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Writing Chinese art history in early twentieth-century China

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Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China

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To my parents Guo Shengding and Lu Ming

献给我的父母郭盛顶和陆明

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Introduction

In 1929, Zheng Wuchang (1894-1952), *guohua* painter and art historian, published his book *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* (*Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*). The work was an immediate success, and many of Zheng's contemporaries considered it truly groundbreaking. The three categories of data Zheng used in his writing—artists and their biographies, artworks and their ownership, art criticism and theories—are the same as those in old Chinese texts concerning painting. His originality lies in the way that he organized his material and how he explained its internal connections. In the preface to his book, Zheng admitted the value of earlier writings, but he was now eager to construct a history of Chinese painting in a modern discourse. He summarized the limitations of all publications on Chinese painting studies, and then pronounced his ambition to overcome them. He would attempt to:

> "collect, list, cultivate, synthesize all works and words; organize chronologically, obey [the principles in] the development of art, and use scientific methods to distinguish the origins of the schools and their relationship between the rise and fall of politics and religion; form a systematically narrated history of scholarship..." (Zheng 1929: 3)[1]

Zheng Wuchang's attitude was shared by many Chinese scholars in the 1920s and '30s. They felt an urgent need to compile anew China's art history, particularly since scholars of other countries, Japan in particular, had already made considerable progress.

Focusing on art historical publications in early twentieth-century China, such as Zheng Wuchang's *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies*, this dissertation studies the historiography of Chinese art. In particular, it examines modern indigenous strategies for creating Chinese art history narratives. I argue that writing Chinese art history in late Qing and Republican China evoked a cultural essence of Chineseness in reinterpreting Chinese traditions. Art history, dedicated to the history of a cultural form, is "committed to the idea of tradition" (Brzyski 2007: 5). Chinese art historical texts, whether traditional or modern, are no exceptions. Chinese elites from the Song dynasty onwards established the classical accounts of Chinese art around the so-called Southern tradition of calligraphy and literati painting. During the early decades of the twentieth century, this by now entrenched paradigm was challenged by factors such as China's internal needs to develop, her indirect and direct encounters with Western art and Western ideas, and the conclusions to be drawn from any comparison with modern Japanese scholarship. Tradition was still essential to modern Chinese scholars of art history. What changed was how they interpreted that tradition. Even during the New Culture Movement (*xin wenhua yundong*), which, from the

[1] Cited from (Andrews and Shen 2006: 2-6) with minor alternations.

end of the 1910s to the beginning of the 1920s, has generally been considered the period of the most radical iconoclasm, writers of Chinese art historical works turned to antiquity in order to legitimize their innovations. When art traditions of the recent past in China did not meet with Western modern artistic standards, Chinese intellectuals frequently tried to solve this shortcoming by drawing art traditions of the ancient past into modern art historical discourse. Most obviously, this appropriation buttressed Chinese scholars' confidence in China's artistic inheritance and cultural identity. Crucially, however, the ancient past of art in China was (re)invented by Chinese experts in order to forge the field of Chinese art history into a modern professional discipline.

State of the Field

Chinese art between the 1850s and the 1950s has recently attracted increased scholarly attention both inside and outside China. Nevertheless, the initial formation of this field was slow.

The first Western art historian to take twentieth century Chinese art seriously, Michael Sullivan, published *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* in 1959. It is the first publication in the West which adopts an art historical view to analyze twentieth-century Chinese art. Over the following four decades, a few texts (Kao 1972, 1981; Yoshida 1994, 1998; Tsuruta 1991, 1996, 1997, 1998; Andrews and Shen 1998b) have provided rich visual and textual materials of modern Chinese art. Some of the basic data for an exploration of modern Chinese art history has been available from early on. Pioneering studies by Kao Mayching and Yoshida Chizuko will be discussed below. In addition, the field is helped immeasurably by Tsuruta Takeyoshi's articles on art education, art societies, art students, and art exhibitions. The first landmark exhibition on twentieth-century Chinese art was organized by Julia Andrews and Shen Kuiyi in 1998 (Andrews and Shen 1998b) .

Most studies (Kao 1972; Sullivan 1996, 1997) have been preoccupied with the modernization of Chinese art in the shape of Westernization. More recent studies include monographs (Shen 2000; Lin 2003; Lai 2006) which adopt individual artists as case studies to show continuity and discontinuity in twentieth century Chinese art. Other scholars focus on an overall view of modern Chinese art, in which they see a struggle between "tradition" and "modernity" (Zhang and Li 1986; Ruan and Hu 1992; Li and Wan 1998, 2003).

One particularly rewarding approach to modern Chinese art pays greater attention than hitherto to the position of Japan in the formation of art in late imperial and modern China. In his book *Art and Revolution in Modern China* (1988), Ralph Croizier devotes a long discussion to the Japanese influence on the Lingnan School (*lingnan pai*) painters (Croizier 1988). Aida Yuen Wong's 1999 PhD dissertation focuses on the cultural

interaction between Japan and China. Her main finding is how intellectuals of both countries effectively worked together to create the concept of Eastern painting between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century (Wong 1999). Wong's book based upon her thesis, analyzes further how Chinese scholars formulated national painting as *guohua* in close relation with Japan (Wong 2006). Yoshida Chizuko, in her 1994 article "Ōmura Seigai and China", explores the Japanese art historian Ōmura Seigai's (1876-1923) artistic exchanges with Chinese artists and scholars, and she argues that Seigai contributed greatly to the cultural exchanges between Japanese and Chinese painters (Yoshida 1994). Yoshida also presents all the available data concerning one hundred and three Chinese art students and their experience at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in the first half of the twentieth century (Yoshida 1998). Chen Zhenlian has published a comparative study on the modern history of painting, which adopts the exchange of paintings between China and Japan as its main method of analysis (Chen 2000). In October 2007, a conference "The Role of Japan in the Institutional Development of Modern Chinese Art" was held by Academia Sinica in Taipei. Participants aimed to construct a modern Sino-Japanese cultural relation in art mainly from social and institutional perspectives.

However, comprehensive research on the development of art history as a modern academic discipline in late imperial and modern China has been conspicuously absent, except for information on a few Chinese art historians. Michael Sullivan in *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* provides no information on art historical research in early twentieth-century China. He mentions only two art historians Lin Wenzheng (1903-1989) and Teng Gu (1901-1941), and his bibliographical index adduces only two more names Yu Jianhua (1895-1979) and Zheng Wuchang, both of whom are major figures in early modern Chinese art historical research (Sullivan 1996: 50, 65, 94, 321, 24). Shen Kuiyi's essay in *A Century in Crisis* is concerned with Zheng Wuchang's significant contribution to the formative period of Chinese art historical study as well as the *guohua* painter Fu Baoshi's (1904-1965) position as a painter and historian of Chinese painting (Shen 1998: 88, 92). Kao Mayching's essay on art education mentions only the artist and art educator Jiang Danshu's (1885-1962) pioneering works on art history (Kao 1998: 150).

In China, many essays on Chinese art historical writing are usually short articles summarizing only briefly the content and characteristics of this or that Republican publication. Examples include Deng Fuxing's "Chinese Art Studies of the Twentieth Century"(Deng 1998), Chen Chiyu's "General Review on the Study of Chinese Art History in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (I, II)" (Chen 1999a, 1999b) and Xue Yongnian's "In Retrospect and in Hope for the Study of Chinese Art History in the Twentieth Century" (Xue 2001).

Once more, Japan has an important position in any historical examination of China's early modern historiography of art. Aida Yuen Wong has examined Chinese art history surveys in the early twentieth century to show the Sino-Japanese emphasis on "content and methodology" (Wong 2006: 36). Similarly, Julia Andrews and Shen Kuiyi's essay "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field" has studied what the authors called "an overwhelming and now forgotten debt" of 1920s Chinese art historical literature to Japanese scholarship (Andrews and Shen 2006: 4). Shen Kuiyi's contribution to the conference "The Role of Japan in the Institutional Development of Modern Chinese Art" (Taipei, 2007) singled out two art historians Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi to demonstrate the Japanese impact on the construction of a Chinese field of art history (Shen 2007).

Compared with numerous studies on the modern historiography of Chinese history, the study of Chinese art history as a professional discipline is still in a preliminary phase. Careful reading of original materials and detailed research on images and texts have barely begun, and a comprehensive discussion of what these materials can reveal about art history in twentieth-century China remains a large gap in Chinese cultural studies. This dissertation is an attempt to do some of the work of closing the gap.

Scholars have tried to trace the history of the Chinese modern concept of art and its terminology (Chen 2000; Ogawa 2003; Huang 2004; Shao 2004). Part of the debate hinges on cardinal terms, such as the closely related yet diverse words for art, *meishu* and *yishu*. I do not deny the importance of this enquiry, but in this dissertation I focus primarily on Chinese writers in the early twentieth century who, while they certainly adopted these theoretical terms (and others), used them somewhat indiscriminately, and actually strengthened their rhetorical positions much more thoroughly by reference to contemporary social conditions and practical results (see Chapter Four).

Contexts of Art History in the West and in China: Brief Histories

Western art history can be said to owe its origins to biographies of artists during the Renaissance. The historian best known for his writing on Italian art, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) first published *Lives of the Artists* in 1550. Vasari was also a painter, a role that he combined with his literary activities in a way that often parallels ancient and modern Chinese commitments. However, the key innovation of Western art history occurred in the eighteenth century when Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), a German art historian and archaeologist, analyzed artistic style based on factors such as climate, geography, philosophy, and religion, and thereby placed art in the context of an entire culture. Very broadly, Western art history then developed into three main approaches

during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: 1) connoisseurship, basically an empirical approach, concentrated on the first-hand experience and close examinations of artworks and the inductive method in classification and analysis; 2) metaphysics, adopting Kant and Schiller's aesthetics as well as a Hegelian model to reveal the intrinsic logic and principles of idealism, and to explain the transformation of artistic styles; 3) cultural history of art, setting the studied objects in the context of the culture which produced them and considering the changing style of art as the spirit of the age. During the nineteenth century, professional training systems and academic organizations of art history appeared in Europe. With these methods and their institutionalization, art history became an academic discipline largely independent from philosophy and history (Podro 1982; Fernie 1995; Mermoz 1996; Llewellyn 1997).

Prior to the twentieth century, no general history of all forms of the fine arts existed in China. Only histories of one particular branch of art were available, and histories of Chinese calligraphy and painting formed the main preoccupation of Chinese literati. Generally speaking, traditional Chinese literature relating to calligraphy and painting is divided into four groups: 1) classification—sorting painters and calligraphers by their official statuses and their artistic accomplishments; 2) discussion—elucidating theories and methods of calligraphy and painting; 3) cataloguing—providing lists of artworks for collection and appreciation; 4) history—usually a brief historical framework of developments in calligraphy and painting constructed with biographies of artists (Cao 1997). In practice, most traditional treatises combined these four ways of writing. A leading example is *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua ji*) completed in 847 CE by Zhang Yanyuan (9th century), a scholar whose family background of high officials collected and practised calligraphy and painting in the Tang dynasty. Zhang's treatise dealt with the history of painting, the collection of calligraphy and painting, the materials and techniques of painting, and the appreciation and criticism of painting. Zhang aimed at extensive accounts of painters and their paintings, both those known through past accounts and those still surviving in his own day. His text served as a model for nearly all subsequent writings on Chinese painting down to the beginning of the twentieth century. Its data have been used for better or worse by all later generations of Chinese scholars on art (Bi 2008).

While many biographical and theoretical writings on calligraphy and painting survive from the fourth to nineteenth centuries, relatively few historical monographs exist to say much about other forms of art production. Take bronze for example. Luo Fuyi (1905-1981), the distinguished epigrapher and palaeographer, calculated in 1933 that thirty-five treatises had been published since about 1000 CE (Kerr 1990: 13). Even fewer ancient texts are available in architecture, and most of them are technical instructions on how to

construct buildings rather than histories of Chinese architecture. For instance, the influential text *Building Standards* (*Yingzao fashi*) is an official text explaining detailed laws and regulations of construction compiled in 1100 CE during the Song dynasty. The monographs that followed *Building Standards* seldom show major changes. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did Chinese intellectuals emphasize the importance of a history of Chinese architecture.

In the pre-modern history of China, bronze, architecture, sculpture, and decorative arts were treated and understood differently from calligraphy and painting. Calligraphy and painting were deemed unique, since their practice by Chinese literati demonstrated these scholars' high social status and personal cultivation. By contrast, pre-modern Chinese scholars seldom chose to practise other forms of art. They could appreciate and collect the productions of these art forms, like bronze and ceramics, but the actual production and reproduction of such objects were not their concern.

From the late nineteenth century, the Chinese art world underwent basic shifts in the social and economic roles of artists and patrons. Further changes were manifest in the styles, subject matter, and theories of art creation, and in the education and techniques of art practice. These changes became more evident in the 1920s and '30s with the spread of Western-style art. In particular, since then, the field of painting has been separated into Chinese painting (*guohua*) and Western-style painting (*xihua*). Chinese scholars and artists with their expertise in either traditional Chinese art or Western art constructed new histories of Chinese art based on their attitudes towards these two categories of production.

Art history in China during the first half of the twentieth century was a developing domain with experiments in different methods and narratives. Limited efforts to provide different stories of Chinese art occurred in the 1910s, and initial Chinese developments in modern art history at that stage were weak. A number of Chinese scholars still wrote histories of Chinese painting according to local interests long sanctioned by traditional formats. *Paintings and Painters of Sichuan* (*Shuhua shigao*, 1917) is a prime example. Its author Luo Yuanfu (1856-1931) was a scholar from Sichuan who organized a school and a publishing house for the conservation of Chinese classical texts. During the 1920s and '30s, achievements in Chinese art history were often overshadowed by more numerous and prestigious achievements in the fields of literature, philosophy, politics, and science. However, the production of innovative art historical texts and the emergence of a few dedicated art historians still brought about a new discourse with which to write art history in China.

Modern Chinese art historical literature appeared at a time when Lü Cheng (1896-1989) organized a course of art history at the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts (later

the Shanghai Fine Art School) in 1916. Lü Cheng studied aesthetics in Japan for one year in 1915, and worked at the art academy for two years between 1916 and 1918. Then he turned to Buddhist studies for the rest of his life. Later in 1922, he published his lecture notes as a book *Western Art History* (*Xiyang meishushi*)[2] with the Commercial Press. His book was based on a series of Salomon Reinach's (1858-1932) art lectures at the École du Louvre in 1902 and 1903, published under the title *Apollo* in 1904 (Lü 1922: 1). Reinach, a French archaeologist and superintendent of France's national museums, was primarily interested in ancient Greece and Rome. Reinach's *Apollo* was a standard handbook on the subject of Western art history, and it was translated into different languages, including Chinese in 1937.

The first modern writing produced by Chinese scholars concerning art history in any broad sense is a history of Western art. The Chinese term for "art" *meishu* was a neologism from Japan, invented there to explain "beaux arts". Compared to earlier discourse on calligraphy and painting of China, such a term was born in a vacuum. At this moment of *meishu*'s introduction, translating foreign works about the history of fine art was much easier than directly applying the new term to shaping the history of Chinese art. Even the first historical book about Chinese art with the word *meishu* in its title was a text consisting of two parts devoted respectively to Western art history and art history in China, rather than a text dealing solely with Chinese art. In 1917, Jiang Danshu published *History of Fine Arts* (*Meishushi*, Figure 0.1). Jiang was a graduate from the first Chinese academic art department—Art and Handicraft Department of Liangjiang Normal College—in 1910. Afterwards, he taught in several art departments and art academies. His *History of Fine Arts* was published as a textbook for teacher-training colleges. Jiang Danshu provided a description of Chinese art in four parts, namely architecture, sculpture, painting, and applied arts (Jiang 1917). Although specialized publications on different forms of art, especially Chinese painting, had been long available by then, Jiang's publication was the first general art historical volume to include discussion of various forms of Chinese artistic expression.

Following the publication of Jiang Danshu's book, more than fifty monographs on the history of art in China concerning a broadening range of entities and systematic methods were published in the first half of the twentieth century.

My dissertation emphasizes Chinese critics and artists' most productive period, the 1920s and '30s. By no means did art historical activities stop after 1937 when the rate of Japanese hostilities in China was accelerated. Instead, relocated in the southwest of China, Chinese historians continued their research. The Japan-trained scholar on Asian art Chang

[2] The division between the West (*xiyang*) and the East (*dongyang*) came from Japan. And these two terms were borrowed from Japanese. Because it categorized the whole East as one unit, the notion of *dongyang* suggested a pan-Asian focus, which will be discussed in Chapter One.

Renxia (1904-1996), for example, became well-known for his studies on Buddhist art. Later he even taught Buddhist art at Calcutta University between 1945 and 1949. However, for those still in China, the war inevitably interfered in academic life. A relative lack of printing facilities and a vaguely defined readership amid the chaos of war limited the influence of scholarly works after 1937.

Major Resources of the Study

The primary sources for this enquiry into writing Chinese art history in late imperial and modern China are the textual statements produced by Chinese scholars on art in the early twentieth century. Appendix I is a list of Chinese art historical publications in book format about art in China during the early twentieth century, excluding works translated from foreign languages. It shows that, among all the media of art, painting still formed the centre ground of art historical texts. Twenty-five treatises on Chinese painting, ten of which were still in the traditional biographical style, were completed and put into print by Chinese scholars. This number greatly surpassed the total number of monographs on all other artistic forms, including ten on applied arts (ceramics, bronze, woodcut, lacquer, and embroidery), three on architecture, and one on calligraphy. The remaining seventeen texts combined two or more forms of artistic expression in their narratives. Two of these treatises observed the traditional way to discuss calligraphy and painting together, while the other fifteen items in the list applied new notions of fine art as *meishu* and art as *yishu*. These books on various media of art formed a new phenomenon in the discourse of Chinese art.

Appendix I also shows that texts with new approaches to Chinese art in the 1910s and ’20s did not yet outnumber biographical art books in classical Chinese produced at the same time. Only in the 1930s did intellectual efforts to adopt innovative ideas dominate Chinese art historical practice. *History of Modern Chinese Art Development* (*Jindai Zhongguo yishu fazhanshi*, 1936) edited by Li Puyuan (1901-1956) is a good example. The book is more a criticism and survey of contemporary art than a history of the past. It contains five essays, each by a different writer, all of which analyze contemporary developments in applied arts, music, painting, drama, and movies (Li 1936). Such a broad coverage of fields indicates authors’ ambitions in this period. Fu Baoshi’s *Biographies of National Artists at the End of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingmo minzu yiren zhuan*) is another example, which inserts new concepts into biographies of artists (Fu 1939). Although Fu Baoshi did not compose a coherent history, his use of the term “national artists” in the title reveals his emphasis on the national meanings of these painters from the Ming dynasty who allegedly fought against the Manchu invasion. Fu adopted these artists as models for contemporary artists, who, as far as Fu was concerned, faced similar pressure from Western countries and Japan.

These novel art historical publications in Appendix I represent directions in which to rethink the history of Chinese art in late Qing and Republican China. Using these texts, and contextualizing them with other contemporary art historical works, my dissertation examines Chinese scholars' efforts to establish a professional field of Chinese art history for a new Chinese nation that they believed existed within the diverse new narratives that they had adopted.

Furthermore, translated works from Japanese and Western languages are essential for understanding the Chinese adaptation of foreign thought in this period. Appendix II is a list of translated art historical treatises in book format during the 1920s and '30s. Those titles which introduce the history of Western art are not immediately relevant to my discussion on the history of Chinese art, but they influenced Chinese scholars' rethinking of Chinese art history. More importantly, translations of texts on Chinese art and methodological approaches towards art history are basic to my aim to analyze the Japanese and Western impact on Chinese art historical writing.

Another resource for my research is a large number of essays published in both popular periodicals and academic journals. It is impossible to take every single item related to Chinese art into consideration, so I have selected principally articles directly associated with Chinese art history, especially items that were composed by established writers and published in influential journals. Entirely devoted to art in 1930, the two special issues of the *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*), are good examples. Feng Zikai's (1898-1975) interesting essay "Research on the Theory of Six Laws in Oriental Painting (Dongyang liufa de lilun de yanjiu)" was in the first special issue. Similar cases were *Apollo* (*Yaboluo*, 1928-1936), published by the National Art Academy in Hangzhou, and *National Painting Monthly* (*Guohua yuekan*, 1934-1935) edited by the Chinese Painting Society (Zhongguo huahui) in Shanghai.

Besides the literature connected to art, writings produced during the early twentieth century on various topics, such as Chinese history, archaeology, literature, and education, are also useful. For instance, the scholar in the school of National Essence (*guocui pai*) Liu Shipei's (1884-1919) articles in *The Journal of National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao*), the thinker and social activist Liang Qichao's (1873-1929) new historiography of Chinese history, and the writer and social critic Lu Xun's (1881-1936) attitudes towards literature and art all provide social, cultural, and institutional context to comprehend art historical treatises.

In addition, images are important, particularly illustrations in art historical works and paintings by Chinese scholars in the first half of the twentieth century. They are crucial to identifying the parallel relationship between textual and visual works authored by the same

person, as well as the connection between artworks and their contemporary art historical texts.

Structure of the Dissertation

My dissertation uses the following outline: 1) imagining a national art history in early Republican China under Japanese influence; 2) the internalization of Western ideas in Chinese art historical writing of the 1920s and ’30s; 3) the inherited practices of artists working as art historians in late imperial and modern China; 4) canonization of artworks in early twentieth century Chinese art historical works; 5) the development of an art historical narrative in the art exhibitions of Republican China.

Chapter One discusses the central theme of Chinese art historical writing in late Qing and Republican China, and it suggests how scholars sought for a coherent art history for China as a modern nation. In Chapter Two, I explore Western scholarship’s influence on Chinese art historical research during the 1920s and ’30s, most clearly represented by Teng Gu’s work. Chapter Three investigates Chinese writers of art historical treatises in the first half of the twentieth century. Different activities of these writers—art making, writing, collecting, teaching, and publishing—affected the ways in which they composed their historical narratives on Chinese art. The focus of Chapter Four is canons in early twentieth-century Chinese art historical writing. Chinese scholars started to draw previously neglected artists, artworks, and art categories into the new canon system. Chapter Five looks at display. My concern with art on display focuses on its invisible power to manipulate its audience’s conceptualization of art history. This chapter examines the *Shanghai Preliminary Exhibition of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London* (*Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui Shanghai yuzhan*, 1935) in order to analyze Chinese practices of selecting, exhibiting, and viewing in the Republican period.

In this study, I not only conduct detailed textual and visual analysis, but also explore the question of writing Chinese art history from a sociological perspective. I pay attention not only to the creation of new Chinese art histories but also their circulation and reception. My dissertation proposes a new history of Chinese art history via a close reading of Chinese art historical writings. Meanwhile, it investigates the social and institutional aspects of Chinese art history, including the roles of art historical writers in the society of late imperial and modern China. For example, Chapter Three examines particularly the scholar’s responsibility as a teacher of Chinese art history in schools, using new teaching materials. And, Chapter Five studies the social event of an art exhibition to shed light on the public response to the official history of Chinese art created by the exhibition organizers.

This sociological investigation is important for understanding the history of Chinese

art history. Fundamentally, social institutions are responsible for the formation of art history and the circulation of its knowledge. In my dissertation, the historiography of Chinese art history in late Qing and Republican China includes both scholarly publications and social agencies of a discourse such as exhibitions and schools. Unlike in Western countries, where nineteenth-century social progress contributed so much to art history's florescence (Mansfield 2002: 2), Chinese society in the first half of the twentieth century did not fully sustain the conditions necessary for the discipline's maturity. Still, art history as an academic enquiry in Republican China gained its first permanent hold in new institutions, such as universities, museums, exhibitions, and modern publishers, in order to contribute new life to public education, cultural dissemination, and even national survival.

Chapter 1 In the Name of the Nation: Imagining Art History in Early Republican China under Japanese Influence

An early twentieth century imagination of art in China pitted reform against conservatism. Reform called to mind virtues located somewhere vaguely in the West; conservatism lurked just below the surface everywhere in China. At the beginning of 1918, Chen Duxiu (1880-1942), one of the leading figures in the intellectual movement known as the New Culture Movement, claimed: "If one wants to improve Chinese painting, the first thing to do is to revolt against the painting of the Wangs". "The Wangs" refers to four painters[3] from the early Qing period who shared the family name Wang, and whose work was later regarded as emblematic of an early Qing canon. Chen continued: "To improve Chinese painting, one cannot avoid adopting the spirit of realism in Western painting" (Chen 1918). Similar ideas of a thorough revolution in the realm of Chinese traditional art emerged alongside the various social, political, and cultural activities of Westernization in the 1910s. As powerful as these ideas may sound, opposing notions were also active at the same time. In the art world of early twentieth-century China, traditional painting was still the mainstream of art practices (Shui 1997**:** 44). Traditional rather than Western-style painting still dominated the art markets of China and Japan.

Recent research tends to divide the art world of late Qing and Republican China into two camps of reformists and conservatives. In fact, members of both camps strived for common goals, and the assumption of this kind of schism in Chinese art circles is problematic. For example, "reformists", such as Xu Beihong (1895-1953), the Western-style painter and art educator who promoted Western realistic style in painting, supported younger artists using the traditional ink medium during the 1930s. "Reformists" no longer perceived the use of their own tradition as regressive. In the case of the "conservative" National Essence group, the concept of nation (*minzu*), to which national essence (*guocui*) was related, was a Western invention. Chinese intellectuals borrowed these terms from Japan at the turn of the twentieth century. As the usage of these new notions took hold, they started to transform China's tradition for use in their contemporary political and cultural agenda. Despite shifting emphases, both camps were preoccupied with the processes of both nation and culture building (Liu 1995**:** 241).

Reformism heralded a new sense of Chinese identity. Almost all fields of artistic and literary production in late Qing and Republican China experienced an accelerated promotion of "Chineseness" as national identity. In the art circles of early Republican

[3] They are Wang Shimin (1592-1680), Wang Jian (1598-1677), Wang Hui (1632-1717), and Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715).

China, competing narratives of Chinese traditional art engaged with each other in the name of the nation. The Chinese historiography of art was not unaffected by this. The development of writing on art history in early twentieth-century China aimed to create a coherent national history of Chinese art. This emerging practice for the historiography of Chinese art occurred amid intense artistic exchanges between China and the outside world, and in particular Japan. Almost all Chinese historical works on art in China produced in the Republican period invested in the same paradigm of constructing a history of "Chinese art" to buttress China's position as a cultural leader dealing with increasing pressures.

