Teiten). During the same period of time in China, the collaboration between painters of national painting and of Western painting was much closer and their works were not kept so separate.

Two reasons might explain this characteristic situation. The first reason is about Chen Shizeng's personal relationship with painters of Western painting in Beijing. This enabled painters from the two campuses to communicate with each other. The second reason is more decisive: Western painting's lack of recognition in the art world during the first half of the twentieth century led to an uneven distribution of power in the art market. Painters of Western painting, therefore, had to associate with famous local painters of national painting in order to increase their visibility and the sales of their own works.

⁴⁴⁴ Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 108-109.

Among the painters of national painting in Beijing, Chen Shizeng, was particularly close with painters from the other tradition, especially Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942) and Wu Fading 吳法鼎 (1883-1924). Apart from working relationships formed through several local institutes and art societies, this situation could also be explained by Chen's sound knowledge of and strong interest in Western art.

Since Chen Shizeng's participation in the gatherings of the Society of Literature and Fine Arts in Shanghai in 1912, most of the art societies he took part in, both in Beijing and Shanghai, consisted of painters from both sides. Examples include but are not limited to: the Research on Painterly Methods Society, the Shadow of Flowers Painting Society and the Heavenly Horse Society (see Table B). Chen even had some sort of connection with Western art societies in Beijing through his personal relationships with Li Yishi and Wu Fading. A group photo taken in the summer of 1922 shows Chen sitting among members of the *Aboluo xuehui* 阿博洛學會 (Apollo Research Association, Fig. 5. 16) proved this connection. The Society was initiated by Li and Wu in the same year in order to research and promote Western painting. The photo recorded a farewell party thrown by the Association for Chen before he left Beijing to visit his hometown in Jiangxi Province.

Among the art societies with which Chen Shizeng was involved, artists from both fields attended the gatherings of the Society of Literature and Fine Arts together and created artworks during these meetings, while members from the rest of the listed societies organised joint art exhibitions (see Table B). The Shadow of Flowers Painting Society was founded in 1920 by professors of national and Western painting from *Beijing meishu xuexiao* 北京美術學校 (Beijing College of Fine Arts), such as Chen, Li Yishi and Wu Fading.⁴⁴⁵ Considering the identity of the founding members, the Shadow of Flowers Painting Society was quite similar to the White Horse Society, which was initiated by professors from the Tokyo College of Fine Arts.⁴⁴⁶ The purpose

⁴⁴⁵ "Huayin huahui zhi benxiao han," 2.

⁴⁴⁶ Lu, "Ri Shukudo no zainichi katsudo ni tsuite," 90-91.

of the Shadow of Flowers Society was similar to that of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, which was to promote the beauty of fine arts through the study of both Chinese and Western painterly methods.⁴⁴⁷ Not to mention that Chen and Li were both mentors of the Research on Painterly Methods Society when it was first established in 1918.

The case of the Shadow of Flowers Society particularly exemplifies the interaction between the worlds of Chinese and Western painting in Beijing, especially in terms of the Society's joint exhibitions for mentors in June 1920. The exhibition put on display the high-quality recent works of the most renowned Beijing artists from both camps. These included Chen Shizeng, Xiao Qianzhong, Yao Hua, Wang Mengbai, Li Yishi and Wu Fading, all of whom were Professors at the Beijing College of Fine Arts.⁴⁴⁸

Two detailed exhibition reviews on national painting and Western painting respectively tell us which artists submitted works to the exhibition and which paintings were on display. The first review, on Western painting, was written by Qian Daosun 錢稻孫 (1887-1966), Chen Shizeng's colleague at the Ministry of Education, and serialised in the *Chen Bao* 晨報 (Morning Post) from 6 to 7 June, 1920.⁴⁴⁹ The second review, on national painting, was submitted by Zheng Jin 鄭錦 (1883-1959), the Head of the Beijing College of Fine Arts, to the *Peking University Daily* and published on the 8 June 1920; the author remained anonymous.⁴⁵⁰

According to Qian Daosun's review, Chen Shizeng showed his oil paintings depicting local scenarios alongside his traditional ink flower and landscape paintings. As Chen was the only crossover painter at the exhibition, Qian commented on all his three oil paintings, praising his execution of the light and shadow, as well as his colour matching. We can tell from Qian's descriptions that the three paintings -

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ "1922," in *Zhongyang meishuxueyuan xiaoshi chenlie tuce: 1918-2013* 中央美術學院校史陳列圖冊: 1918-2013 (Exhibition Catalogue of the History of the Central Academy of Fine Arts: 1918-2013) (Beijing: Zhongyang meishu xueyuan), 3.

⁴⁴⁹ Qian Daosun 錢稻孫, "Huayin huahui de yanghua 花陰畫會的洋畫 (The Western Paintings of the Shadow of Flower Painting Society)," *Chen bao* 晨報 (Morning Post), June 6-7, 1920, 5.

⁴⁵⁰ Anonymous, "Huayin huahui duhua ji 花陰畫會讀畫記 (Reading Painting at the Exhibition of the Shadow of Flowers Painting Society)," *Peking University Daily*, June 8, 1920, 3.

Zhongyang gongyuan 中央公園 (The Central Park), *Daopang xiaomiao* 道旁小廟 (A Small Temple at Roadside) and *Guangji si* 廣濟寺 (Guangji Temple) - were small-scale landscapes depicting three different corners of Beijing. Unfortunately, none of Chen's oil paintings have survived.

Qian Daosun particularly recognised Chen Shizeng's understanding and knowledge of Western painting by saying that he had a completely different train of thought regarding his creation of oil painting. It was not the same kind of artistic representation as seen in his national-style landscapes. Qian argued that for *A Small Temple at Roadside*, Chen chose a subject matter that would never be paid attention to in national painting. The original scene - a shabby house and the messy corner of a road - was neither scenic nor poetic and was transformed into a beautiful painting through Chen's adoption of coordinated lights and colours, as well as the balanced composition. Qian's exhibition review proved that Chen continued to work on oil painting after he left Japan in 1909. This was in keeping with Chen's continued interest in Western art, as shown by his translations, public lectures, articles, and even his reformation approach to scholarly painting.

The close collaboration between painters of national painting and Western painting through the art salon was not limited to the art world in Beijing; it ultimately became a nationwide phenomenon in early twentieth century China. In Shanghai, the *Tianma hui* 天馬會 (Heavenly Horse Society) demonstrated not only the collaboration between the painters from the two fields, but also between two of the most significant art centres of the Republic of China – Beijing and Shanghai, just like the Sino-Japanese Painting exhibitions. The Heavenly Horse Society was founded by professors of Western painting from *Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao* 上海美術專科學校 (Shanghai Art College) in 1919 and it aimed to support the free and unrestrained creation of and research into fine arts. In terms of the society exhibition, it invited non-members to submit works for all of its exhibitions between 1919 and

1928.⁴⁵¹ When we go through the name list of artists, we find that while both Wu Changshi and Wang Yiting attended first four annual exhibitions from 1919 to 1922,⁴⁵² Chen Shizeng participated in the 6th iteration in 1923 (see Table C).⁴⁵³ Apart from Chen, two more artists basing in Beijing, Li Yishi and Wu Fading, displayed their works at annual exhibitions of the society: Li attended the fourth and fifth, Wu the fifth.⁴⁵⁴

It was the second reason - the unequal status of national painting versus Western painting, both in the art world and the art market - that played a dominant role in the close and constant collaboration between two worlds of painting. Examples provided by two of Chen Shizeng's fellow-artists from the Society of Literature and Fine Arts prove the instability of the Western painting market in Shanghai in 1910s. Both Zeng Xiaogu 曾孝穀 (1873-1927), a fellow student of Li Shutong from the Department of Western Painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts College, and Li Shutong, published a special price list in the *Pacific Times* on 31 May 1912. Zeng's price list was restricted to calligraphy and Chinese national painting, with no Western art of any kind (Fig. 5. 17), while Li's only contained calligraphy, rather than his specialty, which was oil painting (Fig. 5. 18). Before his price list was shown, Zeng executed national painting rather than Western painting during the first gathering of the Society of Literature and Fine Arts on 14 May 1912.⁴⁵⁵

The circumstance of the art market in China remained unchanged throughout the following decades. Chen Shizeng's student Yu Jianhua wrote an article in 1935 advocating the necessity of including the subject of national painting in the curriculum of primary and middle schools in China. He suggested that national painting occupied

⁴⁵¹ Xu Changming 徐昌酩, *Shanghai meishu zhi* 上海美術志 (A Chronological History of Shanghai Fine Arts) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2004), 271.

⁴⁵² He Rui 賀銳, "Canguan tianmahui disijie zhanlanhui de wojian 參觀天馬會第四屆展覽會的我見 (My Perspectives on Visiting the Fourth Exhibition of the Fly Horse Society)," *Minguo ribao* 民國日報 (The Republic Daily) 8, no. 16 (1921): 0.

⁴⁵³ "Tianmahui huihua zhanlanhui zhi diyiri 天馬會繪畫展覽會之第一日 (The First Day of Heavenly Horse Society's Painting Exhibition)," *Shen Newspaper*, August 5, 1923, 14.

⁴⁵⁴ "Tianmahui zhanlanhui kaimu yuzhi 天馬會展覽會開幕預志 (A Prelude to the Opening of Heavenly Horse Society's Exhibition)," *Shen Newspaper*, August 2nd, 1921, 15; "Tianmahui kaimu zhi diyiri 天馬會開幕之第一日 (The First Day of the Heavenly Horse Society's Exhibition)," *Shen Newspaper*, March 18, 1922, 15.

⁴⁵⁵ "Wenmeihui jiang zaici kaicui 文美會將再次開催 (The Society of Literature and Fine Arts will have another meeting)," *Pacific Times*, May 17, 1912, 10.

a more favourable position in the art market than Western painting. Yu argued that the absolute advantage of national painting lay in its convenient social networks:

Traditional Chinese painting works to help build relationships. In China, painting has become a tool for making social contacts. A piece of square-shaped artwork, a set of hanging scrolls or fans and traditional Chinese painting of various formats can be both a bridge of friendship and an opportunity to show one's talent. It is regarded as a significant leg up in social dealings. Therefore, once a painter is trained as a professional, they can earn a living by selling paintings.

國畫于處事有許多便利也。在中國社會，繪畫早已成為應酬之具，或斗方，或屏條，或扇篇，既可以為聯絡感情之媒介，亦可作表現能力之機會，于處事接物有不少之便利。若習之有素，將來成為專門家亦可借潤筆以糊口。⁴⁵⁶

On the contrary, Western painting was treated differently on the art market:

As for Western painting, it was neither fully understood nor needed by most of these associations. Even if the painter was regarded as a professional or specialist and set a high price for his or her works, he or she usually found it very hard to be recognised or to draw attention from other people.

至於西洋畫則一般社會既不明了，又不需要。即成專門家，雖曾將其作品高定價值，然只有敝帚自珍，社會上無人過問。⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁶ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, "Zhongxiao xue tuhua ke yishou guohua yi 中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議論 (Suggestions on Including the Course of National Painting in the Curriculums of Primary School and Middle School)," *Guohua yuekan* 國畫月刊 (National Painting Monthly) 1, no. 7 (1935): 161.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

In this article, Yu Jianhua clearly emphasised the significance of national painting. His arguments are mostly reasonable and show an objective judgement of the contemporary art market of China. What makes Yu's views more reliable is that he was not ignorant of Western painting. When trained under *shougong tuhua ke* 手工圖畫科 (the programme of manual work, drawing & painting) at the *Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 北京高等師範學校 (Beijing Advanced Normal College), Yu learned Western painting from Li Yishi, one of the most famous artists in the area, whilst also developing his practice in national painting under the auspices of Chen Shizeng.⁴⁵⁸ Among the *Jingpai* painters, quite a few started their professional training in Western painting and then switched to national painting later. Examples include Li Kuchan 李苦禪 (1899-1983) and Wang Xuetao 王雪濤 (1903-1982), who became Qi Baishi's students in the early 1920s.⁴⁵⁹

Regarding Yu Jianhua's arguments on the unequal rivalry between national painting and Western painting in the art market, art historian Shih Shou-chien highlights a paradox in this situation. He starts by agreeing with the absolute advantage of national painting in the art market, as posited by Yu, and argues that despite the harsh criticism constantly levelled at national painting in the art world since early twentieth-century, it remained prosperous and sought after in the market for decades. While Western painting was repeatedly advocated for and then officially incorporated into the education system, it lacked market support. As a result, Western painting could neither function as a social tool nor enable the painters who produced works in this style and medium to have sustainable careers.⁴⁶⁰

Shih Shou-chien's arguments are also confirmed by the change in the number of students from the national and Western painting departments of the Research on

⁴⁵⁸ Xu, *Shanghai meishu nianbiao*, 432.

⁴⁵⁹ Ma Mingchen 馬明宸, "Qi Baishi de zhiming dizi 齊白石的知名弟子 (Famous Pupils of Qi Baishi)," in *Qi Baishi de rensheng yu yishu 齊白石的人生與藝術* (The Life and Arts of Qi Baishi), ed. Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Painting Academy) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2013), 137-142.

⁴⁶⁰ Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, *Zhongguo shanshuihua he guanzhong de lishi 中國山水畫和觀眾的歷史* (The History of Chinese Landscape Painting and Its Audience) (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2017), 341.

Painterly Methods Society from 1918 to 1921. Among the first batch of students who started their study in the spring of 1918, there were 31 people working on national painting and only 6 on Western painting. As the society expanded, the numbers rose to 44 and 27 in the autumn of the same year and then to 54 and 130 in 1920 when the ratio of students learning Western painting was more than double of those learning national painting. Due to the restrictions on recruiting student-members from outside the university in 1921, the numbers dropped to 25 and 32.⁴⁶¹ The reason for this change was mostly due to the adjustment of curricula in both the national painting and Western painting departments. In 1918, there were three courses on the national painting programme: figure, landscape and flower paintings. There were two in Western painting: pencil drawing and watercolour.⁴⁶² According to the updated curriculum published in the *Peking University Daily* on 15 April 1920, figure painting was cancelled from the training system of national painting, while pen drawing, charcoal, rubbing and oil painting were added to that of Western painting.⁴⁶³ The alteration in curricula reflected the change in the main purpose and concern of the Society, which was mostly decided upon by Principal Cai Yuanpei and clearly favoured Western art. Cai's personal preference reflected the trends in the contemporary art world. The change did not happen suddenly; many scholars believe that it was this incremental shift that resulted in Chen Shizeng's withdrawal from the society in late 1918.⁴⁶⁴ Learning was one thing, selling was another. As we can see from Yu Jianhua's article, the promotion of Western painting in the education system barely impacted on its situation in the art market.

Given the ongoing disadvantages faced by Western painting in the art market, the special collaboration between painters of Western and national painting through the platform of the art salon in China, especially in major cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, becomes more significant. Apart from the artists' open attitude towards cultural and artistic exchange, there were also more practical intentions. For artists

⁴⁶¹ Zhao, "Beida huafa yanjiuhui de lishi," 56.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ "Huizhang 會章 (Charter)," *Peking University Daily*, April 15, 1920, 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Gao, "Chen Shizeng he beida huafa yanjiuhui," 47.

dedicated to Western painting, displaying artworks together with the most sought-after practitioners of national painting of the city increased the possibility of attracting the attention of potential buyers and securing more sales.

Conclusion

Chapter 5 provides the first example of systematic research into the application of the Western-influenced art salon in the art world in Beijing during the early twentieth century, notably by painters working on national painting rather than Western painting.

The art salon in Beijing demonstrates the attempt made by Chen Shizeng to nourish scholarly painting with artistic learnings from the West, especially from Japan. After being localised, the Japanese-style art salon enriched the cultural environment in Beijing. By adopting modern organisational techniques which aimed to update scholarly painting in particular, Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists witnessed the further commercialisation of national painting as a whole, which changed their methods of selling artworks, self-publicising and training junior artists. From the 1920s onwards, the art salon became a national artistic phenomenon, thus contributing significantly to the formation of modern art in China.

The localised art salon facilitated the collaboration between painters from different cities in China and even from different countries. As exemplified by the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition Series, the successful sales of paintings overseas in turn enhanced the renown of *Jingpai* domestically, especially in terms of the School's efforts to modernise scholarly painting.

In addition to sustaining scholarly painting, modern art societies in Beijing also provided members with a platform to learn new things from the Western art world. As with their application of the art salon, Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* painters also critically adopted new art forms and artistic movements in order to revitalise scholarly painting. In the following chapter, we will explore how Chen and his artist-friends in Beijing tried, having experienced the profound impact of Pragmatism, to

testify to the utility of scholarly painting by introducing graphic design to China.

Chapter 6

***Tu'an hua*, the Transmission between Art Media and the Utility of Scholarly Painting**

In the early twentieth-century, Pragmatism was a newly introduced philosophy from the West which exerted a significant impact on the art world of Beijing. Under the influence of Pragmatism, *tu'an hua* 圖案畫 (graphic design), which was connected to the industrial development of the Republic of China, became a part of the new elite art. Chapter 6 will explore why and how *tu'an hua* was used as the realisation of Pragmatism by Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* painters. We will seek answers to the following questions: why was *tu'an hua* widely accepted in the art world of Beijing and even became embedded in academia? How and why was *tu'an hua* applied to stationery design by famous painters in Beijing, and how did this application helped to promote the local art market?

6.1 The Introduction of Pragmatism to the Art World in Beijing by John Dewey

Pragmatism was first introduced to China by John Dewey (1859-1952).⁴⁶⁵ Dewey was an American philosopher and educator; he founded the philosophical movement known as Pragmatism in the United States.⁴⁶⁶ Dewey first became known to Chinese intellectuals because he was the PhD supervisor of one of the leaders of the *xinwenhua*

⁴⁶⁵ Hu Shi 胡適, "Duwei zhexue de genben guannian 杜威哲學的根本觀念 (The Main Ideas of Dewey's Philosophy)," *Xin jiaoyu* 新教育 (The New Education) 1, no. 3 (1919): 56-61.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

yundong 新文化運動 (New Culture Movement) – Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962).⁴⁶⁷

John Dewey's visit to China began on 30 April 1919, when he arrived in Shanghai at the invitation of both his Chinese students, including Hu Shi and Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 (1891-1946), and several educational institutions across China.⁴⁶⁸ Before departing for America on 11 July 1921, Dewey gave tour lectures in more than eleven Chinese provinces and a series of speeches, primarily in Beijing and Nanjing.⁴⁶⁹ As a result, there was an upsurge in interest in his philosophical perspectives amongst Chinese intellectuals.⁴⁷⁰ Thousands of news reports and articles were published in China during Dewey's visit. Moreover, Dewey's series of five speeches delivered in Beijing – 'Shehui zhexue yu zhengzhi zhexue 社會哲學與政治哲學 (Social Philosophy and Political Philosophy),' 'Jiaoyu zhexue 教育哲學 (Philosophy of Education),' 'Sixiang zhi paibie 思想之派別 (The Schools of Thoughts),' 'Xiandai de sange zhexuejia 現代的三個哲學家 (Three Modern Philosophers)' and 'Lunlixue yanjiang jilue 倫理學演講紀略 (Lectures on Ethics)' – were published by the *Chen bao* 晨報 (*Morning Post*) and the collection of speeches became the bestseller of the year.⁴⁷¹ According to Hu, before Dewey left China, the collection had been reprinted over ten times.⁴⁷² As Dewey arrived in China on the eve of the May Fourth Movement, when the Chinese intellectuals were crying out for new knowledge and new theories, his democratic and scientific spirit, reformism, and most particularly his educational theories, exerted a considerable impact on intellectual circles in China. Hu highlighted this in his farewell speech to his supervisor 'Duwei xiansheng yu zhongguo 杜威先生與中國 (Mr

⁴⁶⁷ Kang Qiao 康橋, "Xu 序 (Preface)," in *Duwei: Jiaoyu ji shenghuo* 杜威：教育即生活 (Dewey: Education as Life), ed. Kang Qiao 康橋 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2014), 2.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ John Dewey and Alice Dewey, *Duwei jiashu* 杜威家書 (Letters from China and Japan), ed. Evelyn Dewey, trans. Liu Xing 劉幸 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016), 137-290.

⁴⁷⁰ Hu, "Duwei zhexue de genben guannian," 56-61.

⁴⁷¹ Kang, "Xu," 2-3.

⁴⁷² Hu Shi 胡適, "Duwei xiansheng yu zhongguo 杜威先生與中國 (Mr Dewey and China)," *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (The Eastern Miscellanies) 18, no. 13 (1921): 121-122.

Dewey and China)' on 11 July 1921:

We can safely reach the conclusion that no other foreign scholar has ever exerted such a significant impact on the Chinese circle of thinkers as Mr Dewey does, ever since China has been in contact with Western culture. We can also predict that in the upcoming decades, hardly any Western scholar could become more influential in China than Mr Dewey.

我們可以說，自從中國與西洋文化接觸以來，沒有一個外國學者在中國思想界的影響有杜威先生這樣大的。我們還可以說，在最近的將來幾十年中，也未必有別個西洋學者在中國的影響可以比杜威先生還大的。⁴⁷³

Whether the Chinese understood and interpreted Dewey's philosophy in an accurate way or not, the ideological trend of Pragmatism did exert a significant impact on many aspects of the society, overlapping with the sensational New Culture Movement.

Considering the influence of John Dewey's Pragmatism on the Beijing intellectuals, especially on Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists, it is necessary to point out that most of Dewey's lectures and speeches in Beijing were arranged at the several institutions where Chen worked. These included Peking University, where Chen was an advisor on bird-and-flower painting for the Research on Painterly Methods Society in 1919; Beijing College of Fine Arts, where Chen served as a professor of national painting from 1918 to 1923; Beijing Advanced Normal College, where Chen lectured on national painting for the Programme of Manual Work and Painting from 1915 to 1923 and finally the Ministry of Education of the Beiyang Government, where Chen was an editor of textbooks during his decade-long career in Beijing from 1913 to 1923.⁴⁷⁴ It is very likely that Chen was aware of Dewey's lectures and the general ideas

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Gong Chanxing 龔產興, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao 陳師曾年表 (A Chronological Biography of Chen Shizeng)," in *Jingpai huihua yanjiu* 京派繪畫研究 (Studies of the Beijing School of Painting), ed. *Beijing Huayuan* 北京畫

he disseminated throughout China, although there is no direct evidence for this encounter. For example, Chen's general attitude towards scholarly painting was in accordance with Dewey's moderate philosophical standpoint, both of which encouraged partial revision and gradual progression instead of the radical revolution.⁴⁷⁵

Coincidentally, Chen Shizeng and his colleague Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡 (1892-1962) published extensively on *tu'an hua* from 1920 to 1921 when John Dewey was delivering speeches in Beijing and other cities in China. Chen and Hu's works were both seen in the *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting).

The three articles by Chen Shizeng were: 'Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo 繪畫源於實用說 (The Theory of the Origins of Painting from Utility),' 'Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian 對於普通教授圖畫科意見 (Opinions on Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education)' and 'Zhongguohua shi jinbude 中國畫是進步的 (Chinese National Painting is Progressive).'⁴⁷⁶ These articles not only elucidate Chen's theory on the usefulness of painting, explaining his motivation for promoting *tu'an hua* in Beijing, but also present detailed and comprehensive definitions on key words such as *tuhua* 圖畫 (graph and painting) and *tu'an hua*.

Responding both to the points raised in the three articles by Chen Shizeng and the increasing need to learn *tu'an hua* in a more systematic and scientific way, Hu Peiheng continued in-depth studies into *tu'an hua* and became the pioneer in the field. Hu was a well-established painter specialising in landscape painting. When Chen was an advisor for the Research on Painterly Methods Society, Hu served as the Editor-in-

院 (Beijing Art Academy) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2012), 46, 48, 53, 54.

⁴⁷⁵ Gao Jianping 高建平, "Yizhe qianyan 譯者前言 (Translator's Preface)," in *Yishu ji jingyan* 藝術即經驗 (Art as Experience), John Dewey, trans. Gao Jianping 高建平 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2010), 1-2.

⁴⁷⁶ Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo 繪畫源於實用說 (The Theory of the Origins of Painting from Utility)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920): 17-19; Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian 對於教授普通圖畫科意見 (Opinions on Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920): 9-12; Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, "Zhongguohua shi jinbude 中國畫是進步的 (Chinese National Painting is Progressive)," *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 3 (1921): 1-3.

Chief for the the *Magazine of the Study of Painting*.⁴⁷⁷ His ‘Tu’an hua lüeshuo 圖案畫略說 (A Glance at Graphic Design)’ was published in the third and final issue of the *Magazine of the Study of Painting* in 1921. Unfortunately, only the first half of the article, which discussed *pingmian tu’an* 平面圖案 (plain pattern), survives today. The second half on *liti tu’an* 立體圖案 (three-dimensional pattern) is missing.⁴⁷⁸

Later in 1922, not long after John Dewey left China, Chen Shizeng’s student Yu Jianhua published the first systematic monograph on *tu’an hua* in early Republican Beijing.⁴⁷⁹ Yu graduated from the Beijing Advanced Normal College and was appointed the instructor of the programme of manual work, drawing & painting at the Beijing College of Fine Arts earlier in 1922. The first edition of Yu’s book, *Zuixin tu’an fa* 最新圖案法 (The Latest Methods on Graphic Design), was published by Beijing College of Fine Arts using lithographic printing and was immediately used as textbook.⁴⁸⁰ While this first book focused on plain patterns, Yu published his second book, *Liti tu’an fa* 立體圖案法 (Methods on Three-Dimensional Graphic Design), in 1929.⁴⁸¹

In their publications, Chen Shizeng, Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua all argued the necessity of promoting graphic design in the art world based on its practical functions — graphic design was highly relevant to manufacture because it could enhance the competitiveness of the domestic product by improving its aesthetic quality.⁴⁸² Moreover, John Dewey’s thoughts on vocational education as conveyed in his lecture ‘Philosophy of Education’ given in Beijing, directed the proper methodologies of learning *tu’an hua* as later proposed by Chen, Hu and Yu in the early 1920s.⁴⁸³ We will

⁴⁷⁷ Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡, “Tu’an hua lüeshuo 圖案畫略說 (A Brief Introduction to Graphic Design)”, in *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 3 (1921): 1-5.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Huang Tao 黃韜 and Liu Shaotang 劉紹唐, *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan di 13 ce* 民國人物小傳 第13冊 (A Brief Biography of Republican People, no. 13) (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2016), 190.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Liti tu’an fa* 立體圖案法 (Methods on Three-Dimensional Graphic Design) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929).

⁴⁸² See: Chen, “Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian”, 9-12. Hu, “Tu’an hua lüeshuo,” 1-5; Yu, “Xu 序 (Preface),” in *Zuixin tu’an fa*, Yu, no page number.

⁴⁸³ See: Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, “Xu 序 (Preface),” in *Zuixin tu’an fa*, Yu, no page number; Hu, “Tu’an hua lüeshuo,”

further explore these issues in the following sections of Chapter 6.

6.2 The Introduction and Theoretical Promotion of *Tu'an hua*

Through the aforementioned written works by Chen Shizeng, Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua, as well as the impact these works exerted on the art world in Beijing, we will be able to identify the significant role Chen and his followers played in disseminating and promoting this new art form – *tu'an hua* - through their social network and in academia. This theoretical propaganda laid the foundation for incorporating *tu'an hua* into the daily artistic practice of *Jingpai* artists and elevated the status of artistic design in general.

The term *tu'an hua* 圖案畫 (graphic design) was translated into Chinese from *zuanga* 図案画 (graphic design) in Japanese. It was widely acknowledged by Chen Shizeng, Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua that Chinese painters had no tradition of studying and practicing *tu'an hua*.⁴⁸⁴ Before the course of *zuan* 図案 (graphic design) was imported to China from the Japanese primary school curriculum and became a component of mainstream art education in China, it had already appeared in Chinese print media since 1911.⁴⁸⁵ According to Chen Shizeng, *tu'an hua* was first known in the art world in China for its decorative function; he placed it within the category of applied painting.⁴⁸⁶ Initially, the meaning *tu'an hua* represented was simple and

1-5; Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, "Xu 序 (Preface)," *Zuixin tuanfa*, Yu, no page number; John Dewey, "Zhiye jiaoyu 職業教育 (Vocational Education)," in *Duwei: Jiaoyu ji shenghuo*, 101-108.

⁴⁸⁴ In his 1921 article 'Tu'an hua lüeshuo,' Hu Peiheng stated that: 'Painters from our country always do not pay attention to graphic design because for them, graphic design is nothing more than decorative patterns, thus has no research value. 吾國之從事繪畫者，向不注重圖案，以為花紋而已，無研究之價值。' See: Hu, "Tu'an hua lüeshuo 圖案畫略說 (A Brief Introduction to Graphic Design)," 1-5.

⁴⁸⁵ See: Huang Qiuyun 黃秋雲, "Tu'an hua (shuicai) 圖案畫 (水彩) (Graphic design: watercolour)," *Xuesheng wenyi congkan huibian* 學生文藝叢刊彙編 (A Collection of Students' Literature and Arts Journals) 3, no. 1 (1911): 35; In 1910, the Ministry of Education of Japan published the *Shinjō gajō* 新定画帖 (New Painting Manuals) for primary schools, which included the course *zuan* 図案 (graphic design) for the first time. See: Monbushō 文部省 (Ministry of Education), *Jinjō shōgaku shinjō gajō: Kyōshi-yō* 尋常小学新定画帖: 教師用 第1, 2, 4-6 学年 (The New Painting Manual for Ordinary Primary School: For Instructors, year 1, 2, 4-6) (Tokyo, 1910).

⁴⁸⁶ In his 'Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo', Chen Shizeng elaborated the origin, translation and meaning of *tu'an hua*: 'Apart from *tu* (graph) and *hua* (painting) there is one more category, known as design in Western languages and translated by the Japanese into *zuanga* 図案画 (Chinese pinyin: *tu'an hua*). Although we could not find the presence of this term in China before, the kind of painterly method represented by this term existed long ago and was used for decoration. 圖與畫之外另有一種，西文曰 Design，日本人譯為“圖案畫”。中國雖無是名，

straightforward: it usually referred to two-dimensional designs of decorative patterns mostly executed with watercolour, which were published as illustrations alongside paintings and photographs, such as *Tu'an hua (shuicai)* 圖案畫（水彩）(Graphic Design: Watercolour, Fig. 6. 01). These pictures were used in newspapers and magazines merely to embellish the text. They did not yet contain the profound meanings and important functions as later proposed by Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists.

In Chen Shizeng's three aforementioned articles from the *Magazine of the Study of Painting*, the author offered a detailed definition of *tu'an hua*, elucidating its function as well as the necessity of developing and promoting *tu'an hua* in China. It is noteworthy that Chen's elaboration of *tu'an hua* was not independent; it was closely associated with the definition of another key word, *tuhua* 圖畫 (graph and painting).

Direct evidence showing the inspirations and references of Chen Shizeng's ideas may be found in the article 'Tuhua xiude fa 圖畫修得法 (The Methods of Learning Drawing and Painting)' written by Chen's artist friend Li Shutong 李叔同 (18801-1942), which was published in *Xingshi* 醒獅 (The Lion Wakes) in 1905.⁴⁸⁷ In the preface, Li stated that this article was a translation of selected sections taken from *Futsū kyōiku ni okeru zuga kyōju-hō* 普通教育に於ける図画教授法 (Methods of Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education, Fig. 6. 02), a guidebook for primary school teachers written by Tatsuo Kuwayama 柿山蕃雄 and Matsuda Shigeru 松田茂 (both active between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries) and published in 1904.⁴⁸⁸ Following, we will study and compare Chen's three articles with Li's in order to trace the origin of Chen's ideas.

而實早有此種畫法，用在裝飾。’ In his ‘Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian 對於普通教授圖畫科意見 (Opinions on Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education),’ Chen stated: ‘*Tu'an hua* also belongs to the category of applied painting 圖案畫 Design 亦應用畫之一種。’ See: Chen, ‘Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo,’ 17-19; Chen, “Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian,” 9-12.

⁴⁸⁷ Li Shutong 李叔同, “Tuhua xiude fa 圖畫修得法 (The Methods of Learning Drawing and Painting),” *Xingshi* 醒獅 (The Lion Wakes), December 1905, no page number.

⁴⁸⁸ Tatsuo Kuwayama 柿山蕃雄 and Matsuda Shigeru 松田茂, *Futsū kyōiku ni okeru zuga kyōju-hō* 普通教育に於ける図画教授法 (Methods of Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education) (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1904).

Chen Shizeng's precise definition of *tuhua*, in which he tended to elucidate *tu* 圖 (graph) and *hua* 畫 (painting) separately, as well as his understanding of the three functions of *tu*, came directly from Li Shutong's 'The Methods of Learning Drawing and Painting.' According to Li, while *tu* was a useful tool not related to fine arts or arts and crafts, *hua* was artistic instead.⁴⁸⁹ Similarly, Chen defined the term in the following way:

According to present standards, we usually look at *tu* (graph) and *hua* (painting) separately: *tu* (graph) is for recording and describing, *hua* (painting) is for entertaining and appreciating. The functions of *tu* are threefold: to record and describe; to research and investigate; and to explain and illustrate.

今通常所區別者，圖與畫為二，圖資記述，畫資玩賞。關於圖之用，

今可分為三種：記述，考證，說明。⁴⁹⁰

Following on in the same article, Chen further elaborated the three functions of *tu*. The first function meant to record an affair or incident with a picture. The second meant to investigate a system or an item with a drawing. Function three meant to clarify things with multiple meanings that were difficult to identify using illustrations.⁴⁹¹

To further develop this classification from the perspective of painterly methods, both Li Shutong and Chen Shizeng introduced two Japanese terms *jizaiga* 自在畫 (freehand painting) and *yōkizu* 用器圖 (instrumental drawing). These two terms were later adopted by Chen in his definition of *tu'an hua*. The term *jizaiga* means the kind of painting which is drawn freely without using an instrument such as a ruler or compass. On the contrary, the term *yōkizu* represents the geometric drawings produced using a drafting instrument such as a ruler, protractor, or compass.⁴⁹² The way in which Chen

⁴⁸⁹ Li, "Tuhua xiude fa," no page number.

⁴⁹⁰ Chen, "Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo," 17-19.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁹² Li, "Tuhua xiude fa," no page number; Chen, "Huihua yuanyu shiyong shuo," 17-19.

translated these two terms into Chinese differed slightly from Li's approach. For *yōkizu*, he did not translate *zu* 図 (graph) into *tu* 圖 (graph) as Li did. Instead, he deliberately replaced the Chinese character *tu* 圖 (graph) with *hua* 畫 (painting), resulting in *qixie hua* 器械畫 (instrumental painting).⁴⁹³ Chen was not self-contradictory with the meanings and definitions of *tu* and *hua*, which he had just mentioned in his own article. By deliberately translating in this way (using *tu* instead of *hua*), he put emphasis on the usefulness and practical function of painting, which were at the heart of his theory - painting originated from utility. The term *tu'an hua* was the tool for Chen Shizeng to prove his theory that national painting was still useful in the task of constructing a modern China.

What made the aforementioned definition of *tuhua* new and modern to Chinese readers was the unprecedented connection between this artistic subject and the industry and commerce.⁴⁹⁴ Considering the substantial effects of *tuhua*, Li Shutong claimed that: 'In terms of specialised skills, *tuhua* is the foundation of fine arts and crafts. 若以專門技能言之，圖畫者美術工藝之根本。'⁴⁹⁵ Li then cited the successful examples of Britain and France, both of which invested significantly in the education of *tuhua* after becoming aware of the shortcomings of their own crafts during the World Exposition of 1851 and 1889. They accordingly achieved considerable progress in fine arts and art and crafts. In turn, the development of *tuhua* was highly relevant to manufacture because it could enhance the competitiveness of the domestic product by improving its aesthetic quality. By exemplifying Britain and France, two of the most advanced industrial countries of early twentieth century, Li stressed that the development of *tuhua* and the development of their societies were in direct proportion; *tuhua* was thus one of the most important criteria for measuring a country's level of industrial development.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Yang Bing 楊冰, "Ribei mingzhi houqi de meishu sixiang dui Li Shutong chansheng de yingxiang 日本明治後期的美術思想對李叔同產生的影響 (The Influence of Fine Arts Thoughts in the Late Meiji Period on Li Shutong)," *Hangzhou shifan daxue xuebao* 杭州師範大學學報 (Journal of Hangzhou Normal University), no. 1 (January 2017): 101.

⁴⁹⁵ Li, "Tuhua xiude fa," no page number.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

If we compare the aforementioned substantive effects of *tuhua* articulated by Li Shutong, with the following practical functions of *tu'an hua* as explicated by Chen Shizeng, we can see that they were essentially preoccupied with the same issue, although Li did not use the term *tu'an hua* in his own article.⁴⁹⁷ In his articles Chen tried to define *tu'an hua* properly by first stating the parallel relationship between *tuhua* and *tu'an hua*: 'If we make further classification according to the present standard, there is *tu* (graph), as well as *hua* (painting) and *tu'an* (graphic design). 據現在的眼光分別起來，有圖，也有畫，也有圖案 Design。'⁴⁹⁸ Most importantly, Chen emphasised the practical functions and effects of *tu'an hua*, linking it to arts and crafts, as well as the commercial and industrial development of the country:

Nowadays, graphic designs for commercial and industrial uses are also part of the general idea of graph and painting.

現今圖畫中有商業、工業之圖案。⁴⁹⁹

To achieve the standard of applied fine arts, which is used for industry, we have to combine freehand painting with instrumental painting, and carry out research into both of them.

至欲達工業上之應用美術，非自在畫與器械畫相結合而研究之不可。

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Additionally, the formation of Chen Shizeng's opinion on the usefulness of *tu'an hua* for the industrial and commercial development of the country might also have been influenced by an article written by his old friend and colleague from the Ministry of

⁴⁹⁷ The reason why Li Shutong did not use the term *tu'an hua* in his article was merely that in 1905, *tu'an hua* had not yet been incorporated into the curriculum of ordinary education in Japan. Therefore, he could not have read anything on *tu'an hua* from the textbook *Methods of Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education* he referred to when composing his article.

⁴⁹⁸ Chen, "Zhongguohua shi jinbude," 1-3.

⁴⁹⁹ Chen, "Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian," 9-12.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

Education, Lu Xun. In ‘Ni bobu meishu yijianshu 擬播布美術意見書 (Opinions on Disseminating Fine Arts)’ which was published in the *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan* 教育部編纂處月刊 (Monthly of the Editorial Office of the Ministry of Education) in February 1913, Lu Xun raised three points to prove the usefulness of fine arts; the third was related to economic development.⁵⁰¹ Lu Xun attributed the depression of economy to the polarising popularity of foreign products on the Chinese market, pointing out that the advantage of foreign products lay in their design rather than their material. The solution he proposed was disseminating fine arts throughout society in order to improve the general level of domestic product design.⁵⁰² This point was expanded upon by both Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua in their writings on *tu'an hua* to explain the necessity of developing this area.⁵⁰³

For Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua, Chen Shizeng’s three aforementioned articles explaining the necessity and significance of promoting *tu'an hua* theoretically, raised basic issues for further study. Following Chen’s train of thought, both Hu and Yu briefly articulated two issues in the introductions of their works: the status quo of the subject of *tu'an hua* in China and the importance of learning *tu'an hua*. Hu and Yu claimed that although the use of decorative patterns had a long history in China, it had never been taken seriously by Chinese scholars. The subject of *tu'an hua* had only recently started to catch the attention of artists in China. Hu, in particular, attributed the growing popularity of *tu'an hua* to the rapid development of vocational education in China between the late 1910s and early 1920s.⁵⁰⁴ They then stressed the usefulness of *tu'an hua*, emphasising its connection to the industrial and commercial development of the country, just as Lu Xun and Chen had done in their earlier articles. Similar to Lu Xun’s arguments in ‘Opinions on Disseminating Fine Arts,’ Hu and Yu considered the recent drive towards promoting domestic products, specifically highlighting the

⁵⁰¹ Lu Xun 魯迅, “Ni bobu meishu yijianshu 擬播布美術意見書 (Opinions on Disseminating Fine Arts),” *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan* 教育部編纂處月刊 (Monthly of the Editorial Office of the Ministry of Education), February 1913, 12.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Chen, “Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian,” 9-12.

⁵⁰⁴ Hu, “Tu'an hua lüeshuo,” 1-5.

dominant role *tu'an hua* played in manufacturing. They claimed that foreign products had always been considered superior to domestic products not because they were made from special materials, but for the outstanding beauty of their decoration. In order to improve the quality of domestic products and to allow the domestic market to compete with foreign products, it was urgent for the Chinese to learn *tu'an hua* and apply it to production.

The value of *tu'an hua* as a necessary subject in education was made clear from the late 1910s to the early 1920s as a result of the dual effect of the movement for advocating domestic products and the development of vocational education promoted by John Dewey.⁵⁰⁵ Various art institutions and organisations in Beijing saw an increasing demand for the teaching and studying of *tu'an hua*. In 1916, *tu'an hua*, specifically known as *tu'an hua fa* 圖案畫法 (methods of graphic design), became a compulsory course in the Programme of Manual Work, Drawing & Painting of Beijing Advanced Normal College.⁵⁰⁶ Later, when Beijing Art College was founded in July 1918, both the secondary department and the advanced department contained *tu'an ke* 圖案科 (the major of graphic design) courses.⁵⁰⁷ The two courses *pingmian tu'an fa* and *liti tu'an fa* were compulsory for all majors in both the secondary department and the advanced department.⁵⁰⁸

Chen Shizeng facilitated the incorporation of *tu'an hua* in the training programmes provided by art societies in Beijing. As these training programmes targeted the public instead of the limited numbers of students from normal and art colleges, the group of

⁵⁰⁵ Also in his 1921 article 'Tu'an hua lüeshuo,' Hu Peiheng stated that: 'Recently, vocational education has gradually gotten developed. The calling for promoting domestic products has become stronger and stronger. Then [we] finally realise that the foreign products sell well not because they are made of special materials, but for the aesthetic beauty in their decorations. Similarly, of all the domestic products, every one that makes us pleasant and satisfied should credit to graphic design. Therefore, graphic design is inseparable from our life. 比歲以來，職業教育漸臻發達，提倡國貨，聲浪日高，然後知外貨之所以暢銷者，並非原料特殊，實由裝潢之美，且吾人之一切用品，凡能悅吾目適吾意者，何一非圖案畫支配之功，是圖案畫之於人生，誠有不可分離之勢。' See: Hu, "Tu'an hua lüeshuo," 1-5.

⁵⁰⁶ "Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao shougongtuhua zhuanxiuke guicheng 北京高等師範學校手工圖畫專修科規程 (Regulation of the Programme of Manual Work, Drawing & Painting at Beijing Advanced Normal College)," *Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao xiaoyouhui zazhi* 北京高等師範學校校友會雜誌 (Magazine of the Beijing Advanced Normal College Alumni), no. 1 (1916): 30-33.

⁵⁰⁷ "Beijing meishu xuexiao xueze 北京美術學校學則 (Regulation of Beijing College of Fine Arts)," *Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公報 (Education Bulletin) 5, no. 10 (1918): 16-33.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

learners exposed to *tu'an hua* was considerably enlarged. The first art society in Beijing to establish a course on *tu'an hua* was the Research on Painterly Methods Society at Peking University. Before delving into further details, it is necessary to recall our discussions from the previous chapter; when planning for the upcoming society in 1918, Chen proposed that the society should have an educational function following the previous example of the White Horse Society. This function made possible the training of art beginners. In the 1920 version of the charter of the Society, *tu'an hua* was shown alongside other courses offered by the department of western painting.⁵⁰⁹ Following the case of the Research of Painterly Methods Society, more Beijing local art societies incorporated *tu'an hua* into the curriculum they offered in the early 1920s. For instance, the Apollo Society, which was funded by Chen's colleagues Li Yishi and Wu Fading from the Beijing College of Fine Arts in 1922, offered a course on *tu'an hua* in its summer programme in both 1922 and 1923.⁵¹⁰ In the autumn of 1923, when the art society was in transition to becoming a formal art college, it offered a full-time major in *tu'an hua*, which included the study and design of both Chinese and Western patterns.⁵¹¹

Considering the status quo of *tu'an hua* as a subject at the time, which was under-developed, unsystematic and lacking diversity, practical guidelines on how to learn *tu'an hua* were equally, if not more, important than the theoretical promotion of *tu'an hua*.