This chapter examines these ideas concerning nation within the art historical literature of Republican China. After describing some of the Japanese influences on the Chinese field of art history, I will discuss how Chinese scholars theorised the role of art history in their building of a national identity. I will then examine actual writing practices by exploring one of the innovative art historical treatises in the 1920s and '30s, *Eastern Art History* (1936) by Shi Yan (1904-1994). While this text followed the general trend of art historical writing in Republican China, it is intriguing because its main focus of discussion encompassed China, India, and Japan. It is the only book during the first half of the twentieth century (and earlier) to survey the history of different art forms in such a broad geo-cultural region of Asia. Even its ambitions in this respect may have owed something to the intellectual climate in Japan.

1.1 The Japanese Impact

In the Chinese pursuit of modernization, Japan was one of the examples for China to follow from the end of the nineteenth century. The following discussion of the Japanese impact on Chinese art historical scholarship emphasizes two points: Chinese scholars' deliberate choice to translate Japanese historical works on Chinese art; and their decision to embrace the Japanese mediation of Western notions pertinent to the project of creating Chinese national identity in art.

Translations of Japanese works

After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Chinese scholars and students began flocked to Japan to absorb Western learning. More than three hundred Chinese artists visited Japan in the first half of the twentieth century (Liu 2001: 246). The country's success in modernization inspired Chinese intellectuals to follow Japan in treating visual art as an important part of modern knowledge, especially at the institutional level. During the 1900s, art courses, including art history based on the Japanese experience, started to enter the educational

curricula at different levels in China. In addition, many Japanese publications on art were translated into Chinese. In the 1920s and '30s, more than half of the translated literature concerning art history published in China (see Appendix II) were translations of Japanese works. Surprisingly, none of these treatises were actually about Japanese art. Every one of them discussed either Western art theories or introduced histories of Western art. In fact, of all the art books produced at that time in China, only two focused on Japan: *New Impressions of the New Art of Japan* (*Riben xin meishu de xin yinxiang*，1921) by the Western-style painter Liu Haisu (1896-1994), and *A Brief History of Japanese Art* (*Riben meishu yanjin xiaoshi*, 1934) by Chen Danya, a scholar who studied in Japan during the 1910s and '20s. In a sense, Japan was not the ultimate goal of Chinese intellectuals, but a bridge that linked China to the West.

The only field in which Japanese scholarship seemed to be more important than Western scholarship was the history of Chinese art. The Chinese translation of Japanese works on Chinese art outnumbered that of Western ones in Republican China. Among the Western writings, *Chinese Art* (1904) by Stephen Bushell (1844-1908) was the only book to have merited a complete Chinese translation, which will be discussed in Chapter Two. The number of translated Japanese books on Chinese art amounted to six in the 1920s and '30s as Table 1.1 shows.

Table 1.1:

Book	Author	Translator	Year	Publisher
A History of Chinese Art (*Zhongguo meishushi*)	Ōmura Seigai	Chen Binhe	1928	Commercial Press
Painting of Tang and Song (*Tang Song zhi huihua*)	Kinbara Seigo	Fu Baoshi	1935	Commercial Press
Wang Mojie	Umezawa Waken	Fu Baoshi	1935	Commercial Press
A History of Chinese Painting (*Zhongguo huihuashi*)	Nakamura Fusetsu Kojika Seiun (Oga Seiun)	Guo Xuzhong	1937	Zhengzhong shuju
A History of Chinese Architecture (*Zhongguo jianzhushi*)	Itō Chūta	Chen Qingquan	1937	Commercial Press
A Brief History of Chinese Painting(*Zhina huihua xiaoshi*)	Ōmura Seigai	Zhang Yijun	?	Shanghai juzhen fangsong yinshuju

The Commercial Press was one of the most important printer-publishers in Republican China, and it frequently engaged with Japanese materials. Not only did this firm

publish four translated Japanese books (Table 1.1), but it also issued, on a regular basis, influential periodicals containing Japanese sources, such as the *Eastern Miscellany*, one of the earliest all-around Chinese journals published from 1904 to 1948.

Numerous Japanese sources appeared in the bibliographies of Chinese publications. Fu Baoshi's *Chronological Table of Chinese Art* enumerated fifty-four Japanese publications as important references to his research (Fu 1937a). Most Chinese scholars in the 1920s and '30s admitted that current Japanese scholarship on Chinese art history was superior to Chinese scholarship. For example, Guo Xuzhong, the translator of Nakamura and Kojika's book on painting (Table 1.1) and a disciple of the leading educator Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), mentioned in the preface to his translation that: "Japanese people know more about the culture of our nation than we do. … They have already made achievements in those subjects that we neglect"(Guo 1937**:** 1-2). In early twentieth-century Japan, manifold historical and theoretical publications on Chinese painting appeared, ranging from general history to various topics on important artists and theories (Chen 2000**:** 269-329).

Compared with scattered information on other Japanese references, these six translated books enjoyed great popularity among Chinese readers. Most striking is the choice that these Japanese surveys reflect, even in the face of many other options. This Chinese preference was the antithesis of those priorities reigning in either Japan or the West. Texts by important Japanese scholars, which absorbed most Japanese readers' attention, were not remotely considered by Chinese researchers. For instance, art historical works by Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913, Okakura Tenshin) and by Naitō Konan (1866-1934, Naitō Torajirō) did not appear in Chinese during the early twentieth century. Okakura was the leading art educationalist, art administrator, and a pioneer among modern Japanese art historians. He was the key thinker in late Meiji Japan who defined a Japanese art which contributed significantly to formulating a belief in a Japanese nation-state. With the help of Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), the American scholar and educator who played a significant role in promoting Japanese art, Okakura discovered the function of Japanese art for the nation-state. According to Stefan Tanaka, Okakura claimed one essence for Japan's self-conscious art—a respect for ancient methods. This essence allowed Okakura to merge diverse past moments of Japanese art into a single history (Tanaka 1994**:** 30-38).

Okakura was quite influential in the West. A volume that he wrote in English, *The Ideals of the East* (1902), was widely read by Western scholars. In *Chinese Art* (1904) Bushell quoted Okakura's words on fifth-century Chinese painting principles rather than use a Chinese source. By contrast, almost no one mentioned Okakura or Fenollosa in early Republican China (Wong 2006**:** 40). Okakura had been to China twice at the turn of the twentieth century, and Chinese scholars must have been aware of his work by then.

However, Chinese researchers avoided introducing him and his scholarship to a Chinese audience. The reason was apparently that Okakura portrayed Chinese art as inherently provincial, as well as inferior, to Japanese art (Wong 1999**:** 47-48; He 1995). No matter how dissatisfied Chinese scholars might be with contemporary Chinese art in the early twentieth century, none could accept Okakura's claims. They contradicted precisely the belief in Chinese culture which Chinese scholars were attempting to establish. Still, even though his work was not introduced to China, Okakura's strategy in building Japan's national essence was borrowed by Chinese scholars in the construction of a Chinese national identity. Prominent, for example, was *dongyang* as *tōyō* (Asia) and Shi Yan's use of it, an idea and an engagement to be discussed later in this chapter.

Naitō Konan's connection to China was even stronger than Okakura's. Naitō was the prominent sinologist in Japan whose research on Chinese history and Chinese art laid the foundation for the Kyoto School. According to Joshua Fogel, Naitō's work *On China* (*Shinaron*, 1914) is one of the most influential publications on Chinese shitory and culture of the twentieth century, and he is best known for his periodization of Chinese history (Fogel 1984: xv-xxiv, 165). Naitō was a close friend of Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940), the antiquarian and scholar who made epochal contributions to research on oracle bones and Dunhuang texts. As an advisor to Japanese collectors of Chinese art in the early twentieth century, Naitō saw many Chinese artworks sold to Japan. Based on these newly imported Chinese visual materials, Naitō delivered his lectures on the history of Chinese painting as part of the East Asian history syllabus at Kyoto Imperial University between 1922 and 1923. These lectures were published as a series of essays in a journal *Buddhist Art* (*Bukkyō bijutsu*) between 1926 and 1931. The book version of these lectures, entitled *A History of Chinese Painting* (*Shina kaiga shi*), appeared in 1938 after Naitō's death (Chen 2000**:** 277-79). Naitō's work was considered groundbreaking by Japanese scholars, such as his student and the historian of Chinese painting Ise Senichirō (1891-1948) (Wong 1999**:** 68-69). However, Naitō's nationalist attitude led him to maintain that Japan was then the centre of Asian culture rather than China, and that China should not protest against Japan's expansion (Shumpei 1976). In the 1920s and '30, Naitō's denigration of modern China's political role prevented Chinese scholars from considering it appropriate to translate his treatises in the era of China's nation-building and amid the growing perception of Japan's imperial ambitions.

Caution affected the introduction of these six Japanese works to a broad Chinese audience. In particular, two books were highly influential. They were *A History of Chinese Art*, the translation of Ōmura Seigai's work; and, *A History of Chinese Painting*, the translation of a joint history by Nakamura Fusetsu (1865-1943) and Kojika Seiun.

Ōmura Seigai was one of the pioneers of Japanese research on Asian art history. He graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1893, and became a teacher at the same school. Between 1921 and 1926, Ōmura paid five visits to China where he became acquainted with numerous Chinese artists and scholars. On his first trip in 1921, he was hosted by Chen Shizeng (1876-1923) who had studied in Japan, and who was now passionately keen to promote literati painting. In fact, Ōmura and Chen shared similar attitudes towards literati painting in both Japan and China. Excited about this common outlook, Chen translated one of Ōmura's essays into Chinese as "The Revival of Literati Painting (Wenrenhua zhi fuxing)". He published it, together with his own text "The Value of Literati Painting (Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi)", in a book entitled *A Study on Chinese Literati Painting* (*Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu*) (Chen 1922). Scholars have analyzed the exchanges between Ōmura and Chen on literati painting as well as their activities (Andrews and Shen 2006**:** 9-15; Wong 2006**:** 54-76). It is clear that before the translation was published in China, Ōmura had already gained prestige in Chinese art circles. Furthermore, unlike most of the contemporary Japanese scholars who sometimes discussed Chinese art with contempt in order to emphasize Japan's own tradition, he treated Chinese art as an elevated object of study (Wong 2006**:** 40). Ōmura's research might have been perceived as old-fashioned in Japan, certainly compared to works written by Okakura and Naitō, but his writings appealed to Chinese readers. Chinese scholars discerned a particular value for the realization of a national consciousness in his scholarship. The reason why Ōmura was not popular among Japanese intellectuals was exactly the reason why he was popular in China. *A History of Chinese Art* was a partial translation of Ōmura's *A Concise History of Eastern Ar*t (*Tōyō bijutsu shōshi*, 1906). According to the translator's preface to the book, Ōmura's original work was a compilation of his lecture notes from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, covering Japan, India, and China. Ōmura devoted the largest portion of his text to Chinese art, including detailed accounts of applied arts. The translator stated that this Chinese section was the essential part of Ōmura's book, dealing as it did with the longest tradition and the richest materials in Eastern civilization (Chen 1928**:** 2). With the publication of this translation and yet another of his *Shina bijutsushi*, Ōmura's reputation in China exceeded his fame in Japan.

A History of Chinese Painting (*Shina kaigashi*, 1913) by Nakamura Fusetsu and Kojika Seiun had already been influential in China before its Chinese translation appeared in 1937. About Kojika Seiun, nothing is known. Nakamura Fusetsu, the painter of both Western style and Eastern style, had studied academic oil painting in France. He was also interested in Chinese traditional painting, which he considered "the parents of Japanese painting" (Wong 2006**:** 45). In the preface to the first edition of this book, Nakamura

declared the deep impact of Chinese art on Japanese art: "It is impossible to study Japanese painting without the understanding of Chinese painting." His statement, of course, fulfilled patriotic Chinese cultural expectations. Like Ōmura's treatise, Nakamura and Kojika's text gained greater recognition in China than in Japan.

A History of Chinese Painting (*Zhongguo huihuashi*, 1926), edited by the *guohua* painter and instructor Pan Tianshou (1886-1971), was a translation of Nakamura and Kojika's 1913 book incorporating only minor changes (Yu 1932**:** 34). Pan's version was published as a textbook for his lessons on Chinese art history at the Shanghai Art Academy. Similarly, another book *A History of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihuashi*, 1924), based on the notes of Chen Shizeng's class on Chinese painting at the Beijing Art School, was published by Chen's student Yu Jianhua. Chen died in 1923. Yu published this text via his own publishing house as a memorial to his mentor. The structure of this book was the same as Nakamura and Kojika's work with the exception of one section, based on Chen's lectures on painting by women in the Ming dynasty (Andrews and Shen 2006**:** 23). The 1937 translation of *Shina kaigashi* (1913) further increased the popularity of this book. It minimized the narrative of decline in Chinese painting to three paragraphs, in which the decay of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was described as being due to the mere imitation of previous masters. Chinese historians interpreted this decline with a call for a revival of Chinese painting (Andrews and Shen 2006**:** 22).

Kinbara Seigo (1888-1963) is another example of Japanese scholarly influence in China. Fu Baoshi, whose own artworks and art historical writings will be discussed in Chapter Three, chose his Japanese teacher Kinbara Seigo's work on Tang and Song painting for a Chinese readership. Fu translated two lecture notes "Painting of the Tang Dynasty" (*Tōdai no kaiga*, 1929) and "Painting of the Song Dynasty" (*Sōdai no kaiga*, 1930). He published them in one volume entitled *Painting of Tang and Song* with the Commercial Press in 1935. Fu Baoshi wrote a preface introducing Kinbara and his research on art. He described his teacher as an authority on Asian art studies in Japan, and explained his decision to unveil this work: firstly, the Tang-Song period was a crucial transition period for Chinese painting; secondly, Kinbara's work, underlining three themes of colour, line, and ink in Tang and Song painting, was so innovative that it should inspire more energetic Chinese research on painting (Fu 1935d). In Fu's view, this work provided an alternative direction for painting history, replacing the traditional engagement with lists of painters and painting schools.

In 1935, Fu Baoshi also translated Umezawa Waken's (1871-1931) *Originator of the Southern School in Painting Wang Mojie* (*Nansō gaso Ō Makitsu*, 1929). Fu again explained his motives in the preface. According to Fu, Umezawa was an expert in painting theories,

and his research was meticulous and profound. Fu suggested that Chinese scholars should emulate this kind of insightful foreign scholarship. Nevertheless, Fu also declared that the original work by Umezawa contained some inappropriate remarks, which he thought were untrue. Fu deleted or altered these remarks from his translation without hesitation. For instance, Umezawa claimed that the painting style of the Southern School (*nanzong*, see Chapter Two and Four), initiated in China, had only been preserved and enhanced in Japan. Fu Baoshi considered this to be an arrogant statement, although he concurred with Umezawa that no master of the Southern School could be found in contemporary Chinese painting (Fu 1935c: 1). Chinese readers, therefore, only encountered a version of Umezawa's work which Fu imagined was suitable for a Chinese audience.

Itō Chūta (1867-1954), the author of *A History of Chinese Architecture* (*Shina kenchikushi*, 1931), which was translated as into Chinese in 1937, was a pioneer in historical studies of Chinese and Japanese architecture. He was fascinated by Chinese traditions of architecture (Itō 1937**:** 7-11). Under the influence of Okakura Kakuzō, Itō conducted several field trips to China and other Asian countries from the turn of the twentieth century. During his first trip to Peking in 1901, he developed a method for measuring wooden architecture when investigating the Forbidden City (Itō 1990**:** 260). During his second trip to China between 1902 and 1905, he argued for the importance of the Yungang Grottoes in the East Asian history of architecture. Itō claimed that some features of Japanese architecture originated from Chinese styles in the Six Dynasties. His research influenced Chinese architectural studies led by Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), the American-trained architect and architectural historian, who established the first Chinese university department of architecture. The Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (Zhongguo yingzao xueshe), the first Chinese academic research association devoted to China's architectural past, was formally launched in Peking on 16th February, 1930, by Zhu Qiqian (1872-1964), the industrialist and architectural historian. In 1931, Liang Sicheng joined the society and became the director of the Model Section (*fashi bu*), which was tasked with the investigation of surviving ancient constructions. The other section in the society, the Document Section (*wenxian bu*) was headed, from 1932, by Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), the Japan-educated scholar on architectonics and historian of architecture. Liu and other members translated a number of Japanese essays for publication in *The Journal of the Society For the Study of Chinese Architecture* (*Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan*). Included in these were writings by Itō Chūta. In August 1930, Zhu Qiqian invited Itō to deliver a speech on Chinese architecture in Peking. Itō also became a member of the society, with which he maintained close ties until 1937. Chinese members of the society even met Itō in Japan. In April 1931, Que Duo (1874-1935), then the director of the

Document Section, paid a visit to Itō to consult him on translations of ancient architectural terminology into modern Chinese (Xu 1991**:** 116-22). In *A History of Chinese Architecture*, Itō Chūta provided a comprehensive account of the development of Chinese architecture, something which until then no Chinese scholar had accomplished. In fact, in 1933, the scholar, political activist, and supporter of reforms, Yue Jiazao (1870-1941) also published a book entitled *A History of Chinese Architecture* (*Zhongguo jianzhushi*). It was the first book in China about Chinese architectural history. However, a year later, the book was severely criticized by Liang Sicheng who accused Yue of a lack of historical research, and of providing only personal comments on different architectural designs (Liang 1934). As a result, Yue's book was ignored by most Chinese scholars in the Republican period, and Itō Chūta's book was considered to be the first complete history of Chinese architecture. Moreover, Itō saw a unique value in Chinese architectural traditions. He opened his book with a special section devoted to the discussion of Chinese architecture's position in the world history of architecture. In his opinion, Chinese architecture, which preserved its distinct ancient characteristics, was not inferior to that of the West, just different (Itō 1937**:** 4-10). Itō's text, with its positive attitude towards Chinese architecture, was much preferred by his contemporary Chinese scholars.

The position of the authors of these translated books was sympathetic to China, and this conformed with the Chinese project of nation building. Chinese scholars selected what to translate carefully, and they introduced Japanese interpretations of Chinese art which fitted well with their nationalist agenda.

Adoption of Japanized modern concepts

Numerous modern concepts emerged in late Qing and Republican China by way of the expanding Japanese lexicon. These new linguistic resources were essential in securing "the nation as the subject of History" and in transforming "the perception not only of the past but also of the present meaning of the nation and the world" (Duara 1995**:** 5). Similarly, in art historical narratives, a new vocabulary entered the Chinese language associating the nation with the subject of art history. Two examples directly related to the idea of nation are *guocui* and *dongyang*, and both terms occupied Chinese scholars' attention in discussions of art during the 1920s and '30s.

Guocui, meaning national essence, was a loanword from the modern Japanese concept *kokusui*. At the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars and students in Japan began to adopt this term. Liang Qichao was probably the first Chinese writer to use the term during a trip to Japan in September, 1901 (Zheng 1992**:** 4). He wrote in his "Introduction to Chinese History II (Zhongguo shi xulun er)": "And based upon the national essence

of the Chinese nation, it is in vain to adopt forcibly the Western calendar" (Liang 1901). Liang used the notion of "national essence" as a reason to disavow the use of the Western calendar. At the end of the Qing dynasty, a group of Chinese scholars launched their own national essence movement following the Japanese nationalist movement in late Meiji. The National Essence group employed these ideas in their anti-Manchu propaganda. They proposed restoring a national identity from an ancient past to contemporary China. They believed that a true national identity for China should embody the cultural heritage and learning of the Han race. Their version of national essence which bore the implication of a modern nation "already carried the unmistakable imprint of the modern age". After the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912, the discussion of national essence remained intellectually fashionable, but its meaning had changed drastically. During the 1920s and '30s, placed in the hands of a group of American-educated scholars, national essence was interpreted as the humanistic essence of Chinese culture (Liu 1995**:** 241-56).

Apart from the concept of national essence, a cluster of loanwords from Japanese associated with nation appeared in modern Chinese, namely national learning (*guoxue*/*kokugaku*), national character (*guomin xing*/*kokuminsei*), and national soul (*guohun*/*kunidamashii*). Other terms derived from the idea of nation emerged in a broad cultural discourse in late Qing and Republican China, for instance, national heritage (*guogu*), national goods (*guohuo*), national language and literature (*guowen*), national music (*guoyue*), and national drama (*guoju*). All these neologisms constituted a theoretical language that facilitated talk of "being Chinese in a modern world" (Liu 1995**:** 240). At a more mundane level, the production of "national goods" brought a material reality to being Chinese—politically Chinese—in sharp distinction to being anything else (Gerth 2003: 5-9). Ironically, one of the targets of the patriotic National Goods Movement (*guohuo yundong*) was Japanese imports. "National art" would, ultimately, possess a different economic history, but it shared some of the same ideals.

Among Chinese specialists on art, the major debates took place in the field of painting. Connected to the National Essence Movement, the term "painting of national essence (*guocuihua*)" appeared in journalistic discussions of Chinese art in the late 1910s. In the journal *Fine Arts* (*Meishu*) published by the Shanghai Art Academy, three articles talked about *guocuihua*. The first one, entitled "The Origin and Development of Painting of National Essence (Guocuihua yuanliu)", appeared in the first issue of this journal dated October, 1918. Here *guocuihua* referred to painting which originated and developed in the geographical area of China throughout history (Tang 1918). This discussion closely followed the general discourse of the National Essence Movement, displaying the author's deep pride in the Chinese painting tradition. The other two essays appeared two years later,

suggesting a more critical view towards painting traditions in China (Huang 1920**;** Xu 1920). The laudatory implication of *guocuihua* was no longer present. From this point on, the term became interchangeable with another two more prevalent expressions—Chinese painting (*zhongguohua*) and *guohua*. The term *Zhonghua*, which also meant Chinese painting, had been used in the 1910s as well, but it was soon replaced by *Zhongguohua* or *guohua*.

Zhongguohua was the Chinese equivalent to the Japanese term Japanese-style painting (*nihonga*). Like *nihonga*, which had been coined in opposition to Western-style painting (*yōga*) and traditional Japanese decorative painting (*Yamato-e*), *zhongguohua* referred to traditional Chinese painting differentiated from oil painting, watercolour painting, and other kinds of Western painting (Andrews 1990**:** 557). *Guohua* also had a Japanese counterpart *kokuga*. Although both terms were two-character compounds of nation and painting, their practical meanings were distinct in the early decades of the twentieth century. The field of *Kokuga* included all categories of painting in Japan (Wong 2006**:** xxiii). *Guohua* was commonly an abbreviation of *zhongguohua*. More nationalistic than *kokuga*, *guohua* emphasized the native tradition of painting (Kao 1988**:** xxi). However, Shui Tianzhong does not accept that *guohua* was simply a shortened version of *zhongguohua*. He has pointed out a transformation in twentieth-century China from *zhongguohua* to *guohua* and then back again to *zhongguohua*. *Guohua*, with an emphasis on the idea of a modern nation-state, was tied to content and medium. It no longer referred to Chinese painting, but to the painting of a Chinese nation. It narrowly defined a specific genre of scroll paintings, and excluded other forms of Chinese painting, such as New Year pictures, woodblock painting, and mural painting (Shui 1986).

From the 1910s, these notions spread throughout the Chinese field of painting. Painting students in newly-established art schools majored in (*zhong*)*guohua*. Catalogues of art exhibitions divided painting exhibits into (*zhong*)*guohua* and Western-style painting (*xiyanghua*)[4]. A group of Cantonese painters determined to revolutionize Chinese painting into new national painting (*xin guohua*), an entity that they promised to be modern yet distinctively Chinese (Croizier 1988**:** 1-2).

No Chinese scholar at that time seemed to know or to be concerned with the exact origins of these terms. A 1926 comment in a collection of essays on *guohua* began with the statement that: "I could not tell since when the so-called 'national painting'…had come into being…" (Tong 1932). Chinese researchers spontaneously followed Japanese scholarship and transferred these neologisms into the Chinese context. Some scholars questioned the

[4] A few other names were given to Western-style painting in Chinese art that time such as *xihua* and *yanghua*.

absolute division between Chinese painting and Western-style painting. The Western-style painter, Ni Yide (1901-1970), in his introduction on *xiyanghua* claimed that, fundamentally, neither *xiyanghua* nor *zhongguohua* existed. However, these names entered common parlance and functioned well in colloquial discourse concerning art (Ni 1933**:** 1-2). It never occurred to Chinese scholars to strictly define these terms. They trusted in the self-evidence of these notions. Besides, contextual information could invariably help their readers to understand what they meant by these terms.

All these concepts, emerging as they did in early twentieth-century China, pinpointed the idea of a nation. Chinese intellectuals, supportive or not of the notions that they invented and identified as Chinese national essence, persisted in their efforts to legitimize Chinese art, whether old or new, as an expression of the nation.

The Chinese term *dongyang*, literally translated as eastern sea, referred traditionally to ocean area beyond China's immediate control. During the Qing dynasty, *dongyang* usually indicated the geographical region of Japan. It stood for locations east of China in distinction to *xiyang*, indicating mainly European countries and America. However, during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, under the influence of a popular Japanese concept *tōyō*, *dongyang* sometimes meant East Asia or Asia. Lexically identical, *dongyang* became the Chinese expression of the Japanese term *tōyō*, and its referential scope expanded accordingly to include both geography and culture from Japan to the rest of Asia.

From the mid-nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth centuries, *tōyō* was crucial to Japanese nationalistic discourse and an orientalizing one at that. Lectures and research on Asian history (*tōyōshi*) and Asian art history (*tōyō bijutsushi*) were widespread in Japanese universities and institutes. Stefan Tanaka's *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (1993) argues that Japan invented its version of the Orient to fulfil its patriotic and imperialist goals (Tanaka 1993). Aida Yuan Wong's PhD dissertation has studied both the Japanese and Chinese contributions to the conceptualization of the East in painting practice and theory from the 1890s to the 1930s (Wong 1999). During the early decades of the twentieth century, Chinese art researchers introduced Japanese works on Asian art to China in translation or through adaptation. Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* (1935) is a prime example which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Compared to the attractiveness of *tōyō* to Japanese scholarship on art, *dongyang* in early twentieth-century China was much less popular and less institutionalized. Chinese intellectuals preferred to position China in direct opposition to the West (*zhongxi*) on issues of art. They sometimes juxtaposed the East with the West (*dongxi* or *dongxiyang*), but what they actually talked about was China rather than Asia. They claimed a dominant position for

Chinese art in Asia at the beginning of their narratives. This excuse legitimized their next move which was to discuss solely art in China. For instance, Lin Fengmian (1900-1991), the Western-style painter and art educationist, published his article "The Future of Eastern Art and Western Art (Dongxi yishu zhi qiantu)" in *The Supplement to Morning Post* (*Chenbao fukan*) in June, 1926. This supplement was issued in Beijing three times a week from 12th October, 1921, and it became famous for promoting new literature. In his essay, Lin Fengmian affirmed that both Indian and Chinese cultures typified Eastern civilization. He continued: "Chinese art since the import of Buddhism from India has engendered a new trend. This trend definitely represents Eastern art." In the remaining text, Lin did not mention India again, save for one sentence concerning Indian influence on Chinese art after Han times (Lin 1926a, 1926b). He generally equated Chinese art to Eastern art. Chen Binhe (1897-1945), an editor of *Shenbao*, the leading newspaper of late Qing and Republican China in Shanghai, translated Ōmura's work into Chinese. In the preface to his translation, Chen maintained that the focus of Asian art was Chinese art. He believed that a narrative of art in China would be sufficient to provide a detailed outline of, as well as to show the spirit of, Asian art (Chen 1928**:** 1-2).

Similarly, at the beginning of "Notes to the Reader (Xuli)" in *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (*Qinhan meishushi*, 1936), Zhu Jieqin (1913-1990) posited that "Chinese art enjoyed a prominent place in Oriental art" (Zhu 1936**:** 1). Zhu was a historian who did his postgraduate research at Zhongshan University between 1933 and 1936. Two decades later, in the 1950s, being a professor of Zhongshan University and later director of the history department at Jinan University, he changed his research focus from the ancient history of China to the history of overseas Chinese and the history of China's international relations. *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* was selected for inclusion in the *Small Series for History and Geography* (*Shidi xiaocongshu*). This series was a group of publications by the Commercial Press in the mid-1920s. Shown by its title, this series focused on new knowledge in the fields of history and geography. Zhu Jieqin's book was chosen because of Zhu's new description of art during the Qin-Han period. The writer explored different forms of art in the Qin and Han dynasties with an additional chapter on the four treasures of the scholars' studio as brush, ink, paper, and inkstone. Zhu argued that in order to summarize the outline of Asian art scholars only needed to conduct research on Chinese art (Zhu 1936**:** 5). In these cases, the implication of *dongyang* was reduced to the same status as *zhongguo*.

Furthermore, most Japanese-trained Chinese scholars used the conception of *dongyang* to support China's own nationalistic project. In their accounts, "Japan's Orient" was transformed into a Chinese version of the East. In 1935, Fu Baoshi translated Kinbara

Seigo's theory of Asian art. Rather than mentioning Asia in the main title of his translation, Fu underscored what he termed as Chinese national characteristics reflected in art (Fu 1935a). This contrast between the content and the title of this article reveals Fu's adaptation of Asian art to a Chinese nationalist context.

A few articles concerning Asia art published from the 1920s to '40s focused on the painting theory of the Six Laws (*liufa*) originated by the painting theorist Xie He (active 6th century). In 1930, the *guohua* painter and cartoonist Feng Zikai introduced Kinbara Seigo's study on the Six Laws. Both Kinbara and Feng argued that the Six Laws were the enduring principles of East Asian painting (Feng 1930a). In particular, several artists and scholars at that time asserted that the first law "spirit resonance (*qiyun*)", fundamentally different from the ideas of Western painting, represented the essence of Asian art.

Gao Jianfu (1879-1951), one of the founders of the Lingnan School, even paralleled the Six Laws with the "Six Limbs (*liuzhi*)" declared by Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), the leading Bengali nationalist artist. Gao did so in his posthumously published book *My Views on Modern National Painting* (*Wo de xiandai guohua guan*, 1955), which Croizier believes to be a compilation of Gao's lectures at the National Central University in 1936 (Croizier 1988**:** 110). According to Abanindranath Tagore's original writing between 1914 and 1915, *Sadanga*—the fundamental rules of Indian painting—included *Rupabheda* (the knowledge of visual forms), *Pramānāni* (correct proportion, and structure of forms), *Bhāva* (action of feelings on forms), *Lāvanya Yojanam* (infusion of grace and artistic representation), *Sādrisyam* (similitude and resemblance), and *Varnikābhanga* (artistic manner of using the brush and colours) (Tagore 1968**:** 19-20). In Gao Jianfu's interpretation, Tagore's Six Limbs of ancient Indian art were similar to the Six Laws. Although Gao realized the differences between these two sets of painting laws in their logical arrangements and ways of expression, what struck him was the similarities. He also claimed that three of the rules from the Six Limbs provided a clear explanation of Xie He's ambiguous first law "spirit resonance" (Gao 1991**:** 72-74). Gao did not elaborate on which three rules he meant, but they were probably *Bhāva*, *Lāvanya Yojanam*, and *Sādrisyam*. Following Japanese scholarship, he connected Chinese art and Indian art to form an entity of "Oriental art" with reference to these two sets of painting principles.

Another direct contact between China and Japan in the case of Asian art was a lecture in 1923 at Beijing University delivered by Sawamura Sentarō (1884-1930), a professor of Japanese and Asian art history. The translation of Sawamura's speech was published in the only issue of *Plastic Arts* (*Zaoxing meishu*, 1924). This journal was issued by the Research Association of Plastic Arts (Zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui) of Beijing University. Sawamura's speech started with the famous statement by Okakura that "Asia is one". Then he moved

on to his own experience with Chinese, Japanese, and Indian art. Impressed by what he perceived as the inseparability of cultural trends in China, Japan, and India, Sawamura confidently claimed that these three cultures formed a single entity of Eastern culture, which differed from Western culture (Sawamura 1924). Likewise, the weekly publication *Art* (*Yishu*) printed a short talk entitled "Explaining the Original Meaning of Eastern Art (Chanfa dongfang meishu zhi benyi)" by Sugiura Katoshi[5] in 1924 (Sugiura 1924). This newspaper was issued by the Eastern Art Research Association (Dongfang yishu yanjiu xuehui) in Shanghai. The main contributor, Wang Yachen (1894-1983), a Tokyo-trained artist, was the interpreter of Sugiura's speech. The speaker called for cooperation between Japanese and Chinese artists in order to create artworks representing the values of Eastern culture. Wang himself also wrote an article on the idea of Eastern art entitled "The Life of Eastern Art (Dongfang yishu zhi shengming)" in the first issue of a Shanghai monthly journal *Chats on Literature and Art* (*Wenyi chahua*) (Wang 1932).

Chinese scholars started to pay attention to Indian art in the 1920s. Subsequent to the Bengali writer, philosopher, and artist Rabindranath Tagore's (1861-1941) visit to China in 1924, lectures and articles about Indian art emerged. A certain Dr. Nag from India gave a lecture on the revival of Indian art at Beijing University in 1924. Not long afterwards, under the influence of Japanese scholarship, Chinese artists started to travel to India in the 1930s. They found familiar elements in Indian art, and they tried to draw parallels between methods of Indian art and those of Chinese art. Starting in October 1930, Gao Jianfu travelled in South Asia from Ceylon to the Himalayas for almost a year. He met Rabindranath Tagore, and held exhibitions of his paintings, and imitated ancient Indian art at historical sites, such as the Ajanta caves. Gao was truly "open to influences from the ancient East" in the 1930s (Croizier 1988**:** 121-22).

Although these activities and essays reveal an emerging transnational discourse concerning Eastern art in the early twentieth century, the efforts from the Chinese side were not as intense and passionate as those of the Japanese. The strong modern Japanese nation legitimized the Japanese discourse of an Asia centred in Japan. The weaker political conditions in China made it difficult for Chinese scholars to position the core of contemporary Asian art in China. Instead, these scholars envisaged a powerful influence of Chinese culture in the past and relied on this interpretation to create another version of Asian art.

[5] I have found no information on this person.

1.2 Imaging Art History in China's Nation Building

Mitchell Schwarzer, in his article "Origins of the Art History Survey Text" (1995), has suggested that writing art history in nineteenth-century Germany "cannot be distinguished from nation building". He has analyzed the early German survey texts of art history in the 1840s and '50s as "part of a great struggle to create modern German identity" (Schwarzer 1995). In modern Japan, Okakura Kakuzō used a framework to rearrange a history of Japanese art which was coterminous with social and national development. In this way, art played an essential role in the Japanese formulation of a strong belief in a Japanese modern nation (Tanaka 1994). "All societies in the era of nationalism desire collective memories for consolidation" (Wong 2006**:** 43). The case of Chinese art history in late Qing and Republican China is very similar to that of Japan. In the mind of most Chinese scholars at that time, historical surveys of art, serving the purpose of supporting a modern nation, should indicate unambiguously the national greatness of China, and they should show a correspondingly distinguished tradition of Chinese art.

The use of the past

The early decades of the twentieth century in China witnessed strong interest in a new narrative of China's past. China's confrontation with the Western countries and Japan, as well as its revolutionary changes in politics, economy, and culture, called into question the entire past as pre-modern Chinese scholars had conceived it. In this process, Chinese historians began to inscribe the past with new qualities that would help to build a modern nation with its own autonomy. Chinese modern nationalists in the early Republican period used historicization to legitimate the birth of a new nation. They trusted the power of a coherent history to inspire patriotism. Whether conservative or radical, on however it is that later generations of researchers have classified them, most Chinese scholars determined to utilize the history of China in the solidification of a Chinese national identity. In their view, the past of the nation newly perceived in the present pointed to the future.

Represented by the idea of "New Historiography (*xin shixue*)", modern historiography ushered in a productive era of Chinese historical thinking. As early as 1902, Liang Qichao had harshly criticized the traditional approaches to history. Following his Japanese intellectual model Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), the thinker in mid-Meiji Japan, Liang Qichao proposed his "New Historiography" as part of a nationalist scholarship (Wang 2003). Liang insisted that China needed a new national history to restore the nation to the centre place of its collective past memories. Listing several fallacies in traditional Chinese historiography, Liang suggested that the traditional historiography was an obstacle to "China's

search for wealth and power in modern times". Liang searched for a new history which would "help the nation-building goal" and respond to "the need of the present" (Wang 2001**:** 45-47).

Responding to the needs of modern historiography, many historical surveys in late Qing and Republican China prioritized a coherent narrative for national history. For example, Liu Yizheng (1880-1956), a historian associated with the School of Critical Review (*xueheng pai*), published a series of essays under the title of *A History of Chinese Culture* (*Zhongguo wenhuashi*) in 1926. These were based upon his course of the same title at the Southeast University in Nanjing from 1919 to 1921. Liu reworked *A History of Chinese Culture* as a book in 1928. He rearranged historical facts to construct an entire history of Chinese culture. In his mind, a complete narrative revealed an essential consistency of Chinese culture in its various forms. He hoped to correct some contemporary misconceptions of Chinese culture, and to provide a new image of China as a nation (Liu 1932**:** 1-2). Through a history of culture, he showed how China incorporated different ethnic groups and maintained its political integrity in a vast territory over a long period of time. He was not attentive to a neat chronological order. His division of chapters was topic-driven. By presenting his material in its entirety through simultaneously diachronic and synchronic engagement, Liu Yizheng merged the past and the present of the nation (Hon 2004; Kuo 2007).

Historiographical ideas and historical practices in the early twentieth century represent a growing realization of China as a nation. In the efforts of Chinese scholars at that time, history assumed a new role as a site of national identity construction (Tang 1996**:** 46-79).

Liang Qichao did not write a history of Chinese art, but he urged scholars to write specialized histories, which he termed *zhuanmenshi*, about law, literature, philosophy, and art. He also analyzed data for historical studies. He classified raw historical data as a special category worthy of distinctive treatment (Liang 1922). Liang's "raw data" included material objects besides historical texts in the form of court records, chronologies, bibliographies, biographies, and local gazetteers. In his preface to *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishu xiaoshi*, 1926), Teng Gu underlined the influence of Liang Qichao on Teng's own art historical research. Teng finished *A Brief History of Chinese Art* in 1925 shortly after his stay in Japan. He published it with the Commercial Press in 1926 as part of its *Small Encyclopaedical Series* (*Baike xiaocongshu*). The publication of the series started in 1923, emphasizing the introduction of new knowledge from the West. It was continuously augmented over the next few years. By 1930, the series consisted of three hundred volumes covering a large scale of subjects. *A Brief History of Chinese Art* represented the direction

of this series. Teng's book used limited historical data to conceive a course of change and development in Chinese art from the earliest age to the Qing dynasty. Within fifty small-sized pages, Teng Gu managed to describe the main stream of development in Chinese art. Teng agreed with Liang that the deficiency of research data was the most difficult aspect of Chinese art historical studies. Without actual objects, they could only draw vague assumptions from the texts of surviving artistic treatises (Teng 1926b: 1). The same urgency also drove Chinese scholars to pay increasing attention to archaeological finds.

Lothar von Falkenhausen has analyzed the tense linkage between archaeology and history in China. Modern archaeology in China has been "closely enmeshed in a millennia-old living tradition of national history" since its birth. Text-based knowledge of Chinese history was challenged from the late 1920s onwards by Chinese historians, such as Gu Jiegang (1893-1980) who championed an absolutely ecological method of archaeology. Instead, archaeology with exclusively palaeographic ambitions served to trace a Chinese past to ancient times, and to sustain the integrity of a long Chinese tradition. Lothar van Falkenhausen believes that the first national long-term archaeological research project was deliberately chosen by Chinese scholars in order to further these goals. Excavations at Yinxu, a Bronze Age site in Henan, took place between 1928 and 1937, directed for the first time exclusively by foreign-trained Chinese scholars. Yinxu was alleged to be the last capital of the Shang period in Chinese history. The area possessed a special historical aura, since its oracle bones had been studied by the multi-talented Wang Guowei (1877-1927) to prove the correctness of textual records of Shang royal descent lines. Chinese archaeologists applied archaeological methods at Yinxu primarily in order to substantiate historical accounts. In their view, the Shang period, which they addressed as one of the earliest Chinese dynasties, was no longer mythical. With the support of archaeology, writings of the past could trace the origin of a Chinese nation to ancient times, even to the period when no original textual records were available. An uninterrupted continuity was easily achieved through these historical surveys. Disregarding divergent traditions, such as those of different ethnic groups, new historical works of this period aimed to reconstruct one distinctive tradition for a Chinese national identity (Falkenhausen 1993).

Consonant with the situation of historical studies in early twentieth-century China, the field of art history turned to archaeology for evidence of an equally coherent national history of art. Growing research on art history during ancient times in China depended increasingly on archaeological discoveries in the 1920s and '30s, as the written documents seemed to be vague and unreliable. Zhu Jieqin, in his book *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936), employed excavated objects from Han tombs in his discussion about painting in the Han period. He illustrated his point with three Han tombs excavated between

1925 and 1931, located respectively in Luoyang (1925), the capital of the Han during its late period; at Nangnang (1925), near present-day P'yŏngyang, by Japanese scholars from Tokyo Imperial University; and at Shawangtun (1931), a small town between Dalian and Lüshun in Northeast China (Zhu 1936**:** 125-29). Zhu's choice of locations covering a large geographical area indicates his awareness of archaeological achievements in and outside China. He also attempted to create a material basis for a large territory of China in the distant historical past. During the same period, Wang Junchu (1904-1986), the art historian commonly known as Hu Man, wrote in the preface to *The Development of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishu de yanbian*, 1934) that, in order to reveal the true face of art history in China, scholars should combine archaeological findings effectively with historical records and artistic treatises (Wang 1934**:** 2).

The use of art

In pre-modern China, scholars had long been concerned about the moral function of calligraphy and painting. One of the most important writers on art in the late Tang dynasty, Zhang Yanyuan, opened his *Records of the Famous Painters of Successive Dynasties* (847 CE): "Now, painting is a thing which perfects civilized teachings and helps social relationships" (Bush and Shih 1985**:** 49). Later, when the literati dominated art in the Ming and Qing dynasties, calligraphy and painting were prime vehicles for self-expression and social intercourse. From the 1860s, the Chinese elite gradually categorized other roles for art. In 1920, Hu Peiheng (1892-1965), a landscape painter, wrote an essay entitled "The power of Art (Meishu zhi shili)", in which he listed the strength of art in four aspects: culture, morality, education, and industry (Hu 1920).

Comparison with Japan at this point is instructive. In Meiji Japan, the role of art changed from a utilitarian form to an expression of cultural heritage (Tanaka 1994**:** 27). Likewise, in late Qing and Republican China, art was a crucial part of the political, economic, and social agenda of Chinese leaders.

Those Japanese artists in the Meiji period receptive to Western influence believed that "Japanese and Chinese pictures served no better function than that of a hobby to be performed at drinking parties, whereas Western pictures, as models of reality, could be put in the service of the nation" (Guth 2006**:** 183). Western art, to be more specific, Western drawing, first caught the attention of the Chinese elite for its technical applications. During China's first attempt at modernization, the Self-Strengthening Movement, or the Foreign Affairs Movement (*yangwu yundong*, 1860s-1890s), Chinese thinkers advocated the idea of "Westernized utility with Chinese traditional substance (*zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei*

yong)"[6]. The Qing government established new schools and institutions predominantly for military and industrial purposes. Western artistic techniques, because of their potential for practical application, entered the curricula of these government-operated schools. Courses for mapping and designing named *huitu* and *huafa* appeared in various school regulations. A department of design also emerged at the Fujian Navy Yard School, following a formal suggestion in 1866 by Zuo Zongtang (1812-1885), the influential statesman in the Self-Strengthening Movement. In the operation of this school, the department of design, organised with more than fifty students, promoted industrial drawing, descriptive geometry, and the principles of perspective (Leibo 1985**:** 114-15).

The inclusion of drawing at the Fujian Naval Yard School is particularly interesting when considered in the context of a discussion among government officials in 1880 and 1881. In his memorial to the throne, Li Shibin (1835-1913), an inspector sent by the central government to Fujian, talked about the lax discipline of this school. He claimed that it was a waste of time for students to study painting. In response to this condemnation, some other officials explained:

> "Drawing is one important skill in a branch of Western technology. It is the beginning and foundation needed for accuracy prior to actual production. The school has a department of design which manages the study. The course is totally appropriate for the students." (Gao 1992**:** 302-03)

Chinese officials in the late nineteenth century identified the importance of art in its utilitarian value.

This sort of drawing course continued to appear in the curricula of technical and specialized schools, such as the Jiangnan Naval Academy in 1890 and the Tianjin Telegraph School in 1895. Cartography, anatomical drawing, and mechanical drawing would help China to build its own machines, ships, trains, and weapons, and ultimately contribute to Chinese industrial and military modernization. Within these terms, the point of drawing was its "practical skills with immediate vocational value for the youths of the nation". For the Qing government, artistic skills were "instrumental in turning China from a weak and backward empire into a strong and wealthy nation" (Kao 1998**:** 150-51).

In the 1900s, Chinese thinkers still associated the power of Western art with the West's technical and industrial utility. In 1905, Kang Youwei (1858-1927), the Confucian scholar and leader of the modernization movement in late Qing, proposed that painting and drawing be the basis for all learning in his *On Material Strength to Save a*

[6] Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909), the leading political and industrial figure in the Foreign Affairs Movement proposed this idea, which was very similar to the dictum of Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), the samurai philosopher, "Eastern ethics, Western science (*tōyō dōtoku seiyō geijutsu*)".

Nation (*Wuzhi jiuguo lun*) (Kang 1981 [1905]).

In a further development, from the 1910s onwards, Chinese scholars realized the aesthetic and spiritual connotations of art in society. The most important figure discussing these ideas was Cai Yuanpei, who served as the first minister of education in the Republican government. Kao Mayching has argued that Cai Yuanpei contributed the most to liberate art "from the tenacious hold of utilitarianism to acquire new significance" (Kao 1998**:** 153). With Cai's promotion of aesthetic education (*meiyu*), art practice was no longer merely a tool but also the spiritual cultivation of an individual and a nation. According to Cai, aesthetic education with its characteristics of freedom and advancement could mould the sublime and virtuous sensibilities and tastes of individuals. He believed that such education would minimize avarice and other immoral feelings and cultivate the spirit to harmonize society (Teng and Fairbank 1979**:** 274-79). In practice, Cai Yuanpei supported the establishment of fine art academies and departments between the 1910s and '30s. One of these academies was the Shanghai Art Academy. Liu Haisu, one of the organizers for the school, indicated clearly that:

> "…we want to fulfill our responsibility of promoting art in a society that is callous, apathetic, desiccated, and decaying. We shall work for the rejuvenation of Chinese art, because we believe art can save present-day Chinese society from confusion and arouse the general public from their dreams…" (Kao 1998**:** 158)

Endorsing Cai Yuanpei's proposals for art education, Lu Xun accepted an official post in the Ministry of Education in 1912. He was put in charge of the development of museums, libraries, galleries, exhibitions, literature, and drama. He also took responsibility for the preservation of ancient sites and monuments. Lu Xun claimed that literature and art were more important than modern science and technology for the modernization of a nation (Wang 1979: 258; Andrews and Shen 1998a: 231).

To most people in early twentieth-century China, "nation" was a vague abstract notion. Art then became one of the concrete carriers of the concept of nation. From the end of the 1920s to the 1930s, art's nationality was a point that some Chinese scholars tried to advocate. A group of nationalistic thinkers close to the Republican government established the idea "literature and art for the nation" against the claim "literature and art for the mass" promoted by leftist figures, such as Lu Xun. Ye Qiuyuan, who studied in America for a master degree in sociology, was one of these nationalistic scholars. In 1929, he published a collection of his essays in a book entitled *Nationality and Internationality of Art* (*Yishu zhi minzu xing yu guoji xing*), which reiterated the most important title in the collection. In this essay, Ye realized that the appreciation of art was not limited to different nationalities, and that modern art was an international phenomenon. However, he was

even more convinced that nationality was clearly expressed in the modern art of different European nations. He attributed Cubism and Purism to France, Expressionism to Germany, Futurism to Italy, Primitivism to Russia. He quoted from a certain Professor Brinton[7] in English that: "Expressionism as Germanic Modernism is termed presents marked national characteristics." In his view, modern art in Germany had its own features which differentiated it from modern art in France (Ye 1929**:** 17-21). Throughout the text, European art and literature dominated Ye's argument. His final conclusion was that these experiences of European countries indicated the future of Chinese national art. He learned from these examples that a national spirit was the foundation of a nation's predominantly international status. He hoped that his explanation of European conditions would persuade readers that what was needed in China at that moment was a nation-state with a national art (Ye 1929**:** 24). The idea of the nation-state became his sole standard to categorize modern art. Ye's opinions of European modern art were simplistic, but they represented his fervour for a Chinese nation in China's art.

Almost all the Chinese art historical texts produced in the early decades of the twentieth century pointed out the importance of art in a national culture. Zhu Jieqin in the preface to *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936) began with a Western idea on art with which he absolutely agreed. He thought that Westerners believed in art as an expression of national cultural heritage. In his opinion, an artist proceeded from his national characters to create artworks which reflected his national thought. Zhu repeated in the introduction that research on art was essential for the exploration of a national culture (Zhu 1936**:** 1-3). Guo Xuzhong in the preface to *A History of Chinese Painting* (1937) also claimed that painting was the cultural heritage of Chinese national spirit. He believed that Chinese art would change foreigners' scornful opinion of China. Guo stated that exhibitions of Chinese art in Western countries successfully showed foreigners the greatness of Chinese art equivalent to Western art.

Chinese intellectuals who determined to conduct political and social reforms, employed art in their projects to strengthen the Chinese nation. Another group of Chinese scholars, the so-called "conservatives", also invoked art in their pursuit of a distinctly Chinese nation. One of the key arguments they presented was that Chinese art was superior to Western art.

Here too a Japanese parallel is instructive. From the late Meiji period on, some Japanese scholars held the position that Japanese art was more advanced than Western art.

[7] Professor Brinton probably is Christian Brinton (1870-1942), the American art critic, curator, and collector, who promoted "an interpretation of modern art organized around the concept of 'the nation'" (Walker 2001: 36).

This idea was initiated by Ernest Fenollosa. In 1882, Fenollosa asserted that "Japanese art is really far superior to modern cheap Western art that describes any object at hand mechanically, forgetting the most important point, expression of Idea" (Tanaka 1994: 30). Okakura concurred. After listening to a Beethoven symphony at a concert, Okakura commented that "only in that music is the West superior to the East" (Hashikawa 1979-1981**:** 483). It seemed to him that in other forms of art, the West was not superior to the East at all. From the 1880s, Okakura and Fenollosa worked together to promote the appreciation of ancient Japanese art.

Moreover, after World War One, Western intellectuals had developed a sense of pessimism about Western civilization, a change which did not go unnoticed by Chinese scholars. Liang Qichao, after his trip to Europe in 1919, was more conscious of his Chinese identity, and he now became interested in the values of Chinese culture which could contribute to the world. In a sharp contrast to his earlier harsh criticism of traditional Chinese historiography, Liang now praised aspects of Chinese historiography, and attempted to "bring up the traditional methods to the level of modern historiography" (Wang 2001**:** 103-05).

Probably inspired by these ideologies, Chinese scholars, especially those with experiences in Japan, proposed the superiority of Chinese art. One way to do this was to show the tendency of contemporary Western art to adopt some of the representational virtues of Chinese art. In 1921, Chen Shizeng claimed that Western avant-garde, like futurism and cubism, no longer pursued formal resemblance. In his mind, Chinese literati painting possessed the same inclination as the lately-developed Western painting schools. Fidelity to the shape and form of a real object, according to Chen Shizeng, was the initial stage of painting. Moving forward in history, verisimilitude was no longer necessary (Chen 1921). Chen's analogy between spirit resonance in literati painting and abstraction in Western painting remained the major justification of traditional Chinese painting. Lu Xun in 1934 stated that it was reasonable to say Chinese painting and Impressionism had something in common (Lu 1934). Pan Tianshou also suggested that recently Western painting had become closer to Eastern taste by emphasizing the beauty of line and colour (Pan 1936**:** 294).