In terms of the proper way to learn *tu'an hua*, Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua both put emphasis on the scientific approach in general and gave equal attention to knowledge and skill. They both stressed that learners of *tu'an hua* should have the ability to make changes. Taking Hu's argument as an example:

As for the painterly methods [of *tu'an hua*], one should use scientific perspectives, meticulous thought and exquisite skill to take various sources

⁵⁰⁹ "Huizhang 會章 (Charter)," *Huixue zazhi 繪學雜誌* (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 1 (1920): 13-14.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ "Aboluo dierjie shuqi xuexiao jianzhang 阿博洛第二屆暑期學校簡章 (Charter of the Second Summer School of Apollo)," *Beijing daxue rikan 北京大學日刊* (Peking University Daily), June 11, 1929, 3.

from nature and apply them to the design of products in order to enhance their aesthetic beauty. One should be creative and avoid plagiarism. If one could be flexible and open to changes, he/she would be able to bring forth the new from the old, as well as drawing inferences about other cases from one instance.

至其畫法，當以科學之眼光，細密之思想，神巧之手術，取各種自然物品，支配于作品之上，使增其優美之程度，喜乎創造，不宜抄襲，若能多方變化，自爾推陳出新，舉一反三。

Considering that Hu's article was written and published in the first half of 1921, his writing style as seen in the paragraph above markedly reflects the popular thought of the time. Particularly, *kexue* 科學 (science) was the top buzzword of the 1919 May Fourth Movement. Given that the Research of Painterly Methods Society was based at Peking University, where the May Fourth Movement originated, Hu was most likely to have been exposed to the intellectual environment where science was given special attention and widely discussed.

As mentioned by Hu Peiheng, *tu'an hua* was an applied subject which was closely related to manufacturing, and the recent attention it had been paid was related to vocational education in China. We can find the origin of Hu's methodology of *tu'an hua* in John Dewey's general approach to vocational education. 'Philosophy of Education' was among the five-lecture series given by Dewey in Beijing which were published by the *Morning Post* of Beijing and spread widely across China.⁵¹² According to Dewey, vocational education should enable people to learn about the scientific methods related to industry and commerce. Vocational education should prepare students with basic methods and skills, enabling them to be acute and sensitive. In this way, they would be able to make progress at any time. It would be far more effective than training in a narrow sense. If we compare Hu's methodology of *tu'an*

⁵¹² Kang, "Xu," in *Duwei: Jiaoyu ji shenghuo*, 2.

hua with Dewey's ideas on the purpose of vocational education, we find that Hu's attention to scientific research methods, the acquisition of both knowledge and skill, as well as his emphasis on innovation and diversification, all could traced back to Dewey's theory of vocational education.⁵¹³

The scientific methodology of *tu'an hua* proposed by Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua was also demonstrated from the structures of their writings. They both divided *tu'an hua* into two categories according to the dimension: plane pattern and three-dimensional pattern. While Hu's article discussed both categories briefly, the two monographs of Yu each focused on one category. One the specific guidelines of arranging and designing patterns, both works by Hu and Yu were fully illustrated with examples of patterns drawn by the authors and annotated with specific painterly methods.⁵¹⁴ With equal attention paid to both knowledge and skill, Yu wrote a chapter discussing the sources of patterns in terms of their adoption, classification and symbolic meaning, before turning back to painterly methods.

To summarise our discussion on the proper method and approach to studying *tu'an hua*, we cannot overlook a significant suggestion proposed by Chen Shizeng in his preface to Yu Jianhua's monography *Latest Methods on Graphic Design*:

We have to adopt books by the easterner and the Westerner as our approach. After we have developed this approach, we should broadly seek materials from China and overseas, then either imitate, amend, expand or mix these materials. We should not lose ourselves or stand still and cease to make progress.

必取東西人之書以為津筏。得此津筏，然後博求中外之材料，或倣效、或修改、或擴充、或融化，不失諸己，亦不自封。⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Hu, "Tu'an hua lüeshuo," 1-5; Kang, *Duwei: Jiaoyu ji shenghuo*, 101-108.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Chen, "Xu," in *Zuixin tu'an fa*, no page number.

Chen's idea on the best way to study *tu'an hua* was consistent with his approach to the study and revival of scholarly painting. On both topics, Chen stressed a progressive attitude towards acquiring both native and foreign knowledge, taking in their advantages and abandoning their shortcomings. This open attitude towards Western art and his unshakable faith in traditional Chinese art exerted a profound influence on his fellow artists and the next generations of *Jingpai* artists. It also explained why Chen, Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua all took an active role in developing in new artistic terms and cultural movements.

6.3 From *Tu'an hua* to *Zaoxing meishu*: Expanding the Scope of *Meishu* in the Early Twentieth Century

The fashion of studying and practicing in *tu'an hua* in Beijing did not end after Chen Shizeng's death in the late summer of 1923; instead, it continued to exert influence on the visual culture of Beijing, as reflected upon local art societies. In this section, we will examine the deliberate use of another new, foreign artistic terms *zaoxing meishu* 造型美術 (plastic arts) by the *Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui* 北京大學造型美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University). We aim to explore how Chen's fellow *Jingpai* artists continued with his approach of critically introducing Western learnings to preserve traditional Chinese art.

The Research on Plastic Arts Society was founded on 23 April 1923, aiming at 'yanjiu meishu, taoye xingzhi 研究美術，陶冶性質 (researching fine arts and uplifting the mind and spirit).'⁵¹⁶ Cai Yuanpei, the principal of Peking University and the initiator of the Research on Painterly Methods Society, acted as the Chair, while Qian Daosun was the Deputy Chair.⁵¹⁷ Advisors of the society included some of the

⁵¹⁶ "Guoli Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui xiaowai huiyuan jianzhang 國立北京大學造型美術研究會校外會員簡章 (Charter of External Members of the Research on Plastic Arts Society of National Peking University)," *Peking University Daily*, November 30, 1929, 2.

⁵¹⁷ "Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui jianzhang 北京大學造型美術研究會簡章 (Charter of the Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University)," *Peking University Daily*, December 13, 1929, 2.

most renowned artists from the worlds of national painting and Western painting in Beijing: Chen Banding was responsible for seal carving; Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955) and Yao Hua for the study of epigraphy; He Lüzhì, Hu Peiheng, and Xiao Qianzhong for landscape painting and Chen Qimin 陳啟民 (active during the first half of the twentieth-century) and Guo Zhiyun 郭誌雲 (active during the first half of the twentieth-century) for Western painting.⁵¹⁸ Some of these artists, such as Chen, He, Hu and Xiao, were previously advisors of the Research on Painterly Methods Society.

The title of the society contained a term - *zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (plastic arts)- which was new to most artists in China during the early 1920s. *Zaoxing meishu* made its public media debut in Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (active in the early twentieth century)'s article 'Zaoxing meishu de yange 造形美術的沿革 (The Development of Plastic Arts)' published in the official journal *Meishu* 美術 (Fine Arts) of the Shanghai College of Fine Arts in 1920.⁵¹⁹ Yu's article was a selected translation from a public speech given by Sugawara Kyōzō 菅原教造 (1881-1967). It mainly discussed the development of painting and sculpture in the prehistoric era; however, it did not offer an explicit definition of plastic arts.

When the Research on Plastic Arts Society was founded in 1923, the meaning and definition of *zaoxing meishu* had become clear to Beijing artists. Plastic arts originated from *bildende Kunst* in German and was translated into Chinese *zaoxing meishu* from Japanese *zōkei geijutsu* 造形芸術 (Plastic Arts).⁵²⁰ In his lecture series 'Plastic Arts' given for the summer school students of the Apollo Painting Society in 1923, Qian Daosun made this point clear and stated that his notes were based on the Japanese

⁵¹⁸ *Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui* 北京大學造形美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University), *Zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (Plastic Arts), no. 1 (1923): 129; "Benhui daoshi yialnbiao 本會導師一覽表 (Names of Society Mentors)," *Plastic Arts*, 126-127.

⁵¹⁹ Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, "Zaoxing meishu de yange 造形美術的沿革 (The Development of Plastic Arts)," *Meishu* 美術 (Fine Arts) 2, no. 2 (1920): 5-16.

⁵²⁰ *Zōkei bijutsu* 造形美術 (plastic arts), accessed August 16, 2019, <https://kotobank.jp/word/造形美術-552125>.

translation of *Bau und Leben der bildenden Kunst* (The Structure of Plastic Arts and Life) by Dr Phil Theodor Volbehr.⁵²¹ According to Qian:

The term visual arts contains architecture, sculpture and painting. Visual arts is also known as spatial arts because vision is able to detect the spatial sense. What is normally known as plastic arts (*die bildende Kunst*) represents spatial arts, the subject of which is the formed shape.

視覺藝術中有建築、雕刻、繪畫。視覺有空間上之感覺，別有空間藝術之名。普通稱為造形美術 (*die bildende Kunst*) 者，即空間藝術之謂，以造成形體為主體也。

In Japanese, *zōkei geijutsu* and *zōkei bijutsu* 造形美術 (plastic arts) have the same meaning: an art that uses real substances as material and forms through the expanse of space, appealing to human vision.⁵²² In his 1896 article ‘*Zōkei geijutsu no irui* 造形芸術ノ彙類 (The Classification of Plastic Arts),’ Japanese art historian Ōmura Seigai divided *zōkei geijutsu* into two categories in terms of dimension: the two-dimensional *kaiga* 絵画 (painting) and the three-dimensional *chōkoku* 彫刻 (sculpture).⁵²³ Each category was further divided into two sub-categories. The category of *kaiga* contained the *kaiga* in the field of *bijutsu* 美術 (fine arts) and the *kaiga no kōgei* 絵画の工芸 (painting crafts); the category of *chōkoku* contained the *chōkoku* in the field of fine arts and the *chōkoku no kōgei* 彫刻の工芸 (sculpture crafts).⁵²⁴ In this way, *sho* 書 (calligraphy) was included in the sub-category of painting crafts, as well as graphic design and crafts such as embroidery. According to Ōmura, relief

⁵²¹ Qian Daosun 錢稻孫, *Zaoxing meishu* 造形美術 (Plastic Arts) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928), 1-2.

⁵²² *Zōkei geijutsu* 造形芸術, accessed August 16, 2019, <https://kotobank.jp/word/造形芸術-89251#E7.B2.BE.E9.81.B8.E7.89.88.20.E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E5.9B.BD.E8.AA.9E.E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E5.85.B8>.

⁵²³ Ōmura Segai 大村西崖, “*Zō kei geijutsu no* 造形芸術ノ彙類 (Classification of Plastic Arts),” *Kyōto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi* 京都美術協会雑誌 (Magazine of Kyoto Fine Arts Association), no. 53 (1896): 1-18.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

carving, such as metal carving, wood carving and stone carving, was also included in the general field of sculpture.⁵²⁵

After establishing what this general term ‘plastic arts’ was meant to represent, the main goal of discussing the Research on Plastic Arts Society is to illustrate for why the society members sought to use this new term. In what ways did plastic arts relate to the agenda of the society? To answer this question, we need to carefully read one specific source – the society magazine *Plastic Arts*. Just like the *Magazine of the Study of Painting* published by the Research on Painterly Methods Society, Hu Peiheng again took the post of Editor-in-Chief for *Plastic Arts*.⁵²⁶ In the magazine notice (Fig. 6. 03) shown on page two of the first and only issue of *Plastic Arts*, which was published on 23 June 1924, we can find two sentences summarising the goal and research field of the society:

[*Plastic Arts*] aims to publicise the ideas and claims of society members,
(...) as well as arousing our countrymen’s interests in studying fine arts
…發表本社同人的主張…提起國人研究美術的興趣。

This magazine focuses on the fine arts and related fields.

本刊以美術及與美術相關之各種科學為範疇，各門都極歡迎投稿。⁵²⁷

According to the table of contents of the *Plastic Arts* (Fig. 6. 04), the artworks published in the magazine are not limited to national painting, oil painting and watercolour, but also included calligraphy, seal carving, stele rubbing and graphic design. It is very likely that the founding members of the society deliberately borrowed the new term *zaoxing meishu* in order to enlarge its field of study, facilitating the communication and collaboration between artists working on Chinese art and Western art. In this way, the society expanded the scope of fine arts in Beijing through both two-dimensional and

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁵²⁶ “Behui zhiyuan yialnbiao 本會職員一覽表 (Names of the Society Staff),” *Zaoxing meishu* 造型美術 (Plastic Arts), no. 1 (1924): 126.

⁵²⁷ “Benshe qishi 本社啟事 (Society’s Notice),” *Zaoxing meishu* 造型美術 (Plastic Arts), no. 1 (1924): 2.

three-dimensional perspectives, incorporating aspects of traditional Chinese art into the realm of fine arts.

The stylistic cover of *Plastic Arts* (Fig. 6. 05) illustrates the original decorative function of *tu'an hua*, demonstrating that *tu'an hua* belongs to the extended term *zaoxing meishu* introduced by the society members. The design of the cover contains both elements from Chinese art and Western art, showing that the society consisted of artists from both campuses and aimed to conduct research and education in both fields. In the centre of the niche-shape outlined by bold blue lines is a half-length silhouette of Venus de Milo, which is portrayed by thin red lines. On both sides of Venus are two groups of symmetrical morning glories depicted by thin blue lines; the group of two on each side of Venus are larger in size while the other two in the further distance are smaller. It is noteworthy that both the Venus and each of the four flowers are executed using a one-stroke drawing technique. Below the pattern is situated the title of the magazine *zaoxing meishu* 造型美術 (plastic arts) and four hollow Chinese calligraphic characters in *kaishu* 楷書 (standard scripts) outlined with the same thin red lines from the Venus. The two-tone design of the magazine cover is simple and neat, using two of the three primary colours, red and blue. Apart from the traditional European motif of Venus adopted in this design, the rhythmic and sinuous lines composing the patterns recall the influence of Art Nouveau. Through the consistent use of lines instead of colour blocks, two completely different elements of art, namely Chinese calligraphy and Western drawing, are unified in harmony. The main content on the second page of the magazine - the notice and the names of the editorial board - is enclosed in a rectangular floral frame consisting of numerous identical hollow flowers of six petals (Fig. 6. 05).

6.4 The Commercialisation of *Tu'an hua* and the Transmission between Art Media

In this section, we will look at the designs of three kinds of stationery in early Republican Beijing – *xinjian* 信箋 (patterned letter paper), *tong mohe* 銅墨盒 (copper box for liquid ink) and *tong zhenzhi* 銅鎮紙 (copper paperweight), to see how the practice of design testified the utility of scholarly painting.⁵²⁸ We choose these three types because they are typical examples showing the artful integration of modern scholarly art and popular, useful cultural products on sale in the domestic market. What were the purposes for famous painters in Beijing to engage in arts and crafts design and how did this activity enrich their identities?

Prior to adopting his *manbi* works from the previous year into his designs of stationery, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, Chen Shizeng had already tried various kinds of design as early as 1909. In 1909, Chen wrote the title for the cover of Lu Xun's translated book *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* 域外小說集 (A Collection of Foreign Novels, Fig. 6. 06), for which he carefully chose the style of the scripts and altered the strokes and brushwork, fitting the title into the whole design of the book cover.⁵²⁹ For the five Chinese characters in the title, Chen referred to the *xiaozhuan* 小篆 (seal script) from Xu Shen 許慎 (c. 58-c. 148 CE)'s *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters), which was an early second century dictionary from the East Han Dynasty.⁵³⁰ These five Chinese characters not only indicate the meaning of the

⁵²⁸ All these three kinds of stationery used to be produced by anonymous artisans and had been daily necessities for Chinese intellectuals and circulated widely in the market long before the Republican period. Considering that these writing tools were for private use during the age when they were highly popular in Beijing, the limited pieces survive today are in private hands, we will mainly refer to two types of reliable second-source in this section – the printed collection of patterned letter paper and the printed collection of the ink impression of the copper stationery. These sources will be further explained in the following parts of this section. See: Lu Xun 魯迅 and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜 (Beiping Manual of Patterned Letter Paper) (Shanghai: 1933); Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄 and Gu Xi 谷溪, *Chen Shizeng hua tong* 陳師曾畫銅 (Chen Shizeng's Paintings on the Copper) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996); Gu Minghe 顧鳴鶴, *Qingfengtang cang ke tongmohe* 清風堂藏刻銅墨盒 (Carved Copper Box for Liquid Ink in the Collection of Qingfengtang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007).

⁵²⁹ Zhou Shuren 周樹人, *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* 域外小說集 (A Collection of Foreign Novels) (Tokyo: Kanda insatsu, 1909).

⁵³⁰ Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters) (Beijing: Zhonghua

title, they also composed a significant part of the entire design of the book cover. The style of Chen's calligraphy was in balance with the monochromic illustration situated above the title; the deliberate selection of scripts from the ancient dictionary *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters* catered for the archaic and abstruse writing style of the translator Lu Xun.⁵³¹ The illustration, according to Lu Xun's brother Zhou Zouren 周作人 (1885-1967), was an artwork of graphic design from Germany, which depicted a young lady playing a harp in the foreground, with the stunning sunrise on the sea in the far distance. A pigeon was flying towards the lights.⁵³² The lady could possibly represent Muses, the goddess of arts and literature from the Greek mythology.⁵³³ As the illustration was executed with thin and dense lines, the structure of the Chinese characters was relatively loose, in order to keep the composition of the whole cover in balance. Particularly, the character *ji* 厶 (collection) used by Chen in the title was a variant of *ji* 集 (collection).⁵³⁴ I believe that the reason why he did not keep the seal script *ji* 𠂔 (collection) from *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters* was that the structure and strokes of the original script were much too complicated when compared to the other four characters, thus breaking the balance in the composition of the title. The variant composed of abbreviated strokes would fit better in the title and the entire cover. As a result, the seemingly contrasting and irrelevant Western mythological symbolisation and the ancient Chinese characters perfectly demonstrated the content of the book.

This book title was not Chen Shizeng's only attempt at revitalising artistic elements from traditional Chinese art and culture, and reusing them for modern, practical purposes. His design for advertisements during the activities of the Society of Literature and Fine Arts in Shanghai in 1912 showed similar methods, which was

shuju, 2013).

⁵³¹ Dong Bingyue 董炳月, "Lu Xun zaonian de meishuguan yu xiangguan wenti 鲁迅早年的美術觀與相關問題 (Lu Xun's Early Perspectives on Fine Arts and Related Issues)," in *Lu Xun xing ying* 鲁迅形影 (Impressions of Lu Xun), Dong Bingyue 董炳月 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2015), 88-90.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ "Ji 集 (assemble)," *Handian* 漢典 (A Dictionary of Chinese Characters), accessed January 4, 2020, <https://www.zdic.net/hans/集>.

pointed out in particular in the news about the first meeting of the society in the *Pacific Times* on 18 May 1912.⁵³⁵ Chen's designed patterns were collected in the society magazine *Wenmei* 文美 (Literature and Fine Arts), and were composed of the scripts from the *zhuye bei* 竹葉碑 (bamboo-leaf stele) from the Han Dynasty.⁵³⁶ It was an innovative design which brought the previously obscure inscriptions on the Han steles into practical use for a wider audience, namely the readers of the *Pacific Times*. In the meantime, Chen's design was of considerable artistic value. This invention not only represented the category of advertisement design in the magazine but was also highly praised in the news: 'It is of elegant and archaic taste which is representative of the national essence of East Asia. 趣味高古，可以為亞東國粹之代表。'⁵³⁷ Unfortunately, apart from the text, we cannot find pictorial sources of this or any other of Chen's advertisement designs.

Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists started to engage in arts and crafts design from the 1910s. It was not only an artistic movement aiming at testifying the utility of scholarly painting, but also deriving from economic motivations. As for Chen, he started to design copper stationery and patterned letter paper not long after he moved to Beijing for his new job at the Ministry of Education in 1913.⁵³⁸ According to one of Chen's student from Nantong Normal College, who published an article in 1944 recalling the life of his late master, using his pen-name Qiusi 秋思:

When Mr Chen [Chen Shizeng] held an official position in Beijing, the payment of salary could be delayed for more than five or six months due to the shortage in the treasury. Therefore, [Mr Chen] carved copper boxes for liquid ink for the old markets in *Liulichang* to support himself.

⁵³⁵ "Wenmeihui diyi hui kaihui zhi shengkuang 文美會第一回開會之盛況 (The Spectacular First Meeting of the Society of Literature and Fine Arts)," *Taipingyang bao* 太平洋報 (Pacific Times), May 18, 1912, 12.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Qiusi 秋思, "Xiu Daoren Chen Shizeng 朽道人陳師曾 (Mr Chen Shizeng)," *Beiji* 北極 (The North Pole) 5, no. 1 (1944): 17.

先生官京曹，以國庫竭缺，俸恒積欠至五六月以上不可得。自恃為琉

璃廠舊肆鑄銅墨水匣面以自贍。⁵³⁹

Considering the crumbling economy of Beijing and China under the rule of the warlords from 1912 to 1927, as mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, Qiusi's version of story is quite plausible.

The way in which Chen Shizeng collaborated with the professional copper carvers, as mentioned by Qiusi in his article, is not accurate. Chen did not carve the copper on his own. He was responsible for designing the patterns to be carved by drawing on paper with ink and brush. He would then hand his drafts over to professional carvers such as Zhang Yuecheng 張樾丞 (1883–1961) to transfer the patterns onto the surface of the copper stationery with a carving knife.⁵⁴⁰ Sometimes, the carver would first spread a thin layer of white powder, probably lime powder, on the cover, enabling Chen or other painters to execute painting and calligraphy directly on the surface.⁵⁴¹

Carving patterns onto copperware had a long history in China, dating back as far as the Western Zhou Dynasty 西周 (c.1045-771 BC). The design of copper stationery did not become popular until the late Qing and the early Republican periods, when stationery was no longer seen as just tools for writing.⁵⁴² Following the engagement of *Jingpai* artists in design, copper stationery became artworks of elegant taste, which the scholars of Beijing used and appreciated daily. According to the textual research of Zhou Jilie, who cites two books written by the founder of Yide Ge 壹得閣 (Yide Pavilion) - Xie Songdai 謝松岱 (active in the second half of the 19th century), copper boxes for liquid ink made their debut in Beijing during Emperor Daoguang's 道光

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄, "Xu 序 (Preface)," in *Chen Shizeng hua tong* 陳師曾畫銅 (Chen Shizeng's Paintings on the Copper), ed. Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄 and Gu Xi 谷溪 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996), 1-2.

⁵⁴¹ Gu Heming 顧鶴鳴 and Zhou Jilie 周繼烈, *Mohe cunzhen* 墨盒存珍 (A Collection of Boxes for Liquid Ink) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2003), 5-7.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 3.

reign (1820-1850).⁵⁴³ This kind of copper box became very popular within the scholars' circle because it was small and easy to carry around. Most importantly, it was able to contain liquid ink, saving people the trouble of grinding solid ink before writing.⁵⁴⁴ Following the popularity of the box for liquid ink, there appeared two periods when the business of carving copper boxes for liquid ink was prosperous. Chen Yinsheng 陳寅生 (1830-1908), the founder of Wanfeng Zhai 萬豐齋 (Wanfeng Pavilion), whose business in copper boxes for liquid ink at Liulichang was a huge success. Chen excelled at calligraphy, painting and seal carving, and was able to carve directly on the surface of the box cover without preparing drafts in advance.⁵⁴⁵

Later the Zhang brothers, Zhang Yuecheng and Zhang Shoucheng 張壽丞 (active in the first half of the 20th century) opened another shop Tonggu Tang 同古堂 (Tonggu Studio) to sell copper boxes for liquid ink at Liulichang in 1912. In addition to the marvellous skills in carving on copperware, Tonggu Studio stood out because the Zhang brothers worked closely with renowned *Jingpai* artists.⁵⁴⁶ It was said that during his time in Beijing, Chen Shizeng paid frequent visits to the Zhang brothers at Tonggu Studio, and whenever he went there, he would execute drawings and calligraphy for the copper stationery.⁵⁴⁷

Chen Shizeng huatong 陳師曾畫銅 (Chen Shizeng's Paintings on Copper), edited by his son Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄 (1917-2000), contained 93 ink impressions from the copper stationery designed by Chen Shizeng.⁵⁴⁸ While most of the impressions were in squares and rectangles (Fig. 6. 07 and Fig. 6. 08), there were a few round or oval ones (Fig. 6. 09 and Fig. 6. 10). Chen's designs can be divided into the following subject matters: poetic landscapes; *suihan sanyou* 歲寒三友 (three friends

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁴⁴ Jiang Jin 姜晉, *Cangwu mizhen* 藏物覓珍 (Seeking for Treasures in the Private Collection) (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2012), 289.

⁵⁴⁵ Gu and Zhou, *Mohe cunzhen*, 5-7.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Jiang Weiqun 姜維群, *Wenfang yawan lu* 文房雅玩錄 (Elegant Toys in the Scholar's Studio) (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2014), 73.

⁵⁴⁸ Chen and Gu, *Chen Shizeng hua tong*.

of winter – the pine tree, the bamboo and the plum blossom) or *si junzi* 四君子 (four gentlemen – the plum blossom, the orchid, the bamboo and the chrysanthemum) and calligraphy written in seal-scripts. The subject matter chosen by Chen not only demonstrated the typical and traditional literary taste in art, but also reflected the fashion and popularity of the local market.

As for the application of landscape painting to designs, Chen Shizeng repeated some of the themes he had used in his albums between 1912 and 1913, a period when he focused on learning the styles and brushworks of various masters, as mentioned in Chapter 1. For instance, *Kumu zhushi* 枯木竹石 (Withered Tree, Bamboo and Rock, Fig. 1. 06) after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping reappeared in the design *Kumu zhushi* 枯木竹石 (Withered Tree, Bamboo and Rock, Fig. 6. 07). *Fang Cheng Sui shanshui* 仿程邃山水 (Landscape after Cheng Sui, Fig. 6. 11) repeated the thirsty brushwork of Cheng Sui 程邃 (1607-1692) from *Fang Cheng Sui shanshui* 仿程邃山水 (Landscape after Cheng Sui, Fig. 1. 04). Unlike his execution of the flower topic, where the brushwork was abbreviated, the composition was simplified; Chen's landscape patterns for the copper box for liquid ink can be very complex and cramped. *Kongshan shenjing* 空山深徑 (Empty Mountains and Deep Paths, Fig. 6. 09) shows an empty mountain scene with winding paths leading to the depths of the mountain. Above the drawing, Chen inscribed a long poem with 120 Chinese characters in total, written by Tang poet Dai Shulun 戴叔倫 (c.732-c.789) in running script. This example demonstrated Chen's impressive skill in executing such a complex and highly finished drawing on the small, round cover of the copper ink box. At the end of the long colophon, Chen dedicated his work in words to the customer who ordered the copper ink box he designed (Fig. 6. 09). This reveals a difference between Chen's design for copper stationery and for patterned letter paper; while the former was usually a commissioned work by an individual customer thus bearing a dedication to the

commissioner, the latter was ordered by the southern paper shop and could be reprinted multiple times and sold to many customers.

As copper paperweights usually came in a pair, Chen Shizeng's design for the paperweights were in turn special. The pattern on each piece when combined formed a complete picture, just like *Song* 松 (Pine Trees, Fig. 6. 13), *Mei* 梅 (Plum Blossoms, Fig. 6. 14) and *Zhu* 竹 (Bamboos, Fig. 6. 15). This kind of design reminds us of the *tongjing ping* 通景屏 (scenic illusion screen) in Chinese painting, where four to twelve hanging scrolls combine into a single complete painting, as shown in *Lümei Tongjingping* 綠梅通景屏 (Scenic Illusion Screens of Green Plum Blossoms, Fig. 6. 16).⁵⁴⁹ Following the success of the carved copper stationery, Chen started to design patterns for the woodblock-printing patterned letter paper, which was a traditional product sold at the *nanzhi dian* in Liulichang.⁵⁵⁰ The design of the patterned letter paper revealed the ways in which Chen successfully transferred the elite scholarly painting to transferable patterns which could be produced massively and meet the needs of customers.

According to Deng Yunxiang, *nanzhi dian* got its name because the paper, writing brush and ink sold in the shop were all made in southern China before being transported to Beijing for sale. In the long street of Liulichang, apart from the bookshop, the shop for stele rubbings and copy books, and the shop for antiquities, the most significant establishments were the southern paper shops.⁵⁵¹ *Yanshi jibi* 燕市積弊 (Deep-Rooted Shortcomings of Markets in Beijing, 1909) provides a detailed introduction to the function of *nanzhi dian* in late Qing:

⁵⁴⁹ Zhou Kewen 周克文 and Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳, *Zhongguo shuhua jianding* 中國書畫鑒定 (Connoisseurship in Chinese Painting) (Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 2017), 269-270.

⁵⁵⁰ Deng Yunxiang 鄧云鄉, "Changsi zhilüe 廠肆志略 (A Brief Account on Liulichang)," in *Lu Xun yu Beijing fengtu* 魯迅與北京風土 (Lu Xun and the Customs of Beijing), Deng Yunxiang 鄧云鄉 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004), 27.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

This business of the paper industry usually fell into two kinds: Beijing paper shops and southern paper shops. The southern paper shop sold all kinds of stationery for intellectuals, such as writing paper, writing brushes, ink, ink stones, rice paper, letter paper, seals and boxes for liquid ink, contemporary works of calligraphy and painting. Nothing was unavailable.

紙鋪買賣兒向分兩種，有京紙鋪、南紙鋪的分別。南紙鋪所賣都是文人所用一切紙筆墨硯，宣紙信箋，圖章墨盒，時人字畫等等，無一不備。⁵⁵²

Beiping Manual of Patterned Letter Paper, which was published a decade after Chen Shizeng's premature death in 1923, included some pieces of the late artist's most accomplished works of patterned letter paper.⁵⁵³ *Beiping Manual of Patterned Letter Paper* was co-edited by Lu Xun and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958), containing 332 pieces of patterned letter paper collected by Zheng in Liulichang of Beijing.⁵⁵⁴ The manual included four sets, totaling thirty-two leaves of patterned letter paper designed by Chen. Each of the four sets contained eight leaves.⁵⁵⁵ They came from two different shops at Liulichang: Chunjing Ge 淳菁閣 (Chunjing Pavilion) and Songhua Zhai 松華齋 (Songhua Pavilion). Chen had closely collaborated with both shops.⁵⁵⁶ Among the four sets, three were from Chunjing Pavilion: one set of plum blossoms and bamboo, one set of flowers and fruits and one set of landscapes. The Songhua Pavilion set also depicted flowers and fruits. While the plum blossom and bamboo set and the landscapes set were monochromatic, the two flowers and fruits sets were colourful.⁵⁵⁷

If we compare the patterned letter paper with Chen Shizeng's normal paintings on the same subject, we might notice some differences in Chen's artistic execution, such

⁵⁵² Dai Yusheng 待餘生, *Yanshi jibi* 燕市積弊 (Deep-Rooted Shortcomings of Markets in Beijing) (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1995), 26.

⁵⁵³ Lu Xun and Zheng, *Beiping jianpu*.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

as the colour and the brushwork. These points demonstrated the artist's practical concern over the actual process of producing the patterned letter paper – carving the woodblock and printing the pattern out onto the paper. As Lu Xun mentioned in his preface to the *Beiping Manual of Letter Paper*, Chen always kept in mind the woodblock carvers when drafting his designs, trying to save them the trouble of replicating brush strokes which were too sophisticated and thus unachievable with a carving knife.⁵⁵⁸ The following examples from the Songhua Pavilion and the Chunjing Pavilion will illustrate this point.

Each of the eight leaves from the Songhua Pavilion set was branded by Chen Shizeng with seal impressions and inscriptions, demonstrating that the letter paper had been designed specifically for this shop. On the design of the fifth leaf, Chen wrote: 'Shizeng made specifically for Songhua Pavilion. 師曾為松華齋製。' (Fig. 6. 17). He also carved four different seals, using seal scripts, representing the name of this specific southern paper shop he worked for. Three of the five seals read 'Songhua 松華' (Fig. 6. 17a, Fig. 6. 18a), while the other two read 'Songhua Zhai 松華齋' (Fig. 6. 19a and Fig. 6. 20a). The third leaf *Qingting heye* 蜻蜓荷葉 (Red Dragonfly and Lotus Leaves, Fig. 6. 21) showed a red dragonfly diving towards green lotus leaves floating on the surface of the water. This design conveyed, in a reserved way, the poetic meaning of a line by southern Song poet Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206): 'A slim lotus leaf, not yet unfurled, scarcely appears; When on its pointed tip a dragonfly is alighted. 小荷才露尖尖角，早有蜻蜓立上頭。'⁵⁵⁹ A similar theme and composition can be found in an album of six leaves executed by Chen in 1920, each depicting a line from Yang's poems. Chen also inscribed each line next to the image with characters in running style. The fifth leaf was about exactly the same line (Fig. 6. 22). Compared to the red

⁵⁵⁸ Lu Xun 魯迅, 'Xu 序 (Preface)', in Lu Xun 魯迅 and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜 (Beiping Manual of Patterned Letter Paper) (Shanghai: 1933), no page number.

⁵⁵⁹ English translation by Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖. See: Xu Yuanchong 許淵沖, *Songci sanbai shou* 宋詞三百首 (Three Hundred Song Lyrics) (Beijing: Wuzhou chubanshe, 2018), 312.

dragonfly on the aforementioned patterned letter paper, Chen depicted the dragonfly from the album in a more delicate way: after defining the body and wings in a boneless manner with red colour wash, Chen outlined and dotted the head, limbs and other delicate details with thin, black brush strokes.

Due to the limit of the woodblock printing technique where each block could only contain one colour, Chen Shizeng also abandoned the subtle change in colours commonly seen in his ordinary painting practice. This point is best illustrated by two examples from the flowers and fruits set from Chunjing Pavilion. The fourth letter paper shows a detached branch of crape myrtle (Fig. 6. 23), a kind of flower commonly seen in Beijing during spring and early summertime. From Chen's surviving works, we notice that he returned to this subject several times. When we compare the crape myrtle printed on the letter paper with that depicted on a hanging scroll *Yingwu tu* 鸚鵡圖 (The Picture of Budgerigars, Fig. 3. 14) dated 1922, we can see that Chen dropped the method of using nuanced transitional colours to define plants, which could only be achieved by painting on paper with brush, ink and colour wash. For the painting, Chen used tender green, dark green and blue to represent the differences between old and new leaves, as well as the light effects on the surface of the leaves (Fig. 3. 14a). For the parts of the flower, he used white and pink for the petals and two shades of green and ochre for the buds (Fig. 3. 14b). When it came to the designs for the patterned letter paper, colours used for each part were simplified. The sixth letter paper contained a detached lychee branch bearing three ripe fruits (Fig. 6. 24). This time, the colours and short brush strokes used to depict the rough texture of the lychee peel were abbreviated, when compared with Chen's normal execution of this subject, as shown in *Lizhi* 荔枝 (Lychee, Fig. 6. 25 and Fig. 6. 26).

Another example from this Chunjing Pavilion set, *Putao* 葡萄 (Grapes, Fig. 6. 27), indicates the possibility of Chen Shizeng being influenced by the Art Nouveau style in Japan's graphic design during the first decades of the twentieth century. It is likely that the artist adopted this Western and fashionable style in his design to attract potential buyers who preferred new artistic stimulations to traditional routines. Chen

probably encountered this trend during his time studying in Tokyo, both from postcards and from his close friend Li Shutong, who was a student in the Department of Western Painting at the Tokyo College of Fine Arts. This department was then chaired by Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866-1924), who was a big fan of Art Nouveau.⁵⁶⁰ The subject of the grape was not a favourite of Chen's, as he seldom touched on it in his paintings. The fluid, sinuous lines used to define the vines and the flatness of the composition in *Grapes* inevitably remind us of the features of Art Nouveau, as demonstrated by two examples of Japanese graphic designs in the early twentieth century (Fig. 6. 28 and Fig. 6. 29).⁵⁶¹

Chen Shizeng selected one line each from the sage of poetry Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) eight most renowned poems as the themes for his landscape set produced for Chunjing Pavilion. Given the function of the patterned letter paper, both as an art craft for appreciation and a tool for writing, Chen's choice for the subject matter of his design was also driven by economic motivation - to attract potential customers and guarantee satisfying sales for the shops he worked with. In this landscape painting set, Chen transferred the scenes and emotions conveyed through the texts of the following poems to images: 'Yi youzi 憶幼子 (Recalling My Baby Son),' 'Caotang jishi 草堂即事 (An Account at My Thatch Cottage),' 'Tengwang tingzi ershou 滕王亭子二首 (The Pavilion of the Prince of Teng),' 'Guo guhusi jiaoshuzhuang ershou 過故斛斯校書莊二首 (Passing By the Estate of the Late Editing Clerk Husi),' and 'Huai jinshuiju zhi ershou 懷錦水居止二首 (Thinking Back on My Lodgings by the Brocade River).'⁵⁶²

The collaboration between artists and craftsmen, like Chen Shizeng and the Zhang brothers, appeared early in the art history of China. The role Chen played in the process was different from his predecessors. By involving in arts and crafts design, Chen and

⁵⁶⁰ Anne Nishimura Morse, J. Thomas Rimer and Kendall H. Brown, *Art of the Japanese Postcard: Masterpieces from the Leonard A. Lauder Collection* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2004), 155.

⁵⁶¹ Furuya Kōrin 古谷紅麟, "Graphic Design," *Shin bijutsukai* 新美術海 (New Fine Arts) 31, 1906, no page number.

⁵⁶² English translation by Stephan Owen. See: Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Du Fu* (Boston, Massachusetts; Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter, 2016), vol.1, 260; vol. 3, 70, 326; vol. 4, 26, 86.

his fellow *Jingpai* artists narrowed the long-standing hierarchical gap between artists and artisans and took a new identity of designer.

In the late Ming period, the famous artist Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652) worked together with the renowned wood carver of the time, Huang Jianzhong 黃建中 (ca. 1611-1699), on many woodblock-printed pictures. The most well-known product is Chen's last series *Bogu yezi* 博古叶子 (Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures, Fig. 6. 30), drawn in 1651, one year before he passed away.⁵⁶³ This kind of playing cards were usually used during dinner parties. People would drink and play finger-guessing games using these cards. The set of cards was made of thick paper boards with serial pictures printed on them.⁵⁶⁴ For *Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures*, the 48 pages were divided into 4 groups, including images of 149 historical figures like Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), drawn by Chen Hongshou.⁵⁶⁵ Similarly, another set of playing cards, *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌 (Immortals Wine Cards, Fig. 6. 31), which were jointly created by painter Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823-1857) and carver of wood and bamboo - Cai Zhao 蔡照 (1821-1874), came out in 1854.⁵⁶⁶ In the drafts, Ren depicted 48 immortals from Daoism, such as Laozi 老子, Lin Bu 林逋 and Chang'e 嫦娥 in the style close to Chen's *Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures*.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 258. English translation by Wan-go Weng. See: "Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Receives Transformative Gift of Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy from Collector Wan-go H.C. Weng," MFA, accessed July 25, 2020, <https://www.mfa.org/news/wan-go-hc-weng-collection-english>.

⁵⁶⁴ Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zhongguo gudai mukehua shilü* 中國古代木刻畫史略 (A Brief History of Traditional Chinese Wood- Carving Painting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2006), 145, 150.

⁵⁶⁵ Xia Zhengnong 夏征農 and Chen Zhili 陳至立, *Dacihai meishujuan* 大辭海: 美術卷 (Dictionary: Fine Arts) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2012), 161.

⁵⁶⁶ Li Nan 李楠, *Zhongguo gudai banhua* 中國古代版畫 (Traditional Chinese Wood-Block Painting) (Beijing: Zhongguo shangye chubanshe, 2015), 130-131.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

For Chen Hongshou's *Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures*, the historical figures to be included and drawn were chosen by scholar Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525-1593) instead of the painter himself. To the right of the image of each figure, Wang also wrote a short comment on him/her.⁵⁶⁸ Chen was only responsible for drawing the main characters of this set of cards as instructed. For Ren Xiong's *Immortals Wine Cards*, unfortunately, the painter did not demonstrate his own painterly styles. Ren not only followed the format of Chen's earlier work *Shuihu yezi* 水滸葉子 (The Water Margin Cards, Fig. 6. 32), but also adopted Chen's smooth, round brushwork executed with the centred-tip of the brush, which was widely used by Chen in his later years.⁵⁶⁹

Similar to Chen Hongshou's *Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures*, Chen Shizeng's designs of copper stationery and patterned letter paper manifested sophisticated tastes and special concerns for the intellectuals, despite their practical functions as tools for writing. The designs of the stationery assumed that the target customers had good reading knowledge and the ability to appreciate scholarly art. Different from Chen Hongshou and Ren Xiong, Chen Shizeng was able to promote his ideas and designs while collaborating with professional craftsmen. The drafts Chen Shizeng prepared for the copper stationery and the patterned letter paper, which usually contained the four scholarly perfections - poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal carving - were originated from his own creation of *manbi*, and were drawn by the artist himself according to his own will. Bar the size limit, Chen was able to decide the subject matter, style, brushwork and colour himself. In this sense, Chen was not only an artist who worked with craftsmen from time to time, he proactively took on the new role of designer for his own sake. Chen not only convincingly proved the usefulness of painting with his own designs, he also elevated the status of the craftsmen's works in the art world where calligraphy, painting and seal carving used to enjoy higher status.

⁵⁶⁸ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 258.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

Inspired by Chen Shizeng, it became a phenomenon in the Beijing art world for artists to take part in design, specially the design of patterned letter paper and copper stationery. Out of concern for both artistic influence and financial gain, his artist-friends from *Jingpai*, such as Yao Hua, Chen Banding, Jin Cheng, Ling Wenyan, Qi Baishi, Xiao Qianzhong and Wang Mengbai, all worked with the aforementioned stationery shops at Liulichang and engaged in design from 1910s to 1930s.⁵⁷⁰ These artists mostly chose the popular subject matter they mastered and executed the patterns in simplified compositions and abbreviated brushworks. For instance, Chen Banding depicted plum blossoms and chrysanthemum (Fig. 6. 33 and Fig. 6. 34), Xiao described the tranquil and scenic landscape (Fig. 6. 35), while Qi presented his humorous yet satirical figures (Fig. 6. 36) as well as vivid animals such as the shrimps (Fig. 6. 37). Wang applied his true-to-life depictions of chickens to his designs (Fig. 6. 38 and Fig. 6. 39). Qi, who had gained his reputation as an accomplished seal carver in Beijing before being recognised as a renowned painter, went even further by carving patterns and calligraphy directly onto the surface of the copper.⁵⁷¹ In these cases, he did not need to draw drafts in advance or seek assistance from professional copper carvers like the Zhang brothers.⁵⁷² Qi's comprehensive engagement in designing and carving the copper stationary objectively combined the roles of artist, designer and craftsman all in one. As a result, Qi bridged, to a large extent, the gap between the artist and the artisan.

Conclusion

The discussion on the application and promotion of graphic design in the art world of Beijing during the early twentieth century was related to popular trends at the time - artists and artworks were believed to be required to be 'useful' and contribute to the industrial development of the country. This attitude developed due to the profound influence of Pragmatism in China. *Tu'an hua*, which was seen to enhance the

⁵⁷⁰ Lu Xun and Zheng, *Beiping jianpu*, no page number.

⁵⁷¹ Jiang, *Wenfang yawan lu*, 59.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

competitiveness of domestic products by improving their aesthetic quality, was introduced to give scholarly painting practical functions and to enrich the domain of modern art in China.

In theory, due to the efforts of Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists, graphic design was incorporated into the art educational system of Beijing and became a new field of academic research. In practice, Chen first applied scholarly painting to arts and crafts design while sustaining continuity in the brushwork and poetic meaning of his artworks. By occupying the role of designers, scholar-artists like Chen no longer idolised their identities as cultural elites; instead, they testified to the utility of scholarly painting in the contemporary world, thus facilitating its preservation and modernisation.

Chen Shizeng's prolific art career and his diligent endeavours in modernising scholarly painting came to a sudden end when the artist passed away unexpectedly in the summer of 1923. The artistic ideas and approaches he proposed remained influential in the history of modern Chinese art.

In the following chapter, the final chapter of this dissertation, we will explore how changes in the circumstances of the art world of Beijing after Chen's death determined the direction of visual culture of Beijing, thus shaping the writing of the modern painting history of China in the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 7

Jingpai Beyond Chen Shizeng's Times

The last chapter of this dissertation examines the situation of the art world in Beijing after Chen Shizeng's death in 1923. Taking Chen and *Jingpai* as an example, we will first explore the ways in which contemporary Chinese painters and their artworks were usually introduced to and promoted within foreign countries during the first half of the twentieth century. The following two sections try to answer a controversial question: when art societies ceased to operate and artists became independent individuals in the context of war and political turmoil between the 1930s and the 1970s, could *Jingpai* still be considered to exist? Section 7.2 investigates the paths taken by painters in Beijing according to different political circumstances. The last section looks at the 'Qi Baishi phenomenon.' After 1949, why and how did the *Jingpai* blur into and ultimately become Qipai 齊派 (Qi Baishi School of Painting)? How did the 'Qi Baishi phenomenon' impact on our understanding of visual culture in Beijing and on the writing of China's history of painting, during the first half of the twentieth century?

7.1 Building an International Image – 'Contemporary Chinese Painting'

In the first half of the twentieth century, basing on the modern practice of art salon, living Chinese painters and their artworks were usually introduced overseas through international exhibitions and publications. Among the many painting schools in China, *Jingpai* represented, for the first time in the twentieth century, an image of contemporary Chinese painting outside the country, not only in Japan but also in the United States and Europe, starting from the early 1920s. To trace the origin of this

international profile for national painting, and the role played by *Jingpai*, we will look at the following two cases, gleaned from previously underexplored sources.

The first primary source is *Uiki kinga roku* 禹域今畫錄 (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting, Fig. 7. 01) compiled by Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868-1927) and published in the early spring of 1922.⁵⁷³ It was the first catalogue that contained paintings of living Chinese artists, most of whom were core members of *Jingpai* or their followers, published outside China. According to Olivier Krischer, Ōmura made the first attempt to introduce a group of contemporary Chinese painters to Japan by publishing this catalogue, most of whom were unknown to the potential audience there.⁵⁷⁴ The catalogue was based on Ōmura's study during his first visit to China between October 1921 and January 1922. The details of his travel were faithfully recorded in his diaries.⁵⁷⁵ Krischer also points out that the use of the archaic name of China - *u-iki* 禹域 - demonstrates the particular social and historical situation of the city Beijing where the old mixed with the new, as mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation.⁵⁷⁶

In the preface of *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* (Fig. 7. 02), Ōmura Segai stated that the main purposes of his travelling in China were to visit famous collectors of ancient Chinese paintings and photograph their collections for art historical research. He also collected artworks, biographies and price lists from living painters in China, in order to introduce contemporary Chinese paintings to Japan and enable Japanese people to purchase paintings accordingly, thus facilitating the artistic exchange between the two countries. His trip was also designed to support his research article 'Bujinga no fukkō 文人畫の復興 (The Revival of Scholarly Painting).'⁵⁷⁷

To achieve his goals, Ōmura Segai contacted the two leaders of *Jingpai*, Chen Shizeng and Jin Cheng, for help. It is interesting to note that the two separate lists of

⁵⁷³ English translation by Olivier Krischer. See: Olivier Krischer, "Making 'Oriental' Art History: Ōmura Segai and Sino-Japanese Art Relations in the 1910s-20s" (PhD diss., University of Tsukuba, 2010), 176-177.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 177.

⁵⁷⁵ Ōmura Segai 大村西崖, ed. Yoshida Chizuko 吉田千鶴子, *Seigai Chūgoku ryokō nikki* 西崖中国旅行日記 (Segai's Travel Diaries in China) (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2016), 7-120.

⁵⁷⁶ Krischer, "Making 'Oriental' Art History" 177.

⁵⁷⁷ Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖, "Preface," in *Uiki kinga roku* 禹域今畫錄 (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting) (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

accomplished painters in Beijing each provided by Chen and Jin respectively contained largely the same names.⁵⁷⁸ They represented a generally accepted view on the achievements of contemporary painters in Beijing.

The visit to Chen Shizeng was recorded in Ōmura's diary of 1st November 1921, where he noted Chen's opinions on brilliant painters in Beijing and their specialties.⁵⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that the list provided by Chen demonstrated a clear division between scholar painters and professional painters. According to Chen, among his fellow *Jingpai* painters, Tang Dingzhi and Lin Qinnan specialised in both literature and painting; Yao Hua was more proficient in literature than in painting; Chen Banding, Wang Mengbai, Xiao Junxian and Xiao Qinzong could only be regarded as professional painters.⁵⁸⁰

Ōmura Segai recorded the proficient painters recommended by Chen Shizeng in the aforementioned way because he also paid attention to the identities of these painters, especially whether or not they had been designated as scholar painters. This is because of Ōmura's definition of scholarly painting, as translated into Chinese by Chen and included in *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu* 中國文人畫之研究 (The Study of the Scholarly Painting in China).⁵⁸¹ Ōmura argued that 'scholarly painting is the kind of painting executed by the scholar, thus it is also known as scholarly painting. 文人畫者，有文學人所作之畫也，又謂文人士大夫之畫。'⁵⁸² Ōmura's definition of scholarly painting placed emphasis on the identity of the person who created the painting, which is different from Chen's definition, which focused more on the spirits and features conveyed through the painting than the painters themselves, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

In an earlier diary entry dated 28 October, Ōmura Segai also noted that Jin Cheng gave him a list of Beijing artists, whom Jin believed to be proficient in painting. Jin

⁵⁷⁸ Ōmura and Yoshida, "October 28, 1921," "November 1st, 1921," in *Seigai Chūgoku ryokō nikki*, 12, 18.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Ōmura Segai 大村西崖 and Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu* 中國文人畫之研究 (The Study of the Scholarly Painting in China) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016), 41.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

claimed that there were around forty skilled painters in Beijing.⁵⁸³ Jin also introduced Ōmura to some famous collectors in Beijing.⁵⁸⁴ Ōmura visited most of the painters introduced by Chen Shizeng and Jin in Beijing and received brief autobiographies, price lists and artworks from them.⁵⁸⁵

As a result of Ōmura Segai's field work and interviews, *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* consisted of biographies and paintings from 44 living painters, 23 of whom were members of *Jingpai*: Chen Shizeng, Jin Cheng, Yao Hua, Xiao Junxian, Xiao Qianzhong, Wang Mengbai and their followers. The rest were painters from southern China, such as from Shanghai; most of them were also introduced to Ōmura by Chen and Jin.⁵⁸⁶ Chen and Jin's familiarity with Shanghai painters not only indicates the fame they enjoyed in art world of China, but also demonstrates the close communication and collaboration between the two centres of national painting in China.⁵⁸⁷

Olivier Krischer states that in terms of language and format, *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* followed the previous example of *Yūgen Gazon* 又玄画存 (A Catalogue of Paintings from Yūgen Painting Society), an exhibition catalogue published by *Yūgen Gasha* 又玄画社 (Yūgen Painting Society).⁵⁸⁸ Yūgen Painting Society was a painting group of scholar painters organised by Ōmura Segai; it held exhibitions in 1919 and published two exhibition catalogues known as *A Catalogue of Paintings from Yūgen Painting Society*.⁵⁸⁹ The texts of *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* were written in classical Chinese with traditional Chinese characters. The specific selection of language was probably because Ōmura planned to send a few copies back to his collaborators in China.⁵⁹⁰ The format of each artist's content started

⁵⁸³ Ōmura and Yoshida, "October 28, 1921," "November 1st, 1921," in *Seigai Chūgoku ryokō nikki*, 12, 18.

⁵⁸⁴ According to Jin Cheng, famous collectors in Beijing included: Baoxi 寶熙 (1871-1942), Yang Yinbo 楊蔭伯 (active in the early twentieth-century), Wanyan Jingxian 完顏景賢 (1876-1926), Wang Xiangshu 汪向叔 (1877-1951) and so on. See: Ibid., 12. According to Ōmura's preface to *Uiki kinga roku*, he visited these collectors and photographed their painting collections for art historical research. See: Ōmura, "Preface," in *Uiki kinga roku*, no page number.

⁵⁸⁵ Ōmura and Yoshida, *Seigai Chūgoku ryokō nikki*, 7-12.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 12, 18.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 14, 17-18.

⁵⁸⁸ Krischer, "Making "Oriental" Art History," 177.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

with a one-page autobiography followed by an average of three artworks. All the images were faithfully produced using a collotype printing technique and were thus of very high quality.

Taking Chen Shizeng's catalogue entry as an example, Page One was an abbreviated autobiography written by Chen (Fig. 7. 03), while the following three pages each contained one piece of artwork executed in 1921. The first one *Shanshui* 山水 (Landscape, Fig. 7. 04) defined an elegant mountain scene mainly by ink lines, with simplified texture methods and ink washes. The second artwork *Mei* 梅 (Plum Blossoms, Fig. 7. 05) depicted a detached yet flourishing branch of plum blossoms in free-hand style. The last piece *Xingshu* 行書 (Running-Style Calligraphy, Fig. 7. 06) demonstrated Chen's calligraphy written in running scripts and was dedicated to Ōmura Segai.

As indicated by the short notice on the first page of the catalogue (Fig. 7. 07), *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* had a print run of only 300 copies. It is often believed that this painting catalogue had a limited impact on the art world of Japan.⁵⁹¹ If we read the short notice carefully, we identify the important commercial function of this catalogue: introducing contemporary Chinese painters to potential buyers in Japan. We will see that this function was very useful to these painters from China, especially the *Jingpai* painters.

On this matter, Yūgen Painting Society acted as the art agent for this group of Chinese painters listed in *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting*, as the last sentence of the short notice indicated that pre-payment would be sent to painters immediately upon receipt, requesting them to execute paintings according to orders received (Fig. 7. 07).⁵⁹² Ōmura Segai took an active part in collecting price lists from living painters in China; although those price lists were not published in *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting*.⁵⁹³ According to Gotō Ryōko, Ōmura was probably

⁵⁹¹ "Notice to Readers," in *Uiki kinga roku* 禹域今畫錄 (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting) (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖, "Preface," in *Uiki kinga roku* 禹域今畫錄 (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese

the first Japanese person to extensively collect price lists from contemporary Chinese painters from as early as the 1920s. His special activity showed his strong interest in and close association with the art market in China.⁵⁹⁴

For Chinese painters who submitted artworks to the second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition, especially Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists, *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* functioned as a comprehensive introduction to the potential Japanese audience in advance, intended to attract more buyers to the exhibition in order to guarantee better sale. It is noteworthy that *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* came out first in the early spring of 1922, while the Second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition opened in Tokyo on 11 May of the same year (1922). For this exhibition, Chen Shizeng and Jin Cheng took over one hundred paintings by almost the same group of Beijing and Shanghai artists as previously identified in *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting*.⁵⁹⁵ We must not overlook that there was no exhibition catalogue published for this exhibition. It was not until the fourth exhibition held in 1926 that the official illustrated exhibition catalogue finally came out.⁵⁹⁶ The value of *A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting* as a useful reference guide and promotional tool for Chinese artists was beyond question.

The second case to be considered is a travelling exhibition - *China: The Land and the People* (Fig. 7. 08) - which started at the Newark Museum in November 1923 and travelled to twenty other major US cities in the 1920s.⁵⁹⁷ This exhibition was co-organised by the museum founder John Cotton Dana (1856-1929), aiming to present ‘the art, culture and industry of China in the broadest context’.⁵⁹⁸ Among the various

Painting) (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

⁵⁹⁴ Gotō Ryōko 后藤亮子, “1920 niandai de yishu shichang yu zhongguo meishushi yanjiu 1920 年代的藝術市場與中國美術史研究 (A Study of Art Market and Chinese Art History in the 1920s China),” *Xin meishu* 新美術 (The New Fine Arts), no. 5 (2016): 56.

⁵⁹⁵ See: Ōmura, “Preface,” in *Uiki kinga roku*, no page number.

⁵⁹⁶ See: Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良, “Kjinhyakunen rai chugoku kaigashi kenkyu -1- minkokuki ni okeru zenkoku kibo no bijyutsu tenrankai 近 100 年来中国絵画史研究-1-民国期における全国規模の美術展覧会 (A Research on Chinese Painting History of the Past 100 Years: National Fine Arts Exhibitions in the Republican Period),” *Bijyutsu kenkyu* 美術研究 (Fine Arts Research), no. 349, (1991): 108-133.

⁵⁹⁷ Walter J. Kidd, *China: The Land and the People* (Notes on the Newark Exhibition) (New Jersey: The Newark Museum and the Public Library, 1923).

⁵⁹⁸ “Connecting People to Art, Science and Education,” *Newark Museum’s Blog*, accessed July 10, 2020, <https://newarkmuseum.wordpress.com/>.

exhibits were fourteen paintings commissioned from the Peking Institute of Fine Arts under the classification of modern Chinese painting.⁵⁹⁹ I argue that this exhibition marked the first time when the artworks by *Jingpai* painters were held as representative of contemporary Chinese painting outside Asia in the Western world in the twentieth century.

According to the introduction in the *China Journal of Science and Arts*, the Peking Institute of Fine Arts was a very active organisation of Europeans in the Chinese capital. It was comprised of three schools: Music, Painting and Design, and Dramatic Expression.⁶⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that John Calvin Ferguson (1866-1945), expert in Chinese antiquity and painting, was an associate of the Institute. According to the *Millard's Review*, Ferguson gave a series lectures on Chinese art for the course in art appreciation offered by the School of Painting and Design.⁶⁰¹ Considering Ferguson's high social status in Beijing as an advisor to the Beiyang Government, his expertise in Chinese art and his strong interest in painting exhibitions held in Beijing, it is possible that he was involved in selecting paintings on behalf of the Institute for the upcoming exhibition in the United States.⁶⁰²

Regarding *China: The Land and the People*, the Executive Secretary of the Institute, Miss Mary Ferguson, daughter of John Calvin Ferguson, demonstrated positive feedback from the US:

We have had very favourable reports from America of the impression made by this group of modern Chinese paintings, and we feel that the sending of these paintings is perhaps the most important piece of work of our whole year, linking up as it does the modern artists of China with those in America

⁵⁹⁹ Mary Ferguson, "Peking Institute of Fine Arts," *China Journal of Science and Arts* 2, no. 3 (May 1924): 296-297.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid. Unfortunately, information on this institute is very limited. We can only find relevant sources from a few English newspaper and magazines published in the early Republican Beijing, such as *Millard's Review* and *China Journal of Science and Arts*.

⁶⁰¹ See: "News from North China," *Millard's Review*, February 28, 1920, 631.

⁶⁰² Ibid. Ferguson's passion for Chinese painting exhibitions held in Beijing can be seen from the various exhibition reviews he published. For example, in 1923, he wrote a thorough review in the *China Journal of Science and Arts* regarding a disaster relief exhibition dedicated to the Shanxi Province, where twenty-four paintings from the Imperial collection were shown. See: John C. Ferguson, "A Notable Painting Exhibition," *China Journal of Science and Arts* 1, no. 4 (July 1923): 307-309.

who are interested in China.⁶⁰³

I discovered that three of the fourteen paintings sent by the Peking Institute of from Beijing to the Newark Museum in 1923 are currently in the collection of the Newark Museum – *Asleep before the Altar* (Fig. 7. 09), *Landscape: Man Herding Buffalo* (Fig. 7. 10) and *Pavilion in the Fairy Hills* (Fig. 7. 11). According to the museum inventory cards (Fig. 7. 12, Fig. 7. 13 and Fig. 7. 14), these three paintings were purchased in 1925, probably after the travelling exhibition finished. Collecting contemporary Chinese painting from the exhibition was a part of the Museum's project to acquire new objects in fine arts and decorative arts. This project based on John Cotton Dana's concept of promoting mutual understanding between the two countries - the United States and China - through ordinary and extraordinary objects.⁶⁰⁴ It marked a new stage in presenting and collecting contemporary Chinese paintings in local museums and galleries. Although we cannot track the locations of the rest of the paintings commissioned for the travelling exhibition, we can infer that they were also purchased by public institutes in the United States.

The biographies of the three painters - Guan Pinghu 管平湖 (1897-1967, Fig. 7. 15), Chen Hongduo 陳宏鐸 (active in the first half of the twentieth century, Fig. 7. 16) and Li Wuhu 李五湖 (active in the first half of the twentieth century, Fig. 7. 17), can be found in the *Uki kinga roku*. According to the autobiographies, Guan, Chen and Li were outstanding pupils of Jin Cheng, known as the second generation of *Jingpai* artists.⁶⁰⁵ In the early 1920s, their artistic achievements were already widely recognised throughout the Beijing art world.

All three of the paintings, *Asleep before the Altar*, *Landscape: Man Herding Buffalo* and *Pavilion in the Fairy Hills*, are mounted in the format of a hanging scroll and are of similar size. The painterly styles and methods adopted by the three painters

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ "Other Lands, Other People," *Newark Museum's Blog*, accessed July 10, 2020, <https://newarkmuseum.wordpress.com/>.

⁶⁰⁵ See: Ōmura, *Uki kinga roku*; Ōmura and Yoshida, *Seigai Chūgoku ryokō nikki*, 12.

demonstrated the goal of the Chinese Painting Research Society, most particularly the philosophy of their mentor Jin Cheng: careful research into ancient methods with a special focus on reviving the technique of *gongbi* 工筆 (refined brushwork).⁶⁰⁶

Guan Pinghu's *Asleep before the Altar* (Fig. 7. 09) defines a Buddhist theme: in the hall of a temple and in front of a statue of Avalokiteśvara, a monk wearing a blue robe is sleeping soundly on the floor. Between the statue and the monk, the smoke of an incense burner is spreading and rising towards the ceiling, creating a foggy and mysterious atmosphere. This painting is finished with refined, delicate brushwork and elegant, bright colouring - typical features of Jin Cheng's style. The other two artists each submitted a landscape painting, both in the style of the northern school. Chen Hongduo's *Landscape: Man Herding Buffalo* (Fig. 7. 10) depicts a man herding buffalos on one side of the two water banks falls into the category of *qianjiang* 淺絳 (light umber-coloured), while Li Wuhu's *Pavilion in the Fairy Hills* (Fig. 7. 11) neatly portrays a red pavilion using the method of *jiehua* 界畫 (ruled-line painting) among the fairy mountains defined in *qinglü* 青綠 (blue-and-green).

The whereabouts of the remaining eleven paintings is yet to be discovered. Given the function of the Peking Institute of Fine Arts, its access to artists' works and the cost of shipping, it is most likely that the majority of the fourteen paintings were from local Beijing artists. If we take into consideration the line-up of painters who participated in the second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition in 1922, , it is very likely that the fourteen paintings of *China: The Land and the People* were also submitted by some of the first generation of *Jingpai* painters, together with their students, most of whom were members of the Chinese Painting Research Exhibition, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

There are two key significances to take from the fourteen paintings on display in *China: The Land and the People*: first, it is the first time that *Jingpai* represented contemporary Chinese painting outside of Asia during the twentieth century; second,

⁶⁰⁶ Lü Peng 呂鵬, "Cong zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui dao hushe huahui 從中國畫學研究會到湖社畫會 (From the Chinese Painting Research Society to the Lake Society)," in *Jin Cheng yu Jingpai huaxue shetuan* 金城與京派畫學社團 (Jin Cheng and the Painting Societies of the Beijing School), ed. Lü Peng 呂鵬 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2017), 6.

the inauguration of the exhibition in late 1923 predated any exhibition on contemporary Chinese painting held in Europe from 1920s to 1940s.

After the first appearance of contemporary Chinese painting in France in 1924, as part of a grand synthesis exhibition on Chinese art organised by local Chinese art students such as Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991) and Xu Beihong, more than two dozen of exhibitions on contemporary Chinese painting were shown in Europe throughout the two subsequent decades.⁶⁰⁷

Among these exhibitions, the two most well-known were the Chinese Art Exhibition in France (1933-1934, Fig. 7. 18) organised by Xu Beihong and the Contemporary Chinese Painting Exhibition in Berlin (1933, Fig. 7. 19) initiated by Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994).⁶⁰⁸ *Jingpai* painters, as represented by the Chinese Painting Research Society and the newly established Lake Society submitted many high quality paintings to these exhibitions, thus playing an important role in presenting contemporary Chinese painting in Europe.

The Lake Society was established in 1927 after the division of the Chinese Painting Research Society in 1926 upon the death of Jin Cheng; in the following two decades it became its counterpart. Core founding members included Jin's son Jin Qian'an 金潛庵 (1895-1946), former members of the Chinese Painting Research Society such as Hu Peiheng, and Jin Cheng's outstanding students Hui Xiaotong 惠孝同 (1902-1979) and Chen Shaomei 陳少梅 (1909-1954).⁶⁰⁹ It essentially inherited the aim and format of its predecessor, proposing that the society would 'preserve the inherent national essence and manifest the advantage of art 保存固有之國粹，發揮

⁶⁰⁷ Michaela Pejšochová, "Exhibitions of Chinese Painting in Europe in the Interwar-period: The Role of Liu Haisu as Artistic Ambassador," in *The Reception of Asian Art across Cultures*, ed. Michelle Huang (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 180.

⁶⁰⁸ See: Wang Zhen 王震, "1933-1934," in *Xu Beihong Nianpu changbian* 徐悲鴻年譜長編 (A Chronological Biography of Xu Beihong), ed. Wang Zhen 王震 (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 2006), 114-144; Liu Haisu 劉海粟, "Ouzhou zhongguo huazhan shimo 歐洲中國畫展始末 (The Chinese Painting Exhibition in Europe)," in *Liu Haisu yishu wenxuan* 劉海粟藝術文選 (A Selection of Liu Haisu's Essays on Art), ed. Zhu Jinlou 朱金樓 and Yuan Zhihuang 袁志煌 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987), 153-162.

⁶⁰⁹ Lü, "Cong zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui dao hushe huahui," 20.

藝術之特長。⁶¹⁰ Before its decline during the war in the 1940s, the Lake Society held more than six degree shows in Beijing and also participated in the first National Exhibition of Fine Arts in 1929, together with the Chinese Painting Research Society.⁶¹¹

Compared with the Chinese Painting Research Society, the goal of the Lake Society reflected the current situation in the art world from an international perspective. It aimed to ‘conform to the requirements of the times and pursue the promotion of fine arts 應時事之要求，謀美術之提倡。⁶¹² Desperate to further revive national painting and gain international recognition, the Society also placed emphasis on ‘facilitating the communication between international worlds of fine arts 溝通世界美術。⁶¹³

It is not surprising to find that the Lake Society took an active part in exhibitions held overseas. For the Contemporary Chinese Painting Exhibition held in Berlin in 1933, more than ten members from the Lake Society showed their paintings, including Hu Peiheng - Editor-in-Chief of the Society’s magazine *Hu she yuekan* 湖社月刊 (Lake Society Monthly), as well as Li Wuhu, whose painting had been on display in *China, the Land and the People* a decade earlier in the United States. It is noteworthy that the *Lake Society Monthly* published images of the Society members’ paintings which were on display in Berlin with bilingual entries (Chinese and English), as shown in Hu’s *Shanshui* 山水 (Landscape, Fig. 7. 20) and Li’s *Qinglü shanshui* 青綠山水 (Blue-and-Green Landscape, Fig. 7. 21). Unfortunately, due to the limit and cost of printing techniques, the images are monochromic. Hu’s *Landscape* was a typical scholarly landscape painting with a poem inscribed on the upper left corner of the painting, which was composed by Hu himself. Following the perspective of the isolated traveller, we find that he had already passed the bridge and gone through the forest, arriving at the misty hillside as shown in the painting. As for painterly technique, Hu’s mastery in the elongated *jiesuo cun* 解索皴 (ravelled rope texture stroke) for the mountain peaks

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 2, 18, 21, 23.

⁶¹² Ibid., 17.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 16.

situated in the background is easily recognisable and originated from the Yuan master Wang Meng.⁶¹⁴ It is noteworthy that in 1933, when Hu's painting was shown in Berlin, the artist had already developed *gufa xiesheng* 古法寫生 (drawing-from-life using ancient painterly methods) practice in his landscape paintings. Just like *Pavilion in the Fairy Hills* (Fig. 7. 11) submitted to *China: The Land and the People* in 1923, Li exhibited another blue-and-green landscape painting (Fig. 7. 21) in Berlin.

Qi Baishi, who was closely associated with the Lake Society and had already been very successful in previous international exhibitions, such as the Sino-Japanese Painting exhibition series, submitted artworks to the Chinese Art Exhibition in Paris together with his fellow *Jingpai* artists. One of his paintings, *Kuishu* 葵樹 (The Palm, Fig. 7. 22), was purchased by the National Museum of Modern Arts and became part of its permanent collection, alongside eleven other paintings.⁶¹⁵ From the monochromatic picture, we can observe Qi's talent in mastering the forceful and unrestrained brushwork for his free-hand style.

In the following decades after Chen Shizeng passed away in 1923, the historical city of Beijing witnessed a change in political regime and fluctuating times of peace and turbulence. The following two sections of Chapter 7 will take the examples of Hu Peiheng and Qi Baishi, who remained in Beijing for the rest of their lives, and Chen's student Yu Jianhua, who left the city and relocated to southern China - first to Shanghai and then to Anhui and Fujian provinces. We aim to extrapolate the choices made by *Jingpai* painters to further explore the theory and practice of national painting according to changes in political circumstances, and how these choices impacted the writing of China's art history.

⁶¹⁴ Jason C. Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-hung's Late Work* (Pieterlen and Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004), 95.

⁶¹⁵ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Bali zhongguo meishu zhanlanhui 巴黎中國美術展覽會 (The Chinese Fine Arts Exhibition in Paris)," *Yifeng* 藝風 (The Wind of Arts) 1, no. 11 (1933): 70-74.

7.2 Beijing Painters in the Age of Peace and in Politically Turbulent Times

When the Nationalist Government was founded in Nanjing in 1927, Beijing lost its position as the capital and the economic centre of China.⁶¹⁶ Many aforementioned *Jingpai* painters, such as Yu Shaosong, Tang Dingzhi, Xiao Junxian, Wang Mengbai and Yu Jianhua, left Beijing and relocated to other prosperous cities like Tianjin, Shanghai and Hangzhou.⁶¹⁷ After a brief interlude of peace, the second Sino-Japanese War broke out and Beijing was occupied by the Japanese from 1937 to 1945.⁶¹⁸ The establishment of the Communist Government in 1949 saw the commencement of a period of peace, during which the development of literature and fine arts was strongly encouraged and supported by the government; this was short-lived, as the whole country fell into the chaos brought about by political campaigns.⁶¹⁹

Due to the departure and demise of famous painters, as well as the discontinuation of leading art societies, such as the Chinese Painting Research Society and the Lake Society, during the wars, *Jingpai* lost the unity and prosperity seen during the peak of its activities. Without the support of the group, painters remaining in Beijing continued their artistic careers independently, thus the idea of *Jingpai* started to become blurred. To keep the term consistent, I will still address the artists who were known as the first and second generations of *Jingpai* painters in the previous six chapters as *Jingpai* painters in the rest of this dissertation. While the relatively stable period saw artists endeavour to further explore the theory and practice of the painting they specialised in, the turbulent years reflected these artists' struggles to survive.

The theoretical and practical exploration of *gufa xiesheng* on landscape painting

⁶¹⁶ Wan, "Nanfeng beijing: minguo chunian nanfang huajia zhudao de Beijing huatan," 111.

⁶¹⁷ See: Yu, *Yu Shaosong zhuan*, 276-278; Jiang Danshu 姜丹書, *Jiang Danshu yishu jiaoyu zazhu* 姜丹書藝術教育雜著 (Jiang Danshu's Essays on Art Education) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), 301; Jia Yijun 賈逸君, *Zhonghuaminguo mingrenzhuan* 中華民國名人傳 (Biographies of the Celebrities of the Republic of China) (Changsha: Yuelu shuhse, 1993), 4; Shen Xiongping 申雄平, *Xiao Junxian nianpu* 蕭俊賢年譜 (A Chronological Biography of Xiao Junxian) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2014), 1-3.

⁶¹⁸ Beijing huayuan, *Ershi shiji Beijing huihua shi*, 137-147.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 209-213.

was one of the most important developments facilitated by *Jingpai* artists during the peaceful intervals. In the first half of the twentieth century, practitioners of Chinese landscape painting frequently left their studios and travelled to scenic areas across China to make sketches directly from life.⁶²⁰ This change of creative pattern resulted from the growing popularity of tourism, thanks to government policies, developments in transportation infrastructure and the revived motto of ‘travelling ten thousand miles.’⁶²¹

Hu Peiheng and Yu Jianhua were the two representative artists in the development of *gufa xiesheng*. Hu Peiheng started to study and practice *gufa xiesheng* in the early 1920s and continued with this topic throughout his artistic career. As Hu pointed out in his 1921 article ‘Zhongguo shanshuihua xiesheng de wenti 中國山水畫寫生的問題 (The Issue of Painting from Life in Chinese Landscape Painting),’ in order to reform Chinese landscape painting, special attention should be paid to *xiesheng*. The technique of *gufa xiesheng* is practicable, elegant and agrees with the principle of painting from life, because initially, Chinese landscape paintings derived from life sketches.⁶²² According to Hu, painters before the Song Dynasty (tenth to thirteenth centuries) did not have many earlier paintings or manuals to imitate, thus after they obtained brushwork skills, they usually depicted nature directly.⁶²³ Contemporary painters could adopt the painterly method of any earlier master that was close to the scenes they saw; they thus did not need to be confined within certain schools of painting.⁶²⁴

A typical example from Hu Peiheng during the early 1920s was his creation of *Yandang shan shier jing* 雁蕩山十二景 (Twelve Views of Mount Yandang), which featured a popular topic for landscape painters from previous dynasties. One painting from this series was also published in the *Magazines of the Studies of Painting* in black

⁶²⁰ “Introduction,” *Embracing Sites: Modern Scenic Painting Exhibition*, National Palace Museum in Taipei. Accessed July 24, 2020. <https://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh109/EmbracingSites/en/page-1.html#main>.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡, “Zhongguo shanshui xiesheng de wenti 中國山水畫寫生的問題 (The Issue of Painting From Life in Chinese Landscape Painting),” *Huixue zazhi* 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting), no. 3 (1921): 3-7.

⁶²³ Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡, *Wo zenyang hua shanshuihua* 我怎樣畫山水畫 (How do I Paint Landscape Painting) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 2017), 106.

⁶²⁴ Hu, “Zhongguo shanshui xiesheng de wenti,” 3-7.

and white: *Dalongqiu* 大龍湫 (Dalongqiu Waterfall, Fig. 7. 23), which depicted this scenario from nature using the brushwork of Yuan master Wang Meng. It is noteworthy that Hu's composition and subject were carefully chosen. He paid less attention to the misty effect of the waterfall, not to mention the structures and the light and shade of the rocks. As Shih Shou-chien points out, Hu executed the waterfall in this way because he tried to apply the dense brushstrokes of Wang to reconstructing the natural texture of the waterfall of Dalongqiu.⁶²⁵

From 1920s to 1950s, Hu Peiheng continued with his study and practice of the issue *gufa xiesheng* and published extensively on the history, theories and techniques of landscape painting. His early works included *Wang Shigu huafa juewei* 王石穀畫法抉微 (Discovering the Painterly Methods of Wang Shigu) and *Lingu chuyan* 臨古芻言 (My Opinions on Imitating Ancient Paintings). Hu's most influential publications were the two guidelines on the practice of landscape painting, which were reprinted multiple times over several decades and inspired generations of art students. In *Shanshui rumen* 山水入門 (An Introduction to Landscape Painting) and *Wo zenyang hua shanshuihua* 我怎樣畫山水畫 (How Do I Paint Landscapes), Hu elaborated his understanding and experience of studying and practicing *gufa xiesheng*, as well as offering detailed steps for his readers. Compared with his 1921 article, the sections on *gufa xiesheng* in the two aforementioned books were more systematic and in greater detail, including the history, methodology and analysis of specific examples. Hu arranged a subsection elucidating the relationship between imitating and drawing from life, demonstrating his emphasis on learning brushwork of previous masters, which he believed was the foundation for *gufa xiesheng*.

When the domestic wars ended, more convenient means of transportation and

⁶²⁵ Shih Shou-chien 石守謙, "Yingxiang xiandai guanzhong: mingshan qisheng yu 20 shiji qianqi zhongguo sahnshuihua de zhuanhuan 迎向現代觀眾：名山奇勝與 20 世紀前期中國山水畫的轉換 (Facing to the Modern Audience: Transferring from Spectacular Views to Early Twentieth Century Landscape Painting)," in *Zhongguo shanshuihua he guanzhong de lishi* 中國山水畫和觀眾的歷史 (A History of Landscape Painting and Its Audience in China), Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2019), 396-397.

political and financial support from the Communist government allowed Hu Peiheng to make several trips to southern China including Hunan, Guizhou and Guangxi, making numerous life sketches which later turned into outstanding landscape paintings.⁶²⁶ His life sketches executed in Guilin were published right after he finished the trip. This catalogue contained 29 colourful sketches, and each image was annotated with a paragraph written by Hu, introducing the background to the creation and the painterly methods he adopted, as well as his philosophy on various aspects of *gufa xiesheng*. For example, Hu was sitting in a boat on a rainy morning when he made the seventh sketch *Xiangbi shan* 象鼻山 (Elephant Trunk Hill, Fig. 7. 24), in order to get a front view of the hill, which was not as commonly depicted as the side view.⁶²⁷ To achieve the misty effect of the mountain in the rain, Hu did not adopt many texture strokes; instead, he mainly used different shades of ink and colour wash to define the structure of the rock, as well as the mountain peaks in the far distance. On *Elephant Trunk Hill*, Hu commented that for painting from life, learning to find the view was the most important step. The view should be spectacular, rather than ordinary.⁶²⁸

This idea was consistent with the fashion of *qijing shanshui* 奇景山水 (marvelous scenery) in the world of landscape painting back in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶²⁹ According to Shih Shou-chien, through the study and practice of *gufa xiesheng*, Hu Peiheng and his fellow artists realised that the landscapes chosen by previous masters in their life sketches were marvelous scenes of the country rather than everyday, urban scenes. In the name of painting from life, Hu and his fellow artists who pursued *gufa xiesheng* actually thought about how to achieve unity of form and spirit in the landscape they defined.⁶³⁰ On the one hand, the marvelous scenery depicted by previous masters became once more the chief subject matter of the early Republican period. On the other hand, they redefined the classic traditions by reconstructing these beautiful locations

⁶²⁶ Zhang Tao 張濤, *Hu Peiheng* 胡佩衡 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2017), 62.

⁶²⁷ Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡, *Guilin xiesheng* 桂林寫生 (Life Sketches from Guilin) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1957), no page number.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Shih, “Yingxiang xiandai guanzhong: mingshan qisheng yu 20 shiji qianqi zhongguo sahnshuihua de zhuanhuan,” 396-397.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

using the painterly methods of old masters.⁶³¹

Following this train of thought, we will look at the large-scale painting *Xiangbi shan* 象鼻山 (Elephant Trunk Hill, Fig. 7. 25), which was completed by Hu Peiheng in 1962 based on the life sketches he made in 1957. This painting demonstrated Hu's mature brushwork. While sitting in a boat, Hu looked up to the side of the hill and achieved his spectacular composition. The upper part of the painting was left blank to emphasise the tremendous height of the hill. Following the path of the boat on the river under sunshine, which was highlighted also by leaving a blank, we can look through the cave and see mountains in the mist in the far distance. The majority of the detail is concentrated on Elephant Trunk Hill, where Hu mastered the *xiao fupicun* 小斧劈皴 (small axe-texture stroke) of Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1523), together with unrestrained ink strokes in random lengths executed using a big painting brush. By applying the ancient painterly methods to a view of the natural world recorded onsite, Hu successfully reconstructed the peculiar appearance of the Elephant Trunk Hill, situated in the beautiful surroundings of the Li river.

Just like Hu Peiheng, Yu Jianhua also an active advocator of *gufa xiesheng*, both in theory and practice. His understanding on this topic was basically consistent with Hu's, and he started to travel and make life sketches in the suburb of Beijing, as well as Mount Tai and Mount Bo in his hometown of Shandong from as early as 1920s. In his 1935 article 'Zhongguo shanshuihua zhi xiesheng 中國山水畫之寫生 (Painting from Life in Chinese Landscape Painting)' and his 1940 book *Guohua yanjiu* 國畫研究 (A Study on National Painting), Yu systematically elaborated the history, significance and methodology of reviving *xiesheng* in Chinese landscape painting.⁶³² He proposed to use *xiesheng* 'to rekindle the innate spirits of Chinese painting 使中國畫復活其固有

⁶³¹ Shih, "Yingxiang xiandai guanzhong: mingshan qisheng yu 20shiji qianqi zhongguo shanshuihua de zhuanhuan," 398.

⁶³² Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, "Zhongguo shanshuihua zhi xiesheng 中國山水畫之寫生 (Painting from Life in Chinese Landscape Painting)," *Guohua yuekan* 國畫月刊 (National Painting Monthly) 1, no. 4 (1935): 71-75; Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Guohua yanjiu* 國畫研究 (A Study on National Painting) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1940).

精神。⁶³³

Generally following the path of Hu Peiheng's *gufa xiesheng*, Yu Jianhua also stressed the necessity of some preliminary training in Western painting for painters who wish to accomplish *xiesheng* in their renderings of the Chinese landscape.⁶³⁴ It is noteworthy that Yu's method was not Chinese-Western synthesis. It is another example of Chen Shizeng's approach to modernising scholarly painting – broad acquisition of new knowledge. Based on his early experiences of learning Western painting, Yu argued, in both aforementioned works, that the purpose of obtaining proper Western painterly techniques was not to adopt them directly into the practice of *xiesheng* for Chinese landscape painting. The training in perspectives, sketching, composition and proportion would help artists to take views and outline the core scenes properly and swiftly during study trips. As for Yu, he admitted using pencil and watercolour to do quick sketches with focused perspective during his travel through the marvelous scenery of northern and southern China. Upon his return, he would revise his sketches, which could be easily transferred to various-scaled formal paintings in the typical cavalier perspective of Chinese landscape painting using the brushwork of previous masters which could best reconstruct the scenes he saw in person.⁶³⁵

During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), Hu Peiheng, Qi Baishi and Yu Jianhua all experienced the loss of their cities to Japanese control. It is noteworthy that the domestic art market became extremely unstable during wartime.⁶³⁶ Hu, Qi and Yu made different choices in order to handle their own situations and to make sure that they would be able to continue the practice of painting.⁶³⁷ Inevitably, the different choices made by Hu, Qi Baishi and Yu decided, to a large extent, their post-war careers, as we will see in the following sections.

Qi Baishi's story is the most well-known. In 1937, when the political environment of Beijing deteriorated, Qi resigned from all positions in local art institutions and

⁶³³ Yu, "Zhongguo shanshuihua zhi xiesheng," 71.

⁶³⁴ Yu, *Guohua yanjiu*, 115-116.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ Beijing huayuan, *Ershi shiji Beijing huihua shi*, 144-146.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

supported his large family solely by selling artworks to non-official Chinese people.⁶³⁸ From 1943 to 1945, Qi even stopped selling paintings and cut off the contact with the outside world, devoting himself to practicing calligraphy, painting and seal carving in his painting studio.⁶³⁹ Staying in Beijing throughout the entire Japanese occupation, Hu Peiheng made different choices. Hu resigned from his post at the rail bureau, where he had stayed for over fifteen years, in 1937.⁶⁴⁰ To make a living, he became the Secretary for the Bureau of Statistics of the temporary government in Beijing in 1939.⁶⁴¹ During the most turbulent years, Hu remained active in the academic art world of Beijing. He was appointed Lecturer in Landscape Painting at the Beijing Normal College in 1940, and the Professor and Provost of the Beiping Art College in 1944.⁶⁴² Unfortunately, after the war ended, people like Hu who kept working for public institutions in Beijing during the occupation were regarded as inappropriate by both by the Nationalist Government and the Communist Government that followed.⁶⁴³ As a result, these people were treated unfairly in the following decades. For example, after Hu Beihong took over the Beiping Art College on behalf of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing in the summer of 1946, he fired four professors from the Department of National Painting immediately, including Hu.⁶⁴⁴

Yu Jianhua managed to escape from the ‘isolated island’ of Shanghai in 1938 and moved to areas in Anhui Province and Fujian Province which were still in control by the Nationalist Governments.⁶⁴⁵ Between 1938 and 1945, Yu continued his pursuits in fine arts education, art historical research and the practice of landscape painting.⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁸ Qi Baishi 齊白石, Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Painting Academy) ed., *Baishi laoren zishu* 白石老人自述 (A Memoir of Qi Baishi) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2014), 171-190

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 187.

⁶⁴⁰ Lang Shaojun 郎紹君, “Hu Peiheng nianbiao 胡佩衡年表 (A Chronological Biography of Hu Peiheng),” in Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 ed., *Zhongguo jinxindai mingjia huaji: Hu Peiheng* 中國近現代名家畫集：胡佩衡 (A Collection of Hu Peiheng’s Paintings) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2007), 203.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Zhu, “Guoli beiping yizhuan sanjiaoshou bake shijian yu guohua lunzhan shijian kaochao yu yanjiu,” 70.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Zhou Jinyin 周積寅, Geng Jian 耿劍 ed., *Yu Jianhua meishu shilun ji* 俞劍華美術史論集 (A Collection of Yu Jianhua’s Art Historical Research) (Nanjing: Dongnan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 517.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 517-519.

7.3 The ‘Qi Baishi Phenomenon’ and the Writing of China’s History of Painting

The last section of this chapter will elucidate the formation of the ‘Qi Baishi Phenomenon’ in mainland China after 1949, to better understand how the idea of *Jingpai* was gradually replaced by *Qipai*. It is also worth considering how this peculiar phenomenon shaped our understanding of the visual culture of Beijing, as well as the writing of China’s history of painting in the first half of the twentieth century.

Artistically, Qi Baishi’s original *honghua moye* 紅花墨葉 (red flowers and black leaves) style formed after his *shuainian bianfa* 衰年變法 (Old Age Revolution) dominated the direction of free-hand style bird-and-flower painting in northern China. Politically, deriving from a humble background in the countryside and making exceptional efforts to study poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal carving, Qi became the favourite artist of the Communist Government after 1949 and was awarded the title of ‘renmin yishujia 人民藝術家 (People’s Artist)’ in 1953. These two aspects, artistic and political, determined Qi’s renowned position as the most well-known painter in China and one of the most iconic Chinese painters in the world during the twentieth century.