What makes this phenomenon more interesting is that Western-style painters who previously had indulged their enthusiasm for Western painting now consented to the superiority of Chinese art. In 1923, Liu Haisu published an article entitled "Shitao and Postimpressionism (Shitao yu houqi yinxiang pai)" in *The School Lamp* (*Xuedeng*), a supplement to the Shanghai newspaper *The China Times* (*Shishi xinbao*). From its first issue on 4th March, 1918, *The School Lamp* introduced new cultural and educational ideas to its

Chinese readers. Liu's essay was probably well received, for it was reprinted in the 1936 special issue of *National Painting* (*Guohua*), which was devoted exclusively to the early Qing painter Shitao (1642-1707). Liu Haisu's article directly compared Shitao with Post-impressionists. He stated that:

> "The so-called new ideas and new art nowadays in Western Europe had been suggested by Shitao as early as three hundred years ago in our country. It is such a pity that people in our country treated this amazing kind of art with such indifference. Instead, they blindly follow –isms and ideas of European artists, showing extreme admiration. What a shame!" (Liu 1936**:** 6)

Since 1923, Liu had gained more faith in traditional painting than before. His school, the Shanghai Drawing and Painting School (later the Shanghai Art Academy), established a new department of Chinese traditional painting in the same year. Fu Lei (1908-1966), the translator of Western literature and an important art critic, remarked on this change that Liu's "national spirit (*guohun*)" and personality began to be roused (Fu 1932). Later, other Western-style painters, such as Xu Beihong and Lin Fengmian, took up traditional brush and ink to paint. Collectively, there were acts of retrospective affirmation of the Chinese tradition.

Even in the minds of scholars calling intensely for a revolution in Chinese painting, traditional painting was loaded as a precocious achievement incomparable once in Chinese and world history. In 1917, Kang Youwei claimed that late Chinese painting had declined terribly. However, he admitted that four or five hundred years ago Chinese painting was the best in the world. He also pointed out that contemporary European painting used the same principles as those developed in China during the sixth to the eleventh centuries (Kang 1917).

The most comprehensive explanation of China's superiority in art was given by Feng Zikai, who had been to Japan for ten months in 1921, to learn foreign languages, Western-style painting, and music. In 1930, in the special art issue of the *Eastern Miscellany*, Feng used a pen name Ying Xing to publish an essay "The Victory of Chinese Art in Modern Art (Zhongguo meishu zai xiandai yishu shang de shengli)" (Feng 1930b). After making some minor changes, Feng renamed this article "The Superiority of Chinese Art (Zhongguo meishu de yousheng)" for inclusion in his 1934 book *Painting and Literature* (*Huihua yu wenxue*). He explained the advantages of Chinese art in two parts: "Modern Western Painting's Easternization (*Jindai xiyanghua de dongyanghua hua*)" and "Empathy and Spirit Resonance (*Ganqing yiru yu qiyun shengdong*)". He deduced the Chinese influence on Western modern painting from the Japanese influence on Impressionism and Post-impressionism. He claimed that Japanese experts admitted that Japanese painting came

out of Chinese painting. Looking at technique, Feng Zikai analyzed the similarities between impressionistic—and post-impressionistic—painting and Chinese painting. In the composition of pictorial surface, the use of colour, and the application of line, he discovered "simplification (*dancun hua*)" and "grotesque (*jixing hua*)" exemplified respectively in Henri Matisse (1869-1954) and Vincent van Gogh's (1853-1890) artworks. He thought that these new developments in Europe were the exact characteristics of Chinese traditional painting. In genre, Feng suggested that landscape painting with a fifty-year history in the West became an independent category of painting in China one thousand and three hundred years ago. In the field of theory, he demonstrated the linkage between the German philosopher Theodor Lipps' (1851-1914) empathy theory, the Russian artist and art theorist Wassily Kandinsky's (1866-1944) painting theory, and the Chinese ancient idea of spirit resonance. Feng Zikai used the Japanese interpretation of this connection by Kinbara Seigo, Ise Senichirō, and the professor of Doshisha University and aesthetician Raizō Sono (b. 1891). He stated that spirit resonance and empathy theory shared the idea that the beauty of a painting relied on the spirit which the creator of the painting projected in it. In the process of creation, Feng described, the spirit would stem from the inner emotions of the creator and flow out naturally and freely. This could not be limited by verisimilitude. In his view, Kandinsky also emphasized the absolute pure spirit, a rejection of the realistic style which would obstruct the outpouring of emotion. Feng Zikai believed that spirit resonance was the universal criterion for art everywhere in all ages (Feng 1934).

In another essay "The Songs of Labourers IV" (Laozhe zige si, 1934), Feng Zikai reiterated: "It can be said that the transition of Western painting from the Renaissance to the present day has been moving step by step closer to Chinese painting." (Feng 1992**:** 219)

Through their albeit crude comparison between Chinese and Western art, Chinese scholars in the early twentieth century reduced genres, styles, and characteristics of Chinese art to the single feature of free spirit which they defined as a "Chinese essence". They located this feature within a history of art in both China and the West in order to declare China's parity with the West, or even its superiority.

Writing Chinese art history: a competition

Between 1910 and 1930, Chinese scholars felt that they had a responsibility to conduct equivalent or even better research to compete with foreign scholars in the control of knowledge concerning Chinese art.

Pan Tianshou attempted to push his fellow scholars towards research in Chinese art. He wrote:

> "While it is important to study art outside China, it is urgent to discover the origin and development of the art of our own nation. ... Chinese people have forgotten what they own until other countries flash their [other countries'] treasures in front of our eyes [Chinese people's eyes], and only then do they [Chinese people] think of their own share, but then it's too late! Is that not so?" (Pan 1926b: 1-2)[8]

The impetus to Liang Sicheng's investigation of Chinese ancient architecture was a research competition with Japan. While studying in America during the early 1920s, he noticed that Japanese scholarship on architecture had started to pay attention to China. He thought that if he and his colleagues did not study the history of Chinese architecture, Japan would sooner or later occupy the entire field (Lin 1991**:** 29). Liang believed that a modern Chinese nation needed a history of China's architectural past written by indigenous observers and critics.

In the preface to his book *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* (1929), Zheng Wuchang stated his motive:

> "When [Bertrand] Russell [1872-1970] and [Rabindranath] Tagore [1861-1941] visited China, they asked about Chinese art history and no one could answer. Recently Japanese and foreign scholars have enthusiastically studied Chinese painting, and published their scholarship in books and periodicals, which is more than Chinese scholars have done. Fujioka Sakutaro's [(1870-1910)] *History of Early Modern Painting* [*Kinsei kaiga shi*] and Ōmura Seigai's *Resea*rch on Literati Painting are both well-organized and documented. Nakamura Fusetsu and Kojika Seiun's A History of Chinese Painting was published in 1913. Even if we don't discuss the contents, it is enough to see the Japanese lead [on us], so shame on us!" (Zheng 1929: 2)

Zheng accepted the achievements of Japanese scholarship on Chinese art. He respected its value as models of modern historiography for Chinese art. Unavoidably, he suffered embarrassment at the fact that Chinese scholarship on its own art fell behind Japan. Thus, he urged his Chinese companions to produce decent historical writings for Chinese art.

Fu Baoshi also sensed a threat from Japan, since Japanese research on art history exposed the lack of art historical knowledge in China. In *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang*, 1931), Fu illustrated the whole situation with the metaphor of a neighbour who knew exactly the amount of money the householder hid under his pillow. He wrote emotionally that it was a suicidal shame that Chinese scholars had to ask their neighbour— Japan—about their own art history. In Fu's view, the fact that Japanese scholars during the 1910s knew art history

[8] Cited from Aida Wong (Wong 2006: 42) with minor alternations.

in China better than Chinese researchers should stimulate Chinese scholars to make greater efforts in art historical studies in order to exceed Japanese achievements (Fu 1931b: 2-3). He voiced what had become a psychological urgency to know and to study the history of Chinese art.

Fu Baoshi's practice in Chinese art history indicated his assertion of Chinese authority against Japanese scholarship on Chinese art. As Aida Wong has stated, Fu first challenged his teacher Kinbara Seigo, and then he criticised Ise Senichirō's work (Wong 2006**:** 51-52). Focusing on the interpretation of Gu Kaizhi's (ca. 345- ca. 406) artistic ideas, Fu Baoshi aimed to reassert Chinese authority. He turned to Gu Kaizhi, a painter of the Six Dynasties period, whose reputation soared in Tang times. One of the earliest Chinese texts on art available today "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain (Hua Yuntaishan ji)" has been attributed to Gu from the same period. In 1933, Fu carefully studied this treatise along with existing Japanese research on Gu Kaizhi. He was deferential enough to negotiate his new reading of Gu with his teacher Kinbara, since some of his points were against Kinbara's position stated in *Research on Chinese Ancient Painting Theories* (*Shina jōdai garon kenkyū*, 1924). Taking on Ise Senichirō's writing, Fu became more aggressive. He accused Ise of seriously misreading Gu's text and of a careless use of evidence. Fu tried to publish his critique in a Japanese art journal entitled *The Country of Beauty* (*Bi no kuni*), but the journal rejected it. However, he published a Chinese version in an issue of the *Eastern Miscellany* on 10th October, 1935 (Fu 1935b). There will be more discussion of Fu Baoshi's work on Gu Kaizhi in Chapter Three.

During the 1930s, as China was threatened by Japan militarily, Chinese scholars felt embattled with Japanese researchers in academic areas which they considered to be China's own cultural territory. Chinese writers of art historical texts turned their extensive borrowing of Japanese sources into serious challenges against these sources. For their Chinese readers and themselves, their works were a tool of resistance against Japanese invasion.

1.3 Shi Yan and *Eastern Art History*

Shi Yan was born in 1904 in Yixing, Jiangsu. In 1924, he graduated from the art department of the Northeast Normal College in Shanghai (later Shanghai University). His interests in art techniques and theories led him to publish *Chromatology* (*Secai xue*) in 1932 with Zhonghua Books, *Modern Household Ornament* (*Xiandai jiating zhuangshi*) in 1933 with Dadong shuju[9], and *The Theory and Practice of Painting* (*Huihua de lilun yu shiji*) in 1935

[9] Dadong shuju was a Shanghai publishing house established in 1916. It ranked No. 4 after the Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books, and World Books in the publication of textbooks in Republican China.

with the Commercial Press. He also collected some illustrations to publish a book entitled *The Practice of Artistic Woodblock* (*Yishu banhua zuofa*) with Zhonghua Books in 1936. Then Shi Yan focused on the study of Chinese art history. The 1936 book *Eastern Art History* published by the Commercial Press was his first treatise on art history.

In 1940, he worked at the Institute of Chinese Culture (Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo) in the Private University of Nanking[10]. The Institute of Chinese Culture was established in 1930 by the first Chinese principal of the university Chen Yuguang (1893-1989), a chemist and educator, who used a donation from the American industrialist Charles Hall (1863-1914) secured through the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Shi Yan devoted his energy to research on Chinese sculpture, specifically ancient grottoes. Reflecting other interests, however, he wrote *A History of Woodblock* (*Muke shi*) in 1943. Shi became a researcher at the National Research School of Dunhuang Art (Guoli Dunhuang yishu yanjiusuo) after its foundation in February 1944. He stayed at Dunhuang for one year. His main task was to number the grottoes of Dunhuang and to record all the Chinese inscriptions in the mural paintings inside the caves (Chang 1947). Later he published an essay entitled "Chinese inscriptions in the Caves of Dunhuang (Dunhuang shishi huaxiang tishi)" (1947). From 1945 he taught at the National Art Academy. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Shi Yan worked at the Zhengjiang Art Academy (now the China Art Academy) as a professor of the history of Chinese sculpture. He investigated several grottoes and relics in China and wrote articles about them. His works after 1949 were devoted primarily to sculpture.

Eastern Art History

Shi Yan planned to write two volumes under the title *Eastern Art History*. However, he only finished the first volume which dealt with the art of China, India, and Japan from about 2700 BCE to the tenth century. Shi mentioned that he would add a bibliography and index to the second volume (Shi 1936b: 2). Since the second volume never appeared, the exact information that he meant to provide for his readers remains unknown.

Shi Yan organized his first volume into two sections, which he termed "Remote Antiquity (*taigu*)" and "Middle Antiquity (*zhonggu*)". Considering the popular triadic structure of historical writing in Japan and China during the early twentieth century, Shi might have selected "Recent Antiquity (*jingu*)" as his third section. If so, his second volume would likely have continued from the Song dynasty, however, it is still unknown when his third period would have started. This division was wholly grounded on the development of

[10] The predecessor of the Private University of Nanking was the Nanking University established by the American Methodist Church in 1888. From 1928, it registered with the Republican government and the Chinese side took the control of the university.

art in China regardless of the history of Indian and Japanese art. Shi's division differs from the usual way of dividing the history of Indian art. The Gupta period (320-600 CE) and before is generally recognised as the ancient period in the history of Indian art, according to Ananda Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Coomaraswamy 1965). However, Shi Yan separated "Remote Antiquity" from "Middle Antiquity" at the end of the Maurya kingdom (320-185 BCE). In the case of Japanese art, he considered that it only emerged during his "Middle Antiquity" period with its absorption of Chinese culture. Thus, he provided no accounts of Japanese art in "Remote Antiquity". Also, in his "Middle Antiquity" era, Shi Yan admitted that the periodical divisions for the histories of various forms of Japanese art should be different. Nonetheless, he argued that his book was a history of Asian art rather than a history of Japanese painting or sculpture. Thus, he assigned periods to Asian art according to a Chinese chronology which he believed to be the primary axis of Asian art (Shi 1936d: 385).

Shi Yan divided his two large temporal sections firstly into short periods and then again into chapters on separated regions. In the discussion of "Remote Antiquity", he started from a notional origin of Chinese art and continued up to the period of the legendary "Three Dynasties (*sandai*)". Within the history of China he addressed this early period as the glorious era (*canlan qi*) of Chinese ancient art. He moved on to describe the beginning and florescence of Buddhist art in Central India in two chapters. Then he returned to the geographical area of China with a chapter on art in the Qin dynasty. He regarded the Qin period as the transition from the old culture to a phase of new art creation. In his "Middle Antiquity" epoch, Shi Yan showed the connection between regions. He proposed influences on Chinese art emanating from the Western Regions (*xiyu*, now Central Asia) and the impact on Japanese art from China.

Within each chapter, Shi Yan first wrote the general historical information of a region, which he called the "main disposition (*dashi*)", before moving on to describe various forms of art in that region. He followed a fixed order for different media of art: painting, calligraphy, sculpture, architecture, and applied arts. He made minor changes to this sequence in some chapters. For example, due to his belief that the Great Wall was the greatest achievement of Chinese architecture, Shi positioned architecture at the start of his narrative for what he considered Qin art.

Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* covered a large geographical area in Asia. The triadic concept which he utilized was a geo-cultural division of China, India, and Japan. In choosing to organize his book around these three areas, Shi treated the art of other Asian countries, such as Korea, Java, and Sri Lanka, as sub-components within the main scheme (Shi 1936b: 1). For instance, he mentioned the input of Chinese Buddhist art—Buddhist

sculpture in particular—into the territory now called Korea[11] in the late fourth century, during a discussion of Chinese Buddhist sculpture of that period (Shi 1936d: 204). He considered only the Korean role in the Chinese influence on Japanese art, and dispensed with the need for an individual chapter devoted to Korean art. When he did examine a few ancient art items in Korea, he did so in such a way that they served only as the intermediate between China and Japan. Such discussions were included in his chapters on Japanese art. Moreover, he considered Chinese art to be the core of Asian art history. In Shi's opinion, Japanese art developed only under the influence of China. Although "India was once the centre of Asian thought" around the sixth century BCE, Shi claimed that the prosperity of India art lasted for such a short period of time that it could not compare with what he considered the uninterrupted vibrancy and success of Chinese art (Shi 1936d: 3-4).

In order to connect art in different Asian countries, Shi Yan emphasized the spread of Buddhist art to different locations. He claimed that Chinese art had occupied the key position enabling it to absorb Buddhist art from India, and to diffuse the Chinese version of Buddhist art to other parts of Asia (Shi 1936c: 3). In particular, he stressed a route of Buddhist expansion in art from China indirectly to Japan via Korea or from China simultaneously to Japan and Korea. Shi positioned Chinese art as the most important controller of any dynamics in Asian art.

Following the conventions of most art historical texts that he knew, Shi Yan limited the range of artistic forms discussed in *Eastern Art History* to spatial forms of art, namely painting, architecture, sculpture, applied arts, and calligraphy. Calligraphy was included in Shi's narrative because he realized its essential position in China and its influence on Japan (Shi 1936d: 4). Despite calligraphy not being an artistic form in India, he nevertheless claimed the importance of calligraphy in all Asian art.

Shi Yan's book was amply illustrated, with the number of images exceeding that of most other histories of art. This was quite unusual among Chinese art historical publications in the 1920s and '30s. It featured two coloured pictures and six black-and-white pictures before the main texts. It also contained 180 small illustrations within the text. Shi Yan emphasized the crucial role of these images, and insisted on including a large number of pictures in the publication in spite of the extra costs and technical difficulties this entailed. At the end of his preface to the book, he thanked Cai Yuanpei and the translator and manager of the Commercial Press Wang Yunwu (1888-1979) for their support in printing these illustrations. He also expressed gratitude to Zong Lianghuan, an editor at the Commercial Press, for his help in making plates for the illustrations. Shi Yan tried to

[11] Hereafter I apply the term "Korea" to the geographical area of the Korean Peninsula and part of Manchuria bordering Korea, instead of different kingdoms in the history of Korea.

provide as many images as possible, and in particular photographs of both Chinese and non-Chinese artworks from abroad, which ordinarily could not be easily accessed by Chinese readers. The book contained many illustrations of art pieces in Japanese collections, such as Hōryūji and Shōsōin in Nara and the Imperial Collection in Tokyo, from which Aida Wong has concluded that the majority of Shi Yan's sources were from Japan (Wong 1999**:** 43). Shi Yan believed strongly in the importance of giving visual impressions of artworks to his readers.

In 1937, two years after the first publication of Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History*, an active critic of Chinese traditional art, Yao Yuxiang published a review. Yao admitted that a book on a history of Asian art was urgently needed in China. However, Yao was not satisfied with Shi's use of materials, sourced mainly from a Japanese text *Knowledge of Oriental Art* (*Tōyō bijutsu no chishiki*, 1930) by Nakamura Ryōhei (1887-1947), an art educator who had published texts on Japanese art and world art. Yao pointed out three major problems in Shi's book: the lack of pre-historical knowledge, the crudity of historical materials, and the unclear statement of sources. He urged the author to consult more Japanese and English references on art in Japan and India (Yao 1937). Yao's comments were based upon conventions of textual research especially favoured by Chinese scholars in the Qing dynasty. He made no mention of the philosophical ideas employed in Shi Yan's text.

The position of Chinese art in Asia and in the world

Shi Yan's usage of *dongyang* is a typical example of the imitation of *tōyō*. His notion of *dongyang* even shared the same strong nationalistic connotations as *tōyō*. While *tōyō* in the Meiji period evoked a pride in Japanese national heritage (Wong 1999**:** 1), *dongyang*, in the context of Shi Yan's usage, highlighted cultural and moral values of China as the centre of Asian thought.

Shi Yan claimed powerfully in his preface to *Eastern Art History*:

> "With the influx of Western culture into our country in modern times, people's lives have gone through an unprecedented and huge revolution. As a result, Western art has become very popular. This opened a new situation that has led to a unbalanced imitation of Western styles and a tendency to abandon or even forget our own roots in Eastern culture itself…for those of us who live in the East, it is necessary from now on to understand first the trends of art in the East. It is also necessary to ascertain the path for the advancement of Eastern art from the standpoint of our Eastern nations." (Shi 1936c: 2)[12]

Shi had an ideal plan for Chinese art in his dual world of the East versus the West. He was

[12] Cite from (Wong 1999: 42) with minor alternations.

dissatisfied with the overwhelming Western influence on China and attempted to avoid the direct contrast between China and the West. Instead, he placed China back into the cultural territory of the East. He believed that a full understanding of the Eastern roots of Chinese art would confirm its future development.

Shi Yan continued at the beginning of his first chapter: "Generally speaking, it is China that constitutes the basic tone of Eastern art history. From the fifth century, Chinese people have controlled the dynamics of Asian art" (Shi 1936d: 3)[13]. In his view, the geographical and cultural scope of Asia was a perfect background to demonstrate the vigour of art in China. Shi admitted that Western art was dominant and influential to date. However, he hoisted in the great influence of Chinese art on other Asian countries. According to him, this unique cultural attribute of art in China solidified the viability of China's traditional art in confrontation with Western art. Through his discussion of Asian art, Shi Yan established a Sino-centric network in Asia for his support of Chinese art and its cultural values.

In his narrative, Shi Yan devoted the first chapter of "Middle Antiquity" to the influence of Buddhist art from India and Central Asia on Chinese art during the Han dynasty. He continued to do so for the period from the Jin to Sui dynasties which he called "the florescence of Chinese Buddhist art (*Zhongguo fojiao meishu quansheng qi*)". He noticed the effectiveness of Buddhist art in eliciting new inspirations. He cited a number of artworks from the Yungang Grottoes as examples. He suggested that the style and pattern of the wall reliefs in the Yungang caves were most likely imitations from the Ajanta Caves in India (Shi 1936d: 215). Still, he emphasized that Chinese art had established a native tradition from the Han dynasty onwards. For example, Shi talked of a type of Han stele named "Gaoyi Stele (*gaoyi bei*)" in Sichuan, which he regarded to be a pattern initiated in the Han period and prevailing from the Tang dynasty onwards (Shi 1936d: 99).

Shi Yan maintained that this Han tradition in different artistic genres remained unshakably the core of art in China. In his mind, foreign elements were sinicized and became coherent with the tradition. They helped its development rather than overthrew its central position (Shi 1936d: 69-70). Shi Yan underlined the indigenous features by entitling his chapters on Tang art and Five Dynasties art respectively "The Golden Age of Chinese National Art (*Zhongguo minzu yishu zhi huangjin shidai*)" and "The Silver Age of Chinese National Art (*Zhongguo minzu yishu zhi baiyin shidai*)". He employed a number of examples from new archaeological findings in the Dunhuang caves. He located the originality of pieces of Buddhist art in China, claiming that they were the creation of Chinese artists rather than copies of Indian art. For instance, Shi Yan described the painting decorated on the skylight of No. 120 grotto of Dunhuang. He asserted that the central

[13] Cite from (Wong 1999: 42) with minor alternations.

drawing on the skylight was in the pure Chinese style of the Six Dynasties (Shi 1936d: 209). In his discussion on Chinese Buddhist sculpture during the fourth century, besides pieces from South and Central Asia and their Chinese copies, Shi pointed out unique methods to produce Buddhist statues in China, which had not appeared in India or elsewhere before. He described two special processes to create what he labelled as "movable statues (*xing xiang*)". One was to mould copper by hammering it against clay models for certain shapes and patterns (*chuidie xiang*). The other process was quite complicated: artisans would firstly create an earth mould with wooden frames; secondly they would apply a cover of natural lacquer to the mould's surface; then they would adhere two or three layers of flax fabric to the surface; after removing the mud inside, they would finally produce a light and hollow statue with inner frames to stabilize the whole structure (*jianingqi xiang*). According to Shi Yan, the artworks of the scholar and artist famous for Buddhist sculpture, Dai Kui (ca. 326-ca. 396), exemplified the second method. Shi believed that these two methods were invented in China, rather than learned from India (Shi 1936d: 205).

Shi Yan's other argument for placing Chinese art above Indian art was purely qualitative: the huge presence of surviving materials from ancient China. According to him, India lacked antiques from ancient times, especially from the period before the Common Era. Wooden architecture in Ancient India had perished. He observed no similar phenomenon in China. Moreover, without a custom of burying the dead with grave goods, he expected that precious art objects were seldom found in Indian tombs. By contrast, a great amount of artistic production recovered in China provided sufficient research data to tell a detailed Chinese art history (Shi 1936d: 42-43).

The artistic exchanges between China and Japan had operated for a long time. Until the nineteenth century, these exchanges had been more or less in one direction from China to Japan. One branch of Japanese art in late Tokugawa and Meiji era in particular—Southern painting (*nanga*), also interchangeable with literati painting (*bunjinga*)—accepted some Chinese artistic prototypes and developed with reference to Chinese art.

Shi Yan pushed this idea of pre-nineteenth-century one-way exchange to the highest degree. His story of Japanese art history was a story of Chinese influence on Japanese art. He went to extremes in reiterating from the beginning to the end of his treatise that Japanese painting, sculpture, architecture, and actually the whole culture of Japan were direct or indirect imports from China (Shi 1936d: 3, 171, 204, 13, 38, 330, 53, 84)[14]. He named respectively the earliest two periods of Japanese art—the only two periods he discussed in the text—"the beginning of Japanese art during the infiltration period of Chinese culture

[14] The pages listed in my citation here are just some examples. More places resonant with Shi Yan's main claim are easily found in the text.

(*Zhongguo wenhua guanshu qi zhong Riben meishu zhi shuguang*)" and "the prosperity of Japanese art during the infiltration period of Chinese culture (*Zhongguo wenhua guanshu qi zhong Riben meishu zhi boxing*)". In these two chapters, Shi constantly paralleled Japanese art objects with Chinese ones.

When he wrote about Chinese art production and artists, Shi Yan reminded his readers of their influence on Japanese art. In discussing the Dunhuang caves, he illustrated a painting *Beauties under the Tree* (*Shuxia meiren tu*, Figure 1.1). He suggested an apparent connection between this painting and Japanese painting in style (Shi 1936d: 330). Meanwhile, Shi Yan provided accounts of Chinese-born artists and artisans who travelled to Japan and stayed there for the rest of their life. Sima Da (or Sima Dazhi, Sima Dadeng; active the sixth century) is one example that Shi stressed. Sima Da had appeared in Chinese literature on Buddhism rather than any previous account of Chinese calligraphy and painting. Shi declared that Sima had played an essential role in transplanting Chinese Buddhist sculpture to Japan. He believed that Sima was the first Chinese expert to do so. In Shi's view, Sima Da became the originator of Japanese sculpture in Japan after his arrival in 522 CE (Shi 1936d: 213).

Shi compared important Japanese artworks to contemporary Chinese art pieces or to those produced earlier. He usually concluded that these Japanese products imitated Chinese style. For example, he analyzed one piece from *Screen Panels with Ladies under Trees* (*Niaomao linü pingfeng*, Figure 1.2) in the Shōsōin collection. The face and hands of each woman featured in the screen panels were painted with colours. Their hair and dresses were glued with feathers, most of which had been lost. Shi claimed that this category of dress, contrived by a princess in the Tang dynasty, was very popular in the Tang period. He also suggested that the brushes used for the trees and rocks in this painting were similar to those used in works of Tang origin. He recognized too the facial ornaments and the hairstyles as Tang fashion. Shi Yan's conclusion was that the subject, structure, stroke, and decoration of this painting all followed Tang style. He proposed that it clearly indicated a deep Chinese influence in Japanese art (Shi 1936d: 395-97).

Sometimes Shi Yan repudiated Japanese claims for certain inventions in art. While Japanese scholars assumed Japanese origins for inventing artistic techniques, Shi Yan asserted that these skills were actually used first by Chinese artists and artisans. One argument centred on a printing and dyeing method for cloth and silk textiles called *jiaxie*. Shi announced that it was nonsensical for Japanese researchers to state that the Japanese emergence of a polychromatic form of *jiaxie* predated its occurrence in China. Instead, not only was the monochromatic *jiaxie* method a purely Chinese creation, but so too was the polychromatic one. Shi's proof comprised some textiles found in Dunhuang (Shi 1936d:

384). Interestingly, most debates between Shi Yan and Japanese experts concerned applied arts rather than painting and calligraphy. Despite unknown creators of these ancient pieces of applied arts, each side invested its conclusions with an edifice of national pride.

Similar to other contemporary Chinese authors of art history, Shi Yan highlighted the remaining Chinese artworks as key moments in the development of art. They were tangible objects, such as the items in the caves of Dunhuang. Art served as concrete evidence, from which Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century planned to construct a sense of Chinese cultural belonging.

In *Eastern Art History*, Shi Yan criticized Japanese scholars for their subjectivity in championing only Japanese art. However, Shi also turned Chinese art into a supreme paradigm, and treated art in other Asian countries as less developed. India and Japan could not compare with China's unique contributions to Eastern art. Needless to say, in Shi's conception, arts in Korea, Vietnam, and Java were nourished by either Chinese art or Buddhist art. Shi argued that art in other Asian countries possessed nothing outstanding in comparison to art in China. Shi envisaged art in China as the centre of Asian art. In his opinion, although it differed significantly from Western art, traditional art in China had its own influential territory in Asia. He expected that this proposition would reinforce China's identity as the mightiest cultural tradition in the world. Given the nationalist context of the 1920s and '30s, it is not surprising that he did so. This was the period when Chinese scholars attempted to arouse the awareness of China as a nation with its own self-sufficient culture.

Shi Yan had intended to deal with an ambitious scope of art in Asia. It was impossible for him to handle the topic completely, but it marked a good beginning for a survey of Asian art written in Chinese. However, because of the acceleration of the conflict between China and Japan, culminating in the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the concept of *dongyang*, now tainted by Japanese imperialist aims, became unfavourable in China. Given the word *dongyang* in its title, Shi Yan's book failed to draw readers' attention. The infelicitous title could even be the reason why the second volume of this book did not appear. As Aida Wong has noted, nothing comparable to Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* was published in China until the 1970s when China and Japan regained a less hostile relationship (Wong 1999**:** 45).

Stimulated by artistic exchanges not only between Western countries and China, but also within Asia, Chinese scholars during the early decades of the twentieth century realized the importance of promoting Chinese art in the East and in the world. China's position in Asia was crucial for them to buttress Chinese culture in a new and urgent competition with the West. Shi Yan's attitude was representative of this form of nationalist approach. Shi Yan,

through the scope of Asia, found another way in visual art to rescue China from Western influence (and dependence) and to establish a stable nationality by assigning China an essential and unique role in the East.

Following Japanese examples, Chinese researchers at that time presented art in China as a historical narrative of the development of a nation-state. Their art historical writings defined the nature of a Chinese nation via Chinese art. In their discourse, they advanced their agenda of China's nation building by equating the new nation with its ancient artistic traditions. Their strong nationalistic emotions created an oversimplified ideology of art history in China, which largely repressed and obscured alternative historical narratives of art in China.

Chapter 2 From Japan to Europe: Teng Gu's Internalization of Western Art Historical Ideas

The early decades of the twentieth century in China witnessed a period of intense artistic communication between China, Japan and Western countries. Chinese scholars started to internalize foreign theories of art history in order to (re)construct a history of art for China during the late Qing and Republican period. In this chapter, I analyze Teng Gu's practice in the field of art history as a case study of Chinese responses to external stimuli to draft a new art history for China.

The discussion will focus on the impact of Western art historical practices on Chinese intellectual life during the 1920s and '30s. Japanese influence remained an important factor in art historical scholarship at that time, but the Western impact became dominant. I argue that a transition from an indirect connection with the West via Japan to a direct contact with Western thought brought about crucial changes. Most importantly, it encouraged a transformation in Chinese art historical writing from a more superficial adoption of Western patterns for ancient Chinese art to a more concrete and profound appropriation of Western theories. Teng Gu is an interesting case in point. He first studied in Japan in the 1920s and subsequently received professional training in art history in Germany at the beginning of the 1930s. Throughout his academic career, Teng introduced foreign art historical ideas to Chinese scholarly circles; he responded to Japanese and Western writings on Chinese art; he adapted foreign frameworks of art history to the Chinese context; and, he aimed to create a new Chinese art historical discourse for Chinese readers. The most important ideas that Teng Gu developed were style analysis of Chinese art, a Chinese history of artworks rather than artists, and a rejection of the traditional division of Chinese painting.

2.1 Contact with the West

Art historians have long acknowledged the influential role of Western art in Chinese art circles of the early twentieth century. The earliest scholarship on modern Chinese art explained the changes in the Chinese art world from the late nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century as responses to Western art and civilization.

Identifying Japan, Europe, and Russia as three major sources of renewal for art in China, Kao Maycheng has analyzed the reforms, which found their most creative expression in both Chinese artists' studying experiences abroad and the appearance of new art agencies (including recently-established art schools, art associations, art movements, and art exhibitions) in China (Kao 1972). She has also explored the unprecedented activities to

spread Western-style art in China between 1919 to 1929, which she considers as a response to the challenge of the West (Kao 1981). Moreover, Kao has focused on art education as the most important foundation "that prepared a favourable reception for Western art" (Kao 1998: 146).

For years, Michael Sullivan's books comprised the standard survey of twentieth-century Chinese art (Croizier 1998: 787). The central theme in his scholarship is "the rebirth of Chinese art in the twentieth century under the influence of Western art and culture" (Sullivan 1996: xxvii). Based upon his personal connections with twentieth-century Chinese art scenes, Sullivan has provided a wealth of material highlighting the tension and interaction between Chinese and Western art (Sullivan 1959, 1996, 1997). Labelling the period from 1900 to 1937 as "the impact of the West", Sullivan has emphasized how much Western-style painting in early twentieth-century China challenged Chinese traditional painting (Sullivan 1996).

Both Kao and Sullivan's research has contextualized modern Chinese art in a general history of culture, society, and politics in late Qing and Republican China. Their approaches resemble the historiography of modern China in America and Europe between the 1940s and '60s led by the late John Fairbank. The formula of Western influence and Chinese response created by Fairbank dominated the discourses of both history and art history at that time. In this framework, the West was the modernizing force for China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since Fairbank's day, however, Western scholarship has moved away from this preoccupation with the overwhelming Western impact on China. Since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978—which says nothing about East Asia—Western scholars have reconsidered the role of Western modernity in Chinese history (Crossley 1997: 641-42). Similarly, art historians have attempted to establish a unique modernity in Chinese art different from what many assume is the dominant model of Western modernity. They stress the artistic exchanges among Asian countries rather than the Western influence on Asia in one direction (Clark 1993).

Even so, Western impact will still be an important part of my discussion. The Chinese historiography on art from the turn of the twentieth century has responded to and negotiated its relationship with Western scholarship on art. However, my focus is on how Chinese scholars during the early decades of the twentieth century actively internalized foreign approaches into their analysis of Chinese art and therefore engaged in writing a new indigenous history of art.

Of major interest is the fact that practices in the historiography of Chinese art have been absent in any discussion of Western influence. This absence is remarkable, considering that Western impact played an important role in the establishment of a Chinese art historical

discipline, particularly after the increase of direct contact between the art worlds of China and the West during the 1920s and ’30s.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, many Chinese students went to Japan and Western countries to study art. While most of them concentrated on art practice, a few students took art historical courses and majored in art history. Probably the most famous is Cai Yuanpei, who studied philosophy in Berlin and Leipzig between 1907 and 1912. Cai attended some art historical courses, including lectures on Ancient Greek sculpture, Roman architecture and sculpture, and Dutch painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another example is Teng Gu, the focus of this chapter, who received his PhD degree in art history from Berlin University in 1935.

In early twentieth-century China, institutional borrowings from Western art educational systems were noticeable. Courses of art history appeared in the newly-established school system. In 1912, Cai Yuanpei, then Minister of Education, began to promote aesthetic education. In the opinion of Cai and his followers, art in the Western sense could be helpful in strengthening social morality. Their proposition stabilized the position of art, including art history, in government education programmes. The philosophical ideas of art promoted by Cai Yuanpei actually “necessitated the teaching of art history” (Andrews and Shen 2006: 31). From then on, art schools modelled on Japanese or European art academies hired scholars and artists to teach art history courses in China. For example, Li Shutong (1880-1942), one of the earliest Japan-trained artists and art educators, took teaching positions in art and music at different schools after his return from Japan in 1912. He opened a course on Western art including lectures on the history of Western art at Zhejiang First Normal School in Hangzhou. His lecture notes eventually became the first history of Western art in China, but Li refused to publish his notes and the manuscript has been lost (Sullivan 1996: 29).

Furthermore, Chinese scholars became acquainted with the development of art in the West from the many books published by leading publishing houses, as well as from articles in art periodicals issued usually by art schools and art societies. Either in translation or by adaptation, the introduction of Western ideas concerning art gathered pace in the 1920s and ’30s (Kao 1981: 96-100; Sullivan 1996: 64-66).

Western works on Chinese art also caught Chinese scholars’ attention. *Chinese Art* (1904) by Stephen Bushell (1844-1908) was popular in China after a complete translation was published in 1928. Bushell was an English physician who became a collector of Chinese art during his appointment as medical officer to the British legation in China between 1868 and 1900. Afterwards he returned to England and devoted himself to writing on Chinese art. Li Puyuan mentioned Bushell’s work in his *Outline of Chinese Art History*

(*Zhongguo yishushi gailun*, 1931) when he discussed Han sculpture (Li 1931: 104). Bushell also appears in the bibliography of Zheng Wuchang's *A History of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishushi*, 1935). Zheng used Bushell's data for his account of Ming porcelain (Zheng 1935: 153). In 1937, when Fu Baoshi compiled *Chronological Table of Chinese Art*, he cited seventy-one publications, which he divided into Chinese and Japanese sections. The Chinese section contained seventeen titles[15]; the Japanese section included fifty-four titles. Two of these sources were translations of Western texts. One was the Japanese translation of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (1912) by Ernest Fenollosa, the American pioneer in the study of Asian art who lived much of his life in Japan. The other was the Chinese translation of Bushell's *Chinese Art*.

Unlike Bushell's book, other Western works on Chinese art were not fully translated into Chinese in the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, their impact on Chinese art historical treatises is undeniable. Li Puyuan introduced the Swedish art historian and sinologist Osvald Siren's (1879-1966) book *Histoire des Arts anciens de La Chine* (History of Ancient Art in China, 1929-30), citing in particular Siren's information on bronze, jade, pottery, and sculpture (Li 1931: 45-68, 104-05, 10-19). *Outlines of Chinese Art* (1918) written by John Ferguson (1865-1945), the American missionary and art collector in China, appeared in the endnotes of *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936) by Zhu Jieqin. Zhu was interested in Ferguson's comments on the position of painting in Chinese art which he read in *Outlines of Chinese Art*. He agreed with Ferguson on distinguishing the visual inspiration of painting from calligraphy (Zhu 1936: 31). Zhu also referred to Ferguson's book when he discussed the bronze drums of the Han dynasty (Zhu 1936: 60).

Among Chinese intellectuals, Western texts on Chinese art were valued for their accounts of bronze, sculpture, and porcelain. These art forms had long been neglected in the discussion of art in pre-modern China. Western scholarship, on the other hand, had been interested in them from the beginning of Western contact with Chinese art. Dealing with the recently-adopted modern Western notion of art in China (see Chapter Four), Chinese scholars had to rely on a number of Western sources for narrative accounts of those genres still relatively unfamiliar to them. In the case of calligraphy and painting, the two most prestigious categories of Chinese art for Chinese traditional scholarship, Chinese researchers seldom referred to Western works. They were more confidently reliant on the extensive Chinese traditional writing on calligraphy and painting.

More difficult to trace is the actual assimilation of Western art historical theories into Chinese writings. Some Chinese scholars intended to apply Western methods in their

[15] Several titles in the Chinese section were collections of Chinese works on art, such as *Encyclopaedia on Calligraphy and Painting of Peiwenzhai* (*Peiwenzhai shuhua pu*).

analysis of Chinese art during the 1920s and ’30s. Direct evidence of this is their citations of Western ideas about non-Chinese art. Zhu Jieqin’s *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936) is an example. Zhu translated one sentence from a J.A. Symonds: “The effort of art is to interpret the workings of the human spirit.” Symonds was probably John Symonds (1840-1893), the English poet and art critic. Zhu Jieqin found this citation in *The Conception of Art* (1913) by the American scholar Henry Rankin Poore (1859-1940). Poore used Symonds’ words at the beginning of Chapter Five concerning Chinese and Japanese art. In his own discussion, Zhu complemented this citation of Symonds with a sentence by Yang Xiong (58 BCE-18 CE), the philosopher, poet, and philologist. From Yang’s *Words to Live By* (*Fa yan*, ca. 2 BCE), Zhu cited:

> “Speaking is the sound of the heart; writing is the picture of the heart. Through the sound and picture of a person, it becomes visible whether this person is gentle or mean.” (Zhu 1936: 2)

He believed that these two aphorisms respectively from a Westerner and an ancient Chinese philosopher shared a similar idea about the human spirit behind artworks.

Further on, Zhu quoted one paragraph in Chinese from a book he called *Social Significance of Ancient Art* (*Gudai yishu shehui de yiyi*). According to Zhu, this text was written by a Mr. Calverton. Zhu applied Calverton’s description of the Egyptian Pyramids to comment on the construction of the Great Wall in China:

> “The style [of the Great Wall] can be seen in the construction of the Egyptian Pyramids. ‘Although the Pyramids possess an awe-inspiring appearance and unlimited immensity, they are monotonous without any delicacy and ingenuity. We can see nothing of brave experimental spirit or exquisite imaginative talent in them. What they awe and amaze us with is their gigantic size. They are a miracle of human force and fully prove the power of autocracy. They reach the limit of grandeur that manual labour produces in solemn architecture’. ” (Zhu 1936: 11)

Zhu Jieqin thought that just like the Egyptian Pyramids, the Great Wall, which was built with the wealth and manpower of the entire country, was an expression of the emperor’s authority and a guarantee to protect his territory. He regarded the Great Wall as the representative achievement in architecture during the Qin period.

As Kao Mayching and Michael Sullivan have suggested, Chinese approaches to Western art theories were rather superficial in the 1920s and ’30s. Both of them cite Lu Xun and agree with him on the confusion of “isms” in the Republican period (Kao 1981: 98-99; Sullivan 1996: 65). It is true that Chinese scholars were eager to publish anything about Western aesthetics and art from ancient Greece to modern Europe without making systematic choices. However, Teng Gu was probably an exception. Here was a scholar who

understood profoundly the contemporary field of art history in the West, and especially, the leading claims of German scholarship.

2.2 Art Historical Research

Teng Gu was born in 1901 at Baoshan county near Shanghai. He spent his childhood pursuing a traditional education in the Chinese classics. In 1918, he graduated from the Shanghai Art Academy (then the Shanghai Drawing and Painting School), at the same time that he started to develop an interest in literature. At the age of 18, he co-authored, with a now unidentifiable collaborator, a collection of novels entitled *Anecdotes of Ninety-Six Female Knights* (*Jiushiliu nüxia yiwen*) (Yang 1998: 664). He went to Japan at the end of 1919 and started to learn Japanese and German. According to one account, Teng Gu enrolled at the Imperial University in Tokyo in 1920 (Andrews and Shen 2006: 23). However, others have claimed that Teng attended the Oriental University, a private university in Tokyo (Shen 2001: 37; Xue 2003: 1; Chen 2000: 219). During his stay in Japan, Teng studied art theory and became acquainted with important Chinese and Japanese literary figures. At the beginning of 1921, he co-founded the Mass Drama Society (Minzhong xijushe) with thirteen other Chinese scholars, including the writer, literary critic, and archaeologist Zheng Zhenduo (1898-1958), and the dramatist Ouyang Yuqian (1889-1962). In March 1921, Teng joined the Literary Research Society (Wenxue yanjiuhui), founded in Beijing in January 1921. Teng Gu also communicated with members of the Creation Society (Chuangzao she), including the poet, playwright, and archaeologist Guo Moruo (1892-1978), and the writer Yu Dafu (1896-1945) (Shen 2001). The Creation Society, founded in June 1921, was another literary society established by a group of Chinese intellectuals in Tokyo. Teng received advice from Liang Qichao on Chinese art history (Teng 1926b: 1), and paid visits to influential Japanese scholars, such as Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927). During this period, Teng stated in a letter to one of his friends in China that his research at that time involved several subjects, namely, philosophy, literature, drama, and art criticism (Shen 2001).

During the two summers of 1922 and 1923, Teng Gu returned to Shanghai to teach art theory and aesthetics at the Shanghai Art Academy. In the Kantō Earthquake of 1923, Teng's temporary apartment was commandeered by the Japanese government to rehouse earthquake victims. During the crisis, he lost several of his most precious art books and research notes. In 1924, Teng received his BA in Tokyo, and he then took up a formal teaching position at the Shanghai Art Academy.

In the late 1920s, Teng Gu was involved with a number of art activities. In July 1925,

he participated in the seventh exhibition of the Tianma Society (Tianma hui), an art society initiated by Liu Haisu together with some of his colleagues at the Shanghai Art Academy. In February 1926, Teng Gu joined an art education investigation team from Jiangsu, and visited Japan for about a month. The group visited museums and galleries in Tokyo and Kyoto as well as various Japanese art professors and *yōga* painters, among whom were Fujishima Takeji (1866-1929) and Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958) (Teng and Wang 1926). In March 1926, Teng assisted in organizing the Shanghai Art League (Shanghai yishu xuehui), an art association that incorporated different art schools and societies in Shanghai.

Throughout the 1920s, influenced by late nineteenth-century European aestheticism, Teng Gu wrote several novels, poems, and dramas, for instance, *Wall Painting* (*Bihua*, 1924) and *Water Lily* (*Shuilian*, 1929). He even published *The Literature of the Aesthetic Movement* (*Weimei pai de wenxue*, 1927), the first Chinese treatise on aestheticism. This book systematically introduced key figures of aestheticism in Europe, such as Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) and Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867). Altogether, Teng published six collections of his own literary works.

In 1928, Teng Gu entered the political circle of the Nationalist Party in Nanjing. However, not long afterwards he was expelled, following an internal conflict. He fled first to Shanghai, and then, in 1929, to Japan. In the spring of 1930, he left Japan and started his European journey.

In 1931, Teng Gu enrolled formally in the Department of Philosophy at the Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin (now the Humboldt University of Berlin). Founded in 1810, the university was one of the earliest in the world to establish a professorship for art history in 1844. The Swiss art historian, Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945), was Professor of Art History at the university between 1901 and 1912. Wölfflin's influence was still palpable during Teng Gu's residence. Teng's major was the art history of East Asia. His minors included archaeology, history, and philosophy. In June 1932, after three semesters, Teng submitted his thesis "*Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang und Sungzeit* (Chinese Theory of Painting in Tang and Song Times)" and applied for an oral examination for the PhD degree. Otto Kümmel (1874-1952), Director of the Far Eastern Asiatic Museum of Berlin at that time, and Professor Albert Erich Brinckmann (1881-1958), the expert on Baroque art, graded Teng's dissertation respectively as "*valde laudabile* (very laudable)" and "*laudabile* (laudable)". Teng Gu's *viva voce* took place on 21st July, 1932. With a mediocre performance in the examination, Teng gained an overall grade of "*laudabile*". Subsequently, after the publication of his dissertation in the 10th and 11th issues of *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kultur und Kunst des Fernen Ostens* (The Far East: an Illustrated Quarterly Review Dealing with the Art and Civilization of the

Eastern Countries) between 1934 and 1935, Teng Gu officially received his PhD on 16th October, 1935 (Shen 2003).

At the end of 1932, Teng returned to China. He held a succession of governmental and social positions related to art, including administrative commissioner of the Central Antique Preservation Committee (Zhongyang guwu baoguan weiyuanhui) from 1933; trustee of the Palace Museum from 1934; and member of the Sino-German Institute (Zhongde xuehui) from 1935. He stopped publishing novels and poems. Instead, he devoted the last ten years of his life to art historical research, archaeological investigation, art activities, and Sino-German cultural exchange. Teng Gu, as member of the standing committee for national exhibitions, participated in the preparation of *The Ministry of Education Second National Fine Art Exhibition* (*Jiaoyubu di'erci quanguo meishu zhanlanhui*, 1937) between 1936 and 1937. During the exhibition, he organized four lectures by scholars on Chinese art. Later he edited these lectures with a number of other articles in an anthology entitled *Collected Essays on Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo yishu luncong*). Teng Gu founded the Chinese Research Association of Art History (Zhongguo yishushi xuehui) with a group of scholars in May 1937. Between 1938 and 1940, he was assigned by the Ministry of Education to be principal of the National Art Academy, which combined the two national art schools in Beijing and Hangzhou. From the end of 1939, the academy moved inland, first to Yunnan and then to Sichuan. Teng Gu died in Chongqing on 20th May, 1941, without accomplishing his ambition to write a comprehensive history of art in China (Shen 2001; Andrews and Shen 2006: 23).

Teng Gu's art-history-related research

Teng Gu's academic career occupied the second half of his life in the 1920s and '30s. He conducted most of his research on art history and archaeology. Based on the content and patterns of his research, I have divided Teng Gu's academic research into two periods.

During the period from the late 1910s to 1929, before his departure for Europe, Teng Gu absorbed internal Chinese traditions and external Western elements by way of Japan. He explored a broad field of art, ranging from painting to literature in order to define his academic interests.

During the 1910s, Teng Gu obtained painting training at his hometown and in Shanghai. In 1925, one of his paintings, in a traditional Chinese style, was exhibited in the seventh exhibition of the Tianma Society. The object has since been lost, and only a review of this artwork remains, stating that "it is indeed clear and elegant, likely from the hands of a poet". The local historical records of Teng's hometown, reveal him to be a successful art

theorist, poet, and calligrapher who loved to paint lotus blooms (Shen 2001).

Studying in Japan, Teng Gu began to encounter both the classical and the modern Western theories on aesthetics, art, and culture. He wrote articles introducing Western thought, including one concerning the artistic theories of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and August Rodin (1840-1917) (Teng 1923c). Teng Gu's interests also led him to the ideas of the Italian aesthetician and philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) (Teng 1921) and to the cultural opinions of the English writer H. G. Wells (Teng 1923a). Following translations of their works into Japanese, both men experienced increased popularity in Japan. The translation of Wells' *The Salvaging of Civilization*, for instance, appeared in Tokyo in 1922 as *Bunmei no kyūsai*.

In the 1920s, one of Teng Gu's foci was the classification of epistemology. He attempted to define the notion of art and its position in the human knowledge system. In several articles, employing German terms, such as *Kunstwissenschaft* and *Kulturwissenschaft*, Teng discussed the relationship between art and culture, as well as between art and science, poetry and painting.

Meanwhile, Teng Gu started to analyze Chinese classical art theories and to parallel them with Western ideas. In particular, he associated the Six Laws of Xie He with both the Greek notions of macro- and micro-cosmos and Theodor Lipps' empathy theory (Teng 1923e, 1926c). The relationship between the Six Laws and empathy theory had been posited in Japan at the beginning of the 1920s by Japanese specialists of East Asian art, perhaps the most significant of whom was Kinbara Seigo (Kinbara 1924), as discussed in Chapter One.

The principal contribution of Teng Gu to the study of Chinese art history in the 1920s was his book *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926). Despite the loss of his research data, Teng managed to finish the draft in 1925 and to publish it with the Commercial Press in 1926. Julia Andrews and Shen Kuiyi describe it as a "more philosophical than art historical" text, and what is significant about this book is Teng Gu's innovative approach, which divides the history of Chinese art into "four organically progressing periods" (Andrews and Shen 2006: 23) (see Chapter Four).

The second stage of Teng Gu's academic career coincides with the last twelve years of his life, and commences with his trip to Europe. In this period, Teng devoted most of his energy to art historical and art-related archaeological research and translation. His political position in the Republican government made him an authority on cultural and art issues. His social activities too were mainly centred around promoting art historical studies.

During his stay in Europe from 1930 to 1932, Teng Gu kept pace with the contemporary developments of art history in German-speaking countries and Europe more generally. He wrote academic articles in both Chinese and German. Apart from the

publication of his dissertation in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, the same journal also published three of his essays: one concerning the Southern School of Chinese landscape painting; one about the writer, poet, artist, and statesman Su Dongpo's (1037-1101) art criticism; and one on the discussion of ink play (*mo xi*) (Teng 1931a, 1932a, 1932b). It is impressive that his writings were published in a leading academic German journal of East Asian studies, and it indicates his successful interaction with German scholarship on Chinese art history.

After returning to China in the winter of 1932, Teng Gu pursued his aim to introduce Western research methods into Chinese art historical and archaeological studies. To this end, he conducted archaeological research and became variously involved in art historical criticism and translation. In 1933, Teng published an article criticizing Herbert Read's ideas on Chinese art (Teng 1933b) and his translations of three other Western works (one on art history and the other two concerning archaeology) further demonstrated his comprehension of Western scholarship (see more discussion in the next section).

Living in Nanjing from 1933 to 1938, Teng Gu held positions in the government and became a professor at Jinling University. His continued interest in the ancient history of Chinese art now focused mainly on archaeological materials from Han and Song, and his publications at this time were closely related to his explorations at different archaeological sites. He worked with other Chinese intellectuals, such as the archaeologist Huang Wenbi (1893-1966) and the historian-linguist Zhu Xizu (1879-1944). In contrast to archaeological reports by his fellow researchers, Teng Gu's essays were visually oriented from an art historical perspective. For example, at the end of 1934, Teng Gu explored some archaeological sites in Henan and Shaanxi, and used his findings on this trip to produce an essay entitled "A Tentative Study on the Stone Sculptures of Huo Qubing's Tomb and Sculpture of the Han Dynasty (Huo Qubing mushang shiji ji Handai diaoke zhi shicha)" (1934). In this text, Teng published twelve illustrations, half of which were photographs taken by himself at the Han general Huo Qubing's (140-117 BCE) grave in Shaanxi. The remaining six images were pictures of stone sculptures attributed to Eastern Han sites at various locations in China. One of them was a photograph of a stone sculpture of a lion which no longer existed. Teng discovered this image in a book by Ōmura Seigai. Analyzing the patterns on all these samples, he compared the Western Han pieces from Huo's tomb with Eastern Han items. Consequently, Teng characterized a simple but bold and masculine Western Han style in sculpture, which he distinguished from the more delicate and sophisticated style of the Eastern Han period.