According to Qi Baishi’s diaries and oral memoirs, Qi credited his successful revolution to Chen Shizeng. This point has been analysed in-depth by art historians.⁶⁴⁷ What we should stress here is the reason why Chen suggested such a revolution of painterly styles for Qi. As the leader of *Jingpai* and an appreciative audience for Qi’s art, Chen not only knew Qi’s advantages and disadvantages, but was also very familiar with the tastes of the local art market.⁶⁴⁸ Qi was almost sixty years old when he started

⁶⁴⁷ See: Qi Baishi 齊白石, ed. Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Painting Academy), *Baishi laoren zishu* 白石老人自述 (A Memoir of Qi Baishi) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2014), 107-108; Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 108-109; Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章, “Chen Shizeng yu Qi Baishi guanxi yanjiu 陳師曾與齊白石關係研究 (A Research on the Association between Chen Shizeng and Qi Baishi),” in *Shuhua jiankao yu meishushi yanjiu* 書畫鑒考與美術史研究 (Issues of Authenticity in Calligraphy and Painting and An Art Historical Research), Zhu Wanzhang (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011), 357-377.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

to innovate in his painterly styles in the late 1910s, thus his brushwork was forceful, balanced and smooth after decades of diligently studying masterpieces and practicing calligraphy and seal carving. He also obtained solid knowledge of the styles, inheritance and developments of ancient and contemporary artists. When Qi moved permanently to Beijing in 1917, he became devoted to the grotesque and eccentric style of Zhu Da 朱耷 (1626-1705), which was unfortunately not popular in Beijing.⁶⁴⁹

Qi Baishi's unique style of red flowers and black leaves developed out of the fashionable free-hand style of *Haipai* master Wu Changshi.⁶⁵⁰ As a result, the red flowers and black leaves style eventually became not only the brand of Qi's bird-and-flower painting, but also representative of Qi's art in general. According to Zhu Wanzhang, Qi's bird-and-flower painting in the iconic red flowers and black leaves style were also the most sought-after works on the art market.⁶⁵¹

Whilst Qi Baishi studied Wu Changshi's paintings intensively during his old age revolution, he seldom directly imitated Wu's actual works. Instead, he thought deeply about Wu's brushwork, composition and colouring, trying to emulate Wu's ability of giving prominence to the key parts of the painting, while abbreviating that which was extraneous in order to achieve conciseness.⁶⁵²

Just like Wu Changshi, Qi Baishi's brushwork executed using large-size painting brushes in bird-and-flower painting was hard, vigorous and unstrained, featuring the antiquarian taste from the ancient seal scripts. The major differences between Qi's and Wu's styles are that Qi was passionate about using two main contrasting colours, red and black. In his use of ink, he also paid attention to the variation of shades of black in

⁶⁴⁹ Qi, *Baishi laoren zishu*, 107-108, 120.

⁶⁵⁰ See: Zhu Jingsheng 朱京生, "Chen Banding yu Haipai de jinshi shuhua yuan 陳半丁與海派的金石書畫緣 (Chen Banding and the Worlds of Epigraphy, Calligraphy and Painting in Shanghai)," in *Chen Banding de yishu shijie 陳半丁的藝術世界 (The Art World of Chen Banding)*, ed. Wang Qingyun 王青雲 and Zhang Danlu 章丹露 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2017), 42-48, 54; Gong, "Chen Shizeng nianbiao," 44; Liang Hong 梁鴻, "Wang Mengbai lishi diwei zai renshi 王夢白曆史地位再認識 (A Revision of Wang Mengbai's Historical Status)," *Rongbaozhai 榮寶齋 (Rongbai Pavilion)*, no. 2 (2017): 142-161.

⁶⁵¹ Zhu, "Chen Shizeng yu Qi Baishi guanxi yanjiu," 357-377.

⁶⁵² Hu Tuo 胡橐 and Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang 齊白石畫法與欣賞 (Qi Baishi's Painterly Methods and the Appreciation of His Artworks)* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 22.

a single composition. Secondly, due to his experiences in the countryside, Qi enjoyed observing nature, thus he skillfully adopted the technique of *xiesheng* 寫生 (drawing from life) into his depictions. As a result, under Qi's liberated brushstrokes, which were very similar to Wu's, the plants and animals portrayed by Qi were more precise and accurate.⁶⁵³ The upper part of *Hehua yuanyang tu* 荷花鴛鴦圖 (Mandarin Ducks Under the Lotus, Fig. 7. 26), which depicts the lotus in full blossom, is a typical example of Qi's style of red flowers and black leaves. Generally speaking, the flowers of the lotus are coloured in red, while the lotus are in black; there are nuanced variations in shade for both colours. To emphasise the darker area on top of each petal, Qi adopted a stronger red colour to execute even strokes using the centre-tip of the painting brush on petals, which were first done with lighter red in a boneless manner. Similarly, we find at least two shades of black on the lotus leaves. In his composition, Qi arranged two pieces of leaves: the one above the flowers is curled, while the other piece below is unfolded to the viewer. Darker, long ink brush strokes were applied on the large area of greyish ink wash to highlight the clear veins of the leaf; the stalks were also depicted in the same shade of black.

Qi Baishi's painterly methods, summarised from his decades' long experience, were faithfully recorded for the first time in the book composed by his student Hu Tuo 胡橐 (active during the second half of the twentieth century) and Hu's father Hu Peiheng, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang* 齊白石畫法與欣賞 (Qi Baishi's Painterly Methods and the Appreciation of His Artworks).⁶⁵⁴ In this book, what Qi believed to be the best way to learn the art of painting was identified in three steps: *linmo* 臨摹 (imitating), *xiesheng* and *chuangzuo* 創作 (creating).⁶⁵⁵ When learning painting, one should start by imitating high-quality paintings by both ancient and contemporary masters. To imitate was not to simply copy, as one ought to critically consider the

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 13, 21-23.

⁶⁵⁴ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 14.

advantages and shortcomings of previous masters in term of brushwork, composition and colouring.⁶⁵⁶ The second step was drawing from life. For bird-and-flower painting and figure painting, one should carefully observe nature and one's surroundings; for landscape painting, one should travel around the great mountains and rivers of the country, making sketches as well as memorising the scenes before transferring the landscapes onto the paper using the technique of *gufa xiesheng*.⁶⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that applying the method of *gufa xiesheng* to the creation of landscape painting was revived by *Jingpai* painters in the northern part of China in as early as the 1920s, and later became a convention of this group.⁶⁵⁸ The first two steps laid a firm foundation for step three: creating, which was the most significant yet most difficult requirement for a painter.⁶⁵⁹

It was political factors, rather than artistic elements, which played a more important role in deciding the contrasting fates of *Jingpai* and *Qipai*. Due to political campaigns in mainland China from the 1950s to the 1970s - which were particularly fierce in the capital Beijing - and Xu Beihong's significant influence in the art world in Beijing, as mentioned in Chapter 1, *Jingpai* was regarded as conservative and was doomed to a fate of sabotage.

During those troubled decades, Qi Baishi was the only exception from *Jingpai*, whose art and thoughts continued to be studied and promoted. The support of the Communist government, and his close friendship with Xu Beihong assured his unparalleled fame among twentieth-century Chinese painters.

For the Communist Party, Qi Baishi was the ideal painter who could be used as the propaganda to fulfill the mission of 'Wenyi wei gongnongbing fuwu 文藝為工農兵服務 (literature and art should be in service of the workers, the peasants and the soldiers).'⁶⁶⁰ This mission was stated by Chairman Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893-1976)

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., 29-42

⁶⁵⁸ Shih, "Yingxiang xiandai guanzhong: mingshan qisheng yu 20 shiji qianqi zhongguo sahnshuihua de zhuanhuan," 392-408.

⁶⁵⁹ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*, 14.

⁶⁶⁰ Ma, "Qi Baishi de zhiming dizi," 111.

during the ‘Yan’an wenyi zuotanhui 延安文藝座談會 (Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art)’ in 1942.⁶⁶¹ Qi was chosen mainly because of his life experience. Growing up in rural poverty in Hunan Province, Qi used to work as carpenter to make ends meet. Before his twenties, he was mostly self-taught. As he was first building his reputation as a painter, he had to leave his hometown to escape from the local banditry. His determined choice of retreat during the Japanese occupation period in Beijing (1937-1945) was highly appreciated and praised by the Communist Government. It is also interesting to point out that Qi and Mao shared the same place of birth - Hunan Province - and Mao was particularly appreciative of Qi’s paintings.⁶⁶² Using the words of Zhang Tao to summarise, Qi was diametrically opposed to the landlord class, feudalism, capitalism and revisionism.⁶⁶³ As a result, when Qi was designated the ‘People’s Artist’ in 1953 on his 93rd birthday, he was elevated to an unprecedented status, not only in Beijing, but throughout all of China, as the only artist to receive this award.⁶⁶⁴

Qi Baishi’s friendship with Xu Beihong began in the late 1920s and Xu supported Qi’s artistic career throughout the following three decades.⁶⁶⁵ According to Xu’s student Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997), Xu appreciated Qi’s art because Qi had a solid foundation in painting, and he was also creative and versatile.⁶⁶⁶ During Qi’s career in Beijing, Xu first invited Qi to teach national painting at the Beijing College of Fine Arts in 1928.⁶⁶⁷ Later in 1946, when Xu returned to Beijing and took over the College, he re-invited Qi back to his previous post.⁶⁶⁸ After 1949, Xu also secured Qi’s position and salary from the newly established Central Academy of Fine Arts. In private, Xu personally appreciated Qi’s paintings a great deal and was a collector of Qi’s

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid., 87-94.

⁶⁶³ Zhang Tao 張濤, “Qi Baishi de xin zhongguo shidai 齊白石的新中國時代 (Qi Baishi in the New China),” conference paper, *Annual Conference of the International Research Centre of Qi Baishi’s Arts*, Beijing Painting Academy, 23-24 October 2014.

⁶⁶⁴ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*, 124-125.

⁶⁶⁵ Hua Tianxue 華天雪, “Qi Baishi de zhiji: Xu Beihong 齊白石的知己：徐悲鴻 (Qi Baishi’s Like-Minded Friend-Xu Beihong),” *Meishu 美術* (Fine Arts), no. 3 (2016): 118-121.

⁶⁶⁶ Wu Zuoren 吳作人, “Zhuiyi Xu Beihong 追憶徐悲鴻 (In Memory of Xu Beihong),” in *Huiyi Xu Beihong zhuanji 回憶徐悲鴻專輯* (A Special Issue in Memory of Xu Beihong), ed. *Wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 文史資料研究委員會* (Research Committee on Literature and History Sources) (Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1983), 6.

⁶⁶⁷ Hua, “Qi Baishi de zhiji: Xu Beihong,” 118.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 119.

artworks. In public, Xu actively promoted Qi's paintings in various ways. For example, Xu planned and published Qi's first and only catalogue of landscape painting in 1932. He also exhibited Qi's paintings in Europe from 1933 to 1934, and one of the paintings became part of the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Painting in Paris.⁶⁶⁹ As the leading figure of the art world in Beijing after 1949, it is very likely that Xu introduced and recommended Qi to the new government as the epitome of painterly accomplishment and identified him as a useful representative for the new China.

It is noteworthy that Xu Beihong's appreciation of Qi Baishi's art of painting formed a sharp contrast with his attitudes towards other *Jingpai* painters. This was mainly because many of the first and second generations of *Jingpai* painters were strongly opposed to Xu's forceful reformation of the teaching of national painting at the Beijing Art College, which had remained the most renowned art institution in northern China since its opening in 1918.⁶⁷⁰ The painters involved included Xiao Junxian, Chen Banding, Hu Peiheng, Wang Xuetao, Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文 (1896-1974), Chen Yuandu 陳緣督 (1902-1967) and Li Zhichao 李智超 (1900-1978).⁶⁷¹

Xu Beihong's reformative approach to the teaching system of national painting mainly included the introduction of sketch training. This was based on his plan to reform traditional Chinese painting with Western classical realism.⁶⁷² At this stage, Xu's approach to revitalising national painting still seemed to be incompatible with the motto of *Jingpai*, especially in terms of carefully research into ancient painterly methods. Applying his ideas to painting education, Xu believed that a solid and rigid training in sketching was important for students of national painting. For example, in the new curriculum designed by Xu in 1947, just like the students from the Department of Western Painting, students from the Department of National Painting were obliged to take sketch courses for three years.⁶⁷³

In fact, Xu Beihong made three attempts to carry out his new curriculum at the

⁶⁶⁹ Xu, "Bali zhongguo meishu zhanlanhui," 70-74.

⁶⁷⁰ Zhu, "Guoli beiping yizhuan sanjiaoshou bake shijian yu guohua lunzhan shijian kaochao yu yanjiu," 70.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 70.

⁶⁷³ Zhu, "Guoli beiping yizhuan sanjiaoshou bake shijian yu guohua lunzhan shijian kaochao yu yanjiu," 73-74.

Beijing Art College: in 1928, 1946-47 and after 1949.⁶⁷⁴ Each time, it was strongly opposed by different *Jingpai* painters, as they regarded Xu's plan as a deadly blow to national painting.⁶⁷⁵ In protest of Xu, Xiao Junxian and Chen Banding resigned from their professorships in 1928, while Wang Xuetao left in 1937.⁶⁷⁶ Hu Peiheng, together with other three professors, were fired by Xu in 1946.⁶⁷⁷ Qin Zhongwen, Chen Yuandu and Li Zhichao resigned after two months of fierce debate with Xu in late 1947.⁶⁷⁸ Xu won the final victory after he was appointed the First Principal of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in 1949, which was reorganised based on the former Beijing Art College.

When recalling his experience of promoting realism at the Beijing Art College in 1949, Xu Beihong clearly expressed his negative opinion towards *Jingpai* artists:

I was inaugurated as the principal of the National Beijing Art College in the August of the thirty-fifth year of the Republic (1946), and started to promote realism in Beiping [Beijing] soon after. [However] I was confronted with fierce opposition from the diehards.

吾于三十五年八月任職國立北平藝專校長，即推行寫實主義于北平，遭到一班頑固分子之劇烈反對。⁶⁷⁹

It is not surprising to find that many *Jingpai* painters and their followers were treated rather unfairly after 1949, despite their accomplishments in the theory and practice of painting. For instance, Chen Shaomei and Qigong 啟功 (1912-2005) were removed from the Research Institute of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in the 1950s. Wang Mengbai's student Wang Qingfang, as well as Gao Xishun 高希舜 (1895-1982) and Liu Lingcang 劉凌滄 (1908-1989), were not allowed to teach or make artistic

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 68, 80.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 78.

⁶⁷⁹ Xu Beihong, "Sishinian lai Beiping huihua lüeshu 四十年來北平繪畫略述 (A Review of the World of Painting in Beijing over the Past Forty Years)," in *Xu Beihong wenji*, Wang Zhen ed, 149.

creations for a number of years during these political campaigns.⁶⁸⁰ Qiu Shiming 邱石冥 (1898-1970) had no choice but to leave Beijing, going onto teach at art institutions in Xi'an and Hohhot.⁶⁸¹ Most of these artists had a disastrous experience during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). As it turned out, the once prosperous *Jingpai* was undervalued, covered and temporarily replaced by the Qi Baishi School of Painting in China's history of painting of the first half of the twentieth century; its value was rediscovered in the early 2000s.⁶⁸²

Due to Qi Baishi's artistic achievements, the strong support of the Communist government and Xu Beihong, Qi experienced an unprecedented apogee in his art career after 1949, which was a completely different experience to that of most of his fellow artists in Beijing. Following his receipt of the award of 'People's Artist' in 1953, Qi's art of painting, calligraphy and seal carving was promoted across China in various ways. For instance, a 27-minute colour documentary film recording Qi's daily practice in his painting studio, and particularly the complete process of depicting his famed shrimps, was made in 1955, targeting a national audience.⁶⁸³ His individual exhibitions were held in many major cities in China, such as Beijing and Shenyang.⁶⁸⁴ When the Beijing Academy of Painting was founded in 1957, Qi was appointed Honorary Dean.⁶⁸⁵ When China reopened to the world after the ten-year Cultural Revolution, Qi was again promoted through international exhibitions and gradually became the preeminent representation of traditional Chinese art in the world.⁶⁸⁶

As for Qi Baishi himself, it seemed that he took an active part in creating propaganda paintings for his 'new China' during his last years. Doves symbolising love and peace became the main theme of his propaganda between 1949 and 1957. *Heping* 和平 (Peace, Fig. 7. 27), which is currently in the collection of the Beijing Academy of Painting, was executed by Qi in 1953 in this characteristic red flower and black

⁶⁸⁰ Zhu, "Guoli beiping yizhuan sanjiaoshou bake shijian yu guohua lunzhan shijian kaochao yu yanjiu," 79.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸³ Ma, "Qi Baishi nianbiao 齊白石年表 (A Chronological Biography of Qi Baishi)," 225.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ma, *Qi Baishi de rensheng yu yishu*, 119-124, 131-136.

leaves style. In the centre of the painting, a black dove is looking back at the red *Amaranthus tricolor* surrounding it. This kind of plant was one of Qi's favourite subjects and he depicted it in his ordinary style of *mogu* 沒骨 (boneless-manner): dotting the leaves with a light red colour wash and outlining the veins using stronger red. The colour of red in this painting bore a deeper political meaning, as it represented China under the reign of the Communist Party, a metaphor which was commonly used in the national paintings produced after 1949. In order to paint doves well, Qi spent a great deal of time observing their physique and movement; he even raised some at his residence. Although the black dove appearing in *Peace* (Fig. 7. 27) was drawn using abbreviated brushwork, Qi successfully reconstructed the layers of feathers on the wings and the tail, as well as its vivid posture as it turns back. As Qi put it, he wished to pursue the artistic effect of *xingshen jubei* 形神具備 (unity of form and spirit) in his bird-and-flower paintings.⁶⁸⁷

Qi Baishi's free-hand style bird-and-flower painting became the mainstream in the art world of northern China from the early 1950s onwards. It was inherited and further developed by two of his students, Wang Xuetao 王雪濤 (1903-1982) and Li Kuchan 李苦禪 (1899-1983).⁶⁸⁸ Both Wang and Li started to teach at local art institutes in Beijing in the late 1920s. After 1949, Li became a Professor in bird-and-flower painting in the Department of National Painting at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, while Wang was involved in the preparation of the Beijing Academy of Painting and was appointed the Chair in 1978.⁶⁸⁹ Through the influence of Qi Baishi and his two students, a Qi Baishi School of Painting, which featured the free-hand style bird-and-flower painting, gradually built its reputation across the country.⁶⁹⁰

Previously, Li Kuchan and Wang Xuetao were students from the Department of

⁶⁸⁷ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*, 43.

⁶⁸⁸ Ma Mingchen 馬明宸, "Qi Baishi de zhiming dizi 齊白石的知名弟子 (Famous Pupils of Qi Baishi)," in *Qi Baishi de rensheng yu yishu*, 137-142.

⁶⁸⁹ "Wang Xuetao nianbiao 王雪濤年表 (A Chronological Biography of Wang Xuetao)," in *Wang Xuetao huaniaohua jingpin ji* 王雪濤花鳥畫精品集 (Selected Bird-and-Flower Paintings of Wang Xuetao), ed. Beijing huayuan 北京畫院 (Beijing Painting Academy) (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2010), 194, 196-200.

⁶⁹⁰ Ma, "Qi Baishi de zhiming dizi," 137, 139.

Western Painting at Beijing College of Fine Arts before switching to national painting. They became Qi's students in 1923 and 1924 respectively.⁶⁹¹ Wang and Li mastered the technique of painting from life through their systematic training in Western painting during their early years.⁶⁹² We can see from their artworks that they critically incorporated the sketching skills learned from Western painting into their precise portrayals of plants and animals. They did not go as far as to attempt Chinese-Western synthesis and thus sabotage the spirit of the ink brushwork. In the collection of the Beijing Painting Academy, we find Wang's delicate pencil sketches of flowers and birds - *Mudan* 牡丹 (Peonies, Fig. 7.28) and *Zhiji* 雉雞 (Pheasants, Fig. 7. 29) - which were concise and precise. These sketches were accumulated from Wang's usual observations into nature and became the main reference for his bird-and-flower painting.⁶⁹³

As Qi Baishi's favourite students, Wang Xuetao and Li Kuchan strictly obeyed their master's rule - 'Xuewozhe sheng, siwozhe si 學我者生，似我者死 (People who learned from me will thrive, people who resemble me will wither),' which stressed the need for pupils to create and innovate in the creation of paintings.⁶⁹⁴ Wang and Li's free-hand style bird-and-flower paintings diverted from Qi Baishi's in two different directions. Wang's representative works demonstrated his mastery in the vivid lesser-free hand style, with relatively more controlled brushwork and fresh, bright colouring. Wang was interested in using contrasting shades of red and green, as shown from *Mudan* 牡丹 (Peonies, Fig. 7. 30) and *Furong jinji* 芙蓉錦雞 (Cotton Roses and a Pheasant, Fig. 7. 31). Qi appreciated the outcome of Wang's study and wrote a couplet for him in the eighth month of *jiaxu* year (1934), reading 'lan yi qing yi 藍已青矣 (The blue is fading, the indigo is thriving, Fig. 7. 32).' It echoes an old Chinese saying 'Qing chu yu lan er sheng yu lan 青出於藍而勝於藍 (The indigo is originated from

⁶⁹¹ Ibid.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ Beijing huayuan, *Wang Xuetao huaniaohua jingpin ji*, 74, 80, 86, 98, 104, 134-139, 158.

⁶⁹⁴ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*, 11-13.

the blue and is better than blue),’ which is used as a metaphor to meaning that the student has outstripped the teacher.⁶⁹⁵

In Li Kuchan’s late years, he was devoted to creating giant bird-and-flower paintings in free-hand style. The two most well-known works are *Jinjie tu* 勁節圖 (Ink Bamboo, Fig. 7. 33 and Fig. 7. 34) executed for *remin dahuitang* 人民大會堂 (The Great Hall of the People) at the age of 83 and *Shengxia tu* 盛夏圖 (Mid-Summertime, Fig. 7. 35 and Fig. 7. 36) finished one year later. Specifically, *Mid-Summertime* is 368 cm in length and 580 cm in width. As with writing giant calligraphic characters, executing large-scale paintings as such is extremely difficult, as it requires the strength of wrist to control large-size painting brushes freely, the balanced and proportional overview and plan of the composition, as well as the accurate execution of each part. Li could not have achieved these without solidly imitating previous masters’ brushworks, his diligent practice of painting from life, and brave attempts at innovation, which he learned from his master Qi Baishi.

Conclusion

The final chapter of this dissertation traced the legacy of Chen Shizeng and *Jingpai* beyond Chen’s lifetime throughout the twentieth century. In order to assess the profound impact of a specific painting school within a specific period of time, I proposed three factors to consider: the depth and scope of its influence; its iconic artists and their followers; and its contribution to the writing of the history of painting.

The vitality and vigour of the living Chinese artists’ paintings, as represented by *Jingpai*, were demonstrated to the world in the first half of the twentieth century through the platforms of international art exhibitions and publications. Rejecting the abrupt solutions of realism and Chinese-Western synthesis as proposed during the Art Revolution, *Jingpai* offered a different definition of what contemporary Chinese

⁶⁹⁵ “Wang Xuetao nianbiao,” 195.

painting could be, as compared with *Haipai* and the *Lingnan huapai*.

The relatively peaceful years during the first half of the twentieth century witnessed *Jingpai* painters' diligent endeavours in further exploring the theory and practice of national painting. As proficient painters of landscape painting, Chen Shizeng's fellow artist Hu Peiheng and student Yu Jianhua found the same pursuit in *gufa xiesheng*. Their research into this technique in turn facilitated their practice of landscape painting, which was based on the careful study on ancient painterly methods, tourism to scenic areas in China, and the making of sketches, as well as the ability to innovate and create.

During the subsequent political turbulence, *Jingpai* artists made different choices in order to survive and to continue with their painting practice. While some of the artists left Beijing, some passed away and some were suppressed due to political reasons, *Jingpai* gradually lost its significant position in the art world of China after 1949. The rise of the 'Qi Baishi Phenomenon' was mainly due to the interplay between fine arts and politics during the political campaigns led by the Communist government. Before reconstructing the irreplaceable status of *Jingpai* in China's painting history of the first half of the twentieth century after 2000, this regional painting school was temporarily replaced by the Qi Baishi School of Painting. The peculiar formation of the 'Qi Baishi Phenomenon' sheds new light on our understanding and writing of modern Chinese art history.

Conclusion

This dissertation explored Chen Shizeng's attempts to modernise Chinese scholarly painting in the early Republican era and its implications for contemporary and subsequent Chinese painters. It avoids reliance on the bibliographical structure and treats Chen as a contributor not only to the ecology of *Jingpai*, but also to the broader context of the visual arts scene in northern China in the early twentieth century (represented by Beijing and Tianjin).

The research fills in two significant scholarly gaps in the literature of twentieth-century Chinese art history. Firstly, it accurately reflects the role played by the under-researched *Jingpai* in defining multi-modernism in Chinese art, alongside two other well-researched schools – *Haipai* and *Lingnan huapai*. The in-depth research into *Jingpai* proved that when national painting was in decline, Chinese-Western synthesis was not the only means of achieving its reformation and revival; inspiration could also be sought within tradition.

Secondly, while previous scholarship on the visual arts of northern China was limited and mainly focused on one specific *Jingpai* artist (Qi Baishi), the thesis paints a more complete picture of the other artists of the School, especially its leader Chen Shizeng; it argues that they were progressive reformists rather than conservative traditionalists. The main argument raised in this thesis is that through nourishing scholarly painting with Western learnings, Chen Shizeng characterised an innovative turn in the art world of Beijing by re-emphasising the strengths of the cultural and artistic traditions of China.

This dissertation speaks to three main themes which not only signpost the narrative of Republican Chinese art, but also contribute more broadly to the discipline. The first is the in-depth discussion of the modernisation of Chinese painting in the early twentieth century through the lens of the tradition-modernity bind and the cross-cultural perspective. The second is the critical exploration, selection and use of print media and

published works as archival source. The third is the examination of the transformations between various art media, such as ink painting, woodblock printing and collotype printing.

Specifically, I investigate the aforementioned themes through the lens of Chen Shizeng's multiple approaches to modernizing Chinese scholarly painting. In the thesis, I first examined Chen Shizeng's innovative *manbi* works published in the influential Shanghai newspaper *Pacific Times*. Chen's creation of *manbi* associated the elite brushwork and poetic meanings of scholarly painting with popular culture and social realities. Secondly, the localised Japanese-style art salon provided a platform for painters working on different styles and media, living in various cities and countries, to communicate with each other. Moreover, *tu'an hua* was introduced to the art world in Beijing as the new elite art relevant to the country's industrial development and was used to prove the utility of scholarly painting under the impact of Pragmatism. These attempts were the creations of the age. Finally, during a period of such political turbulence, *Jingpai* artists' works and choices of artistic careers signposted their political stances and exerted influence on the writing of painting history.

Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists' identities were further enriched during the process of exploring and practicing the aforementioned approaches used to modernize scholarly painting. They became a new kind of professional painter who could sell their artworks through public exhibitions held domestically and internationally. They were also designers when engaging in the design of patterns for stationery. Most of them also held teaching positions at famous local institutions and wrote textbooks for their own courses.

In the context of the heated discussion around the tradition-modernity bind, the mission of revitalising scholarly painting in the early twentieth century seemed to be anti-modernist. However, the progressive value of scholarly painting Chen Shizeng stressed - which championed the artistic expressiveness of subjectivity, spontaneous spirit, and abstraction - was in accordance with the trends of modernism in Japan and the West during the same era. Through the endeavours of Chen and his fellow *Jingpai* artists, scholarly painting was given new meanings which were applicable to the

situations of the art world in the early twentieth century, thus also contributing to the formation of modern Chinese art.

In exploring Chinese painting's paths to modernity, we should not overlook the inevitable impact exerted by the changes in political circumstances upon painting schools, painters and their artistic careers. Specifically, the political biases appearing from the 1950s to 1970s left the cultural and artistic environment of Beijing and northern China in general underexamined, a situation which partially continues to this day. This study on Chen Shizeng and *Jingpai* is just a starting point for future work in this field.

Research Prospect

The major issue discussed in this dissertation is how Chen Shizeng and his fellow *Jingpai* artists rescued scholarly painting from a severe crisis of survival and identified the means of ensuring its revival. The modernisation of scholarly painting during the Republican period contributed significantly to the definition of contemporary Chinese painting. The multiple approaches proposed in this research, either native or transcultural, compose only a part of the general picture. With more primary sources yet to be discovered, the following issues require further research in the future.

To begin with, Chen Shizeng's association within the Japanese *nanga* artists requires further research. In her memoir, Chen's student Jiang Nanping 江南蘋 (1902-1986) mentioned a small painting catalogue brought back by Chen from Japan in 1912, which included paintings executed by Japanese *nanga* painters.⁶⁹⁶ Artists listed included Komuro Suiun 小室翠雲 (1874-1945), Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂 (1873-1957), Ikegami Shūho 池上秀畝 (1874-1944), Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868-1927) and Yunoki Gyokuson 柚木玉邨 (1865-1943). Jiang also pointed out that while Chen was in Japan, he would attend painting gatherings with these painters.⁶⁹⁷ Chen's

⁶⁹⁶ Jiang Nanping 江南蘋, "Nanping bashi zishu 八十自述 (Reminiscences by Nanping at Eighty)," in *Duoyun* 朵雲 (Flowery Cloud), no. 8 (1985): 71.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

personal contact with each one of the aforementioned painters is worth uncovering. How did *nanga* of the early twentieth century impact on Chen's practical and theoretical promotion of scholarly painting?

We noticed that Jiang Nanping also mentioned Ōmura Seigai. According to Ōmura's diary, when he visited Chen Shizeng in Beijing in 1921, he invited Chen to join his painting society for scholar-painters - *Yūgen Gasha*, and Chen happily accepted the invitation. It would be worthwhile to uncover whether or not Chen attend any activity organised by the Yūgen Painting Society while he was back in Tokyo for the second Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition. If so, how did the organisational techniques of the Society, such as holding exhibitions and publishing exhibition catalogues, impact upon Chen's practice of the art salon back in Beijing? As Ōmura Seigai published *Uiki kinga roku* back in Tokyo, how did the artworks by *Jingpai* painters shape the themes and styles of the paintings by members of the Yūgen Painting Society, as well as other *nanga* painters?

The aim of researching into the symbiotic relationship between *Jingpai* painters and the *nanga* painters in the Kanto and Kansai regions of Japan is to study and compare the different approaches adopted by each group as they attempted to revive scholarly painting in the early twentieth century. We should consider why each group chose their methods and how their outcomes differed. We should also unpack how the study of painting evolved in each area with the reformation of scholarly painting in each country. Investigating these questions would contribute to the broader picture of how 'Asia' endeavoured to preserve its artistic traditions in different ways in an era when there was tremendous clash between the old and the new.

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Plates

Chapter 1



Fig. 1. 01 Chen Shizeng, *Autumn Flowers and Grotesque Rock*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 130cm × 64cm, 1916. Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.

Fig. 1. 01a, Part of Fig. 1. 01, showing Chen Shizeng's colophon.



Fig. 1. 01b Part of Fig. 1. 01, showing the way in which Chen Shizeng outlined the rock.

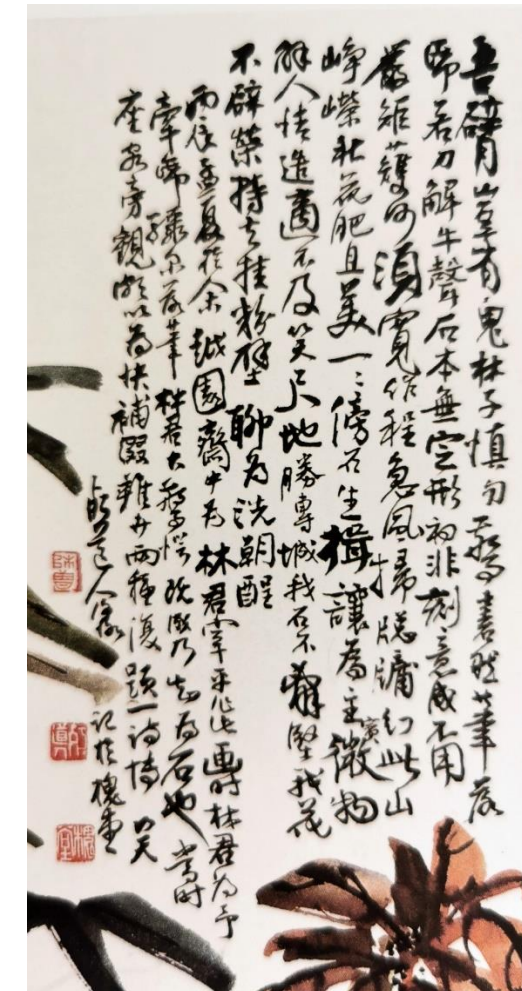




Fig. 1. 02 Wu Changshi, *Edible Amaranth*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 32.7cm × 36.9cm, 1919. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 1. 03 Chen Shizeng, *Plum Blossoms after Jin Nong*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 17.9 cm × 31.5cm, 1912. Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 1. 04 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Cheng Sui*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 17.9 cm × 31.5cm, 1912.
Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 1. 05 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Wu Zhen*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 17.9 cm × 31.5cm, 1912.
Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 1. 06 Chen Shizeng, *Old Trees and Dark Bamboos*, ink on paper, album leaf, 17.9 cm × 31.5cm, 1912. Beijing:
Gugong bowuyuan.

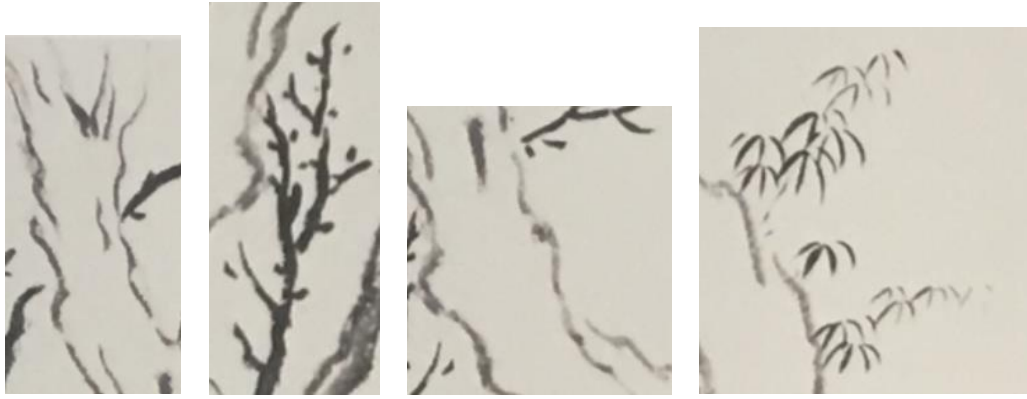


Fig. 1. 06a Part of Fig. 1. 06, showing the thick tree trunk was done with a dry brush.

Fig. 1. 06b Part of Fig. 1. 06, showing the tree in the middle was done with a wet brush.

Fig. 1. 06c Part of Fig. 1. 06, showing the flying-white effect.

Fig. 1. 06d Part of Fig. 1. 06, showing the way in which Chen depicted the bamboo leaves.



Fig. 1. 07 Chen Shizeng, *Red Bamboos after Luo Pin*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 17.9 cm × 31.5cm, 1912.

Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 1. 08 Chen Shizeng, *Chrysanthemums after Yun Shouping*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 20 cm × 30 cm,

1913. Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig. 1. 09 Chen Shizeng, *Lotus after Jiang Tingxi*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 20 cm × 30 cm, 1913. Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.

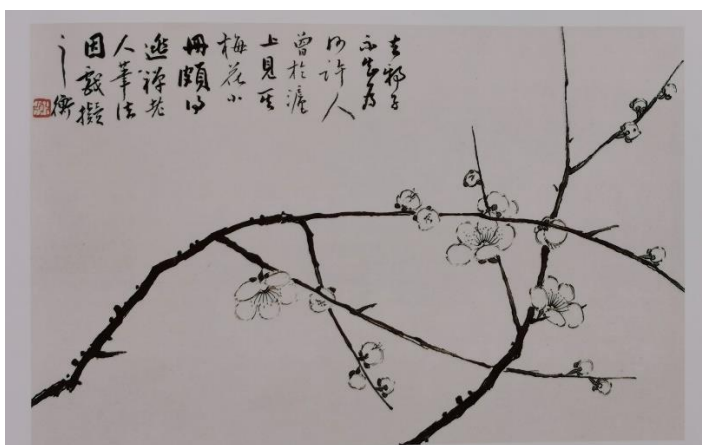


Fig. 1. 10 Chen Shizeng, *Plum Blossoms after Yang Wujia*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 20 cm × 30 cm, 1913. Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig. 1. 11 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Fan Kuan*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 27 cm × 37 cm, 1913. Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig. 1. 12 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Liu Songnian*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 27 cm × 37 cm, 1913.
Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig. 1. 13 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Bada Shanren*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 27 cm × 37 cm, 1913.
Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig. 1. 14 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Mei Qing*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 27 cm × 37 cm, 1913.
Beijing: Beijing wenwu gongsi.



Fig 1. 15 Chen Shizeng, *Hibiscus after Li Shan*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 30.5 cm × 40.5 cm, 1911. Private Collection.



Fig 1. 16 Chen Shizeng, *Peonies and Orchids after Li Shan*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 30.5 cm × 40.5 cm, 1911. Private Collection.



Fig. 1. 17 Chen Shizeng, *Orchids and Rocks*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 130cm × 32cm, 1922. Beijing: Rongbao zhai.

Chapter 2

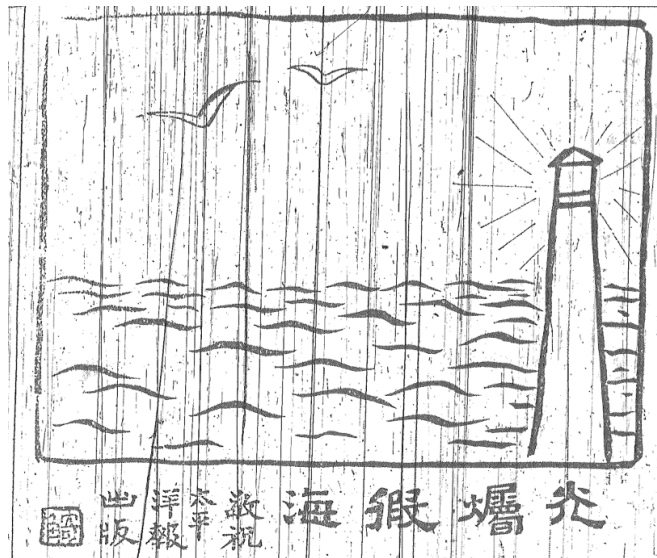


Fig. 2. 01 Chen Shizeng, *The Candle Lightened the Sea*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 12.

June 12, 1920 MILLARD'S REVIEW 71

NANTUNGCHOW

"The Model City of China"

Located on the north bank of the Great Yangtze River, 100 miles from Shanghai in the heart of the fertile Yangtze River valley.

Population of city 150,000	Population of district 1,500,000

Some of the outstanding features of Nantungchow and the Nantungchow district are:

- 1—Center of the great "Tungchow" cotton district, the best grade of cotton in China. Production more than 1,000,000 bales annually.
- 2—More than fifty miles of modern roads, much of which is now being rock-surfaced.
- 3—Cotton and Sericulture Experiment stations and schools of instruction.
- 4—Modern agricultural college with 126 students who do practical work under supervision of foreign-trained teachers.
- 5—334 separate schools with more than 20,000 students.
- 6—Two modern cotton mills with 60,000 spindles, 500 looms and 3,000 operators.
- 7—Modern cotton-seed oil mill which provides a surplus for export.
- 8—Five modern banks and eight native style banks.
- 9—One match factory, one flour mill, one silk filature, one iron foundry, one electric light plant and a direct steamer line to Shanghai and other points.
- 10—Modern office building in Shanghai with modern banking facilities.
- 11—Maintains the "Nantoon" Chinese embroidery, lace and needlework shop. Fifth Avenue, New York City.

New enterprises for the district include hundreds of miles of new roads, the total expenditure for this purpose being in excess of \$300,000; seven new cotton mills; new electric light and power plant; coal mine development to supply the industries of the district; an extensive reclamation project to reclaim thousands of acres of land from the overflow of the Yangtze River.

Visitors are always welcome at Nantungchow. There are two comfortable hotels. Lang-shan Mountain, one of the five sacred mountains in the district, is a beauty spot almost impossible of description. There are hundreds of beautiful temples and shrines and a beautiful pagoda gives a view of the district unexcelled in the Orient. Persons desiring further information regarding Nantungchow or the Nantungchow district are requested to address—

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Nantungchow, Kiangsu Province,
CHINA

Fig. 2. 02 "Nantungchow: The Model City of China," *Millard's Review*, June 17, 1920, 71.



Fig. 2. 03 “Hangzhou huanying benbao kaojian,” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8.

Fig. 2. 04 “Taipingyang bao Nanjing fenguan,” *Taipingyang bao*, April 2nd, 1912, 8.

Fig. 2. 05 “Suzhou daipai taipingyang bao),” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8.

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Fig. 2. 06 “Faxingbu bi guanggao,” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8.

Fig. 2. 07 “Taipingyang bao henbin dongjing jishouchu,” *Taipingyang bao*, April 1st, 1912, 8.



Fig. 2. 08 Chen Shizeng, *Taipingyang huaji*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 28, 1912, 10.

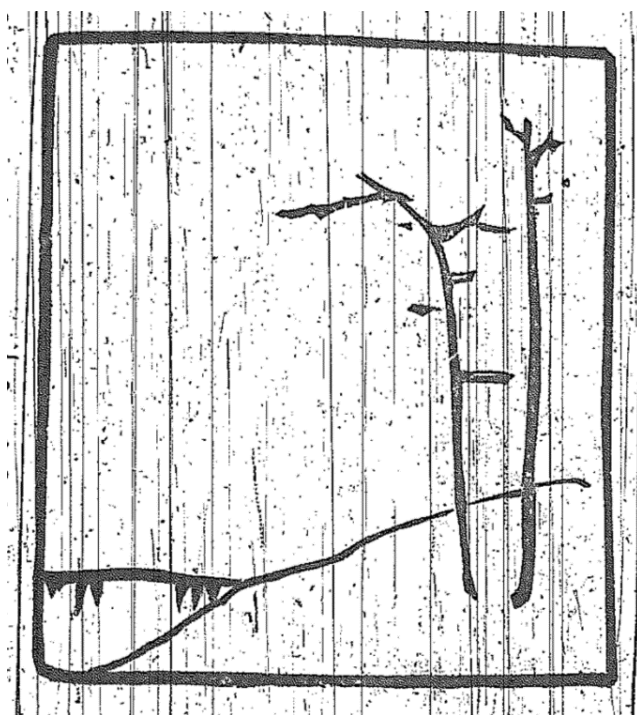


Fig. 2. 09 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape*, ink drawing printed by lithography, in *Taipingyang bao*, April 16, 1912, 10.

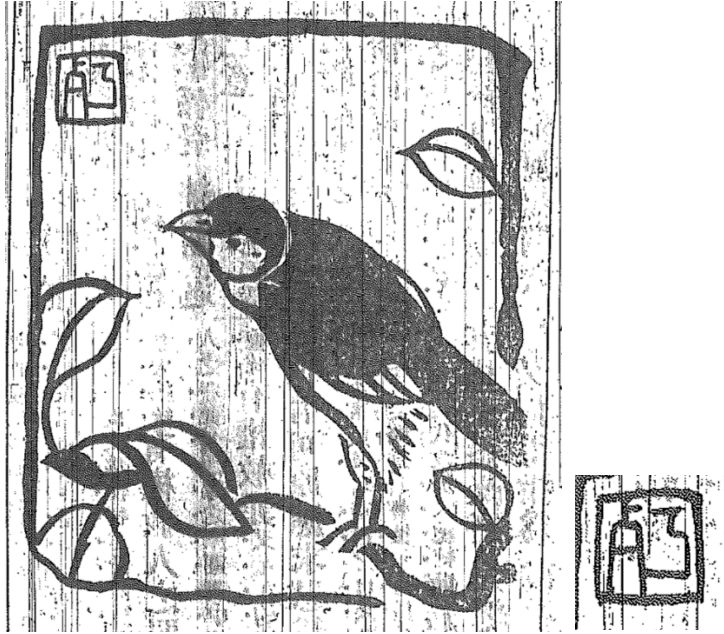


Fig. 2. 10 Chen Shizeng, *Bird Perching on a Tree Branch*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 17, 1912, 10.