Under the influence of Japanese and Western scholarship, Teng Gu produced important publications for Chinese studies of art history in the first half of the twentieth century. His initial immature general survey of Chinese art history with rather bold claims

had now transformed into detailed studies of one particular genre of artworks with well-developed arguments, and in the process Teng contributed to the nascent discipline of art history in China.

2.3 Internalization of Western Ideas

In his earlier works during the 1920s, Teng Gu consistently introduced many Western concepts, most of which had been only recently developed by Western scholars. Teng first became familiar with these ideas in Japan. Most notable among the Japanese authorities he referred to was the philosopher of the Kyoto School Tanabe Hajime's (1885-1962) *An Introduction to Science* (*Kagaku gairon*, 1918). More often, however, Teng Gu mentioned Western publications and quoted heavily from Western sources.

Teng Gu's attraction to aestheticism is evident in his writing. It is no surprise that in May 1923 he singled out Oscar Wilde's aesthetic ideas when introducing Western art theories (Teng 1923c). At the end of 1923, he also wrote an essay on Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), the poet and painter of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the English forerunner to aestheticism. Teng Gu described Rossetti's accomplishment in both poetry and painting, demonstrating that his own approaches to Rossetti's poetry and to Rossetti's painting were different. Given that he wrote a commentary on the subject, it is quite possible that Teng had read most of Rossetti's poems; he was unlikely, however, to have been able to view all of Rossetti's paintings. When discussing these, he mostly quoted from Western commentary, which included remarks by the German art historian Richard Muther (1860-1909) (Teng 1923b).

Teng Gu's PhD dissertation in German "*Chinesische Malkunsttheorie in der T'ang und Sungzeit*" contained a bibliography of several publications in European languages. Some were treatises written by his German teachers, such as the Neo-Kantian philosopher and theorist of aesthetics Max Dessoir's (1867-1947) *Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* (Aesthetics and General Art Studies, 1923) and Otto Kümmel's *Die Kunst Chinas und Japans* (Art of China and Japan, 1929). Some were important treatises on Western art, such as the leading theorist of iconography Erwin Panofsky's (1892-1968) *"Idea": ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie* ("Idea": A Concept in Art History, 1924), and Heinrich Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (The Principles of Art History, 1915), the representative text of its author's theories of formal analysis. In the main text of his thesis, Teng Gu cited Western scholarship on the Renaissance when comparing art in the European Renaissance and art during Tang and Song times. The materials he used were the Austrian art historian Julius von Schlosser's

(1866-1938) *Die Kunstliteratur* (Art Literature, 1924) and the English essayist and literary critic Walter Pater's (1839-1894) *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (1877) (Teng 1934b: 238, 1935a: 56-57). In the preface to his dissertation, Teng Gu reviewed the recent research on Chinese art theories. He mentioned four Japanese specialists and their works: Ōmura Seigai's *History of Chinese Art: Sculpture* (*Shina bijutsushi: chosohen*, 1922); Umezawa Waken's *Art in the Six Dynasties* (*Rokuchō jidai no geijutsu*, 1923); Ise Senichirō's *Chinese Painting* (*Shina no kaiga*, 1922); and Kinbara Seigo's *Research on Ancient Chinese Painting Theories* (*Shina jōdai garon kenkyū*, 1924). Teng Gu also singled out a few texts on Chinese art by Western scholars, such as the German-American sinologist Friedrich Hirth's (1865-1927) *Über die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte der chinesischen Malerei* (Concerning the Indigenous Sources for the History of Chinese Painting, 1893), and Herbert Giles' (1845-1935) *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* (1918) (Teng 1934b: 157-58). Giles was a British diplomat in China (1867-1893) and Cambridge University's second Professor of Chinese. Teng Gu's German dissertation had almost no influence whatsoever on other Chinese intellectuals engaged with art history in Republican China, and even today it remains untranslated.

In his Chinese works on art, Teng Gu cited a number of works by Japanese and Western researchers. While he mostly quoted ancient Chinese sources in his discussion of Chinese painting, he generally referred to texts by scholars outside China for information on sculpture and architecture. In *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926), Teng recommended three Western works: Friedrich Hirth's *Über Entstehung und Ursprungslegenden der Malerei in China* (Concerning the Genesis and Legendary Origin of Painting in China, 1900); the French sinologist Edouard Chavannes' (1865-1918) *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (The Archaeological Mission in Northern China, 1909); and the German scholar Oskar Münsterberg's (1865-1920) *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte* (Chinese Art History, 1910-1912). Teng considered Hirth's book to be the most precise and penetrating foreign text dealing with art from the late Han (ca. 58 CE) to the Southern and Northern Dynasties. He saw Chavannes' work as a valuable non-Chinese reference concerning the Yungang Grottoes. Similarly, Münsterberg's study was a masterful work on art of the Tang and Song dynasties (Teng 1926a: 16, 19, 38). Teng Gu's recommendation of these volumes and his emphasis on them as foreign works suggest his close attention to Western achievements on Chinese art.

During the 1930s, Teng Gu's writings indicate that he consulted the latest foreign publications of archaeological investigations into Chinese art. Writing about Tang mural painting, he mentioned Sawamura Sentarō, whose work *Research on Oriental Art History* (*Tōyō bijutsushi no kenkyū*, 1932) published important mural fragments from Central

Asia. Teng also referred to an illustration of a Tang funerary object from *Tang-Plastik: chinesische Grabkeramik des VII. bis X. Jahrhunderts* (Tang Sculpture: Chinese Tomb Ceramics from the seventh to tenth Centuries, 1924) by Eduard Fuchs (1870-1940), the German historian, writer, and art collector (Teng 1934c). Meanwhile, he noted a number of images from Osvald Siren's *Chinese Paintings in American Collection* (1927) and *A History of Early Chinese Art: the Prehistoric and Pre-Han Periods* (1929), Otto Kümmel's *Chinesische Bronzen* (Chinese Bronze, 1928), the French sinologist and historian Paul Pelliot's (1878-1945) *Les Grottes de Touen-houang* (The Dunhuang Grottoes, 1914-1924), and the Hungarian-British archaeologist Aurel Stein's (1862-1943) *Ruins of the Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (1912) (Teng 1935c, 1936).

Moreover, Teng Gu contributed three careful translations of Western works. In 1935, he published his translation of an English essay "From Northern China to the Danube" (1930) which originally appeared in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. Nothing is known of this essay's author Zoltán de Takács, but his three-page article discusses six bronze objects from Northern China housed in the Francis Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest. Using ten illustrations, the author showed the affinity between the forms of these artworks and items ascribed to the Avar Periods (375-720 CE) which had been discovered in the Danube valley in present-day Hungary. Takács deduced that these objects represented a Chinese influence imported to Eastern European art, following the immigration of the Huns in the fourth century (Teng 1935d). Teng Gu was particularly interested in this kind of research on artistic diffusion. The detailed analysis of patterns evident in this article converged closely with the research methods that Teng adopted for pre-Tang decorative patterns on tiles, tomb stones and sculptures. He mentioned his translation again in another article "The Animal Patterns on Eave Tiles in the Southern Capital of Yan (Yan xiadu bangui wadang shang de shouxing wenshi)" to draw parallels between ancient Chinese art and ancient European art (Teng 1936).

In the same year, Teng Gu began to translate "Methode (Methodology)", the first part of Oscar Montelius' (1843-1921) book entitled *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* (Ancient Cultural Periods in the Orient and Europe, 1903). Montelius was a Swedish antiquarian and archaeologist whose primary contribution to scholarship was the development of a relative chronological dating method based on typology and named seriation. When no evidence for clear dates of archaeological findings can be traced, and scientific methods, such as carbon dating, cannot be applied, seriation is useful. When formulating an evolutionary framework of artefact forms, it helps to arrange objects in a relative chronological sequence. These objects are usually attributed to the same cultural

tradition or to comparable geographical regions. In this way, researchers can demonstrate a developmental sequence for the culture to which these items belong. The idea of evolution in human cultures influenced Montelius to elaborate this method of typology. For example, he arranged some unearthed Iron Age cloak pins in a developmental sequence. Montelius also established a concept of diffusion that helped to argue how certain characteristics of the early civilizations in the Near East had spread to Europe (Renfrew and Bahn 1996: 25, 34).

Teng Gu deliberately chose to translate this text in order to introduce Montelius' typological approach. Montelius provided detailed explanations for how to employ changes of patterns to date artefacts. Conscious of the difficulties in dating ancient objects recovered in China and the weaknesses in Chinese scholarship in relation to analyzing patterns, Teng believed that Montelius' theory could refine methodology for Chinese scholars to study ancient materials and relics. In his preface to the translated version, Teng also suggested five other treatises written by Montelius for Chinese scholars to consult. Most important were *Die Bronzezeit in Orient und Griechenland* (The Bronze Age in the Orient and Greece, 1890) and *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens* (The Pre-Classical Chronology of Italy, 1912). In his mind, these works provided the technique to help art historians scrutinize art pieces without corollary textual evidence. Teng Gu believed that Montelius' typological methodology brought a fresh impetus to the study of objects' shapes and decorative patterns in the history of art in China (Teng 1937b).

Teng Gu's most important translation is "Art History (Meishushi)", which became part of an anthology *German Academia during the Past Fifty Years* (*Wushinian lai de Deguo xueshu*) published by the Commercial Press in 1937 (Teng 1937a). The author of the original text, Adolph Goldschmidt (1863-1944), was a German art historian who specialized in medieval art. When Teng Gu studied at the University of Berlin, Goldschmidt was head of the art history department. This article introduced the German field of art history from the second half of the nineteenth century to the 1920s. At the beginning of the article, Goldschmidt specified three different approaches to art history: to treat art as a historical fact which was consistent with the methodology of history; to envision that the history of art exposed a unique development of forms (*Formnenentwicklung*), a phenomenon that required its own methodology; and to allow art history to function as an explanation of artworks to the general public, in order to facilitate their appreciation of art. The author moved on to three basic requirements for art historical research: a wide knowledge of all kinds of objects and their histories; a penetrating virtuosity trained by different experiences with objects; and a *Qualitätsgefühl* which Teng Gu translated as "an intuitive response to material (*zhigan*)". A perpetual direct observation of objects, Goldschmidt considered, would prepare a scholar to achieve all these requirements. He claimed that researchers

should take art history seriously and view it not as a leisure entertainment but as a scientific discipline. He applauded the institutional development of art history; especially in as far as it had overseen some technical improvements: the use of projectors to show images in art history courses and the dissemination of artworks through good-quality illustrations.

Goldschmidt went on to summarize the overall development of the discipline within the previous fifty years. He saw a transformation of emphasis from history to art and then back again to a slightly different conception of history. He listed eleven art historians from German-speaking countries as representatives of these three stages. He included Anton Springer (1825-1891), Carl Justi (1832-1912), Hermann Grimm (1828-1901), Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), and Henry Thode (1857-1920) in the first stage. According to Goldschmidt, these scholars either described an individual art master or an artistic school as the axis of their historical accounts. He suggested that the second stage, before the end of World War One, could be characterized by August Schmarsow (1853-1936), Heinrich Wölfflin, Alois Riegl (1858-1905), Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909), and Max Dvorak (1874-1921). His perception was that this group focused on art objects to narrate a history which "went beyond any individual artist (*chao geren*)". He classified Max Dvorak's research after World War One as a return to *Gesamtgeschichte* which Teng Gu interpreted as "an overall history (*quanbu de lishi*)". Inclined to a cultural analysis containing literature, religion and social practices, art historical studies were then different from the first stage. Goldschmidt believed that the future of art history would be a formal analysis (*Formale Analyse*) within an approach that he termed "history of spirit" (*Geschichte des Geistes*). He admitted that some scholars, such as Georg Dehio (1850-1932), could not be positioned in any of the groups mentioned above, for Dehio's work possessed characteristics from all three different stages. Ultimately, Goldschmidt urged art historians to create a field of art history whose primary value would be to inspire other disciplines of human knowledge.

Goldschmidt's points were exactly those about which Teng was eager to inform his Chinese colleagues. However, Goldschmidt's text was for a German audience familiar with the field of art history in Germany. Facing a Chinese reader with little background knowledge of the German art historical discipline, Teng Gu was forced to add several footnotes in his translation to aid the general reader's comprehension. He made brief biographical notes on Goldschmidt, the author of the article, and on the eleven art historians mentioned in the article. He listed major publications by these twelve scholars and made a few concise remarks on their publications to lead his readers through the vast German field of art history. For example, he wrote that Anton Springer's principal work on art *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (The Handbook of Art History) was quite popular at that time, but after several versions edited by different scholars, the original text produced in the 1880s no

longer survived. He confirmed for his readers the undeniable influence of Heinrich Wölfflin on the contemporary art history discipline. He thought that Wölfflin's treatises, for instance, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) and *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl: die Kunst der Renaissance* (Italy and the German Sense of Forms: The Renaissance Art, 1931), should be compulsory reading for art historians and even for scholars of other disciplines.

Teng Gu provided his Chinese readers with plenty of supplementary sources because the original text was very succinct and abstract. Every one of the eleven art historians listed by Goldschmidt merited lengthy discussion, but Goldschmidt simply mentioned the name of each scholar and added no more than a sentence to identify them. A Chinese reader at that time was unlikely to know who these scholars were, and even less about what they had published. Thus, Teng recommended his readers consult extra readings by two German art historians: Ernst Heidrich's (1880-1914) *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Methode der Kunstgeschichte* (Dealing with the History and Method of Art History, 1917) and Walter Passarge's (1898-1958) *Die Philosophie der Kunstgeschichte in der Gegenwart* (The Philosophy of Art History of the Present, 1930). We can deduce, from all the information he supplied to Chinese readers that Teng Gu had an unprecedented acquaintance with contemporary German developments in art history. While other Chinese scholars still understood Western art historical studies superficially, Teng Gu was the first Chinese researcher—probably the only one in Republican China—to possess such a comprehensive knowledge of modern German scholarship.

Teng Gu did not limit his interests to the German academic world. He also took account of research on Chinese art in other European countries. For example, in 1933, Teng Gu published a Chinese article commenting on Herbert Read's (1893-1968) views of Chinese art. Another book by Read entitled *Art Now* was translated into Chinese by the writer and translator Shi Zhecun (1905-2003) in 1935. Read was an English poet and a critic of art and literature. He was one of Britain's most remarkable cultural theorists in the twentieth century, consistently advocating the position of avant-garde art in art circles. Teng Gu was impressed by *The Meaning of Art* (1931), in which he encountered Read's ideas on Chinese art. After translating the relevant sections into Chinese, Teng Gu responded with his own remarks.

He agreed with Read that the differences between Chinese, Ancient Greek, and Gothic art originated from their distinct attitudes towards the universe. According to Teng Gu's translation, Read argued that Ancient Greek artists rationally accepted and emotionally enjoyed the world around them, and that Gothic artists felt fearful in front of the religious world and worshipped unquestioningly. By contrast, Chinese people held, according to Read, a mysterious attitude towards the world around them. Unlike Ancient Greeks, they

accepted the world without pretending to know every part of it, and, unlike Europeans in the Gothic Age, they felt the mystery of the world without being frightened by it. Chinese thinking used what Teng interpreted from Read as a "natural instinct (*benxing*)", with which to apprehend the world. Read believed that art in China represented this state of mind[16].

However, Teng Gu disagreed with Read's idea of Chinese art as one kind of art that transcended different nations. Read stated that Chinese art was "something more than national"(Read 1951: 76). Teng admitted that at an early historical stage, art in China had exchanged elements with foreign art, but after the Tang dynasty, Chinese art advanced in the direction of deepening Chineseness. He also disapproved of Read's comment that Chinese art never "cultivated the grandiose", especially since the achievements of architecture in China were apparently not as great as Chinese sculpture and painting. He thought that Read's prejudice stemmed from the Western notion of architecture's centrality. Read made an aesthetic judgement on Chinese buildings according to his appreciation of Greek temples and Gothic churches. According to Teng, Read ignored the native artistic values of Chinese architecture. Teng Gu also believed that Read overlooked the close connection between three forms of the fine arts (architecture, sculpture, and painting) in China. Although two of these three—architecture and sculpture—are not canonical Chinese art forms, Teng identified examples of a Chinese association between these forms.

Moreover, Teng Gu rejected Read's opinion that religion dominated Chinese art. He saw a Confucian impact on the Han dynasty, and also a Buddhist influence on the Six Dynasties. But for the remaining periods, he believed that the religious stimuli to create art were relatively weak. Teng stated that Confucianism and Buddhism were not the exclusive forces driving the development of art in China. Daoism and Zen were also important. For him, these ideologies no longer belonged to the category of religion after the Six Dynasties. Rather, Daoist and Zen thought in the hands of successive scholar-elites became a powerful weapon against the practices of Confucianism and Buddhism. Teng Gu suggested that they helped literati art—the dominant social category of art in China—to pursue the ideal beauty in society (Teng 1933b).

Reception of the discipline of Western art history and its assumptions

Michael Podro has traced the origins of modern Western art history to its philosophical and aesthetic roots in the late eighteenth century (Podro 1982). Remarkably, Teng Gu's own

[16] Surprisingly, I cannot find such an account by Read in the 1950 edition of *The Meaning of Art*. One possibility is that the original 1931 version contained these ideas. It is certainly intriguing that the points with which Teng Gu disagreed were kept by Read in the later edition while the ideas with which Teng concurred had disappeared two decades later.

intellectual career resonates closely with this Western epistemological development. His concerns with philosophy and aesthetics in his early years facilitated his subsequent art historical studies. Absorbing some Western philosophical and aesthetic theories in Japan, he established his opinions on art studies, art history, and the relationship between art and culture in the 1920s.

In one of his earliest academic articles "Croce's New Theory on Aesthetics (Keluosi meixue shang de xin xueshuo)" (1921), Teng Gu mentioned the Italian aesthetician and philosopher Benedetto Croce's division of knowledge. According to Teng, Croce categorized human knowledge into two forms: intuitive knowledge and logical knowledge. Teng Gu developed this further to explain that intuitive knowledge was a kind of knowledge about each individual, the product of imagination; while logical knowledge was a kind of knowledge about the relationship between individuals, the product of concepts. Croce believed that intuitive knowledge was an activation of beauty, which lay the foundation for logical knowledge (Teng 1921).

Teng paid further attention to the classification of knowledge in the years following 1921. In 1922, he published an essay entitled "What does *Kulturwissenschaft* mean? (Hewei wenhua kexue?)". Quoting from Tanabe Hajime, Teng constructed a brief history of the Western classification of knowledge from the seventeenth century onwards. Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) three categories of History, Poetry, and Philosophy endured until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and only then did the division between natural science and humanities operate decisively. Teng Gu illustrated the separation of natural science and humanities with a comprehensive classification of knowledge suggested by the German psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920). Then he moved on to the main target of his enquiry—the ideas of the Baden School (the Southwest School). This represented a group of German thinkers among the first generation of the 1860s Neo-Kantian movement, which included Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915) and Heinrich Rickert (1863-1936). In his view, the classification established by the Baden School inaugurated a new era after Wundt. Teng suggested that the starting point of this new classification was to use research methodology as a guide to classify different fields of science. In this account, the term *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science) replaced *Geisteswissenschaft* (humanities) as a scholarly enquiry different from *Naturwissenschaft* (natural science). Teng Gu focused on Heinrich Rickert, whose theory, Teng considered, was the standard thought of *Kulturwissenschaft*. Rickert's *Kulturwissenschaft* emphasized the cultural value (*Kulturwert*), which was absent in natural science. Teng realized that Rickert's *Kulturwissenschaft* was a cultural science of history drawn from the ideas of German historicism. After setting forth opinions opposed to Rickert's classification, Teng Gu highlighted the antithesis between *Kulturwissenschaft*

and *Naturwissenschaft* which had been widely accepted in Western institutions. For him, however, the debate on the position of historical science remained unresolved in Western scholarship. At the end of his article, Teng listed two revised versions of Rickert's classification system in Japan, presented respectively by Tanabe Hajime and Suzuki Munetada (1881-1963), the philosopher and scholar of religious studies. In their versions, history became a branch of cultural science (Teng 1922b). Teng Gu did not directly explain the relationship between these Western theories and Chinese art. At this stage he attempted to draw a clear diagram of different academic studies from which he could figure out his major interests.

Teng Gu's next step was to locate art studies in the classification of human knowledge. In his 1922 article "The Dawn of Culture (Wenhua zhi shu)", he established a close connection between art and culture. Teng developed this essay from a talk given at the summer school of the Shanghai Art Academy in 1922. He told his students that *Kunsttrieb* (art motivation or drive), as Friedrich Schiller termed it, was an essential part of culture. Taking Ancient Greek culture as an example, he pointed out the contribution of Ancient Greek art to the glory of its culture (Teng 1922a). In "The Origin of Culture in the Perspective of Art Studies (Yishuxue shang suojian de wenhua zhi qiyuan)" (1923), Teng Gu repeated the crucial role of art in culture, elucidating how *Kunstwissenschaft* (art studies) occupied a position in cultural science. Referring to the German aesthete and art historian Konrad Lange (1855-1921), Teng differentiated *Kunstwissenschaft* from aesthetics. In his mind, aesthetic research dealt with both art and natural beauty (*Das Schöne in der Kunst und Natur*) while art studies stressed purely human art production. Influenced by the German scholar Ernst Grosse (1862-1927), he envisaged *Kunstwissenschaft* as an independent discipline composed of *Kunstphilosophie* (art philosophy) and *Kunstgeschichte* (art history). His *Kunstphilosophie*, including *Kunsttheorie* (art theory), emphasized the essence and value of art. In Teng's view, the main focus of art history was a series of historical researches on art to illuminate the transition of time and religious thought. He believed that, when treating the historical facts as part of a philosophical investigation, *Kunstwissenschaft* became a branch of "scientific research (*kexue de yanjiu*)". Thus, he positioned *Kunstwissenschaft* in the category of *Kulturwissenschaft*. In his view, because art was an essential part of culture, the study of cultural history should always take *Kunsttrieb* into consideration (Teng 1923d).

Furthermore, Teng Gu discussed what ought to be an appropriate methodology for art studies. He thought that applying scientific methods from different fields was crucial to art studies. He was interested in employing an ethnological method (*ethnologische Methode*) in research, in order to comprehend the arts of various ethnic groups at different times. What

he claimed to be an *ethnologische Methode* was actually the use of cultural anthropological findings in the context of "primitive tribes". He gave an example of a comparative study between aboriginal art and artworks produced by children. He thought that this method was helpful for the study of prehistoric art and for the study of the origins of art (Teng 1923d). In his 1924 essay "Art and Science (Yishu yu kexue)", Teng Gu demonstrated several German scholars' ideas on art studies, including the previously mentioned Konrad Lange, Ernst Grosse, Max Dessoir, and the philosopher and art critic Konrad Fiedler (1841-1859). He noted that although they defined aesthetics and art studies differently, most of them attributed the methods for art studies to the methodology of cultural science. He admitted that beauty and art could be analyzed by logic, but the analytical approach learned from natural science was not sufficient to discuss art. He embraced the "hyper-logical stage" of beauty specified out by James Baldwin (1861-1934), the American philosopher and psychologist. He agreed that art was not anti-logical, but at the same time art could not be restricted by logic. In his mind, it was obvious that the analysis of art should adopt the philosophical method of cultural studies. In a derivation of Heinrich Rickert's proposition, Teng supposed that natural science studies would usually employ the method of generalization to discover universal principles. Cultural studies, he assumed, placed great emphasis on the heterogeneous elements of studied targets in order to individualize each object. He suggested that art in pursuit of freedom and creativity could not be judged on universal principles by its viewers. Rather, the standards of art judgment should vary from case to case (Teng 1924).

Existing histories of Western art share a set of assumptions concerning questions of causality and evidence (Preziosi 1998: 13-16). These assumptions, which concern time, place, and genealogical development, are the fundamental principles of Western art history. Starting from his years in Japan, Teng Gu's works implicitly or explicitly showed his understanding of these assumptions.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars on art, for example Pan Tianshou and Yu Jianhua, began to realize that an artwork was representative of its original time and place. Most histories of Chinese art produced in the 1920s and '30s introduced the social and cultural background of artists and art production before going into detailed accounts of art. For instance, Chen Shizeng's lecture notes published as *A History of Chinese Painting* (1925) devoted one chapter at the beginning of every period of painting to an overview of the cultural context in which Chinese painting was created (Chen 1925). Pan Tianshou stated in his book *A History of Chinese Painting* (1926): "Literature and painting both represent the thought of a nation" (Pan 1926a: 47). In the eyes of these writers, an art object was a product of a historical background, which usually included social, political,

economic and religious conditions. They were clearly influenced by Japanese scholarship on art at that time. For the late Meiji Japanese intellectuals, Hegelian *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the age) provided a way to establish a history of the Japanese nation (Tanaka 1994: 8-9). Chinese researchers in late Qing and Republican China adopted this Japanese assimilation of Hegel's idea. Hegelian philosophy indicated a goal for Chinese intellectuals to record the spirit of an age through art[17]. In their mind, biographies of individual art creators were no longer sufficient for a historical narrative of art production. Accounts of the contemporary milieu of both a maker and his or her creation would help to explain artworks. Thus, these art historical writers interpreted the larger contexts of artworks to reveal how and why artistic production had changed.

Teng Gu was one of these pioneers. *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926) was his history of Chinese national spirit in art. Teng's narrative pattern and research methodology in this book possessed "the main characteristics of German scholarship in Japan" (Chen 2000: 215). In *A Brief History of Chinese Art*, Teng Gu suggested that national spirit was "the flesh and blood (*xue rou*)" of Chinese art, and, in a striking pursuit of the same metaphor, he suggested that foreign thinking might be nutritious to the development of Chinese art. He termed the Wei, Jin, and Six Dynasties' centuries to be "an era of cross-fertilization (*hunjiao shidai*)", which he considered as the most glorious period in the history of Chinese art. He reasoned that the special spirit of the Chinese nation at that time learned from a foreign Buddhist culture, and, in turn, demonstrated a vigorous creativity. Meanwhile, Teng considered the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties to be "a period of stagnation (*chenzhi shidai*)", caused by a loss of Chinese spirit (Teng 1926a: 15, 20, 39, 50). At this stage, the influence of this notion of "spirit", which he had grasped from German thinking in Japan, helped Teng Gu to shape a history of Chinese art. He built the initial scheme of an art historical narrative according to the idea of national spirit. Still, many details of his intended history of Chinese art were missing. His 1926 text continued to rely on a number of huge, vague, and abstract terms without specific references, such as "foreign culture (*wailai wenhua*)", "painting style of the Western Regions (*xiyu huafeng*)", and "national style (*minzu fengge*)". Teng was faced with the problem of how to prove his postulation by a detailed analysis of artworks and artists. Only after his direct contact with German scholarship in the 1930s, did he find a powerful tool of style analysis to fill the gaps in his framework of Chinese art history.

[17] The Chinese introduction of Hegelian philosophy began in 1903, but Hegel was less popular than Kant, and his original works were first translated into Chinese only in the 1930s. Despite the lack of direct evidence for Hegel's influence on art history in China, I believe it is highly probable that Chinese art historians' knew of the Japanese art historical version of Hegel's theories.

Absorption of Wölfflin's style analysis

As Michael Podro has noted, the critical strengths of Heinrich Wölfflin's *The Principles of Art History* render it an irreplaceable model for the analysis of painting (Podro 1982: 98). Wölfflin's historical system of successive styles is exactly what traditional Chinese scholarship on the history of painting lacked. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was attractive to Teng Gu. He recognized that Wölfflin was a noted authority in the modern German field of art history who concentrated on style analysis (Teng 1931b: 77). Teng applied the same method in the 1930s, hoping to elicit a breakthrough in his narrative of Chinese art: basically, that in terms of style, authenticity was not crucial to Chinese art history.

In his 1931 essay "An Investigation into the History of Academic Style Painting and Literati Painting (Guanyu yuantihua he wenrenhua zhi shi de kaocha)", Teng Gu cited the German writer on art Wilhelm Hausenstein's (1882-1957) definition of style: "Style (also translated as "mode" or "form"), strictly speaking, is a synthesis that one form integrates from any other one"(Teng 1931b: 76). Accepting this concept, Teng established his notion of style in the history of Chinese painting.

The impact of the term "style" on Teng Gu is also evident in his 1934 account of Chinese mural painting (Teng 1934c). The title of his article contains a rather jarring idiom "A Brief Investigation of Tang-Style Mural Paintings (Tangdai shi bihua kaolüe)". The additional "style (*shi*)" in the title reflects his effort to draw on such Western terms as "Romanesque" and "Baroque". Borrowing the Chinese translation of "Romanesque (*luoma shi*)" and "Baroque (*baluoke shi*)", he established his idea of Tang style. He stated clearly that Tang-style artworks were not necessarily products of the Tang dynasty. As he wrote in the essay, Teng viewed more than twenty mural paintings belonging to two private collectors in Nanjing. It was unclear to him where and how these paintings had been discovered. Teng Gu thought that they were much likely to be Tang mural paintings based upon his understandings of Tang style. He analyzed the line management (*Linienführung*), colour, human representation, and subject-matter in these paintings to locate similarities between them and other existing paintings commonly accepted as Tang products. Only after an attentive study of every posture of each figure along with the various decorations on them and the objects held in their hands, did he dare to propose a definite conclusion for these paintings' style. In fact, it was unimportant to Teng whether these paintings were the products of the Tang dynasty. He believed, nevertheless, that their style was close to the painting style of the Tang dynasty (Teng 1934c).

The search for a principle to "account for the transformation of style" remained crucial for Wölfflin throughout his career (Podro 1982: 100). Teng Gu too attempted to

figure out the style transformation in the case of Chinese painting. In his introduction to *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times*, he used the term *Stilentwicklung* and interpreted it as "the development/transformation of style (*fengge fazhan/zhuanhuan*)". He considered the development of style in artworks to be the most important element of a history of art. He believed that the emergence, development, and transformation of one style was determined by its inner impetus, and that it was also influenced by its social context. He did not believe that a dynastic change in a history of politics caused the transformation of a style (Teng 1931b: 65-67, 1933a: 2). His discussion of style development stressed the Tang and Song centuries.

The middle Tang period labelled as "High Tang" had long been considered the most prosperous period of Chinese art by Chinese intellectuals. Teng Gu cited Su Dongpo's claim of unparalleled achievement in Tang art, including poetry, prose, calligraphy, and painting. In Teng's opinion, the prosperity of the middle Tang contained special significance in the history of Chinese painting. He reiterated two epoch-making changes in the middle Tang period. During the flourishing years of the Tang dynasty, landscape became the dominant composition of painting, and, allegedly, an indigenous Chinese style replaced the foreign styles from Ancient India and Central Asia in Buddhist painting. Since then landscape painting had become the most important art genre in China; and art in China developed its own style rather than following Gandharan or Gupta styles. These two aspects, Teng envisioned, heralded a new era in the development of Chinese painting (Teng 1931b: 65, 1933a: 23). Teng's narrative suggested that following the establishment of an indigenous style during the middle Tang period, later generations of artists experienced the weakness of this style, but subsequently improved it, and brought it to perfection. The crucial factors, he considered, were techniques in brush and ink as well as in the arrangement of painting space. He listed these new skills as bold stroke (*tubi*), ink wash (*pomo*), and balance between brush and ink (*bimo jiangu*) (Teng 1933a: 39).

More innovatively, Teng Gu described various Tang painting styles with Western art historical notions. A comparison between his works and one influential contemporary text by the Japanese scholar Kinbara Seigo discloses Teng's direct application of some of Wölfflin's concepts to the Chinese field of art history.

According to Fu Baoshi's 1935 translation of Kinbara Seigo's work, Kinbara used three main diagnostic tools—line (*xian*), colour (*se*), and ink (*mo*)—in analysing different paintings. Clinging to these traditional terms in Chinese painting, such as raindrop texture stroke (*yudian cun*) and axe-cut texture stroke (*fupi cun*), Kinbara traced a systematic change in various painters. He reckoned that the artist Wu Daozi's (active ca. 710-760) paintings showed the characteristics of line in Tang painting; the painter Li Sixun's (651-716)

artworks represented the feature of colour; and the poet and painter Wang Wei's (699-759) art indicated the quality of ink (Kinbara 1935: 29). Kinbara also traced the changes in painting lines as the art historical development of Chinese painting from the fourth century to the first half of the thirteenth century. He posited three stages of lines in Chinese painting: the Six Dynasties, the Tang dynasty, and the Song dynasty. He thought that Gu Kaizhi's "iron-wire line (*tiexian miao*)" was representative of the Six Dynasties and envisaged that Gu made no change in speed and pressure from the start to finish when he painted a line. Kinbara positioned Wu Daozi's lines at the centre of Tang painting. He analyzed a variation in the velocity of Wu's movement when Wu drew a line, which resulted in the shape of a line being altered at different parts of it. He discovered changes in both speed and pressure in lines in Song painting. Song painters, especially those who belonged to the Northern School (*beizong*), he suggested, sometimes pressed their brushes hard in the process of painting a line; yet at other times they lifted their brushes slightly. Consequently, these painters created a "pressing-lifting (*ya ca*)" effect in their lines (Kinbara 1935: 13-14). Kinbara still employed traditional Chinese terms of painting techniques to express his ideas. These terms were based on empirical experience of Chinese artists. Comparatively, Teng Gu's accounts of Tang and Song painting were more radical. Like Kinbara, Teng noted the differences in line and colour between Wu Daozi and Li Sixun. However, he not only quoted important ancient accounts of these Chinese notions, but he also borrowed terms from contemporary Western art historical theories to demonstrate the differences between various Tang painting styles. In this way, Teng started to change the long-fixed vocabulary of Chinese art and to renew the lexicon with specific Western terms.

One extraordinary example is Teng's usage of one of Wölfflin's five opposite pairs *Zeichnerisch* (linear) and *Malerisch* (painterly). As early as 1931, Teng Gu began to import new terms for Chinese painting. He mentioned this pair of terms "*Zeichnerisch*" and "*Malerisch*" in his essay entitled "An Investigation into the History of Academic Style Painting and Literati Painting" (1931). He referred to Wölfflin's *The Principles of Art History*, in which Wölfflin portrayed the style of the German painter and printmaker Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) to be "*Zeichnerisch*" and the style of the Dutch painter Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-1669) to be "*Malerisch*". In the context of Tang painting, Teng translated *Zeichnerisch* into *xiede* to address Wu Daozi's painting style; and he used *Malerisch* as *huade* to define Li Sixun's painting style. According to Teng, Wu Daozi's amazing brush work demonstrated the linear style while Li Sixun's brilliant usage of golden and green colours fitted the painterly style. Teng Gu considered the painting style of Wang Wei, to be linear as well (Teng 1931b: 68-71).

In *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times* (1933), Teng Gu used different

notions to characterize these early Tang painting masters. He applied three terms to distinguish their style: Wu as "bold (*haoshuang de*)"; Li as "ornamental (*zhuangshi de*)"; Wang as "lyric (*shuqing de*)". For him, these were three equally significant approaches in Chinese painting. He offered no relatively superior or inferior judgement for any of them (Teng 1933a: 36).

The aforementioned accounts of Tang and Song art exploited a biographical engagement with art history. In distinction to this period of his work, in his "The Characteristics of Tang Art (Tangdai yishu de tezheng)" (1935) Teng Gu no longer fixed his discussion on well-known artists. Instead, he added more examples from both sculptures and recently found paintings by unknown artists, such as mural paintings discovered in the Dunhuang caves. Meanwhile, Teng recognized a change in Chinese painting style of the Tang period, a shift that he attributed to the import of the painting skill he termed as "*chiaroscuro* (*ming'an fa*)" from Ancient India. He still described this process of change as one from the linear to the painterly, but his Chinese translations for both "linear" and "painterly" differed from those in his 1931 article. Now, he introduced "linear" and "painterly" respectively as "*xianmiao de*" and "*xuanran de*". He demonstrated more caution in his application of these two formal categories than he had done previously. He explained in his endnotes that these two notions contained special connotations that could be traced in Heinrich Wölfflin's book *The Principles of Art History*. He wrote:

> "The German art historian Wölfflin has pointed out the difference between art in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, [and] he has referred to it as a change from 'the linear' to 'the painterly'. The linear usually pursues the clarity in the edges of forms, while the painterly dispenses with the boundaries, and adopts blurred edges (see his book *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. München. 1915). Of course, my borrowing of these two terms here is not so strict. What I mean is that stressing the lines in order to represent the clarity of forms can be considered as the 'linear'; that emphasizing the colours and applying chiaroscuro in order to form the depth of objects can be considered as the 'painterly'. "

He exemplified his claim in Wu Daozi's painting. In his opinion, Wu was the vital link in the progression from the linear to the painterly. From the painting *Maharaja Deva of Child-Bearing* (*Songzi tianwang tu*), attributed to Wu, Teng claimed that Wu's brush lines were not simply the edges of forms; instead they expressed power and tension beyond the bodies and the clothes of human figures. He also mentioned pre-modern Chinese texts on art, such as *Painting History* (*Huashi*) by the calligrapher, painter, and connoisseur Mi Fu (1052-1107), from which he noted that the figures painted by Wu Daozi had a three-dimensional impression like sculptures. Both visual and textual evidence convinced Teng Gu that Wu Daozi represented a trend towards Wölfflin's "painterly". He believed that the

change in lines was part of the important development which could not be neglected in the history of Chinese painting. Nevertheless, he admitted that under the technical conditions of painting in China, in which the aesthetic appeal of lines tends to be paramount, painting in China could not completely transform from the linear to the painterly. The thorough transition between the linear and the painterly, which meant eliminating the Chinese brush style, could never happen in China. Teng Gu explicitly stated that his application of these formal categories was based on a few "symptoms (*zhengzhao*)". Its correctness would need further confirmation, and would depend on more visual materials to furnish the necessary evidence of future studies (Teng 1935c).

Exploring the style development in late Song painting, Teng Gu again translated Wölfflin's words on the Italian Renaissance from *Die Klassische Kunst* (Classic Art; 1924) into Chinese:

> "Usually, when a new style appears, people think that various objects which compose a painting change. However, viewing carefully, [we find that] not only the architecture in the background or the decorations vary, but also the postures of figures are different from former times. Only the new expression reflected by the depiction of the human body and its movement is the core of a new style. Thus, the notion of style carrying this special connotation, compared with its usual usage, is more significant."(Teng 1933a: 92)[18]

His use of Wölfflin's style transformation was important to his interpretation of Chinese painting development. It helped him to explain the core of style development in court painting of the late Song period. He realized the significant style transformation represented by ruled-line painting, which Teng called "*gongshi louge hua*" (commonly known as *jiehua*). In his opinion, this kind of court painting not only contained architecture drawn with the aid of a ruler, but also included mountains, rivers, plants, rocks, and human figures drawn without a ruler. In particular, he pointed out the style transformation of ruled-line painting in depictions of court beauties. The innovative ideas in the representation of court ladies' deportment and movement appeared in late Song painting. According to Teng, this improvement which had changed court painting had not been given enough credit by traditional Chinese scholars who despised ruled-line painting. Teng Gu emphasized

[18] I located this paragraph in the 1968 edition of Wölfflin's Die Klassische Kunst as follows: "*Wenn man sagt, es sei ein neuer Stil emporgekommen, so denkt man immer zuerst an eine Umformung der tektonischen Dinge. Sieht man aber näher zu, so ist es nicht nur die Umgebung des Menschen, die große und kleine Architektur, nicht nur sein Gerät und seine Kleidung, die eine Wandlung durchgemacht haben, der Mensch selbst nach seiner Körperlichkeit ist ein anderer geworden, und eben in der neuen Empfindung seines Körpers und in der neuen Art, ihn zu tragen und zu bewegen, steckt der eigentliche Kern eines Stiles. Dabei ist dem Begriff freilich mehr Gewicht zu geben, als er heutzutage hat.*" (Wölfflin 1968 (1924): 253)

that change within this overlooked category of painting showed the key elements in style transformation (Teng 1931b: 75-77, 1933a: 91-93).

Teng Gu's practice of Chinese art history followed the ideas of Wölfflin closely. Wölfflin's approach was different from those of the pure formalists, because he linked style to history and culture (Adams 1996: 32). Teng, too, saw style as a fashion advocated by the taste of a whole society rather than a creation of an individual. Embracing Wölfflin, Teng Gu formulated a narrative of style to analyse a history of art in China which was closely related to a history of Chinese culture.

2.4 Originality in Chinese Art History

Promoting a history of artworks

Internalizing Japanese and Western art historical methods, Teng Gu made great efforts to write *Kunstgeschichte* (a history of artworks) rather than *Kunstlergeschichte* (a history of artists). Throughout his entire book of *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times* (1933), he stressed the significance of *Kunstgeschichte*. He began the book with a statement on the importance of original artworks:

> "A researcher on painting history, no matter whether he takes the positivist position or the ideological position, should draw conclusions from artworks. It is the correct direction. Unfortunately, Chinese writers of painting history through the ages have not taken this correct route. Nevertheless, they are blameless. China has lacked great museums to systematically display artworks from successive ages for viewers' appreciation and research. Also private collections dispersed at different locations are guarded in secret. Under these circumstances, scholars have no opportunity to conduct their research. As a result, they cannot produce a satisfactory history of painting."

Focusing on art products, Teng fully acknowledged the difficulty in style analysis due to the lack of visual images and authentic works. Printed reproductions were not sufficient for detailed research. However, he determined to start his transformation of Chinese painting history using what he called "ice-cold written records" and reaching out to real art objects (Teng 1933a: 1-2).

Teng Gu urged his readers to treat visual evidence seriously. He circulated information on recent publications which reproduced paintings, such as picture albums about sculptures and wall paintings from Dunhuang. He hoped that a reader could look at these sources and gain some visual impression of painting in Tang and Song times. He also recorded the locations of all the extant paintings that he knew of. He noted in his account of the figure painter Yan Liben (ca. 600-673) that Yan's scroll *Painting of Emperors* (*Diwang*

tu) was then owned by Liang Hongzhi. Similarly, he recorded that the same artist's *Painting of Landscape* (*Shanshui tu*) was held by Guan Mianjun (Teng 1933a: 19). Even in the case of paintings which he had no opportunity to view, he informed his readers of their probable location. For example, he cited Luo Zhenyu to state that *Portrait of Maharaja Deva* (*Tianwang tu*) by Yuchi Yiseng (7th century), the early Tang painter, once in the hands of the Qing politician and collector Duan Fang (1861-1911), was now in America (Teng 1933a: 21). This awareness of China's cultural heritage in an international setting was new.

In his accounts of works of art, in cases where he had seen a painting before, Teng Gu described as many details of the painting as he could. For instance, he provided a careful depiction of *Admonitions of the Court Instructress* picture scroll (*Nüshi zhen tujuan*). He had probably seen reproductions of this painting if not the authentic image before. He was not concerned whether it was painted by Gu Kaizhi or not. He was more concerned with arguing that it was the only visual evidence of a fourth- and fifth-century style of Chinese painting. Teng highlighted the figures in the painting. He considered that the painted style in the faces of the court instructress had been developed by later artists into portraits of *bodhisattvas*. He adored the smooth lines representing drapery, which he claimed provided musical harmony for the painting surface. He saw no merits in other aspects. He disliked the stiffness of objects in the bedroom scene of the painting, which he noted had awkward shapes. He pointed out the disproportion between animals, mountains, and human figures in the mountain and hunter scene (Teng 1933a: 13-14).

When no actual paintings were available to him, Teng Gu was forced to cite previous comments from different Chinese treatises. In such cases, he always reminded his readers of his reluctance to use these textual sources. He stated that most paintings during the period from the fifth century to the beginning of the seventh century no longer existed. He stressed that it was difficult to deduce the painting history of this period. He had no choice but to devise a brief outline of the painting development drawing entirely on textual documents (Teng 1933a: 14). When referring to earlier written records, Teng Gu maintained a distance from them. In a typically critical attitude, after citing records on the painter Zhan Ziqian (mid-late 6th century), he claimed that he did not trust the ambiguous approval of Zhan by earlier generations of Chinese critics. Since none of Zhan's works had been handed down, Teng could not grasp the meaning of comments that claimed "Brush touch is full of emotions to its object, [and] the completeness is amazing" (Teng 1933a: 17). In the case of Wang Wei, Teng Gu suggested that the influential art critic Dong Qichang (1555-1636) and his followers had exaggerated Wang's achievement in painting. He did not deny that a poetic flavour in Wang Wei's painting might have existed, but he doubted the technical invention by Wang in brush and ink that later enthusiasts claimed. Teng proposed that from

the painting *The Snowy Landscape* (*Jiangshan xueji tu*), traditionally attributed to Wang, the artist had not invented "texture-ink (*xuandan fa*)" but remained at the stage of "outline drawing (*gouzhuo*)". Teng Gu suggested that art historians should distinguish "excessive flatteries" from "penetrating judgment" (Teng 1933a: 35-36).

Teng Gu professed that the transformation from a history of artists to a history of artworks in Chinese art history would not be easy. He declared that even in Western scholarship it took time for such an essential change to happen. Given the various conditions in Chinese academia, Teng believed that it was nigh on impossible for him to accomplish a history of artworks (Teng 1933a: 39). To promote such an art historical approach, Teng was eager to discover more visual materials. This is the major reason why he shifted his attention to artistic materials in several archaeological findings during the 1930s.

After his return from Europe, Teng Gu turned to some relics from the Han and Tang periods for archaeological research. He was keen on acquiring as much visual evidence as possible for his historical accounts. He produced several essays on decorative patterns in tombs or on tiles. Since there was no way to ascertain who the creators of these patterns were, Teng focused solely on the pictorial aspect and its formal analysis. In his mind, style analysis was a powerful means of dealing with a tremendous number of Chinese artworks whose creators were unknown or uncertain, a fact that had previously disqualified these objects from any analytical treatment.

In his 1936 essay "The Animal Patterns on Eave Tiles in the Southern Capital of Yan", Teng Gu analyzed decorative patterns on tiles discovered in the former southern capital of the State of Yan (roughly equivalent to Hebei province) during the Warring States period. Teng chose fifty samples with clear patterns from a few hundred Yan tiles. He photographed them and made rubbings of them, before dividing the patterns on these tiles into seven large categories and subsequently into sixteen sub-categories. He explored the origin and development of these decorative patterns, comparing them with the patterns on bronze vessels. In accounting for his decision to bring these two kinds of seemingly incompatible art production together, Teng Gu acknowledged the huge material differences between bronzes and tiles, citing also production procedures, function, and value. However, he argued, that since he could obtain no other ancient tiles with decorative patterns, he had no comparative recourse other than bronze vessels. He focused on the motif of *taotie*, a set of animal features which had long been a theriomorphic design on different media, including bronze and jade. Analyzing the horns, foreheads, eyebrows, eyes, noses, wings, and feet of *taotie* on different pieces, he suggested that, like the *taotie* pattern on bronze vessels, the same pattern had been stylized to its symmetrical extreme on these tiles. On the other hand, unlike on bronze vessels, it had lost its fierce expression, which meant

that it became purely decorative and without religious connotation. He moved on to show that there was no influence from Scythian-Siberian zoomorphic patterns on the Yan tiles. Believing that the Scythian-Siberian influence on Chinese art dated to the Han dynasty, Teng suggested that the Yan tiles were produced later than the early bronze items of the Spring and Autumn period and earlier than objects from the Han dynasty. He therefore dated these Yan tiles to the Warring States period (Teng 1936).

Adopting the same method, Teng Gu investigated Han tomb sculpture and stone carving as well as sculptures in the tombs of the Six Dynasties (Teng 1934d, 1935b, 1937c). These valuable visual materials and his preliminary examination positioned him to write a promising new history of artworks in China, an ambition which his early death precluded.

Challenging some conventional beliefs

Teng Gu disregarded the traditional meanings of literati painting, which he termed scholar-bureaucrats' painting (*shidafu hua*). He summed up three different aims of literati painting commonly exploited to narrate the history of Chinese painting: 1) literati painting distinguished the literati as creators of painting in distinction to artisans who followed workshop instructions; 2) literati painting defined painting as a form of recreation for the literati; 3) literati painting adopted the subject of landscape in order to develop schools, such as the famous the Southern and Northern schools (*nanbei zong*). Teng took pains to avoid any of these topics, especially the third one which he considered an invention by Ming scholars purely to promote their own art theories. In fact, he proposed that all painters of the past who had left their names in history belonged to the literati group. He attributed the development in Chinese ink painting after the middle Tang period to the literati who struggled against the shackles imposed upon them by religion or political control (Teng 1933a: 71-72). The differences in style between various examples of literati painting were caused by the different personalities and lifestyles of the literati. His examples included those who were actively involved with social issues, and others who preferred the life of a recluse (Teng 1933a: 80). These diverse lifestyles created distinct tastes for literati painting. Using the same logic, he proposed that catering to court taste was the origin of the academic style in Chinese painting. In his opinion, this academic style fully developed into an independent style of its own in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). He replaced the term "academic style (*yuanti*)" with "pavilion style (*guange ti*)" because he felt that the bias contained in "academic style", which had been misused for so long, was no longer apt for a more objective rationalization of historical painting experience (Teng 1933a: 88-89, 109-10).

Teng Gu realized that the Ming separation of the Southern and Northern Schools

was not a historical depiction of the real situation. According to Teng, this division was first proposed by the painter Mo Shilong (1537-1587). Dong Qichang accepted this claim and promoted it in his writing. Both theorists separated Chinese painting from the Tang dynasty into the Southern School whose founder was Wang Wei and the Northern School whose founder was Li Sixun. Teng Gu's critique of this claim was based upon the fact that during the Tang and Song centuries, an absolute division between the Southern and Northern Schools simply did not exist. According to him, Wang and Li's styles were not opposed to each other. Even in the Song period, the academic style emerged as one branch of literati painting and enriched the styles of literati painting (Teng 1933a: 6-7). For instance, according to traditional views, Mi Fu was considered to be an artist with a strong preference for the Southern School tradition. However, Teng pointed out that Mi also practiced coloured landscape painting which possessed a more realistic style (Teng 1933a: 97). Furthermore, Teng Gu strongly disagreed with any proposition to place one school over another. He suggested that the Northern School, which had been equated with more craftsmanship, was actually as full of literati spirit as the Southern School. Teng uses Zhao Boju (1119-1185) as an example to illustrate this revision. Zhao was representative of the academic painters at the Southern Song court, and Teng Gu cited the promoter of the Southern School Dong Qichang's admiration for Zhao. Dong had praised Zhao's meticulous fine brushwork as harmonious with a literati spirit. In Teng's eyes, not just Zhao, but all technically competent court painters were heir to literati painting (Teng 1933a: 97-99). He realized that Dong Qichang's authoritative proposition closed the options for alternative ideas to develop Chinese painting history.

In the traditional narratives of Chinese painting, the painting masters in the early years of the Tang dynasty were considered as both the creators and unassailable paradigms of the Chinese painting tradition. The later generations were described as followers and imitators. Teng Gu had his own opinion. He agreed that these early masters were the creators, but he did not believe in their paradigmatic status. Their followers not only imitated their styles, but also improved these styles and even gradually generated new styles. In this sense, he imagined that it was difficult to affirm the superiority of artists in the first half of the Tang dynasty. He asserted a claim that no Chinese scholar had dared before: painting from the late Tang period was superior to the early Tang dynasty. He stated that late Tang painting enriched every part of the style constructed during the previous ages. He believed that the art production from the Tang to Song centuries moved forward towards an ideal state of perfection (Teng 1933a: 39, 46, 53). Teleology of this nature was a striking departure from the usual views of the past.

Teng Gu was opposed to two standard structures in the history of painting, namely

the dynastic periodization, and the diagnostic isolation of paintings according to long-established categories of content. In his view, style changes should not be coeval with dynastic substitution (Teng 1933a: 2). He used the painting style from the Five Dynasties to the early Song period as an example. Teng maintained that the western area of Sichuan and the eastern zone of the lower Yangzi were the two centres of painting in the Five Dynasties. From the Five Dynasties to early Song, in spite of changes of ruler and dynasty, painters in these two areas, Teng reckoned, continued to paint according to priorities most likely grounded in local conditions rather than in some supposed meta-geography of supreme rulership. He repudiated attempts to discuss Five Dynasties painting and Song painting separately (Teng 1933a: 53). Likewise, Teng Gu proposed that paintings in the early years of the Tang dynasty, more or less following the style of painting during the Six Dynasties and Sui, should be associated primarily with this prior period (Teng 1933a: 17).