Fig. 2. 10a “Xiu” in Fig. 2. 10.

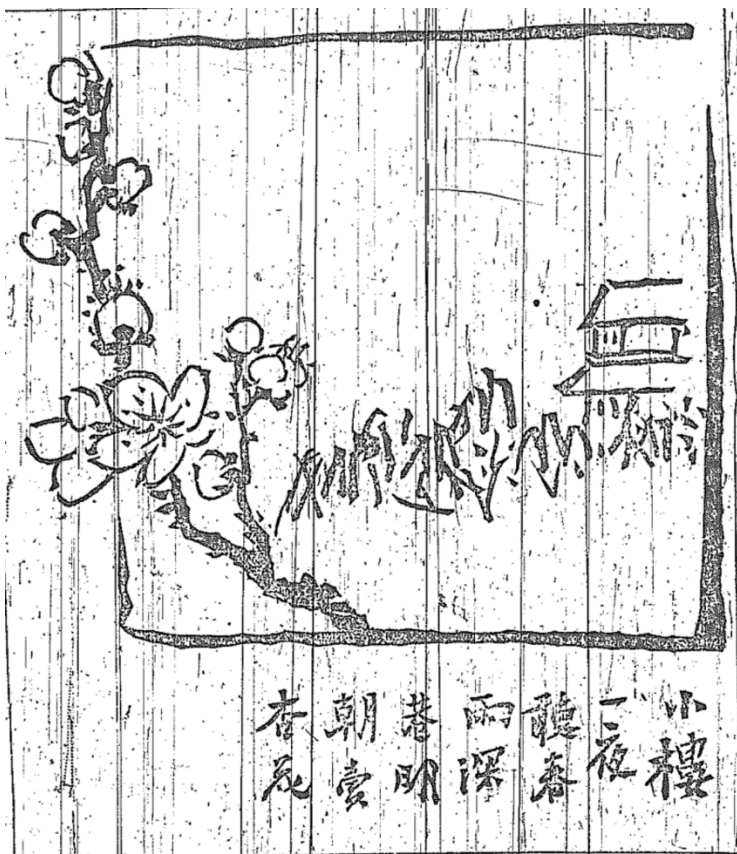


Fig. 2. 11 Chen Shizeng, *In My Attic All Night I Hear the Rustle of Spring Rain*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 4, 1912, 10.

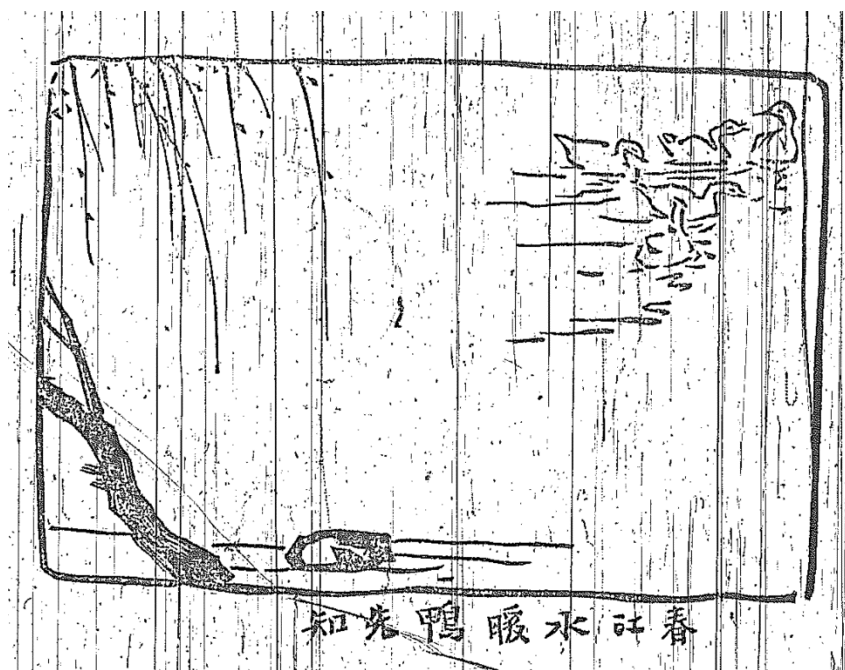


Fig. 2. 12 Chen Shizeng, *When Spring Has Warmed the Stream, Ducks Would be the First to Know*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 10, 1912, 10.



Fig. 2. 13 Chen Shizeng, *Lin Hejing and Goddess Luo Fu*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 2nd, 1912, 9.



Fig. 2. 14 Chen Shizeng, *Old Trees and Dark Bamboos*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 20, 1912, 10.



Fig. 2. 15 Yu Shouping, *Old Trees and Clustered Bamboos after Ni Zan*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 81 cm × 32.7 cm, date unknown. Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 2. 16 Wang Hui, *Old Trees and Dark Bamboos*, album leaf, ink on paper, 27.3 cm × 36.1cm, date unknown.
Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 2. 16a Part of Fig. 2. 16, showing the way in which Wang Hui depicted the tree branches.



Fig. 2. 16b Part of Fig. 2. 16, showing the way in which Wang Hui depicted the bamboo leaves.



Fig. 2. 17 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Wang Hui and Yun Shouping*, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 47.6 cm × 27.9 cm. London: British Museum.



Fig. 2. 17a Part of Fig. 2. 17, showing the brushwork used to define the bare branches.

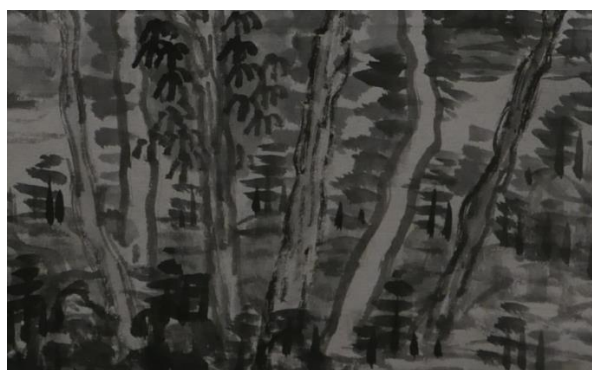


Fig. 2. 17b Part of Fig. 2. 17, showing the brushwork used to define tree trunks.

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堂幅	每幅	四尺以上四元	四尺以下二元
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Fig. 2. 18 Xiu Daoren Chen Shizeng's Price List of Calligraphy, Painting and Seal Carving, *Taipingyang bao*, May 31, 1912, 5.



Fig. 2. 19 Chen Shizeng, *The New Phenomenon of the Year Zi*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 13, 1912, 10.

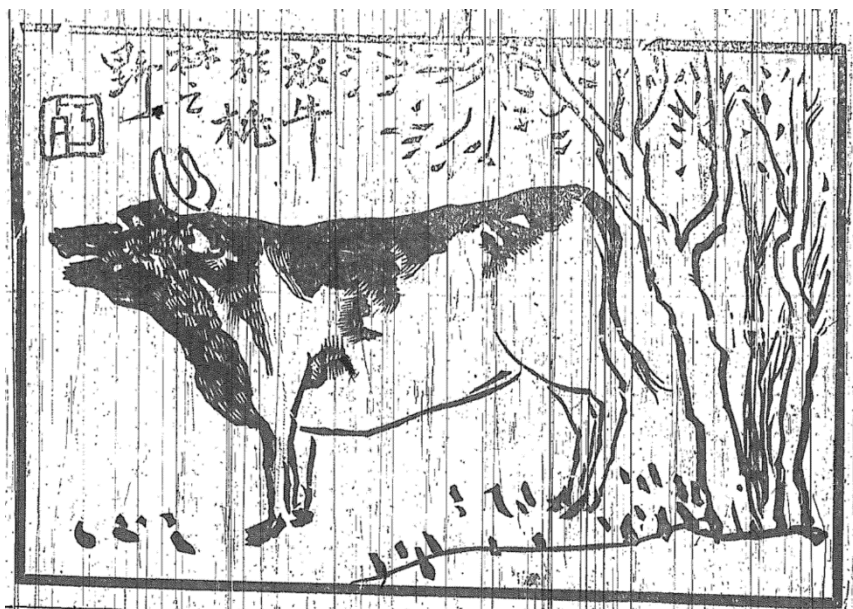


Fig. 2. 20 Chen Shizeng, *Let Loose of His Oxen in the Open Country of Taolin*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 30, 1912, 10.

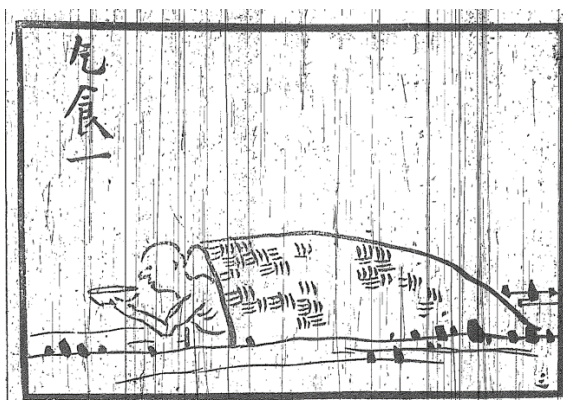


Fig. 2. 21 Chen Shizeng, *Begging for Food: One*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, May 14, 1912, 12.



Fig. 2. 22 Chen Shizeng, *Begging for Food: Two*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, May 16, 1912, 12.



Fig. 2. 23 Chen Shizeng, *Begging for Food: Three*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, May 17, 1912, 12.

徵求滑稽諷刺畫稿

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▲以上等次姓名皆隨時登入本報第三頁角
▲以上甲乙丙三種於發表後，隨登入石印附張
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Fig. 2. 24 "Soliciting Comical and Satirical Drawings," *Taipingyang bao*, June 23, 1912, 5.



Fig. 2. 25 "Chen Baoyi Won a Jiazuo Award on Competition of Satirical Paintings," *Taipingyang bao*, June 9, 1912, 3.

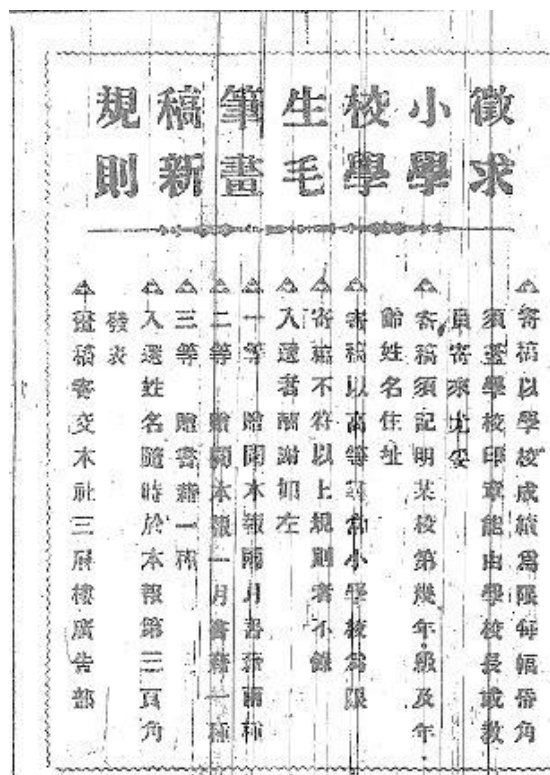


Fig. 2. 26 "The New Rule of Soliciting Drafts of Brush Painting from Primary School Students," *Taipingyang bao*, June 23, 1912, 6.



Fig. 2. 27 Miyake Katsumi, *The Violin Concert in a Music Hall*, from Lin Su-hsing, "Feng Zikai's Art and the Kaiming Book Company: Art for the People in Early Twentieth Century China." PhD Diss., Ohio State University, Columbus, 2003, 363.



Fig. 2. 28 Toda Kenji, *The Music of Japanese Strollers*, from Lin, “Feng Zikai’s Art and the Kaiming Book Company,” PhD Diss., 363.

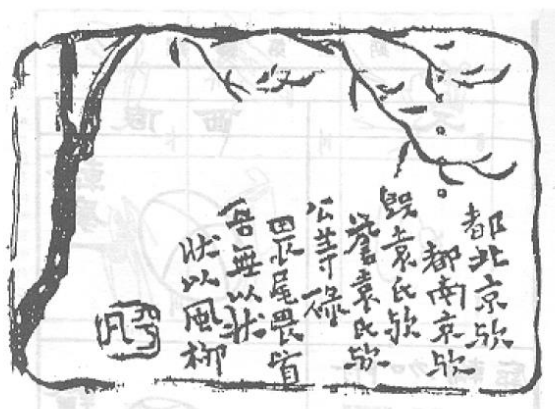


Fig. 2. 29 Li Shutong, *I could only depict a willow swaying with the wind to express my feelings*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Mingsheng ribao*, February 1912, no page number.



Fig. 2. 30 Li Shutong, *Truce*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Mingsheng ribao*, February 28, 1912, no page number.



Fig. 2. 31 Chen Shizeng, *Climbing over the Wall*, in *Renwu ceye*, ink and colour on silk, album leaf, 26.8 cm × 18 cm, 1909. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 2. 32 Chen Shizeng, *Illustration for Part One, Chapter One of The Lonely Swan*, *Taipingyang bao*, May 12, 1912, 2.



Fig. 2. 33 Katsushika Hokusai, *Kameido tenjin*, in *Hokusai Manga* (Tokyo: Unsodo, 2001), no page number.



Fig. 2. 34 Chen Shizeng, *A Thatched Cottage beside Pine Trees*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 3rd, 1912, 9.



Fig. 2. 35 Katsushika Hokusai, *Ume Yashiki*, in *Hokusai Manga* (Tokyo: Unsodo, 2001), no page number.



Fig. 2. 36 Katsushika Hokusai, *A Thatched House and Trees*, in *Hokusai Manga* (Tokyo: Unsodo, 2001), no page number.



Fig. 2. 37 Katsushika Hokusai, *Varieties of Trees*, page from *Hokusai Manga Series I*, 1814. See: Richard Lane, *Hokusai: Life and Work* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1989), 127.



Fig. 2. 38 Katsushika Hokusai, *Types of Buildings*, page from *Hokusai Manga Series I*, 1814. See: Richard Lane, *Hokusai: Life and Work*, 127.



Fig. 2. 39 Katsushika Hokusai, *A Seated Nobleman*, ink and blue wash on paper, 109 × 109 mm, 1820s, in Janette Ostier Collection. See: Matthi Forrer, *Hokusai* (London: Prestel, 2010), 100.

Fig. 2. 40 Katsushika Hokusai, *Kakinomoto no Hitomaro* 柿本人麻呂, ink and colour on paper, in *Ippitsu gafu* (London: British Museum), 6.



Fig. 2. 41 Chen Shizeng, *The Setting Moon Like Pearl Hangs from Willow Tree*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, May 25, 1912, 12.



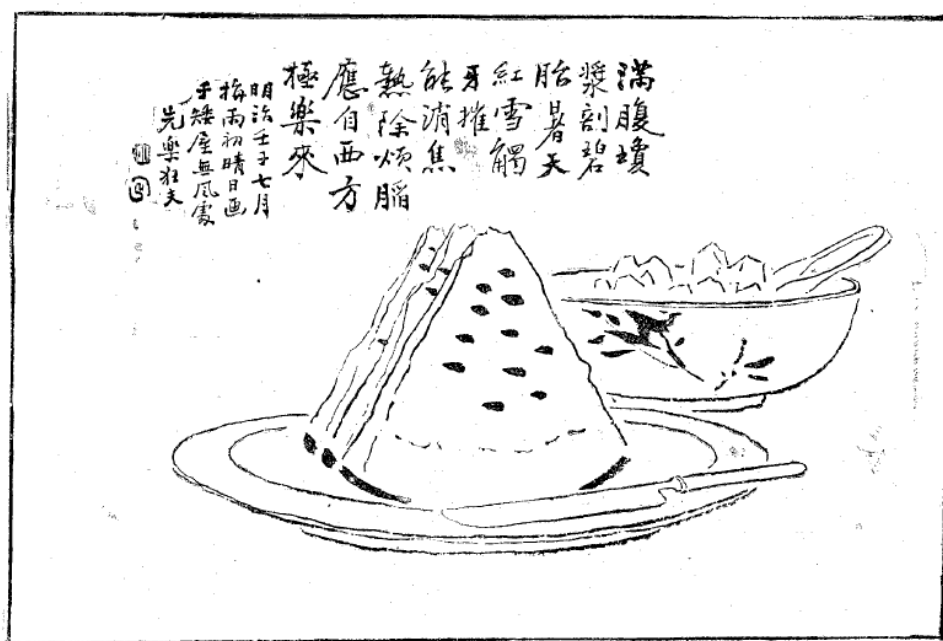
Fig. 2. 42 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: No. 94*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 16 (1912): 53.



Fig. 2. 43 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: Landscape*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 12 (1912): 53.



Fig. 2. 44 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: No. 1*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 4 (1912): 37.



(圖 十 六 第)

Fig. 2. 45 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: No. 60*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 11 (1912): 55.

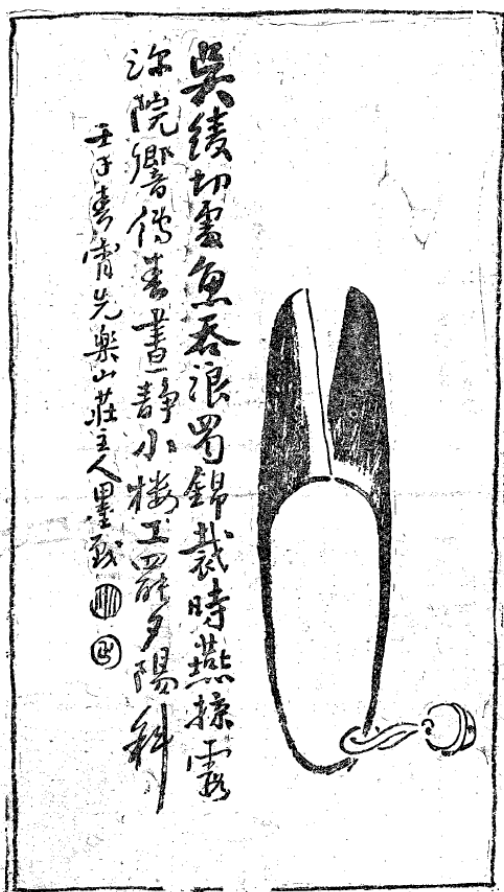


Fig. 2. 46 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: Longing for Scissors*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 2 (1912): 164.



Fig. 2. 47 Koyama Shōtarō, *Poetic Illustration: Return at Night*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taiyō* 18, no. 2 (1912): 165.

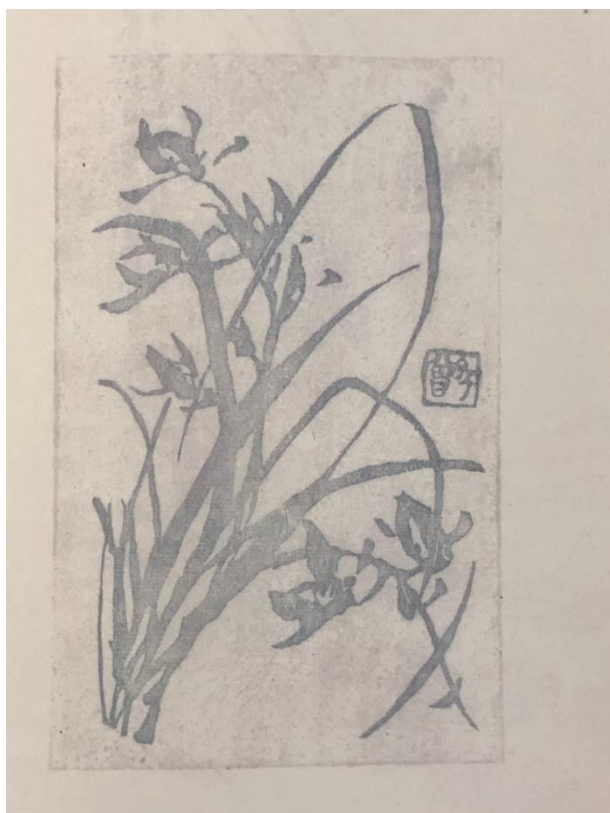


Fig. 2. 48 Chen Shizeng, *Orchids*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu Beiping*, ed. Lu Xun and Zheng Zhenduo (first edition in 1933. Beijing: zhonghua shuju, reprint, 2012), no page number.



Fig. 2. 49 Chen Shizeng painted, carver unknown, *Chrysanthemums*, the cover of a box for liquid ink, date unknown, in *Mohe cunzhen*, Gu Heming and Zhou Jilie (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2003), 89.



Fig. 2. 50 Chen Shizeng painted, carver unknown, *Bamboos*, copper paperweight, ca. 1913-1923. Private collection.

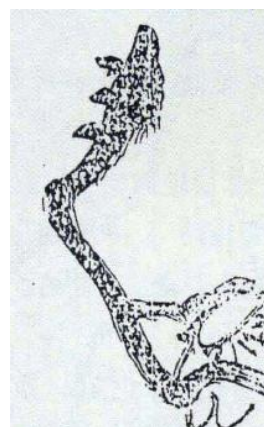
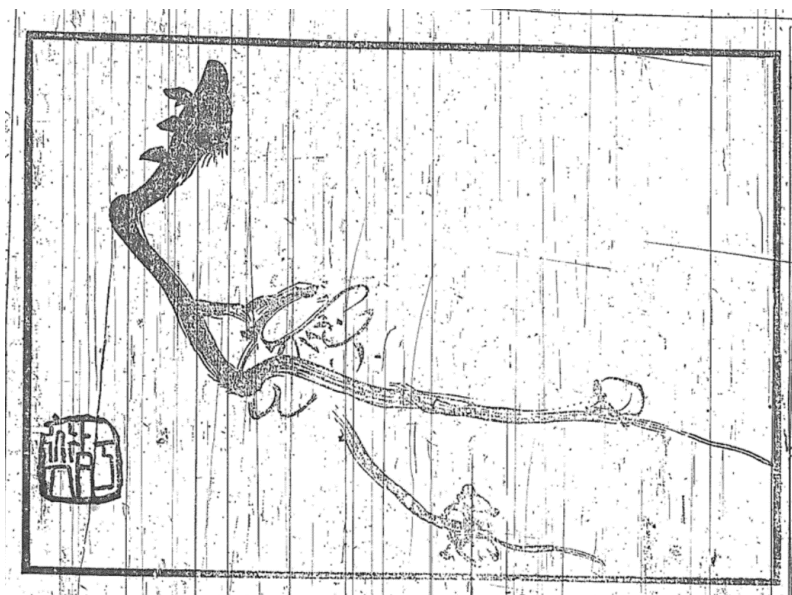


Fig. 2. 51 Chen Shizeng, *Plum Blossoms*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, April 6, 1912, 10.

Fig. 2. 51a Part of Fig. 2. 51, showing the stroke to depict the plum branch, which demonstrated the strength of the artist's wrist.

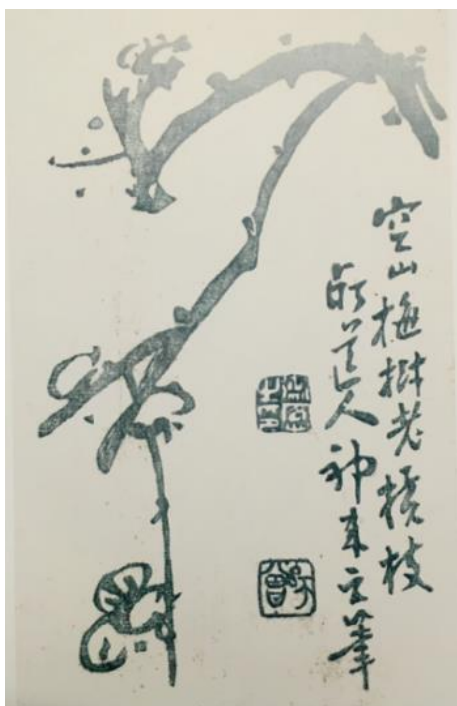


Fig. 2. 52 Chen Shizeng, *Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain*, ink on pith paper, printed by woodblock printing technique, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu Liangzhi and Deng Feng (Nanchang: Jiangxi meishu chubanshe, 2016), 204.

Fig. 2. 52a Part of Fig. 2. 52, showing the stroke to depict the plum branch, which demonstrated the strength of the artist's wrist.

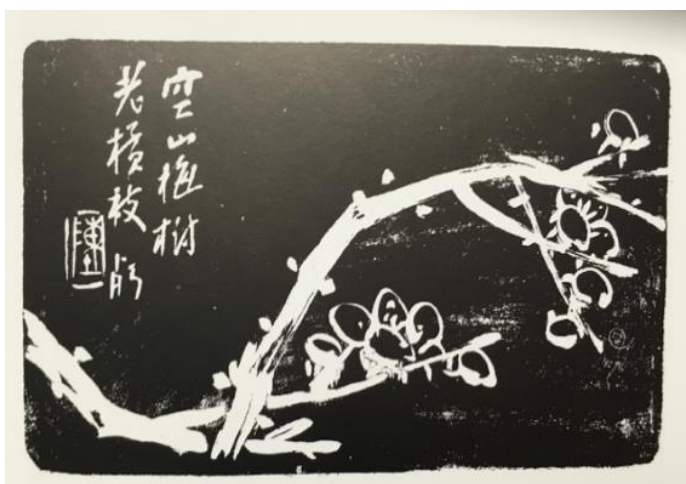


Fig. 2. 53 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain*, the cover of a copper-made ink stone, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 150.



Fig. 2. 53a Part of Fig. 2. 53, showing the stroke to depict the plum branch, which demonstrated the strength of the

artist's wrist.

Fig. 2. 53b Part of Fig. 2. 53, showing a stroke to depict the plum branch, which demonstrated the flying white effect.



Fig. 2. 54 Chen Shizeng, *Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain*, ink on pith paper, date unknown, in Mr Chen Yizhu's private collection.



Fig. 2. 55 Chen Shizeng, *A Cottage beside a Pine Tree*, ink on paper, printed by woodblock printing technique, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 225.

Fig. 2. 56 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Landscape*, the cover of copper-made ink stone, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 135.



Fig. 2. 57 Chen Shizeng, *It is Fine the Boat at Sunset Goes*, ink drawing printed by lithography, *Taipingyang bao*, May 3rd, 1912, 10.



Fig. 2. 58 Chen Shizeng, *Sailing a Boat*, ink on paper, printed by woodblock printing technique, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 226.



Fig. 2. 59 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Sailing a Boat*, the cover of a copper-made ink stone, date unknown, in *Chen Shzieng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 136.

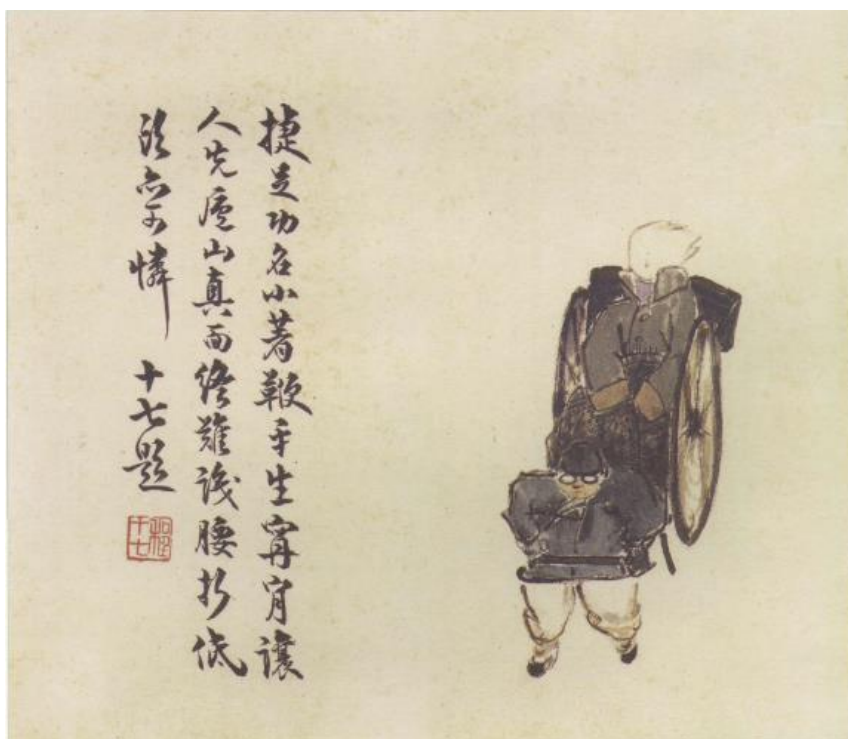


Fig. 2. 60 Chen Shizeng, *Rickshaw*, album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 28.5 cm × 34.7 cm, from *Beijing fengsu tu*, 1913-1916. Beijing: Zhongguo meishu guan.



Fig. 2. 61 Chen Shizeng, *Lady in Manchurian Dress*, album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 28.5 cm × 34.7 cm, from *Beijing fengsu tu*, 1913-1916. Beijing: Zhongguo meishu guan.

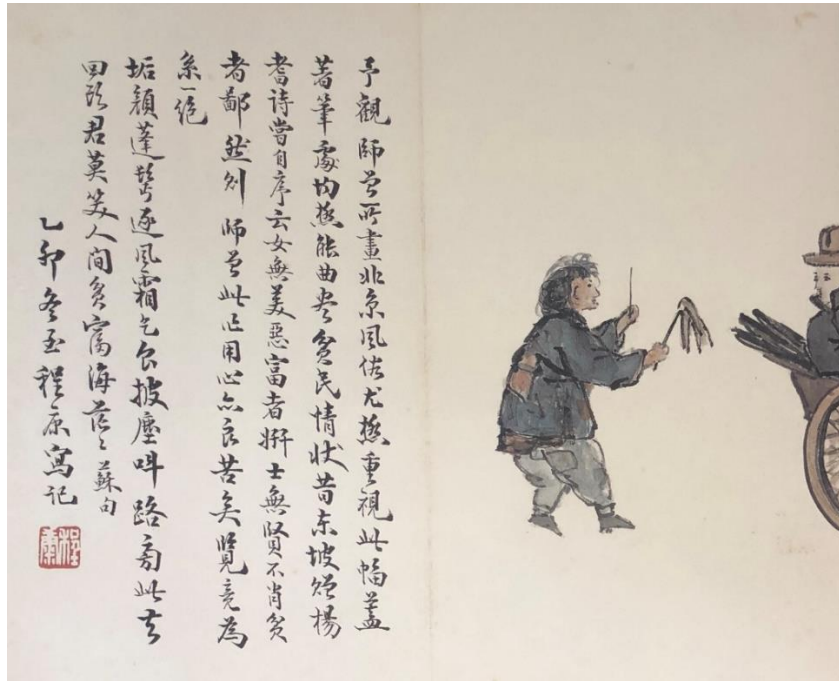


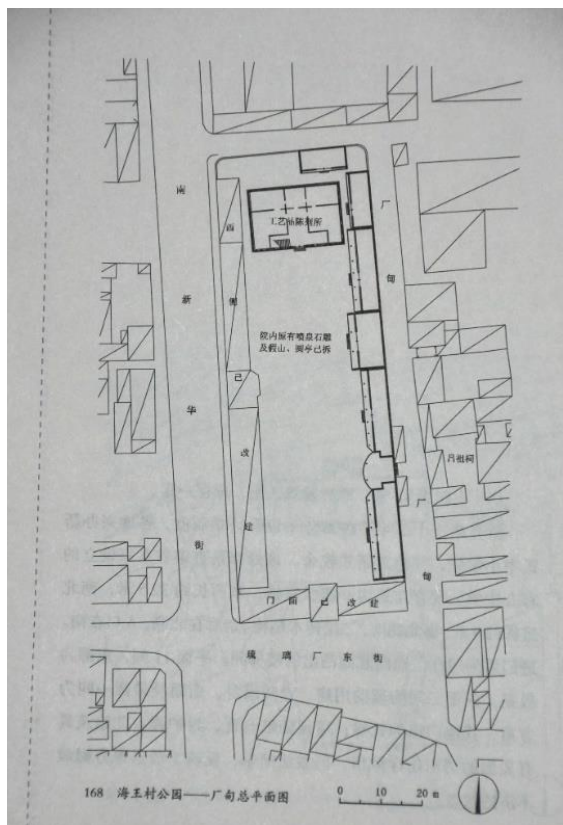
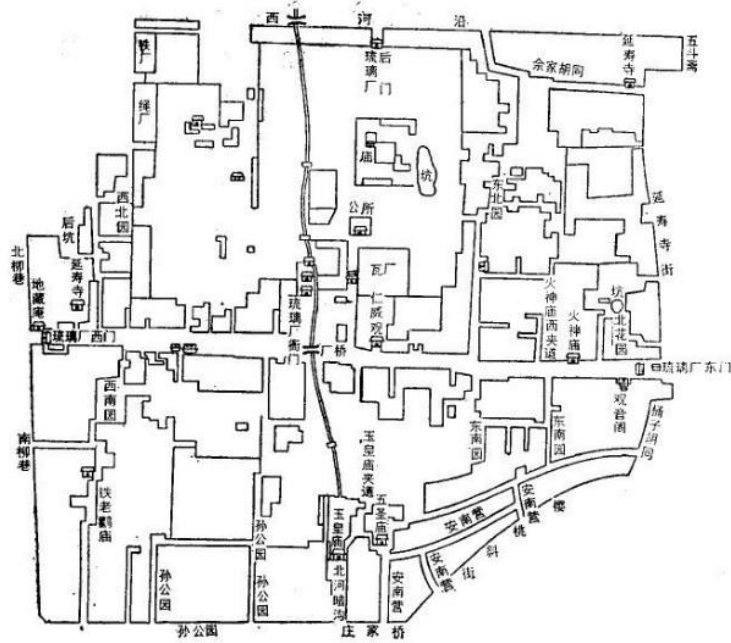
Fig. 2. 62 Chen Shizeng, *A Female Beggar*, album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 28.5 cm × 34.7 cm, from *Beijing fengsu tu*, 1913-1916. Beijing: Zhongguo meishu guan.



Fig. 2. 63 Chen Shizeng, *An Album of Figures: No. 1*, ink and colour on silk, album leaf, 26.8 cm × 18 cm, 1909. Beijing: Zhongguo meishu guan.



Fig. 2. 64 Chen Shizeng, *An Album of Figures: No. 2*, ink and colour on silk, album leaf, 26.8 cm × 18 cm, 1909. Beijing: Zhongguo meishu guan.



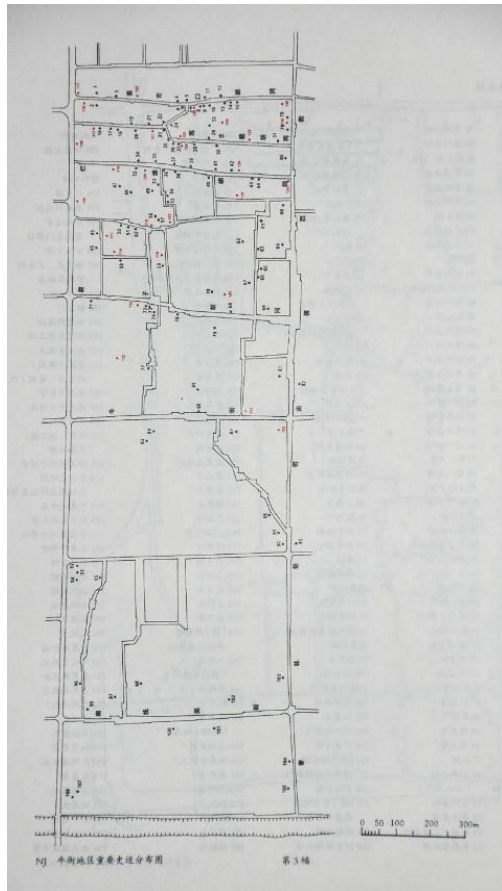


Fig. 3. 04 Location of Fayuan Temple in Ox Street District: no. 62, in *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi*, ed. Zhongguo jianzhu kexueyuan (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2015), 356.

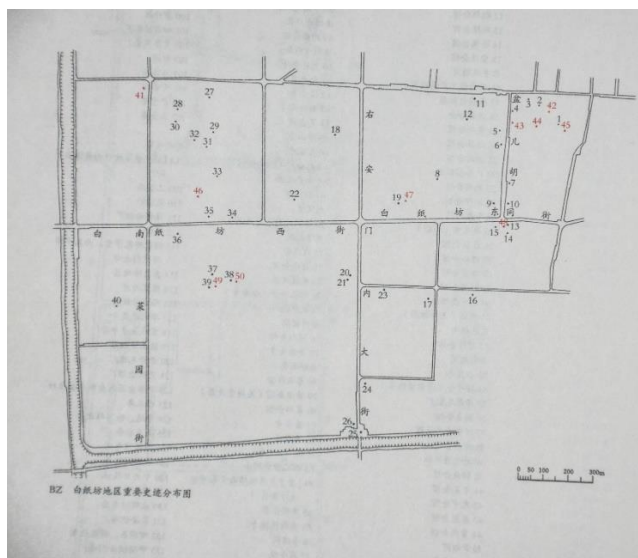


Fig. 3. 05 Location of Chongxiao Temple, in Baizhi District: no. 33, in *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi*, ed. Zhongguo jianzhu kexueyuan (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2015), 358.

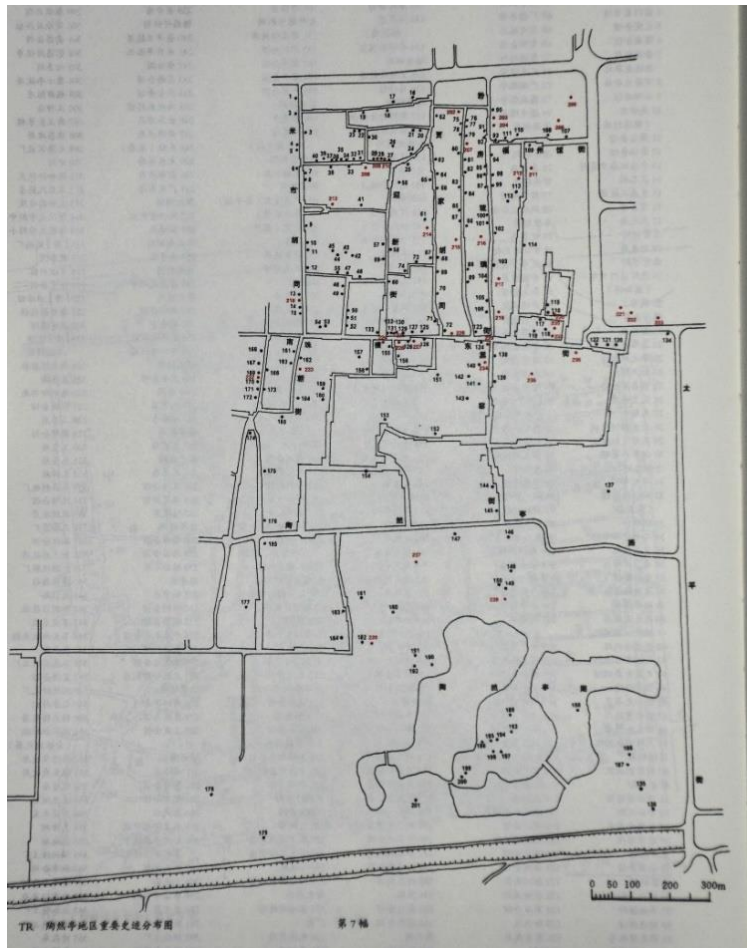


Fig. 3. 06 Location of Taoran Pavilion in Taoran ting District: no. 205, in *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi*, ed. Zhongguo jianzhu kexueyuan (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2015), 364.



Fig. 3. 07 Chen Shizeng, *Chrysanthemum and Rock*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 131cm × 32cm, 1915.
Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 3. 07a Part of Fig. 3. 07, showing Chen's chrysanthemum executed in Wu Changshi's style.

Fig. 3. 07b Part of Fig. 3. 07, showing the way in which Chen depicted the leaves.

Fig. 3. 07c Part of Fig. 3. 07, showing the way in which Chen executed the rock.

Fig. 3. 07d Part of Fig. 3. 07, showing the seal 'Yimao Painting Society'.



Fig. 3. 08 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape after Mei Qing*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 133cm×34 cm, 1920.
Shanghai: Duoyun xuan.

Fig. 3. 08a Part of Fig. 3. 08: Showing the ox-hair strokes after Wang Meng.

Fig. 3. 08b Part of Fig. 3. 08: Showing the colophon written by Chen Shizeng.

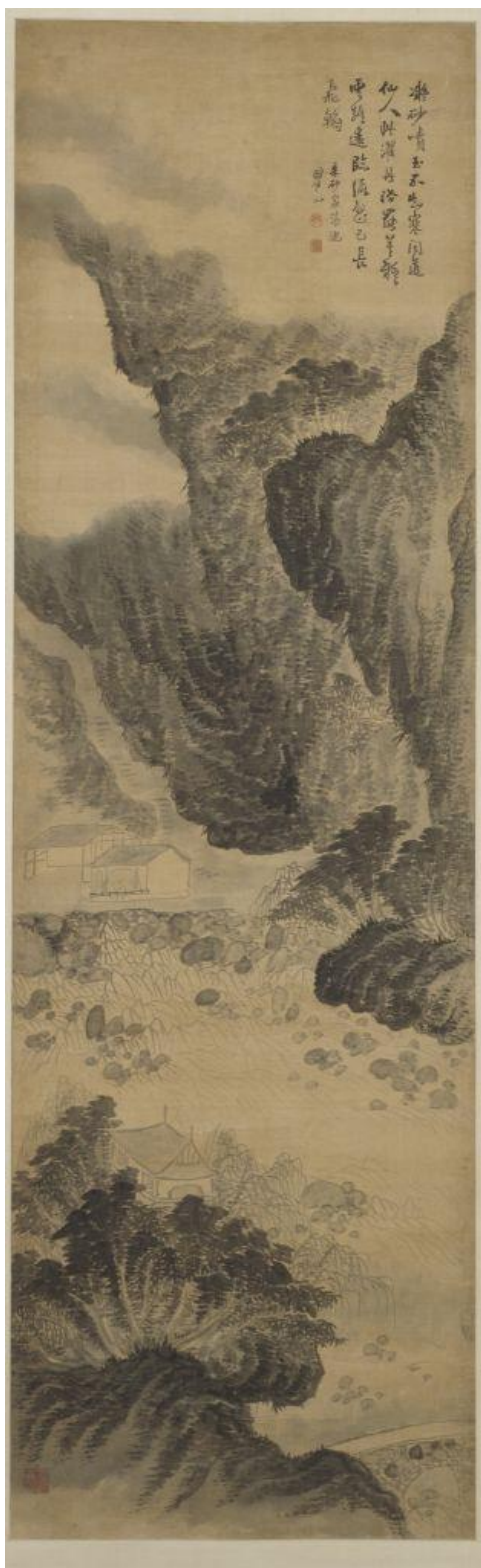


Fig. 3. 09 Mei Qing, *The Yellow Mountain*, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 185.2cm × 56.7cm, date unknown. Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.

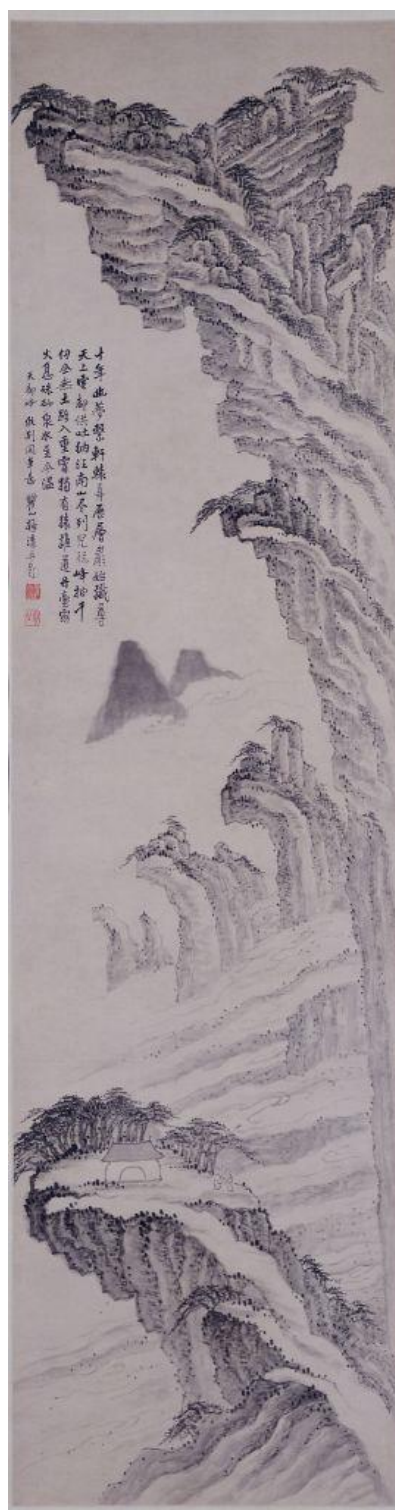


Fig. 3. 10 Mei Qing, *The Tiandu Peak of the Yellow Mountain*, ink on paper, hanging scroll, 184.2 cm × 48.8cm, date unknown. Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 3. 11 Wu Changshi, *Wild Chrysanthemum Outside of the East Fence*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 136.5cm × 67.3cm, 1918. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 3. 12 Li Changheng, *Pines, Bamboos and Rocks*, ink on paper, album leaf, 32.7 cm × 63 cm, date unknown. Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan.



Fig. 3. 13 Xiao Junxian, *The Pictorial Scroll of a Returning Boat in the Snowstorm*, handscroll, in *Xiao Junxian nianpu*, ed. Shen Xiongping (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2014), 26.

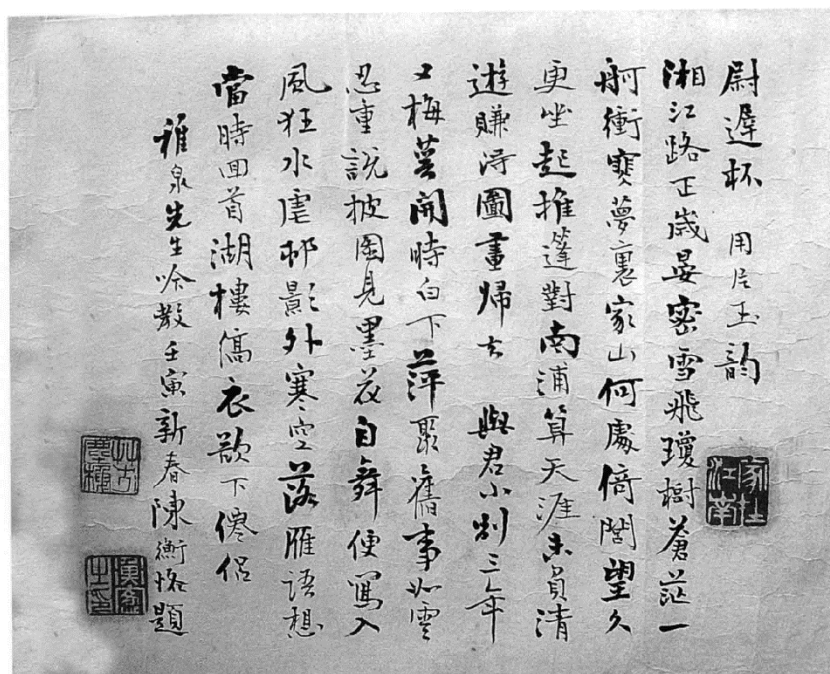


Fig. 3. 13a Chen Shizeng, *Inscription to Xiao Junxian's The Pictorial Scroll of a Returning Boat in the Snowstorm*, ink on paper, 1902, in *Xiao Junxian nianpu*, ed. Shen, 34.

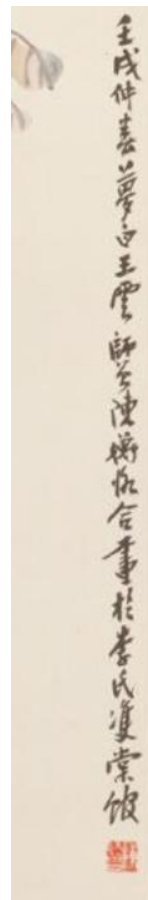


Fig. 3. 14 Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai, *The Picture of Budgerigars*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 92.7cm × 33.5cm, 1922. Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan.

Fig. 3. 14a showing Chen Shizeng's inscription.



Fig. 3. 15 Hua Yan, *Parrot, Bamboo and Rock*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 130.5cm × 53cm, date unknown. Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan.



Fig. 3. 16 Hua Yan, *Parrot on a Frosty Branch*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 111cm × 47cm, date unknown. Beijing: Tsinghua meishu xueyuan.



Fig. 3. 17 Hua Yan, *Parasol Tree and Parrot*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 129cm × 40.5cm, date unknown. Shenyang: Liaoningsheng bowuguan.

Fig. 3. 18 Chen Shizeng, *A Picture of Flowers*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 90.8cm × 33.8cm, 1922. Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng bowuguan.



Fig. 4.01 Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi, Yao Hua, Jin Cheng, Zhou Zhaoxiang, Xiao Qianzhong, Chen Shizeng, *Portrait of Su Dongpo*, ink on paper, mirror, 1922, 65 cm×33 cm. Poly International Action: 2014 autumn lot 1229.

Fig. 4.01a Section of Fig. 4.01, Chen Shizeng's inscription.



Fig. 4. 01b Part of Fig. 4. 01, showing the portrait by Wang Mengbai.



Fig. 4. 01c Part of Fig. 4. 01, showing the bamboo screen by Chen Shizeng.



Fig. 4. 01d Part of Fig. 4. 01, showing the rock by Qi Baishi.



Fig. 4. 02 Zhu Zhifan, *Dongpo in a Bamboo Hat and Clogs*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, date unknown, 29 cm × 92 cm. Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng bowuguan.



Fig. 4. 03 Zhu Henian, *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, in *Shuyi Dongpo*, I Luo-fen (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2019), E.



Fig. 4. 04 Zhao Mengfu, *A Portrait of Su Dongpo*, album leaf, ink and colour on paper, Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan.



Fig. 4. 05 Chen Shizeng, *Bamboo in the Rain*, ink on paper, album leaf, 32cm × 32cm, date unknown. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe.

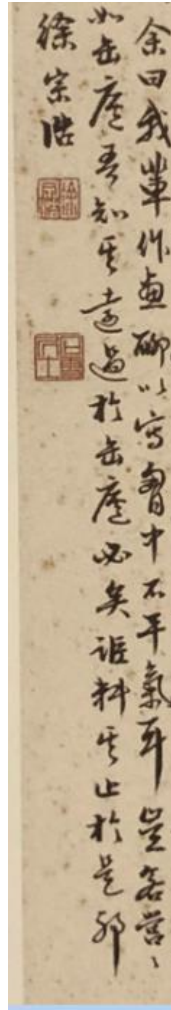


Fig. 4. 06 Chen Shizeng, *Flowers*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, 134cm × 49 cm, 1923, Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe.

Fig. 4. 06a Part of Fig. 4. 06, showing Xu Zonghao's colophon.

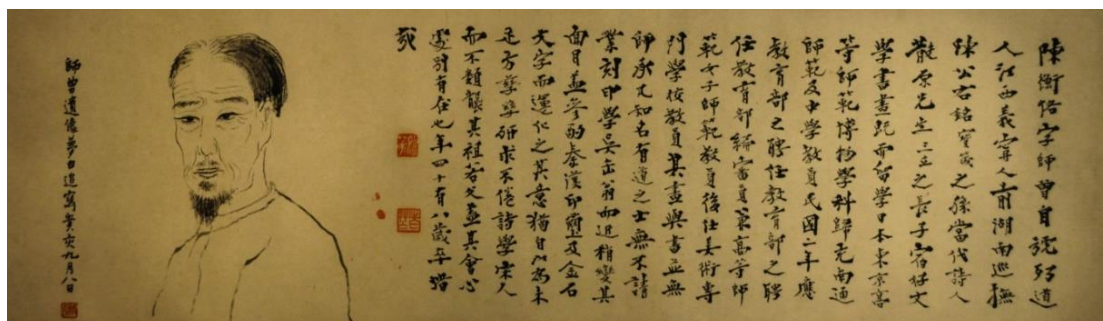


Fig. 4. 07 Wang Mengbai, *Portrait in Memory of Chen Shizeng*, ink on paper, 1923. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 4. 08 Chen Shizeng, Wang Mengbai, Qi Baishi, Jin Cheng, Jiang Nanping, Chen Banding, *The Pleasure of Dispersing the Cold*, *Yilin xukan*, no. 17 (1928): 3.

Fig. 4. 08a, Part of Fig. 4. 08, showing Chen Banding's colophon.

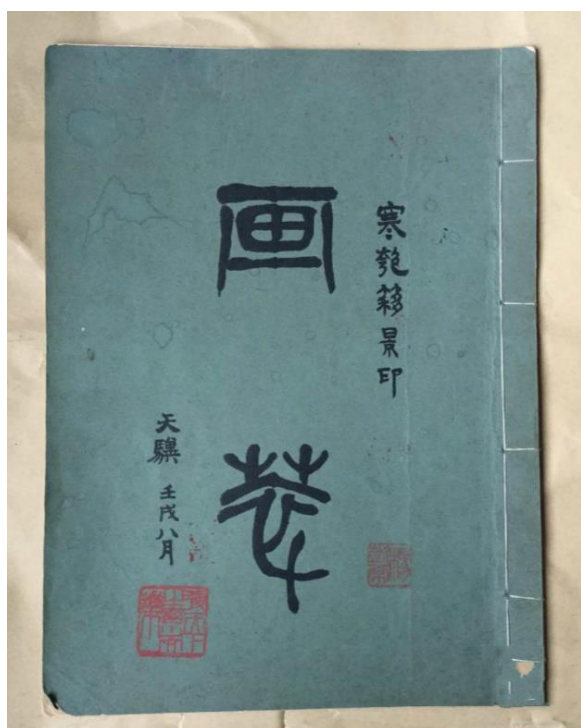


Fig. 4. 09 Wu Jing'an, *A Collection of Selected Paintings* (Beijing: jinghua yinshuguan, 1922).

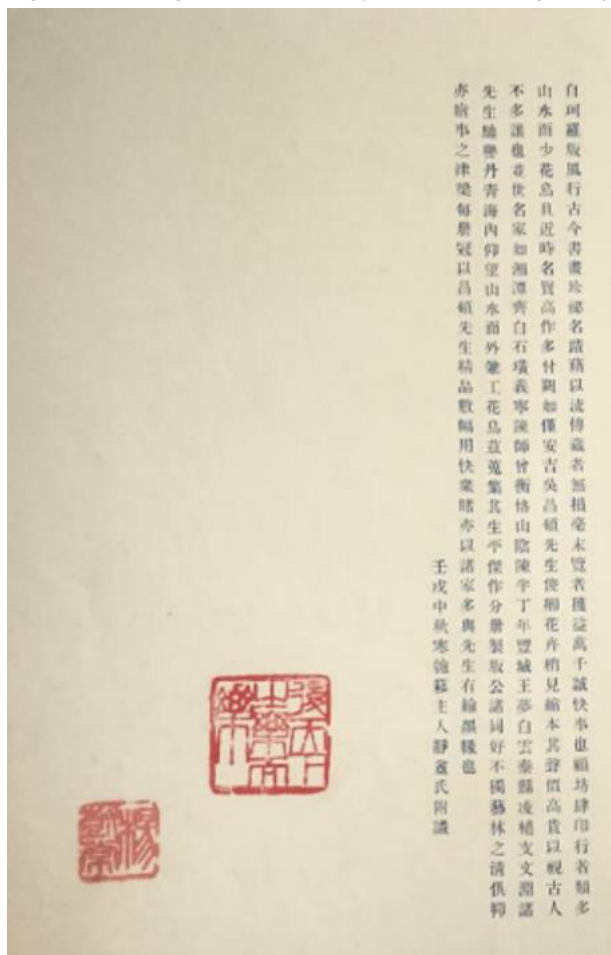


Fig. 4. 09a Wu Jing'an's preface to *A Collection of Selected Paintings*.



Fig. 4. 10 Chen Shizeng, *Appreciating Peonies at Chongxiao Temple*, ink and colour on paper, fan, 54cm × 21cm, 1919. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 4. 10a Section of Fig. 4. 10, showing the bold and vigorous colour of the petals.

Fig. 4. 10b Section of Fig. 4. 10, showing that some leaves were coloured with a thin and light green, while others with a thicker indigo.

Fig. 4. 10c Section of Fig. 4. 10, showing the curled-shape veins of the leaves.



Fig. 4. 11 Chen Shizeng, *A Picture of Vegetables and Fruits*, ink and colour on paper, fan, 53cm × 20cm, 1919.
Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.

Chapter 5



Fig. 5. 01 “Salon: receptions for scholars held at French noble women’s drawing rooms,” illustrations, *Nüzi huabao*, no. 1 (1934): 21.



Fig. 5. 02 *The Salon of 1933*, photograph, in *Liangyou*, no. 78 (1933): 20.



Fig. 5. 03 Kuroda Seiki aged 36, photograph, 1896, Tokyo: Art Museum.



Fig. 5. 04 Kuroda Seiki, *Kume Keiichirō in his Studio*, oil on canvas, 1889, Tokyo: Kume Museum of Art.



Fig. 5. 05 Ueno Park, photograph, *Geiten* 1, no. 7 (1920): 1.



Fig. 5. 06 Li Shutong, *Dawn, Meiyu*, no. 4 (1920): 1.



Fig. 5. 07 Covers of Exhibition Catalogues, *First, Second and Third Painting Exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society*, 1930, 11.

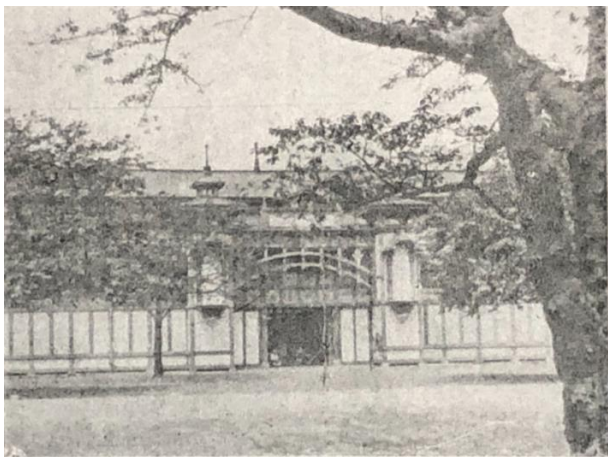


Fig. 5. 08 *Takenodai Exhibition Hall*, photograph, *Geiten* 1, no. 7 (1920): cover.



Fig. 5. 09 Central Park, photograph, *Dongfang zazhi* 15, no. 8 (1918): 1.



Fig. 5. 10 Li Shutong, *Price List of Xiu Daoren*, advertisement, *Taipingyang bao*, May 31, 1912, 2.

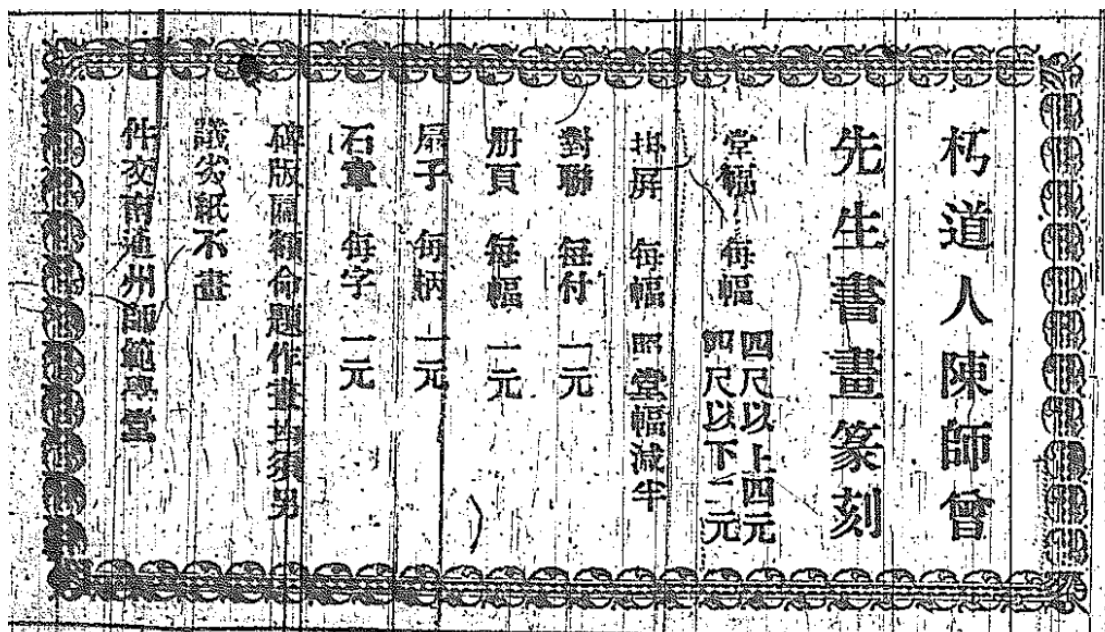


Fig. 5. 11 Li Shutong, *Calligraphy, Painting and Seal Carving by Xiu Daoren Chen Shizeng*, advertisement, *Taipingyang bao*, May 31, 1912, 5.

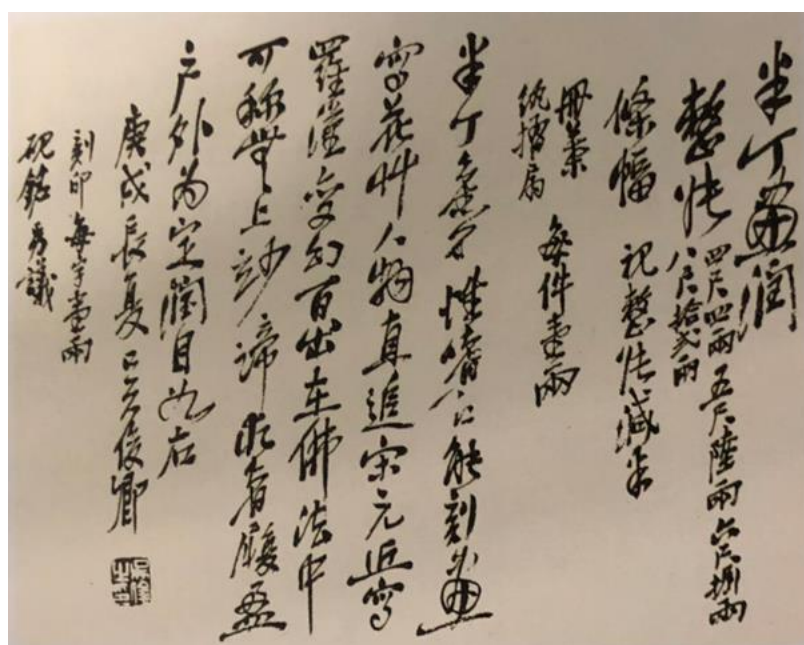


Fig. 5. 12 Wu Changshi, *Banding's Price List of Painting*, calligraphy, 1910. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.

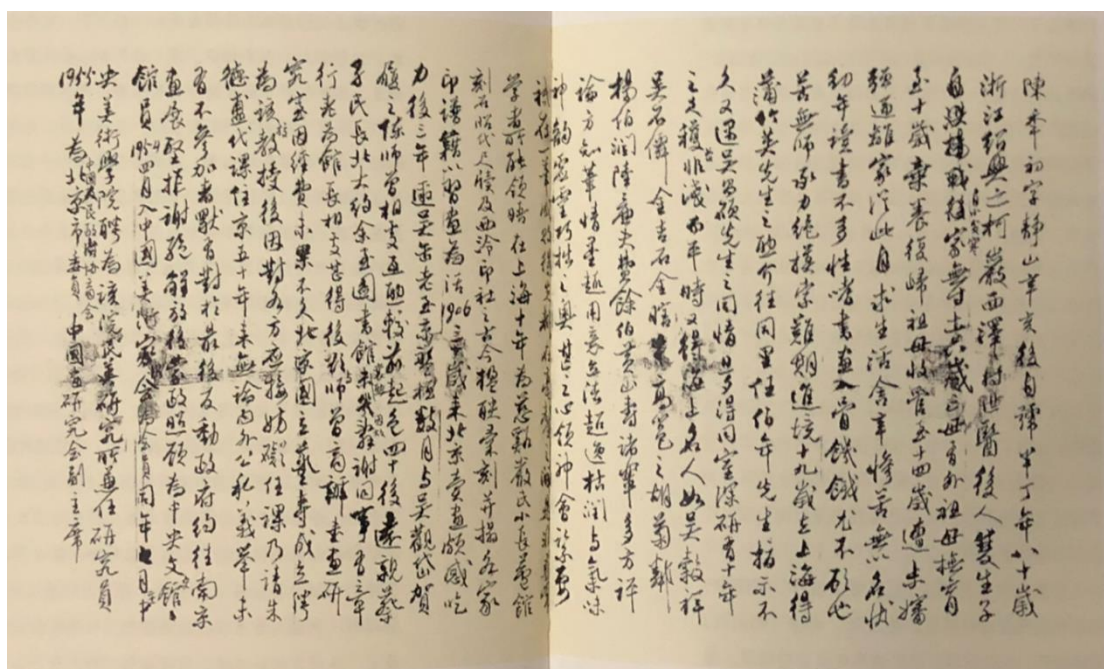


Fig. 5. 13 Chen Bandin, *Self-Statement of Banding*, calligraphy, 1955. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.

胡佩衡山水潤例 堂幅 八尺百六元 六尺五十元 五尺四十元 四尺二十四元 三尺十二元 二尺六元 元不及尺者以足尺論 橫畫加半 屏條 照堂幅例減半 長三尺寬一尺者每條九元 橫畫照手卷例算 冊頁 每方尺四元 過尺遞加不及六寸者二元 手卷 每方尺四元 扇面 每面四元 過大者六元 花卉 照山水例六折		青綠金箋均倍臨古點品另議潤 資先惠隨封加一立索劣紙油扇均不應 甲子正月第五次重訂 蔡元培 賀履之代訂 寓北京西四牌樓後毛家灣二十七號

Fig. 5. 14 Price List of Hu Peiheng's Landscape Painting, advertisement, *Zaoxing meishu*, no. 1 (1924): 122.



Fig. 5. 15 Hu Peiheng, *Landscape no. 1 & no. 2*, photograph, *Zaoxing meishu*, no. 1 (1924): 10.



Fig. 5. 16 *The Farewell Party Thrown by the Apollo Research Association of Beijing to Chen Shizeng before He Left for His Hometown in Jiangxi Province*, photography, 1922. Beijing: Zhongyang meishu xueyuan danganguan.

曾存吳畫例			
開扇	一元	餘件	每一方尺一元
斗方冊頁	不及一方尺	者仍	以一元計樣本存
太平洋報館廣告部	畫	件	乞交北浙江路華興
坊五弄底柴公館內		陳師曾	朱少屏
董楚儋	國賦	初亞	李

Fig. 5. 17 Zeng Cunwu's Price List of Painting, advertisement, *Taipingyang bao*, May 31, 1912, 5.

李叔同書例			
名刺	一	元	
扇子	二	元	
三四尺聯	三	元	
五尺以上聯	六	元	
橫豎幅與聯例同			
三四尺屏四幅	三	元	
五尺以上屏四幅	六	元	
四幅以上者照加			
餘件另議先潤後墨			
件交太平洋報館廣告部			

Fig. 5. 18 Li Shutong's Price List of Calligraphy, advertisement, *Taipingyang bao*, May 31, 1912, 5.

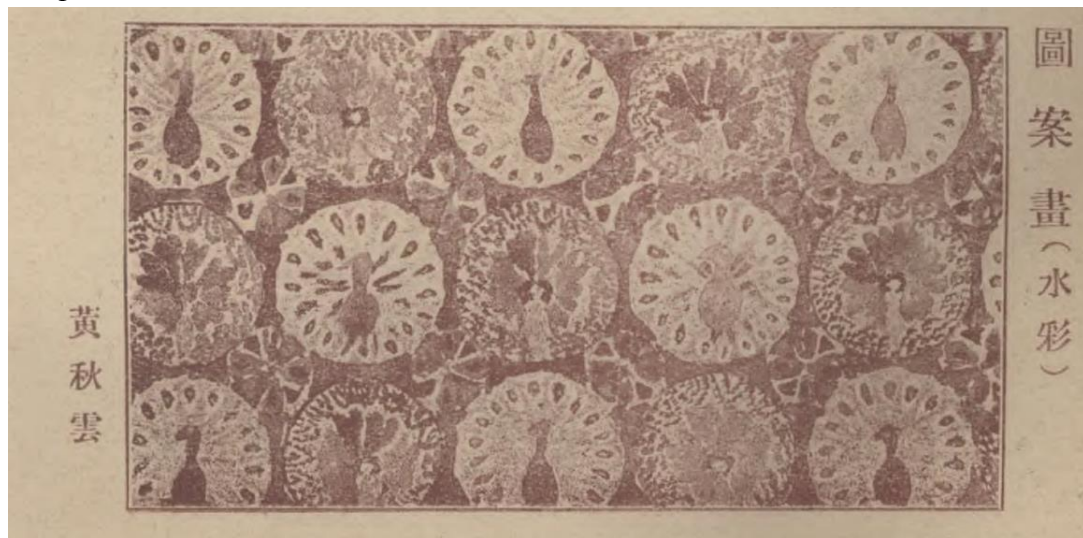


Fig. 6. 01 Huang Qiuyun, *Graphic design: watercolour*, *Xuesheng wenyi congkan huibian* 3, no. 1 (1911): 35.

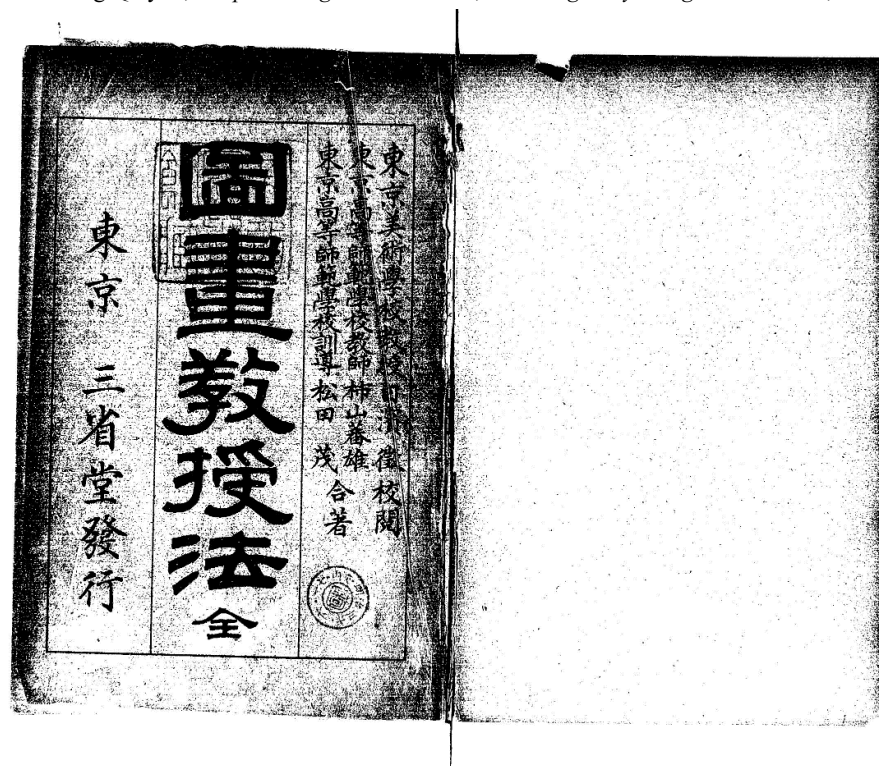


Fig. 6. 02 Tatsuo Kuwayama and Matsuda Shigeru, *Methods of Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1904), no page number.

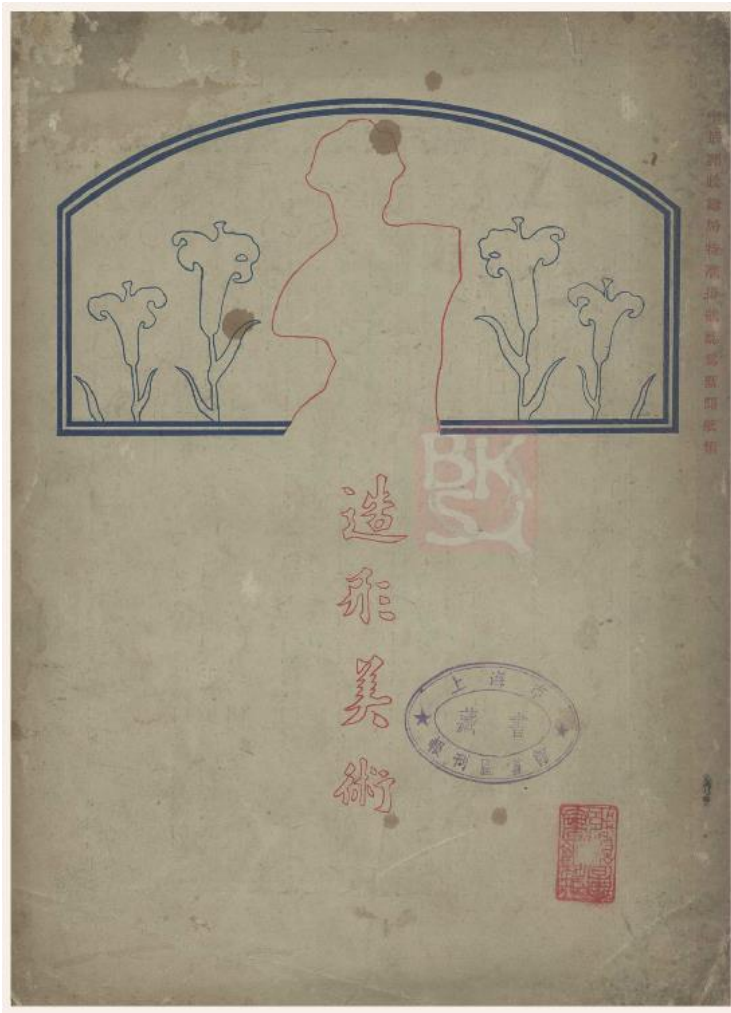


Fig. 6. 05 Cover, *Zaoxing meishu*, ed. Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui, no. 1 (1924): 0.



Fig. 6. 06 Chen Shizeng, *A Collection of Foreign Novels*, title, seal script calligraphy, in *Yuwai xiaoshuo ji*, trans. and ed. Zhou Shuren (Tokyo: Kanda insatsu, 1909).



Fig. 6. 07 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Withered Tree, Bamboo and Rock*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu Wanzhang and Deng Dengfeng (Nanchang: Jiangxi meishu chubanshe, 2016), 132.

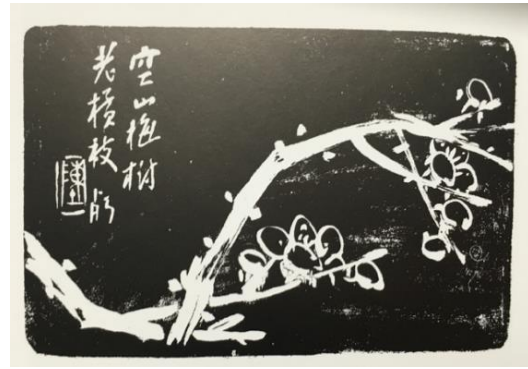


Fig. 6. 08 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Old and Robust Plum Branch in the Desolated Mountain*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 150.

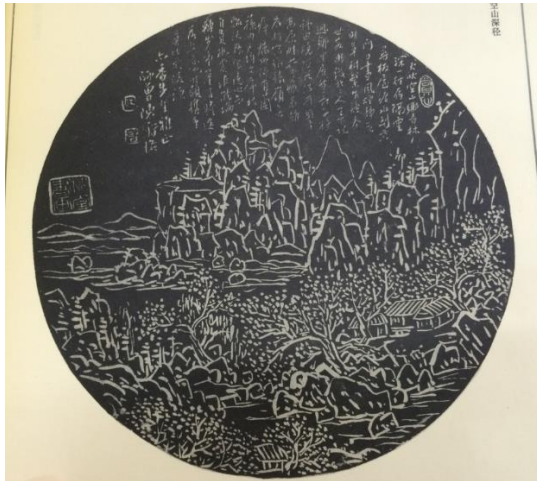


Fig. 6. 09 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Empty Mountains and Deep Paths*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 138.



Fig. 6. 10 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Chrysanthemum*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 169.



Fig. 6. 11 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Landscape after Cheng Sui*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 133.



Fig. 6. 12 Chen Shizeng painted, carver unknown, *Bamboo*, copper paperweight, ca. 1913-1923, private collection.

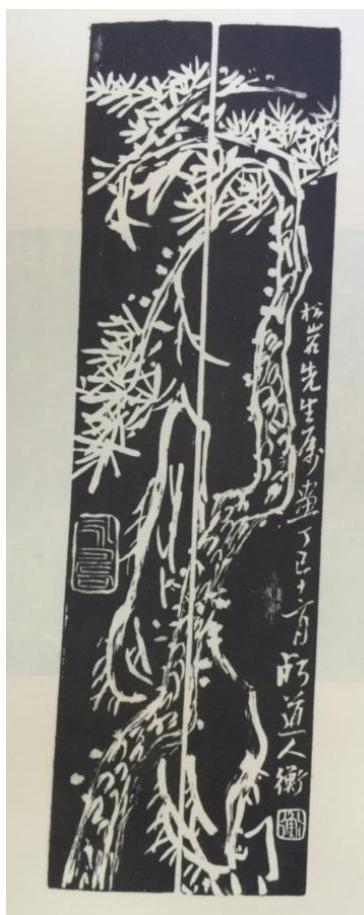


Fig. 6. 13 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Pine Tree*, a pair of copper paperweight, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 173.

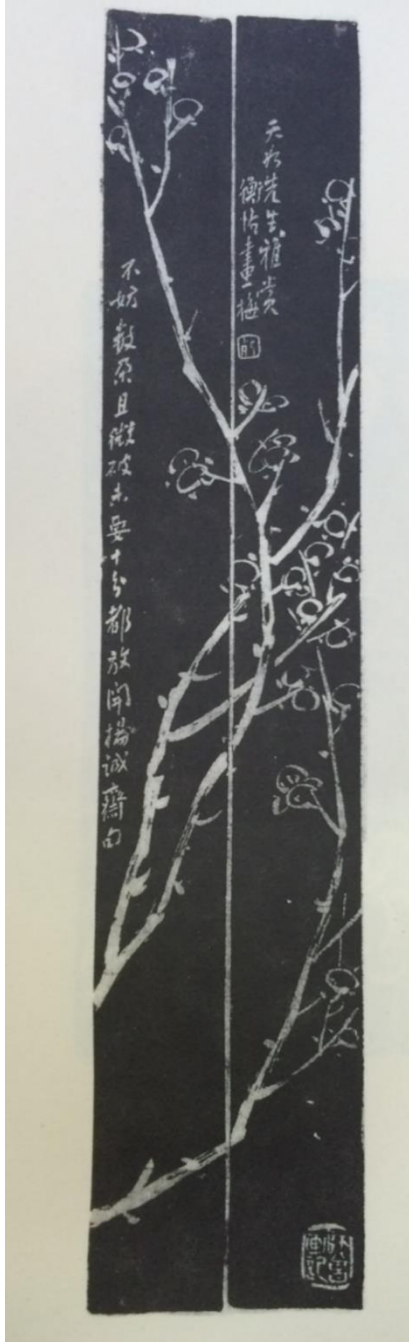


Fig. 6. 14 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Plum Blossoms*, a pair of copper paperweight, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 155.

Fig. 6. 15 Chen Shizeng painted, Zhang Yuecheng carved, *Bamboo after Wu Zhen*, a pair of copper paperweight, date unknown, in *Chen Shizeng quanji* (shufa zhuanke juan), ed. Zhu and Deng, 167.



Fig. 6. 16 Wu Changshi, *Scenic Illusion Screens of Green Plum Blossoms*, ink and colour on paper, a group of four hanging scrolls of the same size, 148.5 × 160cm × 4, 1916. Beijing: Zhongguo meishuguan.



Fig. 6. 17 Chen Shizeng, *Detached Pine Branch*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu Xun and Zheng Zhenduo (Shanghai: First edition, 1933; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, reprint, 2012), no page number.

Fig. 6. 17a Seal impression reading 'Song Hua' with relief characters.

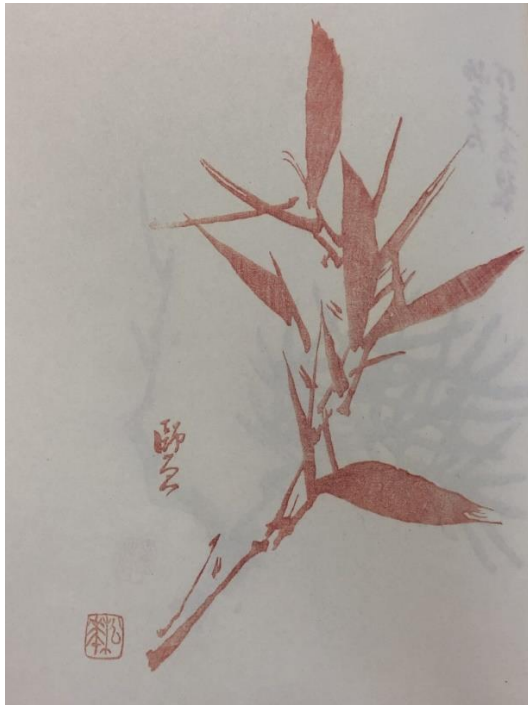


Fig. 6. 18 Chen Shizeng, *Detached Bamboo Branch*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

Fig. 6. 18a Seal impression reading 'Song Hua' with relief characters in seal scripts.



Fig. 6. 19 Chen Shizeng, *Orchid*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

Fig. 6. 19a Seal impression reading 'Songhua Pavilion' with relief characters in seal scripts.



Fig. 6. 20 Chen Shizeng, *Grapes*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

Fig. 6. 20a Seal impression reading 'Songhua Pavilion' with relief characters in seal scripts.

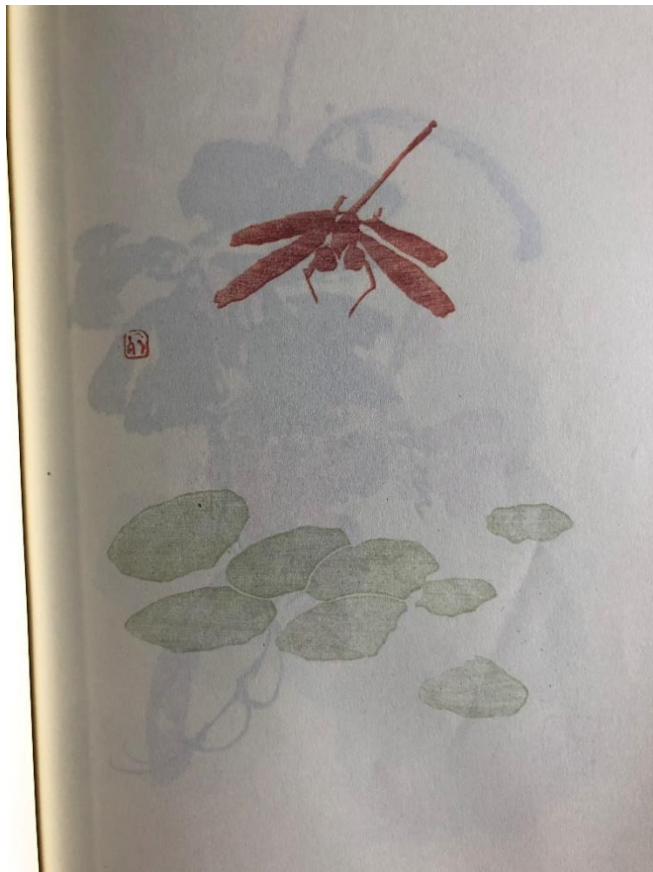


Fig. 6. 21 Chen Shizeng, *Red Dragonfly and Lotus Leaves*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.



Fig. 6. 22 Chen Shizeng, *A slim lotus leaf, not yet unfurled, scarcely appears; When on its pointed tip a dragonfly is alighted*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 14.9 cm × 19.2 cm, 1920. Shanghai: Duoyun xuan.



Fig. 6. 23 Chen Shizeng, *Crape Myrtle*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.



Fig. 6. 24 Chen Shizeng, *Lychee*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.



Fig. 6. 25 Chen Shizeng, *Lychee*, ink and colour on paper, fan, 20 cm × 52 cm, date unknown, Beijing: Rongbao zhai.



Fig. 6. 26 Chen Shizeng, *Lychee*, ink and colour on paper, album leaf, 23.5 cm × 30 cm, date unknown, Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan.

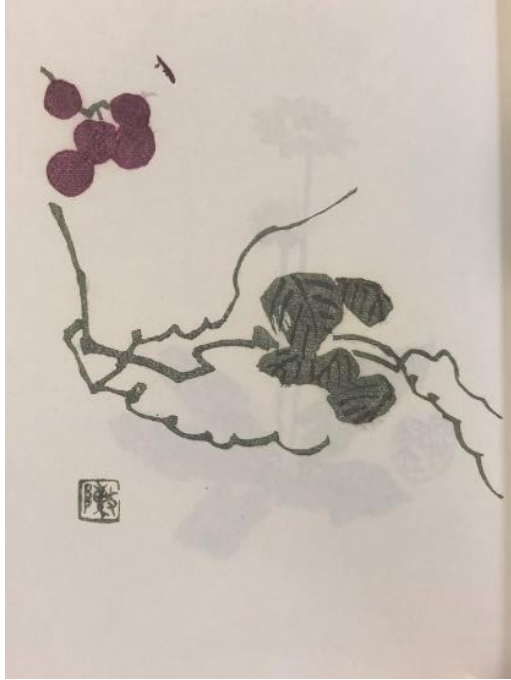


Fig. 6. 27 Chen Shizeng, *Grapes*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

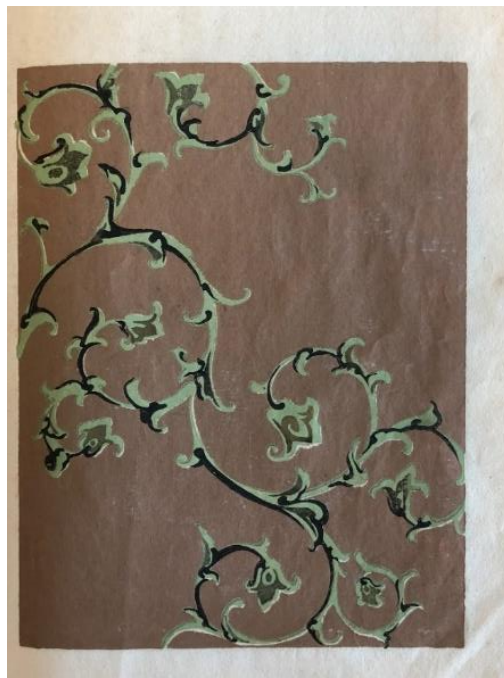


Fig. 6. 28 Furuya Kōrin, *Graphic Design*, in *Shin bijutsukai* 31, Furuya Kōrin (Kyoto: Yamada Unsōdō, 1906), no page number.

Fig. 6. 29 Furuya Kōrin, *Graphic Design*, in *Shin bijutsukai* 31, Furuya Kōrin (Kyoto: Yamada Unsōdō, 1906), no page number.

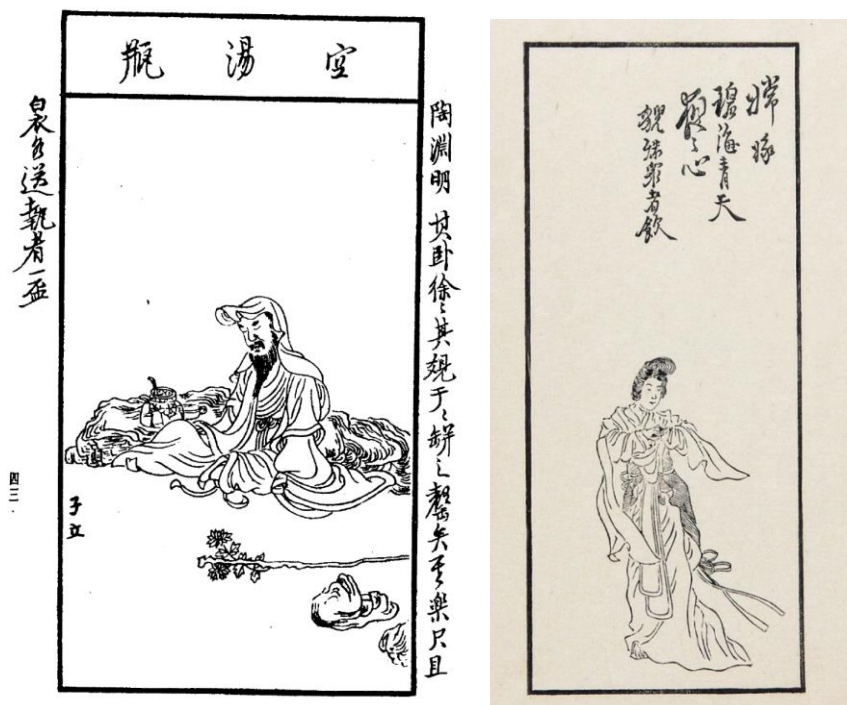


Fig. 6.30 Chen Hongshou drew, Huang Jianzhong carved, *Du Fu, Cards for a Drinking Game Depicting Historical Figures*, wood-block printing, 1651. See: *Chen laolian bogu yezi* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1986), 43.
Fig. 6.31 Ren Xiong drew, Cai Zhao carved, *Chang'e*, wood-block printing, in *Lieixan jiupai*, 1854.



Fig. 6.32 Chen Hongshou drew, carver unknown, *Lin Chong*, wood-block printing, *Shuihu yezi*, ca. 1620-1650.



Fig. 6. 33 Chen Banding, *Plum Blossoms*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.



Fig. 6. 34 Chen Banding, *Chrysanthemum*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Qingfengtang cang ke tongmohe* ed. Gu Minghe (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 15.

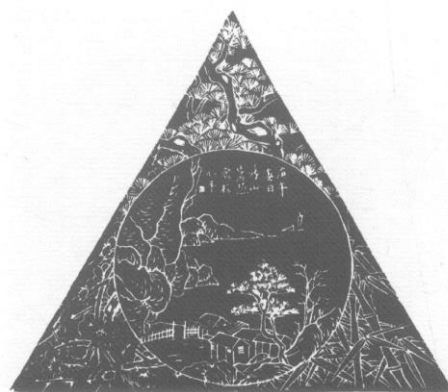


Fig. 6. 35 Xiao Xun, *Landscape*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Qingfengtang cang ke tongmohe*, ed. Gu, 28.



Fig. 6. 36 Qi Baishi, *A Drunk Man*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

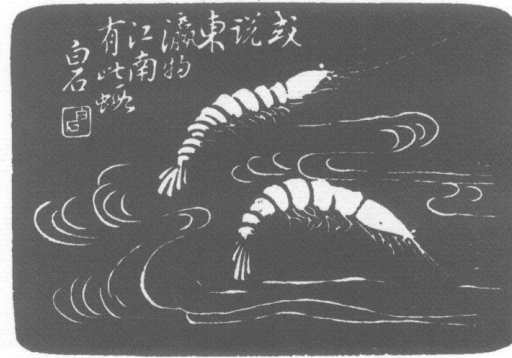


Fig. 6. 37 Qi Baishi, *Shrimps*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Qingfengtang cang ke tongmohe*, ed. Gu, 23.



Fig. 6. 38 Wang Mengbai, *Chickens*, ink and colour on paper, wood-block printing, in *Beiping jianpu*, ed. Lu and Zheng, no page number.

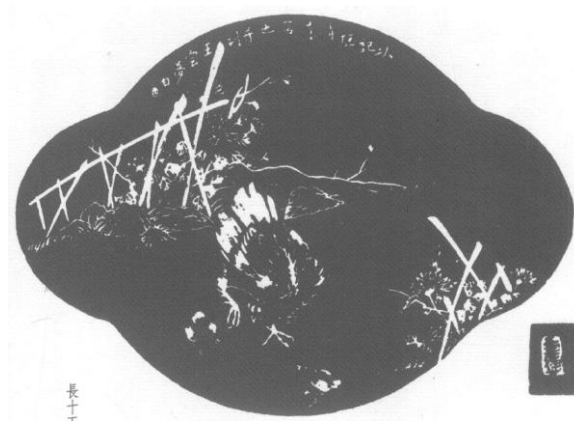


Fig. 6. 39 Wang Mengbai, *Chickens*, the cover of a copper ink box for liquid ink impressed on paper with ink, date unknown, in *Qingfengtang cang ke tongmohe*, ed. Gu, 23.

Chapter 7

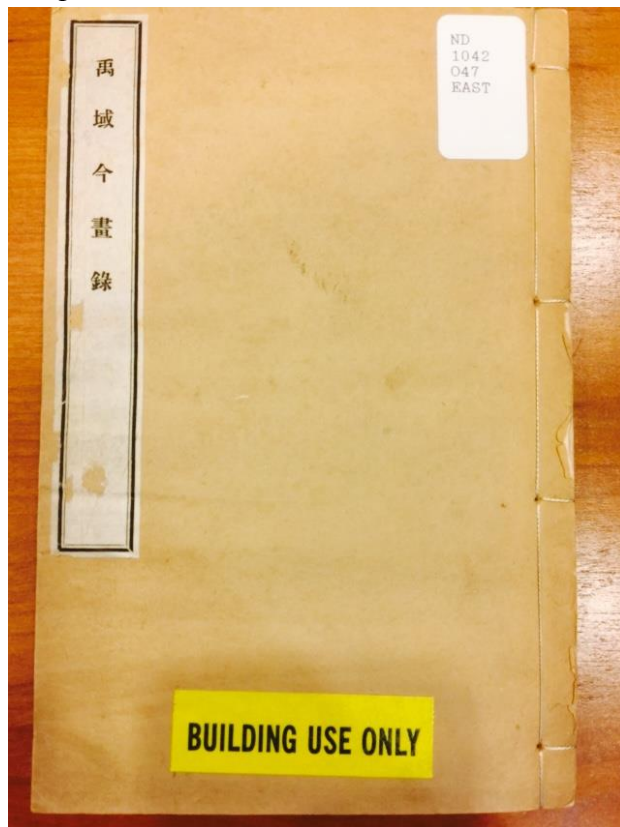


Fig. 7. 01 Ōmura Seigai, *Uiki kinga roku* (Tokyo: 1922).

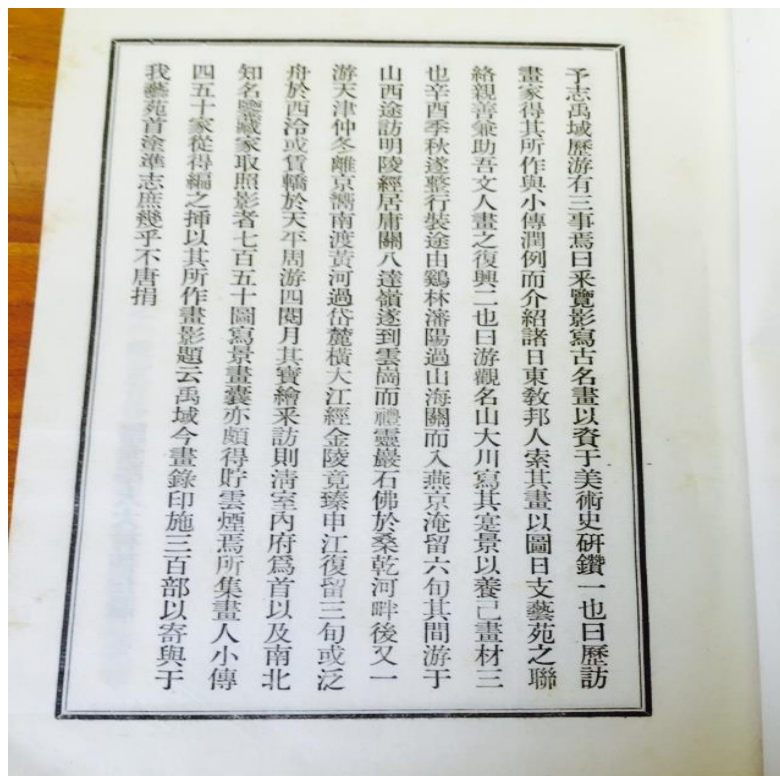


Fig. 7. 02 Ōmura Seigai, "Preface," in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

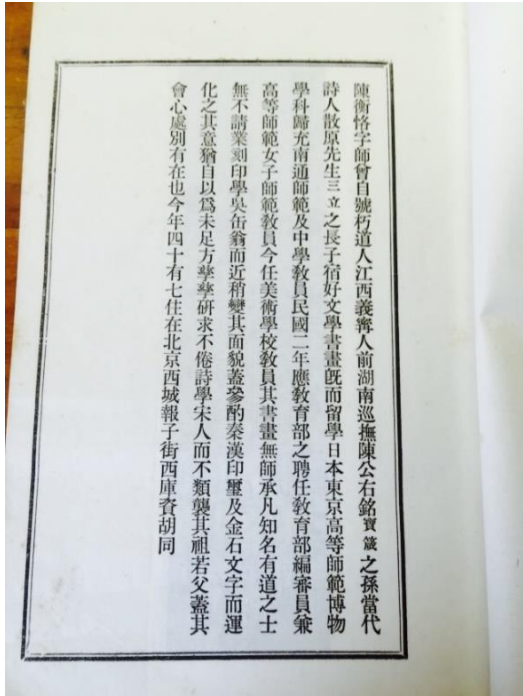


Fig. 7. 03 Chen Shizeng, *Chen Shizeng's Autobiography*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.



Fig. 7. 04 Chen Shizeng, *Landscape*, in *Uiki kinga roku* (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting), ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.



Fig. 7. 05 Chen Shizeng, *Plum Blossoms*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

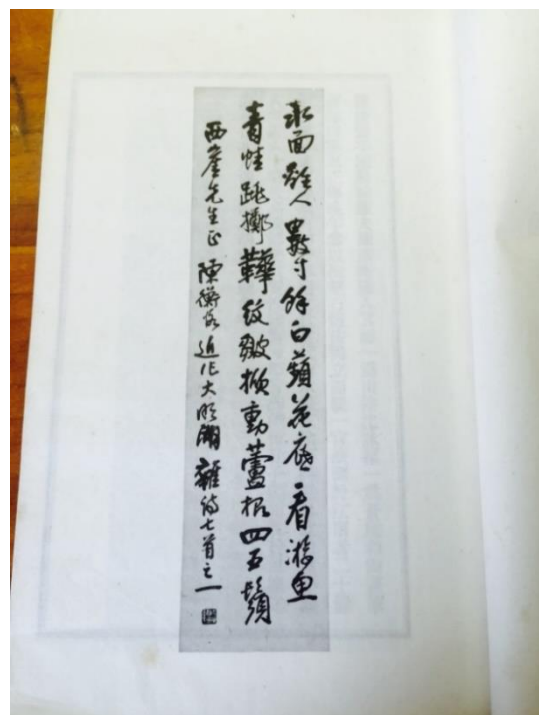


Fig. 7. 06 Chen Shizeng, *Running-Style Calligraphy*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

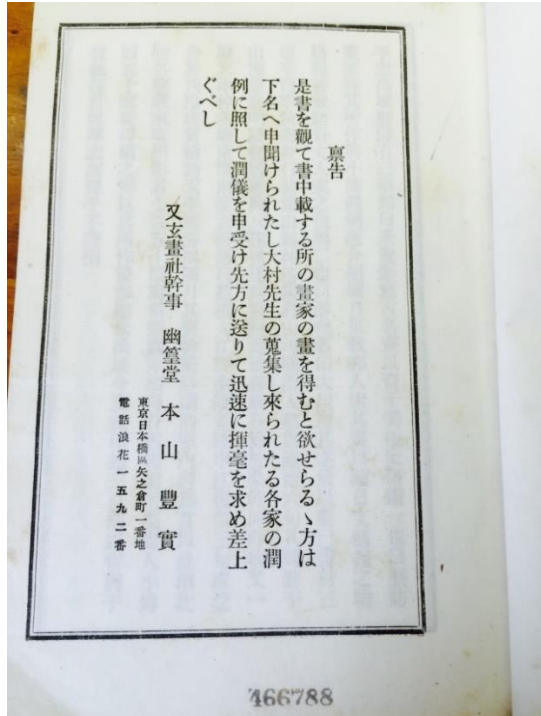


Fig. 7. 07 “Notice to Readers,” in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

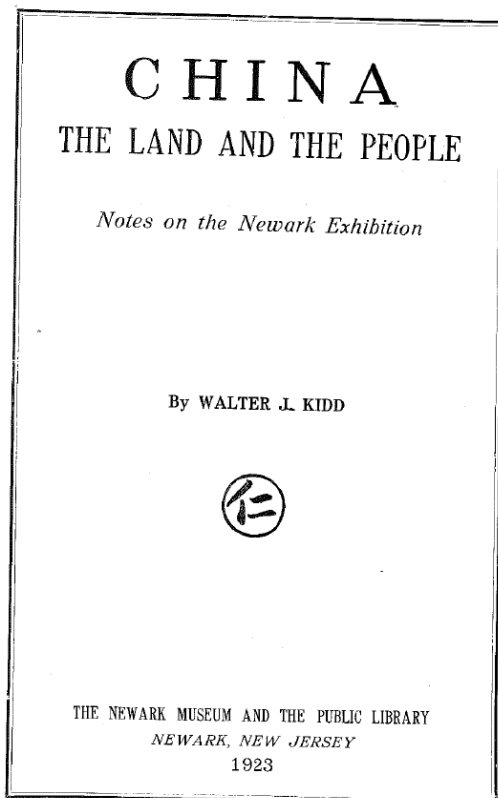


Fig. 7. 08 Walter J. Kidd, *China: The Land and the People* (Notice on the Newark Exhibition) (Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum and the Public Library, 1923).



Fig. 7. 09 Guan Pinghu, *Asleep before the Altar*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, early 20th century. New Jersey: Newark Museum.

Fig. 7. 10 Chen Hongduo, *Landscape: Man Herding Buffalo*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, early 20th century. New Jersey: Newark Museum.

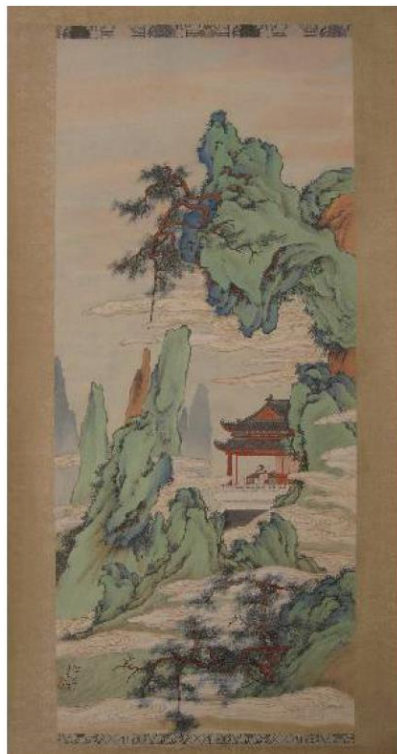


Fig. 7. 11 Li Wuhu, *Pavilion in the Fairy Hills*, ink and colour on paper, hanging scroll, early 20th century. New Jersey: Newark Museum.

Pur. No. 25.388

Object *885*
D48 Scroll painting Size 6' 31 1/2" l., 22 1/2" w

Country or Style Chinese Date Modern

Maker Kuan P'ing-Hu (over)

Description "Asleep before the altar". Painted in colors showing goddess seated in lotus, incense burner in foreground, priest in blue robes asleep on floor.

Condition Good

Source Peking Institute of Fine Arts, Peking, China

Price \$40.00 *#7 on list* Bill Apr. 27, 1925

uuw *China - Paintings*
7/7/25 *Paintings, Chinese*

Library Bureau 1-9775 --A

Fig. 7. 12 Inventory card of Guan Pinghu's painting, Newark Museum.

Pur. No. 25.389

Object *885*
D48 Painting Size 19 1/4" w., 5' 11 1/2" l

Country or Style Chinese Date Modern

Maker *to*
Chen Hung-To (over)

Description "Landscape" in colors on ~~white paper~~ silk

Condition Good

Source See 25.388

Price \$40, *#13 on list* Bill

uuw *China - Paintings*
7/7/25 *Paintings, Chinese*

Library Bureau 1-9775 --A

Fig. 7. 13 Inventory card of Chen Hongduo's painting, Newark Museum.

Pur. No. 25.390

Object *885*
D48 painting Size 22 1/2" w., 5' 17" l.

Country or Style Chinese Date Modern

Maker Li Wu-Hu (over)

Description "Pavilion in the Fairy Hills". Water-color on paper. Bright green rocks in upper right.

Condition Good

Source See 25.388

Price \$40, *#2 on list* Bill

uuw *China - Paintings*
7/7/25 *Paintings, Chinese*

Library Bureau 1-9775 --A

Fig. 7. 14 Inventory card of Li Wuhu's painting, Newark Museum.

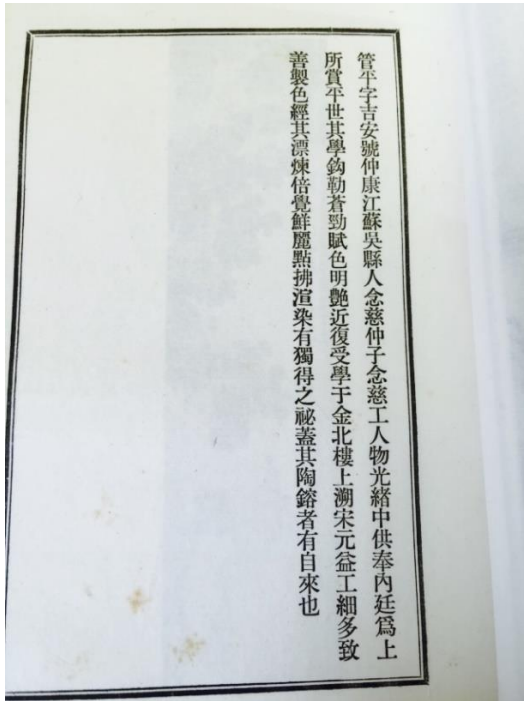


Fig. 7. 15 Guan Pinghu, *Guan Pinghu's Autobiography*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

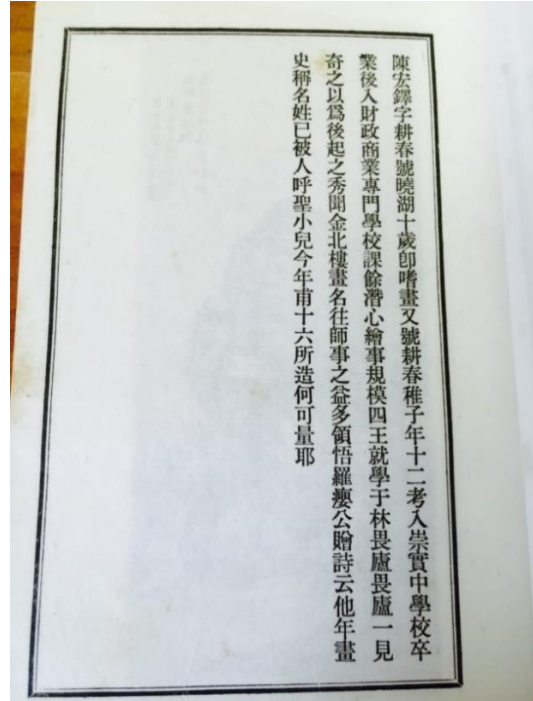


Fig. 7. 16 Chen Hongduo, *Chen Hongduo's Autobiography*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

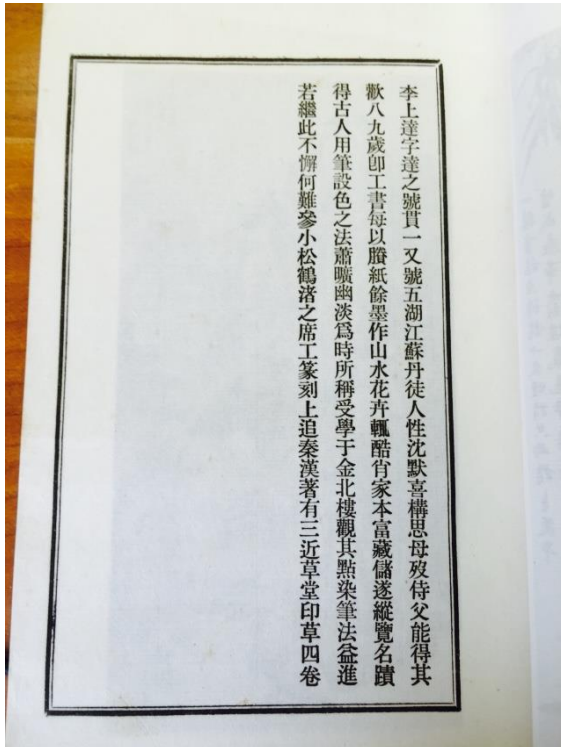


Fig. 7. 17 Li Wuhu, *Li Wuhu's Autobiography*, in *Uiki kinga roku*, ed. Ōmura Seigai (Tokyo: 1922), no page number.

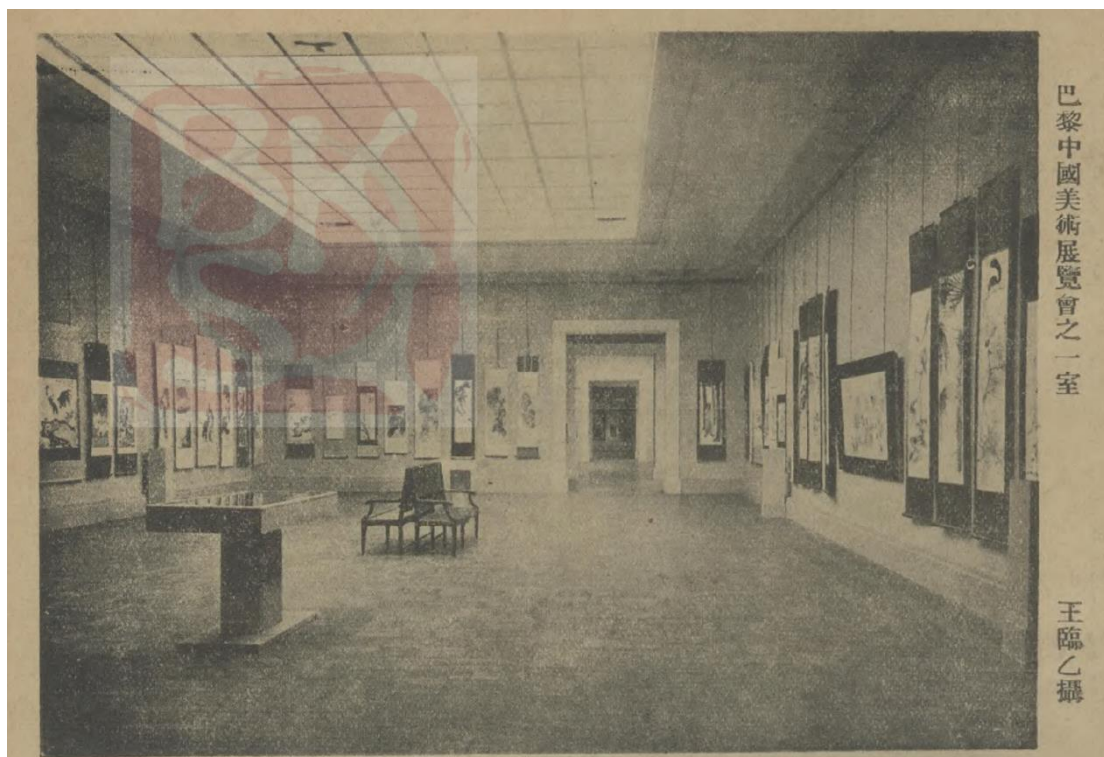


Fig. 7. 18 Wang Linyi, *Room No. 1 of the Chinese Art Exhibition in Paris*, photograph, *Yifeng* no. 11 (1933): 75.



Fig. 7. 19 *Exhibition Hall*, photograph, *Xin zhonghua* 2, no. 8 (1933): 11.

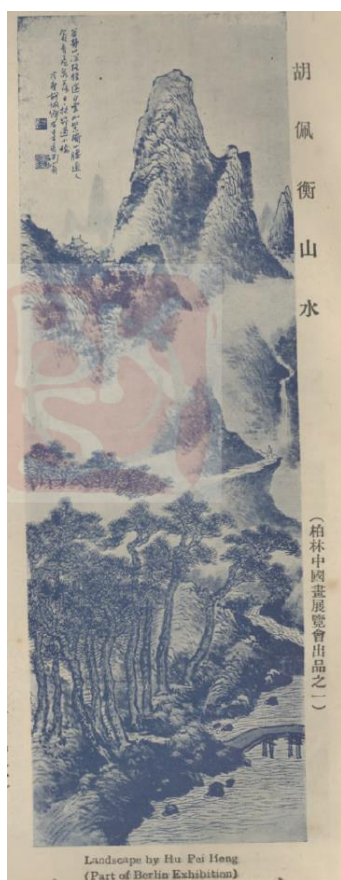


Fig. 7. 20 Hu Peiheng, *Landscape*, *Hushe yuetan*, no. 71 (1933): 14.

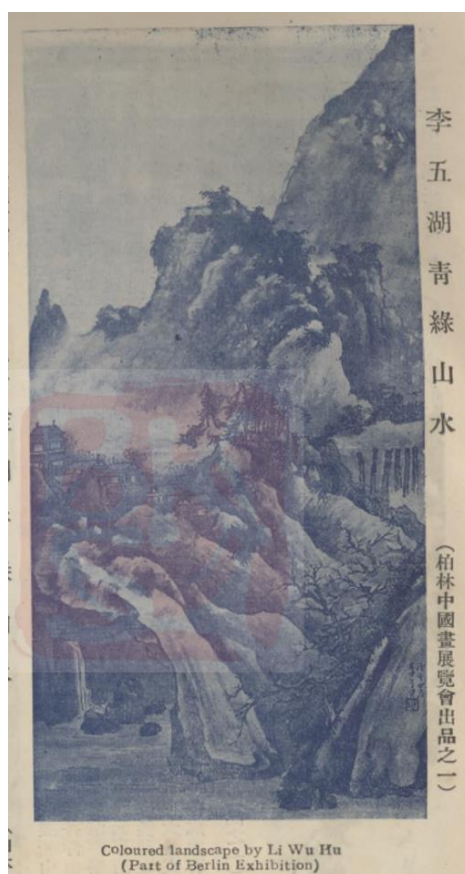


Fig. 7. 21 Li Wuhu, *Blue-and-Green Landscape*, *Hushe yuetan*, no. 71 (1933): 16.



Fig. 7. 22 Qi Baishi, *The Palm*, photograph of painting, *Liangyou*, no. 82 (1933): 31-32.



Fig. 7. 23 Hu Peiheng, *The Dalongqiu Waterfall*, photograph of painting, *Huixue zazhi*, no. 1 (1920): 1-2.



Fig. 7. 24 Hu Peiheng, *The Elephant Trunk Hill*, photograph of sketch, in *Guilin xiesheng*, Hu Peiheng (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1957), no page number.



Fig. 7. 25 Hu Peiheng, *The Elephant Trunk Hill*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 138 cm × 68 cm, 1962.
Beijing: Beijing huayuan.



Fig. 7. 26 Qi Baishi, *Mandarin Ducks Under the Lotus*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 101.8 cm × 33.3 cm, 1952. Shenyang: Liaoningsheng bowuguan (Liaoning Provincial Museum).

Fig. 7. 27 Qi Baishi, *Peace*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 68 cm × 50 cm, 1952. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.

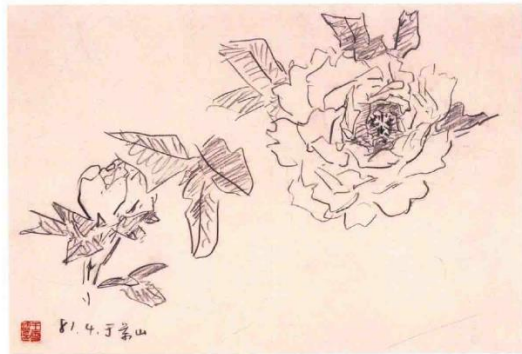


Fig. 7. 28 Wang Xuetao, *Peonies*, sketches, pencil on paper, 27.2 cm × 39.4 cm (the first one), 27.2 cm × 39.4 cm (the second one), 1981. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.

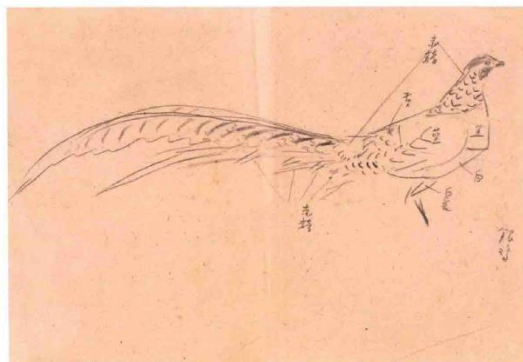


Fig. 7. 29 Wang Xuetao, *Pheasants*, sketches, pencil on paper, 27.4 cm × 39.4 cm (the first one), 27 cm × 39 cm (the second one), 1981. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.



Fig. 7. 30 Wang Xuetao, *Peonies*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 81 cm × 53 cm (the second one), 1960s. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.



Fig. 7. 31 Wang Xuetao, *Cotton Roses and a Pheasant*, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 81 cm × 53 cm (the second one), 1960s. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.

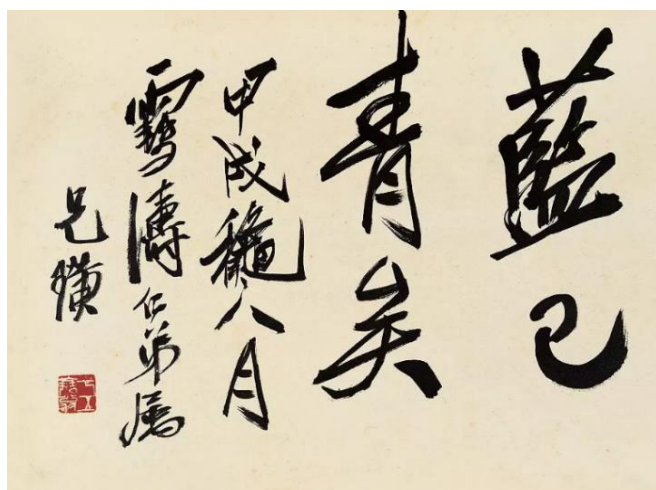


Fig. 7. 32 Qi Baishi, *The blue is fading, the indigo is thriving*, calligraphy, ink on paper, 1934. Beijing: Beijing huayuan.



Fig. 7. 33 Li Kuchan, *Ink Bamboos*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 429 cm × 283 cm, 1980. Beijing: Renmin dahuitang.



Fig. 7. 34 “Li Kuchan during the creation of the ‘Ink Bamboos,’” photograph, accessed July 1, 2020, <https://sns.91ddcc.com/t/154409>.



Fig. 7. 35 Li Kuchan, *Lotus in the Summer*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 580 cm × 368 cm, 1981. Beijing: Zhongguo guojia bowuguan.



Fig. 7. 36 “Li Kuchan’s ‘Lotus in the Summer’ in the exhibition hall of the National Museum of China in 2018,” accessed July 1, 2020, https://www.sohu.com/a/277456641_280470.

Appendices

Table I: Selected Biographies of the Members of the Xuannan Painting Society

Member	Biography	Date of Joining the Xuannan Painting Society
Yu Shaosong 余紹宋 (1883-1949)	Yu Shaosong, self-styled as Yueyuan 越園 or Yueyuan 樾園, was originally from Zhejiang Province. Yu studied law in Japan during his early years and then served the Ministry of Justice of the Northern Government in Beijing for fifteen years before he resigned and moved back to Hangzhou in 1927. He named his library <i>Hanke tang</i> 寒柯堂 (Studio of Winter Trees), as a way of demonstrating his unyielding spirit as a scholar-artist during the tumultuous first half of the twentieth century. Yu was versatile in poetry and prose, calligraphy and painting. He was especially good at landscape painting, and skilled at the ink bamboo and the plum blossom in particular. Apart from art practice, Yu also researched extensively into paintings and calligraphy. ⁶⁹⁸	The founder of the Xuannan Painting Society
Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1883-1947)	Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1883-1947), originally known as Di 滌, self-styled as Shuangyu daoren 雙于道人. He was originally from Wujin, Jiangsu Province, and was a descendant of famous Qing artist Tang Yifen 湯貽汾 (1778-1853). Tang inherited his family's painterly traditions and marvelled at landscape painting; he was also good at flower painting. Tang resided in Beijing for decades and sojourned in Shanghai in his old age, thus he was well-known in both the north and south of China. ⁶⁹⁹	The first painting tutor of the Xuannan Painting Society
Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923)	Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (originally known as Hengke 衡恪, self-styled as <i>Xiu Daoren</i> 朽道人) is widely acknowledged as the leader of <i>Jingpai</i> 京派 (Beijing School of Painting) in early twentieth century Beijing, and was praised by Liang Qichao as 'the pioneer of modern Chinese art'. He was born to a scholar's family – his grandfather Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900) was Hunan's leading reformist in late Qing, his father Chen	Joined in the Xuannan Painting Society between 1915 and 1916

⁶⁹⁸ Jiang Danshu 姜丹書, *Jiang Danshu yishu jiaoyu zazhu* 姜丹書藝術教育雜著 (Jiang Danshu's Essays on Art Education) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), 301.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

	Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937) was a famous poet, and his younger brother Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) later became China's most renowned historian. Chen received a traditional Chinese education in his early years, which laid a firm foundation for his later versatility in <i>sijue</i> 四絕 (the four perfections): poetry, calligraphy, painting, and seal carving. He then entered new-style schools (1898 in Nanjing and 1901 in Shanghai) and studied abroad in Japan (1902-1909), where he possibly obtained knowledge of Western art and even learned to practice water colour and oil painting, in addition to training in Natural History. After relocating to Beijing in 1913, Chen was actively involved in both traditional elegant gatherings and modern painting societies in the city. Instances included <i>Xuannan Huahui</i> 宣南畫會 (Xuannan Painting Society), <i>Xishan Huahui</i> 西山畫會 (West Mountain Painting Society), <i>Beida Huafa Yanjiuhui</i> 北大畫法研究會 (Research Society of Painting Methods in Beijing University), and most importantly, the <i>Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui</i> 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society). In previous scholarship, especially in studies written in Chinese, English and Japanese, Chen is best known for his firm defence of scholarly painting, demonstrated by his article 'Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值 (The Value of Scholarly Painting)' and his translation of 'Bunjin-ga no Fukkō 文人畫の復興 (The Revival of Scholarly Painting)' by Japanese art historian Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868-1927), together published in a book <i>Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu</i> 中國文人畫之研究 (A Study of Chinese Literati Painting) in 1921, with preface by Yao Hua 姚華 (1876-1930).⁷⁰⁰	
Wang Mengbai 王夢白 (1888-1934)	Wang Mengbai 王夢白 (1888-1934), originally known as Yun 雲, self-styled as Shan daoren 山道人, Pozhai zhuren 破齋主人, was a native of Jiangxi Province. He demonstrated a talent for painting from an early age. Before he sojourned in Shanghai and received guidance from <i>Haipai</i> master Wu Changshi, Wang was mainly self-taught. Wang's art progressed hugely after he moved to Beijing, both because he was able to see numerous original works by earlier masters, and because he associated with brilliant artists in the city such as Chen Shizeng, who advised him to learn the style of Huang Yan	Joined in the Xuannan Painting Society around mid-1919

⁷⁰⁰ Gong, "Chen Shizeng niaobiao," 39-63.

	for <i>lingmao</i> 翎毛 (bird and animal paintings). During the golden age of his art in Beijing, Wang was well-known for his bird and animal paintings, as well as his vivid portrayal of figures. When he occasionally executed landscapes, his brush work was elegant, quaint and extraordinary. ⁷⁰¹	
Xiao Junxian 蕭俊賢 (1865-1949)	Xiao Junxian 蕭俊賢, originally known as Zhiquan, Zhiquan, self-styled as Tianhe Yiren, he named his studio <i>Jingnian lou</i> and came from Hengyang, Hunan Province. In his early years, Xiao made a living by selling his paintings in Guangdong Province. Later, he moved through Changsha and Nanjing, before moving to Beijing in 1919. In Beijing, Xiao taught at Beijing Art College and Beijing Normal College for Women. Xiao relocated to Shanghai in 1928 and spent the rest of his life there. Visiting many great mountains in China during his lifetime, Xiao was particularly good at landscape painting. While his well-planned works were highlighted by his brilliant use of <i>jiaomo</i> 焦墨 (coke ink) as the finishing touch, his more spontaneous paintings show vivid variations of brushwork: sparse and abundant, dry and wet, big and small. He also invented a special kind of blue and green landscape painting, which was executed with the <i>mogu</i> technique. ⁷⁰²	Joined in the Xuannan Painting Society on September 21, 1919
He Liangpu 賀良樸 (1860-1938)	He Liangpu 賀良樸 (1860-1938), originally known as Lüzhi 履之, self-styled as Kuigong 簀公. He moved to Beijing at the age of eight with his uncle, official-scholar He Shouci 賀壽慈 (1810-1891), and started to learn painting afterwards. During his early years, he received a traditional education and had a <i>juren</i> 舉人 degree in late Qing. He was well-known for his landscape painting, which originated from the Yuan master Wang Meng; he was also capable of figure painting and bird-and-flower painting, learning respectively from the styles of Ming masters Qiu Ying 仇英(1494-1552) and Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652), as well as Qing master Yun Shouping 恽壽平 (1663-1690). In early Republican Beijing, he was an advisor for the Painting Methods Research Society of Peking University and also taught at Beijing Art College. In Beijing, he was closely associated	Joined in the Xuannan Painting Society on November 16, 1919

⁷⁰¹ Jia Yijun 賈逸君, *Zhonghuaminguo mingrenzhuan* 中華民國名人傳 (Biographies of the Celebrities of the Republic of China) (Changsha: Yuelu shuhse, 1993), 4.

⁷⁰² Shen Xiongping 申雄平, *Xiao Junxian nianpu* 蕭俊賢年譜 (A Chronological Biography of Xiao Junxian) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2014), 1-3.

	was Chen Shizeng, Chen Banding 陳半丁 (1876-1970), Qi Baishi and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953). ⁷⁰³	
Lin Zaiping 林 宰平 (1879-1960)	Lin Zaiping 宰平 (1879-1960), originally known as Zhijun 志鈞, self-style as Weigang 唯剛, Beiyun 北雲. Lin was a lifelong friend of Yu Shaosong and one of the earliest members of the Xuannan Painting Society. In early Republican Beijing, Lin worked for the Department of Justice and later became the Head of the Civil Division. From 1935 onwards, he taught at the School of Literature and Arts of Peking University. Lin was very good at calligraphy and was a marvel at both poetry and prose. ⁷⁰⁴	One of the earliest members of the Xuannan Painting Society

Table II: Major Activities and Events of the Xuannan Painting Society as Recorded in Yu Shaosong's Diaries (with a focus on Chen Shizeng's participation), 1917-1923

Date (western calendar)	Activity	Location	Quotation from Yu Shaosong's Diaries
February 12, 1917	The first gathering of Xuannan Painting Society recorded in Yu Shaosong's Diaries	Yu Shaosong's studio, No.5 Xizhuan hutong, Luomashi Street, Xuannan Area 余廬，驛馬市大街西磚胡同五號（宣南地區）	Master Tang Ding returned and we re-started the painting club. Zaiping, Zixian and Jinsu then joined. Hu Wenkui and Meng Chunsun also went in when they heard the news. On that day, Master Ding made a large-sized landscape painting after Kuncan while we were talking about ghost stories. When the painting was finished, Meng Chunsun wrote a poem on the drawing. The poem read: 'Talk about ghosts by fireplace as Su-Shi did. It brings us into a trance where gods and fairies fade. When trees and mountains are brought to life on paper, we see the glamour of Xinluo (Hua Yan)'s style and technique.'

⁷⁰³ Yueyang shi difangzhi bangongshi 岳陽市地方志辦公室 (The Office of Yueyang Local History), *Yueyang shizhi (renwu juan)* 岳陽市志(人物卷) (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2005), 182-183; Li Shengping 李盛平, *Zhongguo jinxindai renming dacidian* 中國近現代人名大辭典 (A Dictionary of People's Names in Modern and Contemporary China) (Beijing: Zhongguo guoji guangbo chubanshe, 1989), 535.

⁷⁰⁴ "Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming duizhaobiao 日記中人物字號姓名對照表 (A List of People's Names and Self-Style Names in the Diaries)," in *Yu Shaosong riji*, 23.

			We used the old way, drawing lots, to decide who would have the honour of owning this painting and Jinsu was favoured by luck. In the evening, all of us went to Guangheju for dinner and finished at nine o'clock. We enjoyed ourselves very much. This painting society had been closed since last summer when Master Ding returned to the south. Back then, Xiangcheng had just passed away, and the south and the north were in turmoil. Today, we restarted this painting society on the anniversary of the reunification of the south and the north, and it was truly a day to remember. Today, Zixian showed five letters from the monk Tianran once again and the calligraphy was marvellous... 湯定師來，重興畫社，宰平、子賢、勁蘇皆到，胡文夔、孟莚孫聞風亦來會。定師乃仿髡殘山水一大幀，因同人雜談鬼趣，畫畢，孟莚孫復作詩記其上，詩曰：“圍爐說鬼學東坡，恍惚仙靈不速過。高樹遠山渲染畢，方知腕底有新羅。”仍用舊例以拈鬪定畫所屬，遂為勁蘇所得。晚同人皆赴廣和居夜飯，直至九時始散，歡暢之至，此畫會自去夏定師回南后迄未舉行，時適項城逝世，南北紛擾，今適于南北統一紀念日恢復此會，亦佳話也。今日子賢復出示天然和尚書札五通，書法精絕。⁷⁰⁵
March 1, 1917	Expansion of the Xuannan Painting Society	Yu Shaosong's studio	Recently, Master Ding agreed to enlarge the painting society, so [I] did a little adjustment to the north wing, and instantly started to organise everything at my place. 近定師允將畫社擴充，故將北廂

⁷⁰⁵ Yu, *Yu Shaosong riji*, 7.

			房稍加整治，即在家部署一切。 ⁷⁰⁶
March 4, 1917	Chen Shizeng's first participation in the gathering of Xuannan Painting Society, as recorded in Yu Shaosong's Diaries	Yu Shaosong's studio	At nine o'clock, Hu Zixian, Master Tang Ding, Hu Wenkui, Meng Chunsun, Liu Songsheng, Pu Boying, Lin Zaiping, Chen Shizeng, among others, arrived at my place one after another. Master Ding imitated a square painting by Pengxin, as an antiquity shop had sent paintings by Li Erqiao [Li Jian], Li Changheng [Li Liufang], Da Dizi [Shitao], Yun Nantian [Yun Shouping] and Wang Pengxin [Wang Chen] earlier for sale. Among all the artworks, the two pieces by Pengxin and Changheng were the best, thus Master Ding imitated them. When the painting was completed, I got it by drawing lots, and Meng Chunsun wrote a poem on the painting as the inscription to record this event. Later, Chen Shizeng did several flower paintings, all of which had bold branches and big leaves executed with freehand brushwork and completed in an instant. How could it be possible that Shizeng's high reputation was built upon works like this? 九時頃胡子賢、湯定師、胡文夔、孟莚孫、劉崧生、蒲伯英、林宰平、陳師曾等陸續來寓，定師乃仿蓬心一方幀，因早廠肆送來黎二樵、李長蘅、大滌子、惲南田及王蓬心各幀求售，而以蓬心、長蘅兩幀為最精，故定師仿之也。畫成，為余拈得，孟莚孫為題詩紀之。陳師曾復畫花卉數幀，皆粗枝大葉，頃刻而成，師曾之負盛名其以此乎？ ⁷⁰⁷
March 31,	Mention of Chen	Yu Shaosong's	[I got up early], Tang Dingzhi, Chen

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

1918	Shizeng executing paintings at a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	studio	Shizeng, Yang Jinsu, Hu Zixian came. Shizeng executed four paintings and we parted at four o'clock. 早起，湯定之、陳師曾、楊勁蘇、胡子賢來，師曾作畫四幀，四時散。 ⁷⁰⁸
June 1, 1919	Yu Shaosong produced a painting for the first time during the painting gathering.	Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬 (1859-1919's studio (location unknown)	In the afternoon, [we] had our painting gathering at Uncle Liang's residence for the second time [...] I also executed one painting perfunctorily and only Zixian did not paint anything. [I] returned home in the late afternoon. 下午梁表伯處開第二次畫會，到者十餘人，余亦畫一紙塞責，子賢獨未畫，傍晚始歸。 ⁷⁰⁹
June 15, 1919	The collaboration between Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai during a gathering of the Xuannan Painting Society	Yu Shaosong's studio	Mengbai and Shizeng created no less than ten paintings together, with subjects that are rarely seen in other painters' works, such as snakes, tortoises, pigs and so on. All of the works were fancy and bizarre. The spectacle of these paintings started at 8 am and did not finish until 6 pm. This could be the most cheerful activity that we have ever had in our painting club over the years. 夢白與師曾合作不下十餘幀，而所畫又皆他人所不畫之物，如蛇如龜如豬等類，皆甚奇特。自上午八時直至下午六時半始散，蓋近年來畫社無此暢快矣。 ⁷¹⁰
July 27, 1919	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	Most of Shizeng's works featured rocks. Each of his rock paintings was made on the largest sheet of drawing paper with ease and verve. 師曾畫石最多，凡大幀九章，極酣暢淋漓之致。 ⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., 55.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., 106.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., 107-108.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., 111.

August 10, 1919	The first gathering of Xuannan Painting Society held at the Yu Garden	Yu Garden, Maojiawan hutong, the East District 余園，東城毛家灣胡同	At ten o'clock I went to Yu Jimen's place with Tang [Dingzhi] and Wang [Mengbai], because today Jimen held the painting forum in the garden of his mansion. 十時與湯，王同到余戟門處，戟門今日在所居花園內開畫會也。 ⁷¹²
September 7, 1919	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	[We] had a painting gathering today [...] Tang [Dingzhi], Chen [Shizeng], Wang [Mengbai] and Huang [Tingzhi] all painted and I got two of the paintings. [We] parted at five o'clock. 今日開畫會 (...) 湯、陳、王、黃四人均作畫，余得其二，五時半始散去。 ⁷¹³
September 21, 1919	Xiao Junxian newly joined in the Xuannan Painting Society; mention of Chen Shizeng completing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	Mr Xiao Junxian joined us for the first time. Mr Xiao is a native of Hunan in his fifties, and his painting brushwork has its merits. Chen [Shizeng], Wang [Mengbai], Xiao [Junxian] and Tang [Dingzhi] all painted, and the meeting finished at half past five. 新加蕭俊賢君。蕭君湖南人，年五十餘矣，畫筆亦有可取者。陳、王、蕭、湯諸君皆有畫，直至五時半始散。 ⁷¹⁴
October 2, 1919	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	Shizeng drew a painting for me, on which the bamboo was fairly untrammelled. In the afternoon, Tang (Dingzhi), Xiao (Jun Xian) and Chen (Shizeng) collaborated with each other and painted a large-scale landscape, which they kindly gave to me. 師曾為余作畫，竹頗有逸態。午後湯、蕭、陳合作山水大幅見贈。 ⁷¹⁵
November 16, 1919	He Liangpu newly joined in the Xuannan	Yu Shaosong's studio	He Luzhi, a Hunanese, newly joined in the society. However, his

⁷¹² Ibid., 112.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 114.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid., 117.

	Painting Society; Chen Shizeng, Tang Dingzhi and Xiao Junxian executed a joint landscape painting.		painting is not of very high standard [...] [He] then made contributions to the large-scale painting produced collaboratively by Master Tang, Shizeng and Zhiquan, which came to Zixian's possession by drawing lots. 賀履之，湖南人，新加入會，賀畫亦不甚高 (...) 隨與湯師、師曾、屋泉合作巨幀，為子賢拈去。 ⁷¹⁶
December 14, 1919	The 137th painting gathering of the Xuannan Painting Society; mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's Studio	[We] had a painting gathering today and it was the 137th meeting, everybody came except [Lin] Zaiping (...) In the afternoon, Xiao [Junxian], Wang [Mengbai], Tang [Dingzhi] and Chen [Shizeng] all completed some works and we did not finish until five o'clock. 今日開畫會，第一百三十七次矣，同人皆來，惟宰平未至 (...) 下午蕭、王、湯、陳皆有所作，至五時許方散。 ⁷¹⁷
March 28, 1920	Chen Shizeng produced a painting for Yu Shaosong after a Xuannan Painting Society gathering.	Yu Shaosong's studio	Chen Shizeng was the only one who stayed; he painted a horizontal scroll after Mei Qushan's landscape, which was nice. 五時許散，陳師曾獨留，為余作梅瞿山山水直幀，尚佳。 ⁷¹⁸
April 4, 1920	Collaboration between Chen Shizeng and Wang Mengbai during a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	At noon we had lunch at Zixian's place. After the meal, Mengbai and Shizeng painted a few more works together. The meeting finished after three o'clock. 中午往子賢處吃飯，飯後夢白、師曾又合作數紙，三時后即散。 ⁷¹⁹
April 11, 1920	Collaboration between Chen Shizeng, Tang Dingzhi, Wang Mengbai and He	Yu Shaosong's studio	At around nine o'clock Liao Yunduan and Yang Jinsu arrived, today's painting gathering was co-chaired by them [...] Chen [Shizeng], Tang [Dingzhi], Wang

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 118.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 120.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., 129.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

	Liangpu during a Xuannan Painting Society gathering		[Mengbai] and He [Liangpu] took turns to collaborate with each other and finished twelve paintings in total. [We] parted at four o'clock. 九時許廖允端、楊勁蘇來，今日畫會由其二人主席 (...) 陳、湯、王、賀四人前後合畫，計得十二幀，四時散。 ⁷²⁰
May 2, 1920	The 144 th gathering of the Xuannan Painting Society; mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in the gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	At ten o'clock [Hu] Zixian and [Wang] Mengbai came, we went to Chongxiao Temple together to appreciate the peonies. At noon we had lunch at Guangheju chaired by [Lin] Zaiping and Chen [Shizeng]. After the meal, Tang Dingzhi, Chen Shizeng, Xiao Zhiquan [Junxian], Hu Zixian and Yu Jimen came to my place to have a painting gathering, which was the 144th. Shizeng and Mengbai respectively painted many kinds of peonies; Zixian and Jimen each gained one piece of work and we parted at four o'clock. 十時子賢、夢白來，同到崇效寺看牡丹，十二時到廣和居午飯，宰平、師曾主席。飯後湯定之、陳師曾、蕭屋泉、胡子賢、余戟門同來余寓開畫會，是為第一百四十四集。師曾、夢白各作牡丹多種，子賢、戟門及余各得一紙，四時許散。 ⁷²¹
October 17, 1920	A Xuannan Painting Society gathering with only a few paintings produced by attendees.	Yu Shaosong's studio	[We] had a painting gathering today [...] [We] did not execute many paintings and parted at around three o'clock. 今日開畫會 (...) 作畫不多，三時許即散。 ⁷²²
July 4, 1921	A Xuannan Painting Society gathering with no painting executed by	Yu Shaosong's studio	[We] had a compensatory holiday today for yesterday's anniversary, so we had a painting gathering. Tang Dingzhi, Chen Shizeng, Zhu

⁷²⁰ Ibid., 130.

⁷²¹ Ibid., 133.

⁷²² Ibid., 151-152.

	attendees.		Aiyuan, Liao Yunduan, Yu Jimen and Hu Zixian came. [We] did not execute any paintings because of the extremely hot weather, just talked about painting and had some random conversation. 本日補放昨日紀念假，遂開畫會，到者湯定之，陳師曾、朱隘園、廖允端、余戟門、胡子賢，以天氣太熱未作畫，相與談論畫事并諧談而已。⁷²³
July 17, 1921	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yi Garden	[We] arrived at Yi Garden for the painting forum [...] Tang and Chen each painted a fan and I got Chen's fan in the end. 十一時到怡園畫會 (...) 湯、陳各畫一扇，陳扇為余所得。⁷²⁴
July 31, 1921	Group discussion on members' works; Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	Tang Dingzhi executed a lotus fan and Chen Shizeng only painted two fans. People made many comments [on the paintings] thus our discussion took a relatively long time. [We] did not finish until three o'clock. 湯定之畫荷花扇，陳師曾畫兩扇而已，各人提出成績甚多，故討論時較久，三時許始散。⁷²⁵
September 11, 1921	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yi Garden	[I] arrived at the painting gathering at eleven o'clock [...] Chen Shizeng executed one painting. I was not particularly in the mood and returned home at four o'clock. 十時到畫會 (...) 陳師曾作畫一幀，余意殊不愜，四時歸。⁷²⁶
September 18, 1921	Mention of Chen Shizeng painting at a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yi Garden	[I] arrived at the Yi Garden at eleven o'clock. At noon, members of the painting society invited me to a farewell lunch before my trip to the south. [We] had some crabs first and then began to drink thus we did

⁷²³ Ibid., 186.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 188.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 191.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., 197.

			not finish the party until ten minutes to four. Chen Shizeng, He Lüzhi, Tang Dingzhi and Liu Zhongzuan collaborated on a painting. 十一時到怡園，中午畫會同人公餞余之南行，先食用蟹後會飲，于是遂至三時五十分始散局，陳師曾、賀履之、湯定之、劉仲攢輩合作一幀。⁷²⁷
April 2, 1922	The members reached an agreement that they would each execute a painting for each gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	At eleven o'clock, Lin Zaiping, Liu Zhongzuan, Hu Zixian, Tang Dingzhi, He Luzhi, Liang Pingfu, Luo Fu'an, Chen Shizeng and Liao Yunduan arrived one after another. Zhongxuan chaired this gathering and we reached the agreement that from this meeting onwards, every member should execute one painting and hand it in during next gathering. Shizeng started by executing one piece of work, and then painted another one for me. [We] parted at four o'clock and Shizeng took Wu Changshi's paintings with him to sell in Japan for me. 十一時林宰平，劉仲攢，胡子賢，湯定之、賀履之、梁平甫、羅敷龢、陳師曾、廖允端陸續到，仲攢主席開畫會，約定此後每人必作一紙，下次畫會繳卷，師曾先作一幀，另作一幀贈余，四時散，師曾攜去吳昌碩畫片，將為余帶往日本去賣也。⁷²⁸
January 28, 1923	Mention of Chen Shizeng executing paintings in a Xuannan Painting Society gathering	Yu Shaosong's studio	[We] had the painting gathering at eleven o'clock [...] After meal, [Chen] Shizeng executed two paintings—A Picture of the West Platform and The Pagoda of the Huang Family Mountain. Both were copies after the photos taken by me and were not worth seeing.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 198.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 241.

			十一時開畫會 (...) 飯後師曾作《西臺圖》并《黃家山塔》兩幀，皆摹余所攝影片為之，不足觀也。 729
April 26, 1925	The 10 th anniversary of the Xuannan Painting Society	Yi Garden	[We] arrived at Yi Garden at half past nine. Today is the tenth anniversary of Yimao Painting Society. About twenty members came and each showed his calligraphy and painting collection, including the popular works of the time. Of the paintings completed during our gathering, Tang Dingzhi produced the most. We departed at dusk. 九時半到怡園，今日為乙卯畫社十年紀念會，到者凡二十人，各出所藏書畫陳列，極一時之盛，湯定之作畫最多，直至傍晚始散。 ⁷³⁰

Table III: Chen Shizeng's Extended Network in Beijing (1913-1923, listed in alphabetic order)

Name	Short Biography
Jin Cheng	Jin Cheng 金城 (1878-1926), originally known as Shaocheng 紹城, self-styled as Gongbei 拱北. He came from Huzhou in Zhejiang Province. In his early years, he studied politics and law in the King's College of London and visited museums and art galleries across Europe. Returning to China, he served as high-rank official for the Beiyang Government. Jin had a strong passion for traditional Chinese art and was versatile in painting (<i>gongbi</i>) and calligraphy (<i>lishu</i>). Jin's ideas on the study of painting was summarised in his <i>Beilou lunhua</i> 北樓論畫 (Beilou's Ideas on Painting). Jin facilitated the opening-up of the Guwu chenliesuo 古物陳列所 (The Display of Antiquities) and initiated the Chinese Painting Research Society. He also played significant part in organising the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition Series. Jin had numerous students and was regarded as the leader of the world of painting in northern China during his days. ⁷³¹
Jiang Nanping	Jiang Nanping 江南蘋 (1902-1986), originally known as Jiang Cai 江采, self-styled as Nanping 南蘋. During her time in Beijing, Jiang had learned painting from Chen Banding and Chen Shizeng, and had worked as a tutor for the Chinese Painting Research Society. In 1931, she joined in the Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society 女子書畫會 funded by He Xiangning 何香凝 (1878-1972) in

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 346.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., 494.

⁷³¹ Xia Zhengnong 夏征農 and Chen Zhili 陳至立, *Dacihai meishu juan* 大辭海 美術卷 (The Encyclopedia: Fine Arts Section) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2012), 84.

	Shanghai. Between 1954 and 1965, Jiang worked for the Shanghai Museum and dedicated to copying ancient Chinese paintings. For her own creation, Jiang was proficient in flower painting, especially the plum blossom and the peony. ⁷³²
Ling Zhizhi	Ling Wenyuan 凌文淵 (1876-1944), also known as Zhizhi 直支 or Zhizhi 植支, is originally from Taixian, Jiangsu Province. He graduated from Liangjiang Advanced Normal College in 1887 and taught at Beijing Art College during the Republican period. He followed the school of Chen Chun 陳淳 (1483-1544) and Xuwei 徐渭 (1521-1593), and was good at free-hand flowers, as well as bird painting. Ling is particularly capable of painting the plum blossom. ⁷³³
Luo Fu'an	Luo Fukan 羅敷堪 (1874-1954), originally known as Zhaoyan 照岩, Jiru 季孺, self-styled as Fukan 敷堪, came from a scholarly family with Guangdong origin. He was a student of Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927). In the early Republican period, he had served as a counselor at the Department of Education, the Department of Finance and the Department of Justice for the Northern Government, and a secretary at the Ministry of Home Affairs of the National Government. Luo had a passion for poetry, and he was also proficient in calligraphy and painting. ⁷³⁴
Luo Yanfeng	Luo Hongnian 羅鴻年 (1880-?), originally known as Yanfeng 雁峰, came from Jiangsu Province. Luo received a B.A in Business from the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom. During the early Republican period, Luo was an important figure both as a politician and as a businessman. He was appointed as Senator for Congress in 1918, Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Finance in 1921, Director of the Shanghai Mint in 1923 and Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Education in 1924. In the meantime, Luo was also on the Board of Directors of many large banks, such as the Bank of China and the Chinese-American Bank of Commerce. ⁷³⁵
Luo Yinggong	Luo Yinggong 羅癭公 (1880-1924), originally known as Dunrong 惇融, Shandong 揆東, self-styled as Yinggong 癭公. Luo's family was from Shunde 順德, Guangdong Province 廣東省, and he was born in Beijing. In his early years, he studied at Guangya Academy 廣雅學院 and was a student of Kang Youwei, yet he failed the civil examination for many times. In 1911, he organised a poetry society together with Fan Zengxiang 樊增祥 (1846-1931) and Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924) in Beijing, in which they composed sad and dreary poems to mourn the Qing Dynasty. After 1912, he served as secretary of the Office of the President and the State Council. When Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916) restored the monarchy in late 1915, he resigned and devoted himself to poetry, wine and opera. Apart from his achievements in poetry, Luo was also a proficient calligrapher and talented dramatist. He was friendly with famous opera singers in Beijing such as Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳 (1894-1961) and Cheng Yanqiu 程硯秋 (1904-1958), and

⁷³² Jiang Nanping 江南蘋, "Nanping bashi zishu 八十自述 (Reminiscences by Nanping at Eighty)." *Duoyun* 朵雲 (Flowery Cloud), no. 8 (1985): 67-106.

⁷³³ "Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming duizhaobiao", in *Yu Shaosong riji*, 34.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷³⁵ Li, *Zhongguo jinxindai renming dacidian*, 452.

	wrote or adapted many plays for both of them. ⁷³⁶
Qi Baishi	Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957), originally known as Huang 璜, Binsheng 瀕生, self-styled as Baishi 白石, Baishi shanweng 白石山翁. Before relocating to Beijing at the age of 57, Qi mostly made a living by selling his paintings. Qi became friend with Chen Shizeng around 1917. It was Chen who encouraged Qi's 'Old Age Revolution 衰年變法,' which successfully set up his characteristic freehand-style of <i>honghua moye</i> 紅花墨葉 (red flowers and black leaves). For painting, Qi was best at depicting vegetables, fruits, flowers, birds, fish, shrimps and insects. Apart from painting, he was also talented at calligraphy and seal carving. ⁷³⁷
Wu Jing'an	Wu Jing'an 吳靜庵 (active in the early Republican period), originally known as Ding 定, also known as Jingchang 靜菴, self-styled as Han pao yi 寒匏籀. Wu was a younger brother of poet and book collector Wu Meisun 吳眉孫 (1878-1961), and the husband of Chen Shizeng's female student Jiang Nanping 江南蘋 (1901-1986). The Wu family was a family of scholars. In the early Republican period, the family was in the finance industry and most of the male family members, including Wu Jingan, worked for banks. As a well-known collector, Wu had a passion for epigraphy, calligraphy, painting, antiquities and books. ⁷³⁸
Xiao Qianzhong	Xiao Qianzhong 蕭謙中 (1883-1944), originally known as Xiao Xun, self-styled as dalongshan qiao. Xiao was from Anhui Province and became Beijing painter Jiang Yun 姜筠 (1837-1919)'s student of landscape in his early years. Initially, Xiao started by learning from the Four Wangs 四王. When he conducted his 'middle age revolution' in landscape painting, he was inspired by early Qing masters such as Shitao 石濤 (1642-1797) and Gong Xian 龔賢 (1618-1689). After the revolution, Xiao's art reached its apogee and he established three types of landscape painting: <i>hei Xiao</i> 黑蕭 (black Xiao), <i>bai Xiao</i> 白蕭 (white Xiao) and <i>cai Xiao</i> 彩蕭 (colourful Xiao). Xiao was appointed as the first batch of reviewers when the Chinese Painting Research Society was founded in 1920. ⁷³⁹
Yao Hua	Yao Hua 姚華, originally known as Chongguang 重光, self-styled as Mangfu 茫父. Yao was originated from Guizhu xian, Guizhou Province. Yao received a <i>jinshi</i> degree in 1904 under the Imperial examination system, and was sent to study in Japan by the Qing government in the following year. After graduating in 1907, Yao first worked as a clerk for the Mail Department of Qing and then as a Senate member of the Temporary Republican government, before he resigned and devoted himself to fine arts and education in 1912. In the following years, Yao worked as the headmaster of Beijing Women's Normal College and Jinghua Art College; he also taught at many schools and colleges in Beijing. Yao was very knowledgeable: he was proficient in philology, phonology and opera theory, in addition to his

⁷³⁶ "Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming duizhaobiao," in *Yu Shaosong riji*, 66.

⁷³⁷ Hu and Hu, *Qi Baishi huafa yu xinshang*, 5-6.

⁷³⁸ Jiang, "Nanping bashi zishu," 67-106.

⁷³⁹ Xing Jie 邢捷, "Xu 序 (Preface)," in *Xiao Qianzhong huaji* 蕭謙中畫集 (A Collection of Xiao Qianzhong's Paintings) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2004), 1-5.

	versatility in the four perfections (poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal carving). ⁷⁴⁰
Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥	Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-1954), originally known as Songling 嵩靈, self-styled as Yang'an 養龔, Wuwei 無畏 and Tuiweng 退翁. He held a <i>juren</i> degree in late Qing and had studied at the Imperial University of Peking and the College of Law and Politics. Zhou was a high official of the Northern Government. In his spare time, he was dedicated to epigraphy, calligraphy and painting. He was the Vice-President of the Chinese Painting Research Society between 1920 and 1925 and became the President of the new Chinese Painting Research Society in 1926 after its split. In 1926, Zhou attended the fourth Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition in Tokyo on behalf of the Chinese Painting Research Society. Between September 1926 and February 1928, he was the President of the Display of Antiquity 古物陳列所. During his reign, Zhou carried out the project of identifying antiquities, which laid firm foundation for the preservation and research of its collection. ⁷⁴¹

Table IV: Meanings of *Shalong* in the Republican Context

Author	Article	Magazine or Newspaper	Issue Number & Page Number	Place	Meaning of Salon
Lei Luping 雷魯萍	“A Description of Salon Exhibits 沙龍作品講述”	<i>Oriental Photography</i> 東方攝影	no. 6 (1911): 26-27.	Shanghai	Local art exhibition
Anonymous	“Recent Works on Display at the Paris Salon 巴黎沙龍最近之作品”	<i>The Eastern Miscellanies</i> 東方雜誌	no. 14 (1921): 1.	Shanghai	French salon culture - art exhibition
Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 Qian Daosun 錢稻孫	“Report from Group No.13: Group of Art Education 第十三美育組”	<i>The New Education</i> 新教育	no. 3 (1922): 211-220.	Shanghai	French salon culture - art exhibition

⁷⁴⁰ Du, *Yao Mangfu biannian shi ji*, 1-10.

⁷⁴¹ “Riji zhong renwu zihao xingming dui zhaobiao,” 22.

Longfu 龍父	“The Paintings of the Salon 沙龍之畫”	<i>The Northern Pictorial</i> 北洋畫報	no. 2 (1926): 2.	Tianjin	French salon culture - art exhibition
Anonymous	“Prince Takamatsu of Japan’s meeting with the President of France and visit to the salon exhibition 日高松宮謁法國總統觀沙龍美展會”	Beijing Newspaper 京報	June 7, 1930, 3.	Beijing	French salon culture - art exhibition
Anonymous	“An Introduction to a Painting: French ladies used to hold gatherings for the scholars at their residence, when people talked cheerfully, which was extremely elegant and it was called salon 法國婦女喜招待文人集會於家中，談笑風生，高雅無比，謂之 Salon”	<i>Women’s Pictorial</i> 女子畫報	no. 1 (1934): 21.	Shanghai	French salon culture - gathering

Hezi 禾子	“Reading Group and Salon 讀書會與沙龍”	<i>The Contemporary</i> 現代	no. 3 (1935): 68-69.	Shanghai	Meeting of intellectuals
Anonymous	“Autumn Salon Exhibition in Memory of the Opening Ceremony of the New Hall 新會所開幕典禮秋季沙龍紀念展”	<i>Impartial</i> 大公報	September 20, 1935, 13.	Tianjin	Local art exhibition
New Yorker 紐約人	“The Salon of Cartoon: The Death of a German Hero 漫畫沙龍：一個日耳曼英雄之死”	<i>The Trend of Humour</i> 幽默風	no. 3 (1939): 20-21.	Shanghai	Name of a magazine or newspaper column
Liu Xiangzhou 劉象州	“Shalong (Salon) 沙龍 (Salon) ”	<i>The Light of China</i> 華光	no. 1 (1940): 84.	Beijing	Meeting of intellectuals
Anonymous	“International Culture Salon Invited Hu Shi for a Lecture 國際文化沙龍邀請胡適演講”	<i>Impartial</i> 大公報	August 18, 1946, 3.	Tianjin	Meeting of intellectuals

Feng Zhi 馮至	“Salon 沙龍”	<i>The Spectator</i> 觀察	no. 12 (1946): 12.	Shanghai	Prom; party; meeting of intellectuals

Table V: Selected Art Exhibitions in Tokyo from 1902 to 1909

Year	Exhibition	Date	Location
1902	The first exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第1回太平洋画会展覧会 (Fig. 5. 07) ⁷⁴²	20 March – 30 April	Building no. 5, Ueno Park 上野公園第5号館
	The seventh exhibition of the White Horse Society 第7回白馬会展覧会 ⁷⁴³	20 September – 29 October	
1903	The second exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第2回太平洋画会展覧会 (Fig. 5. 07) ⁷⁴⁴	13 May – 6 June	

⁷⁴² “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni tsuite, enkaku 太平洋美術会について 沿革 (About the Pacific Painting Society),” accessed May 6, 2019, <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

⁷⁴³ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyō,” 267.

⁷⁴⁴ “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni tsuite, enkaku,” <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

	The eighth exhibition of the White Horse Society 第8回白馬会 展覧会 ⁷⁴⁵	16 September – 27 October	
1904	The third exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第3回太平洋画会 展覧会 (Fig. 5. 07) ⁷⁴⁶	1 May – 6 June	
	The ninth exhibition of the White Horse Society 第9回白馬会 展覧会 ⁷⁴⁷	22 September – 13 October	

⁷⁴⁵ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyou,” 268.

⁷⁴⁶ “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni tsuite, enkaku,” https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history_

⁷⁴⁷ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyou,” 268.

1905	The fourth exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第4回太平洋画会 展覧会 ⁷⁴⁸	1 April – 29 April
	The tenth exhibition of the White Horse Society 第10回白馬会 展覧会 ⁷⁴⁹	23 September – 28 October
1906	The fifth exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第5回太平洋画会 展覧会 ⁷⁵⁰	1 April – 30 April

⁷⁴⁸ “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni suite, enkaku,” <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

⁷⁴⁹ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyō,” 269.

⁷⁵⁰ “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni suite, enkaku,” <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

1907	The eleventh exhibition of the White Horse Society 第 11 回白馬会 展覧会 751	7 October – 15 October	Building no. 2, Ueno Park 上野公園 第 2 号館
	The first Bunten Exhibition 第 3 回文部省美術展覧会	25 October – 30 November	Art gallery of the National Industrial Exposition, Ueno Park 上野京勸業博覧会美術館
1908	The sixth exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第 6 回太平洋画会 展覧会 752	17 May – 14 June	Takenodai Exhibition Hall, Ueno Park 上野公園 竹の台陳列館 (Fig. 5. 08)
	The first exhibition of the Koguga-gyokusei Society 第 1 回国画玉成会 展	15 October – 20 November	

⁷⁵¹ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyou,” 270.

⁷⁵² “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni tsuite, enkaku,” <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

	The first exhibition of the Japan Sculpture Society 第 1 回 日本彫刻会展		
	The second Bunten Exhibition 第 2 回文部省美術展覧会	15 October – 23 November	
1909	The twelfth exhibition of the White Horse Society 第 12 回白馬会展覧会 753	16 April – 12 May	Hall no.3 of Akasaka Tameike 赤坂溜池三会堂
	The seventh exhibition of the Pacific Painting Society 第 7 回太平洋画会展覧会 754	4 June – 29 June	Takenodai Exhibition Hall, Ueno Park 上野公園竹の台陳列館 (Fig. 5. 08)
	The third Bunten	15 October – 24 November	

⁷⁵³ Ueno, “Hakubakai to Nippon kindai bijyutsushi kanren nenpyou,” 271.

⁷⁵⁴ “Taiheiyō bijyutsukai ni tsuite, enkaku,” <https://www.taiheiyobijutu.or.jp/history>.

	Exhibition 第 3 回文 部省美術 展覧会		

Glossary

A

Aboluo xuehui 阿博洛學會 (Apollo Research Association)

B

baimiao 白描 (linear approach)

beibei 北碑 (stele of the Northern and Southern Dynasties)

Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui 北京大學畫法研究會 (Research on Painterly Methods Society of Peking University)

Beijing daxue rikan 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily)

Beijing daxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui 北京大學造型美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society of Peking University)

‘Beijing fengsu hua 北京風俗畫 (Customs of Beijing)’

Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao 北京高等師範學校 (Beijing Advanced Normal School)

Beijing meishu xuexiao 北京美術學校 (Beijing College of Art)

Beiping jianpu 北平箋譜 (A Manual of Beiping Letter Paper)

Beiyang huabao 北洋畫報 (Northern Pictorial)

Beiyang zhengfu 北洋政府 (Beiyang Government)

bijutsu 美術 (fine arts)

Bijutsu kōwa 美術講話 (Discourses on Fine Arts)

Bijutsu shinpō 美術新報 (The Art Newspaper)

binzhu chaoyi 賓主朝揖 (guests salute the host)

‘Bogu yezi 博古叶子 (Antiquarian Playing Cards)’

‘Bunjin-ga no Fukkō 文人畫の復興 (The Revival of Scholarly Painting)’

C

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培

Cai Zhao 蔡照

cefeng 側鋒 (slanting edge)

Chang’e 嫦娥

Chen Bangji 陳邦濟

Chen Bao 晨報 (Morning Post)

Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900)

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀

Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄

Chen Hongduo 陳宏鐸

Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬

Chen Qimin 陳啟民

Chen Sanli 陳三立 (1853-1937)

Chen Shaomei 陳少梅

Chen Shizeng 陳師曾

Chen Yinque 陳寅恪 (1890-1969)
Chen Yinsheng 陳寅生
chōkoku 彫刻 (sculpture)
chōkoku no kōgei 彫刻の工芸 (sculpture crafts)
chuangzuo 創作 (creating)
chufang cemian 初放側面 (in early blossom, side view)
Chunjing ge 淳菁閣 (Chunjing Pavilion)
cun 皴 (texture method)
cu Shen 粗沈 (bold Shen)

D

da xieyi 大寫意 (greater free-hand style)
Dai Shulun 戴叔倫
dianye goujin 點葉勾筋 (dotting the leaves and outlining the veins)
Di Fuding 狄福鼎
Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌 (The Eastern Miscellany)
Dongpo jin 東坡巾 (the scarf of Dongpo)
Du Fu 杜甫

F

fanggu 仿古 (imitating from ancient masters)
feibai 飛白 (flying white)
fengsu hua 風俗畫 (genre painting)
Feng Zikai 豐子愷
fushiga 諷刺畫 (satirical drawings)
Futsū kyōiku ni okeru zuga kyōju-hō 普通教育に於ける図画教授法 (Methods of Teaching the Subject of Drawing and Painting for Ordinary Education)

G

gajuku 画塾 (a specific private painting school)
gaoyuan 高遠 (high distant-view)
gongbi 工筆 (refined brushwork)
gou 勾 (outlining)
guanmo hui 觀摩會 (demonstration meeting)
Guan Pinghu 管平湖
gufa xiesheng 古法寫生 (painting from life using ancient painterly methods)
guohua 國畫 (national painting)
guohua jie 國畫界 (world of national painting)
Guo Zhiyun 郭誌雲

H

Haipai 海派 (the Shanghai School of Painting)
Hakuba-kai 白馬会 (White Horse Society)
Hakuba-kai yōga kenkyūjo 白馬会洋画研究所 (Research Institute of the White Horse Society on

Western Painting)

hanzi 漢字 (Chinese characters; Japanese: *kanji* 漢字)

hezuo hua 合作畫 (joint painting)

Hokusai Manga 北齋漫画 (The Manga of Hokusai)

honghua moye 紅花墨葉 (red flowers and black leaves)

hua 畫 (painting)

Huacui 畫萃 (A Collection of Selected Paintings)

huahui 畫會 (painting gathering)

huajiang 畫匠 (artisan)

huaniao hua 花鳥畫 (bird-and-flower painting)

Huang Jianzhong 黃建中

huashe 畫社 (painting society)

Hu she yuekan 湖社月刊 (Lake Society Monthly)

huatan 畫壇 (world of painting)

huaxue 畫學 (the study of painting)

Hua Yan 華岳

Huang Jun 黃濬

Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅

Huang Zunsan 黃尊三

Huayin huahui 花陰畫會 (Shadow of Flowers Painting Society)

huiguan 會館 (provincial and regional hall)

Hui Xiaotong 惠孝同

Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡

Hu she 湖社 (Lake Society)

Hu Shi 胡適

Hu Tuo 胡橐

I

Imaizumi Ippyo 今泉一瓢

Ippitsu gafu 一筆畫譜 (Album of Drawings with One Stroke of the Brush)

J

jianbi hua 減筆畫 (paintings with abbreviated brushwork)

Jiang Nanping 江南蘋

jiaye zhuose 夾葉著色 (double-hook with coloured ink wash)

jiegu kaijin 借古開今 (promotion of the past to the present)

jiehua 界畫 (ruled-line painting)

jiesuo cun 解索皴 (ravelled rope texture stroke)

Jiji Manga 時事漫画 (Current Affairs Manga)

Jin Cheng 金城

Jing Hengyi 經亨頤

Jingpai 京派 (Beijing School of Painting)

Jin Qian'an 金潛庵

‘Jingyan gufa, bocai xinzhì 精研古法，博采新知 (careful research into ancient methods, broad

acquisition of new knowledge)’
‘Jiu qiu tu 九秋圖 (Nine Autumnal Plants)’
jizaiga 自在画 (freehand painting)

K

kaiga 絵画 (painting)
kaiga no kōgei 絵画の工芸 (painting crafts)
kaishu 楷書 (standard script)
Kang Youwei 康有為
Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎
kexue 科學 (science)
Koufu 光風 (Light and Wind)
Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎
kubi 枯筆 (worn-out brush)
kyūha 旧派 (Old School)

L

Laozi 老子
Li Changheng 李長蘅
Liang Kai 梁楷
Liang Qichao 梁啟超
‘Liexian jiupai 列仙酒牌 (Immortals Wine Cards)’
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Li Keran 李可染
Li Kuchan 李苦禪
Lin Bu 林逋
Lin Fengmian 林風眠
Lin Hejing 林和靖
lingnan huapai 嶺南畫派 (the Lingnan School of Painting)
linmo 臨摹 (imitating)
Lin Qinnan 林琴南
Ling Shuhua 凌叔華
Ling Wenyan 凌文淵
Lin Zaiping 林宰平
Li Shutong 李叔同
liti tu'an 立體圖案 (three-dimensional pattern)
Li Wuhu 李五湖
Li Yishi 李穀士
Luo Fu 羅浮
Luo Yinggong 羅癭公 (1880-1924)
Lu Xun 魯迅

M

Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955)

Mainichi shinbun 毎日新聞 (Daily News)

Mao Zedong 毛澤東

Matsuda Shigeru 松田茂

Huixue zazhi 繪學雜誌 (Magazine of the Study of Painting)

manbi 漫筆 (monochromic ink painting produced casually with abbreviated brushwork)

manhua 漫畫 (cartoon)

Meiji bijutsu gakkō 明治美術学校 (Meiji Fine Arts School)

Meiji bijutsu kyōkai 明治美術協会 (Meiji Fine Arts Association)

Mei Lanfang 梅蘭芳

Mei Qing 梅清

meishu geming 美術革命 (Art Revolution)

Minsheng ribao 民聲日報 (People's Voice Daily)

Mitsutanikuni Shirou 満谷国四郎

mogu 沒骨 (boneless style)

moxi 墨戲 (ink play)

N

Nagai Shinichi 永井信一

Nakagawa Hachirou 中川八郎

nanga 南画 (southern painting)

Nantong shifan xueyuan 南通師範學校 (Nantong Normal College)

Nantong shifan xiaoyouhui zazhi 南通師範校友會雜誌 (Magazine of Nantong Normal College Alumni)

nanzhi dian 南纸店 (a kind of shop that sold writing and painting paper manufactured in southern China)

nihonga 日本画 (Japanese-style painting)

niوماo cun 牛毛皴 (ox-hair texture pattern)

Ni Zan 倪瓚

O

Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖

P

pingyi 評議 (advisors)

pingmian tu'an 平面圖案 (plain pattern)

Q

Qian Daosun 錢稻孫

qianjiang 淺絳 (light umber-coloured)

Qian Tuoshi's 錢籀石

qinglü 青綠 (blue-and-green)

qijing shanshui 奇景山水 (marvelous scenery)

Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文
quanfang xiayan 全放下偃 (in full blossom, bowing down)
qunxue 群學 (group learning)

R

ran 染 (ink wash)
‘renmin yishujia 人民藝術家 (People’s Artist)’
Ren Xiong 任熊
Rongbao zhai 榮寶齋 (Rongbao Pavilion)

S

shalong 沙龍 (salon)
Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao 上海美術專科學校 (Shanghai Art College)
shanshui hua 山水畫 (landscape painting)
Shen Zhou 沈周
Shi Ke 石恪
Shimizu Isao 清水勲
shinpa 新派 (the New School)
sho 書 (calligraphy)
shougong tuhua ke 手工圖畫科 (The Programme of Manual Work, Drawing & Painting)
shuainian bianfa 衰年變法 (old age revolution)
shuhua tongyuan 書畫同源 (calligraphy and painting sharing the same origin)
Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters)
Shutian shibao 順天時報 (Shuntian Daily)
sijue 四絕 (the four perfections)
si junzi 四君子 (four gentlemen – the plum blossom, the orchid, the bamboo and the chrysanthemum)
si wang 四王 (the Four Wangs, Wang Shimin 王時敏, Wang Jian 王鑒, Wang Hui 王翬, and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁)
Songfeng huahui 松風畫會 (Wind through Pine Painting Society)
Songhua zhai 松華齋 (Songhua Pavilion)
Sugawara Kyōzō 菅原教造
Sun Zhongshan 孫中山
Su Shi 蘇軾
suihan sanyou 歲寒三友 (three friends of winter – the pine tree, the bamboo and the plum blossom)
‘Shuihu yezi 水滸葉子 (The Water Margin Cards)’

T

Taiheiyo gakai 太平洋画会 (Pacific Painting Society)
Taiheiyo gakai kenkyūjo 太平洋画会研究所 (Pacific Painting Society)
Takenodai 竹の台 (The Takenodai Exhibition Hall)
Taipingyang bao 太平洋報 (Pacific Times)
Taiyō 太陽 (The Sun)
Tang Dingzhi 湯定之

Tang Yin 唐寅
 Tao Yuanming 陶淵明
 Tatsuo Kuwayama 柿山蕃雄
tian shu 甜熟 (sweet and experienced)
 Tao Xingzhi 陶行知
 ‘tichang meiyu, fayang huafa 提倡美育,發揚畫法 (promote art education and carry forward painterly methods)’
Tōkyō bijutsu gakkō 東京美術学校 (Tokyo College of Fine Arts)
Tōkyō kōtō shihan gakkō 東京高等師範学校 (Tokyo Advanced Normal College)
 Tonggu Tang 同古堂 (Tonggu Studio)
tongjing ping 通景屏 (scenic illusion screen)
tong mohe 銅墨盒 (copper box for liquid-ink)
tong zhenzhi 銅鎮紙 (copper paperweight)
tu 圖 (graph)
tu'an hua 圖案畫 (graphic design)
tu'an hua fa 圖案畫法 (methods of graphic design)
tu'an ke 圖案科 (the major of graphic design)
tuhua 圖畫 (graph and painting)

U

Ueno kōen 上野公園 (Ueno Park)
Uiki kinga roku 禹域今畫錄 (A Catalogue of Contemporary Chinese Painting)

W

Wanfeng Zhai 萬豐齋 (Wanfeng Pavilion)
 Wang Daokun 汪道昆
 Wang Meng 王蒙
 Wang Xuetao 王雪濤
Wenmei hui 文美會 (Society of Literature and Fine Arts)
wenren hua 文人畫 (literati painting or scholarly painting)
 ‘Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值 (The Value of Scholarly Painting)’
 Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)
 Wu Changshi 吳昌碩
 Wu Fading 吳法鼎
 Wu Jing'an 吳靜庵
Wuxu bianfa 戊戌變法 (Wuxu Reform Movement)
 Wu Zuoren 吳作人

X

xiao fupicun 小斧劈皴 (small axe-texture stroke)
xiao xieyi 小寫意 (lesser freehand style)
xiaozhuan 小篆 (seal script)
xiesheng 寫生 (painting from life)
 Xie Songdai 謝松岱

xihua 西畫 (Western painting)
xingshen jianbei 形神兼備 (unity of form and spirit)
xin guohua 新國畫 (new national painting)
xinjian 信箋 (patterned letter paper)
Xingshi 醒獅 (The Lion Wakes)
xingshu 行書 (running script)
xinwenhua yundong 新文化運動 (New Culture Revolution)
xuannan diqu 宣南地區 (Xuannan Area)
Xuannan huahui 宣南畫會 (Xuannan Painting Society)
xuannan wenhua 宣南文化 (Xuannan Culture)
Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻
Xu Shen 許慎
Xu Zonghao 徐宗浩

Y

yaji 雅集 (elegant gathering)
yangye dian 仰葉點 (upward leaf dot)
Yan Yunbo 顏韻伯
Ye Qianyu 葉淺予
Yide Ge 壹得閣 (Yide Pavilion)
Yimao huahui 乙卯畫會 (Yimao Painting Society)
yōkizu 用器図 (instrumental drawing)
Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田博
yuanbi 圓筆 (round brushwork)
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱
Yuan Siliang 袁思亮
Yūgen Gasha 又玄画社 (Yūgen Painting Society)
Yūgen Gazon 又玄画存 (A Catalogue of Paintings from Yūgen Painting Society)
Yu Jianhua 俞劍華
Yu Jifan 俞寄凡
Yun Shouping 惲壽平
Yu Shaosong 余紹宋
Yu Shaosong riji 余紹宋日記 (Yu Shaosong's Diaries)
Yuwai xiaoshuo ji 域外小說集 (A Collection of Foreign Novels)

Z

zaoxing meishu 造形美術 (Plastic Arts)
Zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui 造形美術研究會 (Research on Plastic Arts Society)
Zeng Xiaogu 曾孝穀
Zhang Jian 張謇
Zhang Shoucheng 張壽丞
Zhang Yuecheng 張樾丞
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
Zheng Jin 鄭錦

Zheng Tianting 鄭天挺
Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌
zhongfeng 中鋒 (the centred brush)
Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui 中國畫學研究會 (Chinese Painting Research Society)
Zhongyang gongyuan 中央公園 (Central Park)
Zhongyang meishu xueyuan 中央美術學院 (Central Academy of Fine Arts)
Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥
Zhu Da 朱耷
zhuye bei 竹葉碑 (bamboo-leaf stele)
zhuanshu 篆書 (seal-script)
zōkei bijutsu 造形美術 (plastic arts)
zōkei geijutsu 造形芸術 (plastic arts)
zu 図 (graph)
zuan 図案 (graphic design)
zuanga 図案画 (graphic design)