Also, Teng Gu disapproved of the complete separation of painting history into different subjects, such as landscape painting and figure painting. He suggested that a style developed simultaneously in all these topics rather than in isolated instances. Matching the development of landscape painting during the Five Dynasties and Song period, Teng Gu maintained that a similar transformation occurred in Buddhist and Daoist figure painting, flower-and-bird painting (*huaniao hua*), and ruled-line painting. Topical categorizations were irrelevant. He declared that in Tang and Song times Buddhist and Daoist figure painting gradually lost its religious function. Contemporary painting of plants and animals exhibited a kind of natural beauty. Twinned together, such tendencies supported a historical shift that Teng could rationalize through his early enthralment with aestheticism. Teng believed that this development facilitated the welcome reception of these painting genres by the scholar painters apart from and beyond their insistent fixation with landscape painting. He concluded that Chinese painting generally became closer to the attainment of a literati spirit in which priority for the genre of landscape painting became redundant (Teng 1933a: 53, 60, 70). He admitted that landscape painting had been the mainstream of Chinese painting from the Five Dynasties, but he proposed equal historical attention for achievements in other subjects and genres from the same period.

Teng Gu's untimely death prevented him from completing the entire process of revision that he embarked on, but he remained influential. His contemporaries accepted his ideas. Zheng Wuchang compiled a textbook entitled *A History of Chinese Art* in 1935. The first chapter of this book was a combination of Teng Gu's comments on Herbert Read's ideas and an abridged version of Teng Gu's *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926). Similarly, Pan Tianshou used Teng Gu's periodization in his 1935 article "A Brief History of Chinese

Painting (Zhongguo huihua shilüe)". Fu Baoshi, too, in 1940, agreed with Teng's periodization of Chinese art (Fu 1986 [1940]: 287). Important art journals in Republican China published and reprinted Teng's creative writings. For example, after the publication of "An Investigation into the History of Academic Style Painting and Literati Painting" (1931) in the *Academic Journal of Furen University*, editors of *Art Tri-monthly* (*Yishu xunkan*) realized the importance of this article, and gained Teng Gu's permission to reprint this article in 1932 (Teng 1932c).

Teng Gu's influence remains strong even today. Lothar Ledderose recalls that his own teachers in Germany are members of a generation whose age permits them to recall from memory that Teng Gu was an impressive art historian[19]. Today, a group of leading Chinese art historians has rediscovered Teng Gu and has determined to follow Teng Gu's route to discuss the history of Chinese art. Chen Zhenlian, for example, has suggested writing a cultural history of Chinese calligraphy without using the name of any calligrapher (Chen 2002: 3), a proposition which is exactly what Teng Gu promoted. Fan Jingzhong has republished articles written by Teng Gu, which he considers to be valuable to current Chinese scholarship. Fan has singled out Teng Gu as the only Chinese art historian who mastered Western art historical studies, and entered an international academic world in the first half of the twentieth century. Fan plans to translate Teng's German writings including Teng's PhD thesis into Chinese. He agrees too that style analysis is a useful method with which to study the historical development of Chinese painting[20]. Fan and his colleagues have started a project to adapt Western methods in the discussion of Chinese art history in a much wider scope. Not insignificantly, their starting point has been a serial publication of translations of the leading Western art historians' original texts with which Teng Gu began his academic research.

[19] Personal communication from Lothar Ledderose.

[20] Personal communication from Fang Jingzhong.

Chapter 3 Painters as Art Historians: Inherited Tradition in Modern Chinese Art Historical Writing

Discussing the limitations of the lexicon which troubled Western art historians in the 1970s, Michael Baxandall affirmed that "a mature inferential vocabulary in full play can have formidable demonstrative precision and punch". The example he gave was classical Chinese criticism for brushwork, which he considered as "enviable language". The only comparable example in Europe that he discovered is "Delacroix's occasional remarks in his journals on the technique of Rubens—remarks addressed by a painter to a painter". In Baxandall's opinion, the reason for the activeness of Chinese language on art has been that creators and readers of the lexicon were themselves active practitioners of art so that they shared "the firm background of reference in everyone's experience" (Baxandall 1979: 462).

Modern Chinese writers not only inherited the lexicon which Baxandall admired, but also maintained the old practice which was responsible for the formation of this vivid language. That important writers of treatises on art were also practising artists dates back to the Tang dynasty when the earliest surviving texts on calligraphy and painting appeared. Two more distinct components of the tradition in the Chinese historiography of calligraphy and painting are: 1) the frequent incorporation of art historical texts as inscriptions in artworks; and 2) the recurrent assimilation of script types into the aesthetic system of painting. Chinese scholars on art established relatively early a link between visual materials and textual documents.

In Western art history, Giorgio Vasari, founder of the Renaissance historiography of art, was also a painter and architect. However, leading Western scholars in the field of art history from the eighteenth century onwards have seldom been successful artists at the same time. In Britain, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) is a notable exception. Quite the opposite was true for a long time in China. Even during the early twentieth century, after the introduction of art history as a discipline based on the European model, either via Japanese adaptation or directly from European sources, no absolute separation between artists and art historians emerged. Most scholars on art in modern China combined at least two of these functions as producer, connoisseur, writer, teacher, collector, and even dealer in art. This chapter investigates painters' engagement with the history of painting written during the emergence of China's modern art historiography. It argues that the retreat of Chinese artists and scholars into what they perceived as a classic form of dual practice generated new insights into the history of art in China.

To discuss this idiosyncratic aspect of art historical writing in China, I will focus on the key figure of Fu Baoshi. Fu was a celebrated Chinese ink painter and a prolific

writer on art in the twentieth century. His art historical publications helped to establish a modern Chinese field of art history in late Qing and Republican China. Like the artworks he produced, his writings were influential in subsequent Chinese art circles.

Publication through metropolitan circuits of press distribution is one of the essential characteristics of modern scholarship, and it often provides a crucial gauge to examine Chinese artists' involvement in art historical studies. These publications include both academic periodicals and popular newspapers and magazines. By contrast, a more discreet means is the production of paintings with inscriptions that present opinions on art history. Inscriptions which stress the roots of painting styles, as Craig Clunas has suggested, are miniature art historical essays distinct from a dedication or a poetic accompaniment to the image (Clunas 1997: 208). This involvement by painters on the surface of works of art is of major interest to this chapter. I discuss not only artists' formal publications, but also inscriptions on their paintings and the subtle interaction between inscriptions and images. Admittedly, even when the artist, theorist, and historian are one person, his writing cannot be applied uncritically to his own paintings (Cahill 1982: 36-37). However, the gaps between the visual and the textual reveal painters' various struggles to come to terms with both theories and practices. These expressions provide information other than words to interpret the construction of Chinese art history in the Republican period.

This chapter will first introduce the condensed roles of collector, editor, connoisseur, teacher, artist, and art historian in the early twentieth-century art world of China. It will then explore the relationship between texts and images in writing Chinese art history via a detailed discussion of Fu Baoshi's artistic and art historical experiences. Lastly, in order to shed light on indigenous approaches towards Chinese art history, I will analyze the practice adopted by Fu Baoshi and other modern Chinese scholars.

3.1 Roles of Chinese Scholars in the Emergence of Art History

In the Western art world today, "the established structure of academic scholarship, with its ostensibly disinterested stance, is the supposed guarantor of probity and the honest search for that unattainable but much-to-be-desired truth"(Gaskell 2002: 146). This formation of scholarship emerged in nineteenth-century Europe with the independence of art history as an academic discipline. It provided scholars of art with the status of art historian, which distinguished them from artists, art critics, art dealers, and art collectors. According to Ivan Gaskell, modern European approaches towards art history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely iconological interpretation, cultural analysis, and social explanation, have largely rejected issues that might affect the objectivity of art historical

scholarship, such as concerns with art market application (Gaskell 2002: 147). With the emergence of art history as an independent field in the West, the division between art historians and other participants in the art world became clearer.

Although the situation is changing, the role of the market has been noticeably neglected by Western scholars. In an earlier period, art dealers and art scholars' interests intersected each other, most notably in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. Gaskell has convincingly argued that the scholarly practices of art tradesmen enriched the academic field of art history. Four dealers in both Paris and London—Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774), Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1743-1813), John Smith (1781-1855), and Théophile Thoré (1807-1869)—are examples with which Gaskell has argued that the study and exchange of art were interdependent (Gaskell 2002).

In the case of Chinese art too, Hong Zaixin has exemplified the direct relationship between research on painting and the painting market during the early twentieth century. His leading example is Huang Binhong (1865-1955), who established strong relationships with both foreign and domestic art dealers. Prominent among them was Zhang Hong (1891-1968), the Cantonese ink painter, collector, and art dealer. Huang Binhong, in order to conduct his research on Chinese art, benefited from his exchanges with figures like Zhang Hong, and extended his influence through their familiarity with the Japanese and Western markets for ancient Chinese painting (Hong 2001, 2004). In modern China, not only have the study and exchange of art been closely allied with each other, but also the making, writing, collecting, teaching, and publishing of art have been intimately intertwined.

A majority of Chinese artists in the early twentieth century were born into scholarly families with long-standing collections of art and books and the requisite wealth to expand these collections. Especially in the art circles of Beijing, which were led by traditional artists, such as Chen Shizeng and Jin Cheng (1878-1926), participants perpetuated the mode of a literati artist as an amateur instead of a professional painter. They often pursued the traditional ideal to aim for perfection in liberal arts including poetry, calligraphy, and painting. Early twentieth-century professional artists in major Chinese cities, where merchants had become the elite of society, expanded the field of art to poetry, calligraphy, and seal-carving in order to match the taste of the rising new social elite as main patrons (Wan 2005: 83). Artists with a modest family background, such as Gao Jianfu, Yu Jianhua, Pan Tianshou, and Fu Baoshi, usually took teaching positions in schools or worked for publishing houses, and some pursued two careers at once.

Interdependency between the making, writing, and collecting of art

The most important feature of art in China which supports the multiple functions of scholars

is the interdependent exploitation of making and collecting art as well as writing about art.

Undifferentiated from Chinese masters of the past, noted modern ink painters began their artistic practice by copying old artworks. Artists, who inherited family collections of artworks, would start from careful studies of the paintings that they owned. Once they had gained technical assurance, and provided they could rely on dependable introductions, they sought contacts with famous collectors to view rarely unscrolled masterpieces. Later, if their careers flourished, they would probably establish their own collection of art items. Throughout each of these stages, which map only an ideal career path, they imitated masters of the past in order to absorb thoroughly the visual traditions, and, only after this long procedure of copying, did they define their own specific styles.

In a preface to his own exhibition of 1942, Fu Baoshi pointed out that he loved imitating masters at every step in painting. Every year he would do this exercise several times (Fu 1942). In Fu's opinion, copying contributed to his art historical research. He even drew a parallel between this practical engagement and the progress of painting history between two giant figures of the past: the Song painter Fan Kuan (active ca. 1023-1031) and the Yuan painter Wang Meng (ca. 1308-1385). This no doubt tenuous analogy borrowed in its turn from a commonly rehearsed scheme of transmission, already standardized by the Ming scholar Wang Shizhen (1526-1590), who wrote:

> "Landscape [painting] transformed in [the painting of] Big and Small Lis [Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao]; Jing [Hao], Guan [Tong], Dong [Yuan], [and] Ju [Ran] made another deviation; Li Cheng [and] Fan Kuan changed again; Liu [Songnian], Li [Tang], Ma [Yuan], [and] Xia [Gui] deviated once more; [then Huang] Dachi [Huang Gongwang][and Wang] Huanghe [Wang Meng] (*Incoherent Words on Art*). " (Teng 1931b)

This scheme was cited yet again by none other than Teng Gu, the subject of the last chapter. Chinese scholars until now have generally accepted Wang Shizhen's idea, even though these concise sentences hint at an excess of information. How different is Fan Kuan from Wang Meng? What exact contributions did Song-Yuan masters Liu Songnian (ca. 1150-after 1225), Li Tang (ca. 1050-after 1130), Ma Yuan (active before 1189- after 1225), and Xia Gui (active early 13th century) make? Imitating paintings allegedly helped Fu to fully understand how these changes occurred in the hands of different masters. According to Fu, when viewing an original painting, an artist could only know the surface of the painting. As soon as he started to draw every stroke, the artist would know every detail of the original painting. Fu Baoshi expanded on this process by reference to the Yuan painter Ni Zan (1301-1374). Ni is one of the "Four Yuan Masters (*Yuan sijia*)", whose paintings have been copied from the Ming dynasty onwards. Some agree that, in distinction with the work of the

other three artists Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), Wu Zhen (1280-1354), and Wang Meng, Ni Zan's paintings are extremely difficult to imitate. In Fu Baoshi's opinion, a scholar would never know this feature of Ni Zan's painting without attempting to copy.

Even in modern art schools modelled after Japanese or French art academies, students of traditional painting learned to paint through imitating old paintings. Zao Wouki, a student at the National Art Academy in Hangzhou, recollects learning through endless copying of masterpieces in classes of traditional painting. Although he disliked this method, he still enjoyed the atmosphere in the painting studio (Sullivan 1996: 49). This imitative method of studying encouraged Chinese artists to be well acquainted with the historical development of Chinese painting. As Xue Yongnian has summarized, although a large number of Chinese painters did not compose histories of painting, they conducted detailed research on painting history to benefit their art production (Xue 1996: 52). Copying artworks of the past is also a practice for Western artists. However, only in Chinese tradition, has copying been practised extensively by both novice and successful artists.

Before the emergence of museums and public exhibition in China, only a privileged few could view original artworks. Scholar artists, on the other hand, obtained much more visual access. Once privileged with financial advantage, they started to collect art and to establish their own art collections. Huang Binhong is the paradigm of a collector whose painting talent exploded in the last fifteen years of his life (Kuo 2004: 1-2). His activities in art viewing, collecting, and connoisseurship laid a solid foundation for his art historical writing and his later immense creativity in painting.

Huang Binhong was born in 1865 in Jinhua, Zhejiang. His father, a merchant from Shexian, Anhui, collected old artworks, some of which dated to the late Ming dynasty. One painting was attributed to the Ming artist and scholar Shen Zhou (1427-1509) (Wang 2007: 279-80). Huang Binhong's own interest in Shen Zhou appears in his article "The Biography of the Ming Painter Shen Shitian (Mingdai huajia Shen Shitian xiansheng zhuan)" (1929), and it may have been stimulated by the memory of his father's collection. In his twenties, Huang gained chances to view the private collections of his clansmen in his ancestral hometown (Wang 2007: 284-85). Since a number of late Ming and early Qing painters, such as Hongren (1610-1664), the founder of the Xin'an School (*xin'an huapai*), had lived in the southern part of Anhui, Huang Binhong was very likely to have seen their paintings in these relatives' collections. In his late research, he paid close attention to this group of painters. The nostalgia for his hometown was clear in his studies.

In 1901, Huang Binhong bought a large number of seals once in the collection of a famous collector Wang Qishu (1728-1800) from Shexian (Kuo 2004: 25). This and other acquisitions for his growing seal collection stimulated him to compose his first publication

"On Seal-Engraving (Xu moyin)" which was serialized in *The Journal of National Essence* from 1907 onwards.

Since the dispersal of the Chinese Imperial collection in the late nineteenth century, domestic and foreign art markets had been extremely active in dealing in old artworks. From 1912, Huang Binhong opened an antique shop named Studio of Timeless Harmony (Zhouhe zhai) in the international settlement of Shanghai (Hong 2006: 527). It was a response to changes in the Shanghai art market. Huang Binhong recalled in his 1926 "Report on the Shanghai Antique Market (Hubin guwan shichang ji)" that before 1911 the Shanghai elite were only interested in contemporary painting and knew little about ancient art. Then the dealers from Beijing and Japan came to Shanghai to sell and buy ancient paintings, generating a new enthusiasm (Huang 1929b).

Because of the increasing number of fake items of calligraphy and painting in the market, collectors had to be careful in judging the authenticity of artworks. In order to acquire an ability to discern the fake from the real, Chinese collectors and artists had to be familiar with the history of Chinese calligraphy and painting. Huang Binhong's 1925 article "A Brief Discussion on Authentication of Ancient Famous Paintings (Jian gu minghua lunlüe)" dealt with both painting history and connoisseurship (Huang 1925b). In Huang's opinion, first-hand experience with artworks and the opportunity to form discriminating taste through connoisseurship were crucial for art historical scholarship.

Equipped with a profound knowledge of Chinese art history, Huang Binhong gained fame as a successful collector and connoisseur. He was even called by the prosecution to authenticate artworks during a case against Yi Peiji (1880-1937), the former head of the Palace Museum, who was sued for stealing artworks from the Palace Museum. Between December 1935 and April 1937, Huang Binhong authenticated more than 4500 artworks in the storage rooms of the Palace Museum in Shanghai, Nanjing, and Beijing. He wrote a detailed record entitled *Records of Authentications in the Palace Museum* (*Gugong shenhua lu*) (Huang 2000). Both his art historical research and art production benefited from this close engagement with hundreds of canonized objects.

The painter and scholar Yu Shaosong's career enjoyed similar advantages. When he was in Beijing during the 1910s and '20s, Yu grasped the chance to see calligraphy and painting borrowed from the Forbidden City by a friend Chen Baochen (1849-1935) who was then the literary instructor to the last Emperor Puyi (1906-1967) (Mao 2006a: 91). Yu was also interested in purchasing antique calligraphy and painting. Antique shops in Beijing treated him as an important client and sent artworks to his house for him to choose. He had a social network among important art collectors and connoisseurs, such as Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968), with whom he viewed private collections and exchanged ideas on

connoisseurship. These experiences helped him to become familiar with old masterpieces and trained his ability in connoisseurship. In 1928, Yu Shaosong, following an invitation by Tianjin Nankai School, went to Tianjin to give a presentation of his "The Introduction to Methods of Connoisseurship in Painting (Chuxue jianhua fa)". He believed that the combination of reading books and viewing paintings was the only way to sharpen one's eyes for connoisseurship (Mao 2006b: 45).

Viewing, studying, and collecting not only prepared Chinese artists for a historical understanding of Chinese art, but also helped them to form their own historical narratives of Chinese art.

Teachers and editors of Chinese art history

Although the practice of writing calligraphy and painting history can be traced to the tenth century in China, its formation as a professional field happened centuries later. Only after the introduction of Japanese and European modern educational systems at the beginning of the twentieth century did art history secure its institutional roots in China. Through the curricula promoted by the Republican government, art history became a compulsory course in art academies and universities.

In 1912, the Ministry of Education enacted a national school system. "Art history" appeared as a course title for the first time in Chinese history, featuring in the normal school syllabus, which lasted for five years. Obligatory subjects named "Aesthetics and Art History", "Art and Art History", "Introduction to the Aesthetics and Art History" emerged in the university syllabus for students majoring in liberal arts (Tang and Qu 1991: 651-730). In the early 1910s, a course on art history was unlikely to become a reality, because of the lack of capable teachers and textbooks. Nevertheless, the government's encouragement stimulated Chinese scholars to work on the history of art. In 1917, Jiang Danshu published his handbook *History of Fine Arts* when he was a teacher at Zhejiang First Normal School in Hangzhou. *History of Fine Arts* was a textbook for the drawing section of teacher-training colleges, which also accommodated the training of art teachers. The handbook consisted of two sections: one concerning Chinese art and the other concerning Western art. Jiang wrote clearly in his editorial statement that:

> "This book is edited according to the standard curriculum of normal schools required by the Ministry of Education; [it] is suitable for the teaching of the third and fourth grades in the drawing section" (Jiang 1917: 1).

Although specialized publications on different forms of art—Chinese calligraphy and painting in particular—had long been available, this publication was the first synthetic art

historical text about various forms of artistic expression.

Following Japanese examples, Chinese art schools from the end of the 1910s recognized the history of Chinese art as part of a modern pedagogical structure for Chinese traditional painting (Andrews and Shen 2006: 8-9). Noted Chinese artists were invited by art schools and universities to conduct lectures on the history of art in China. For example, Chen Shizeng taught Chinese art history at the Beijing Art School and the Beijing Higher Normal School. Pan Tianshou taught a similar course at the Shanghai Art Academy. These teachers edited raw materials from ancient Chinese treatises on art; translated foreign art historical textbooks, mainly produced in Japan; or else, they authored completely fresh versions of the history of Chinese art.

Most modern art historical books at that time were lecture notes. One example is *A History of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishushi*) edited in 1924 by Ye Han, then working at the First Normal School of National Beiping University. Seemingly unfinished, this book contained only one section "A History of Writing with Images (Tushu shi)". The term "*tushu*" in modern Chinese means book. However, this volume is not on the history of books in China but about pictures in different media including those images carved on stones and bricks. It was not a formal publication but a set of unedited teaching materials. In 1925, dedicated to his late teacher Chen Shizeng's memory, Yu Jianhua edited his notes from Chen's class of Chinese painting history at the Beijing Higher Normal School. Yu published them as a book entitled *A History of Chinese Painting* with his own art publishing house Jinan Art Institute of Brush and Ink (Jinan hanmoyuan meishuyuan). In 1937, during the period when he taught at the Shanghai Art Academy, Yu Jianhua published his own book using the same title *A History of Chinese Painting* with the Commercial Press. Likewise, when teaching at the Yan'an Lu Xun Art Institute in the 1940s, the art historian Wang Junchu finished his version of Chinese art history entitled *A History of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishushi*, 1942).

These textbook surveys of Chinese art history comprised a neat pattern of teaching materials. They formulated two paradigms for writing general histories of Chinese art: the categorical narrative and the chronological narrative. Jiang Danshu's *History of Fine Arts* represented the first narrative. Jiang divided the history of Chinese art into four artistic forms: architecture, sculpture, painting, and applied arts. Representing the second type of narrative was *A Brief History of Chinese Art* by Teng Gu, a concise but well-received publication in 1926. Teng based this book on his teaching notes at the Shanghai Art Academy. Recalling the discussion of Teng Gu's work in Chapter Two, Teng divided the history of Chinese art into four periods which he termed: growth, cross-fertilization, the flourishing, and stagnation. Chinese art historians since then have used one or other of these

two narrative patterns in their general surveys of Chinese art. They divide their narratives either into chapters discussing different forms of art or into chapters devoted to different periods.

One exception to the formats pioneered by Jiang Danshu and Teng Gu was Wang Junchu's *The Development of Chinese Art* (1934). Wang's book was divided into neither categories of Chinese art nor clear ages of Chinese history. Instead, his chapters were organized in terms of different topics. Some chapters talked exclusively about one form of Chinese art, such as that on the origin of landscape painting and the Southern and Northern Schools. Other chapters were relevant to several branches of Chinese art. For instance, a chapter "Fine Arts in the Service of religions (Shifeng zongjiao de meishu)" discussed temples, statues, and wall paintings.

Nevertheless, imitating either Jiang or Teng's formats of division, teachers could organize their lectures with ease. Chinese authors realized the functional aspect of their art historical publications. They even took the teaching time into consideration. Jiang Danshu mentioned that his book was suitable for one school year at a rate of one hour's teaching per week. Fu Baoshi stated that his book entitled *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* (1931) could be used by art teachers over the same period with two hours' teaching per week (Fu 1931b: 3).

Teaching depended also on publishing. The early twentieth century witnessed a surge of interest in publishing albums of artworks. Publishing houses in Shanghai, such as the Chinese National Glory Company (Shenzhou guoguang she), Youzheng Books (Youzheng shuju), the Commercial Press, and Zhonghua Books, reproduced numerous volumes of traditional artworks. The Chinese National Glory Company and Youzheng Books were the earliest publishing houses to use the collotype technology for reliable images in publications devoted to the reproduction of artworks. In order to preserve ancient Chinese culture and to educate the public, these two publishers respectively launched bi-monthly periodicals *Chinese National Glory* (*Shenzhou guoguang ji*) and *Famous Chinese Paintings* (*Zhongguo minghua*) in 1908. Artists and art collectors were often associated with these publications. For instance, Huang Binhong was involved with both and his painting collection featured in *Chinese National Glory* (Wang 2005). Between 1928 and 1931, Huang was even in charge of the publication of *A Grand Prospect of China* (*Shenzhou daguan*), a sequel to *Chinese National Glory*. Working at Youzheng Books from the second half of 1925, he assumed the editorial responsibility for *Famous Chinese Paintings*. It is no coincidence that at the end of 1925 Huang finished a book entitled *Topics on Ancient Drawings* (*Guhua wei*) and published it with the Commercial Press. The ancient paintings which he encountered during his editorial duties assisted him with exploring the overall development of Chinese painting.

Reproduction of artworks in early twentieth-century China contributed substantially to Chinese art historical scholarship. For the first four decades of the twentieth century, the Commercial Press published more than a hundred painting volumes bound in traditional stitched covers. Zhonghua Books printed more than eighty. Editors of these volumes obtained an unparalleled opportunity to research, view, and appreciate original artworks before selecting and printing pictures in art albums. They saw much art firsthand. This kind of experience motivated their art historical writings. The painter and scholar Zheng Wuchang worked for Zhonghua Books from 1922. In charge of the publication of several albums, including *World Famous Paintings* (*Shijie minghua ji*) and *A Grand Prospect of Famous Paintings in the Jin, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties* (*Jin Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing minghua daguan*), Zheng assembled, examined, and judged a large total of paintings (Wu 1980). Consequently, Zheng's 1929 treatise *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* used a number of examples he found for the albums. From the readers' perspective, these reproductions provided "a visibility for works of art...in [the] public arena" (Wang 2005: 10). Reproduction of old paintings with modern techniques led to an unparalleled dissemination of visual knowledge.

With the establishment of a modern education system in China, an urgent need for new textbooks appeared. Trying to enter the market for textbooks related to art history courses, publishing houses eagerly requested artists, art teachers, and scholars to produce histories of art in China. The Commercial Press gained substantial profits in the publication of textbooks during the early decades of the twentieth century. From the turn of the twentieth century, the company had monopolized the market for textbooks until the establishment of Zhonghua Books. The first handbook for Chinese art history courses—Jiang Danshu's *History of Fine Arts*—was published by the Commercial Press in 1917. About half of the treatises concerning the history of Chinese art available in Republican China were produced by this publisher.

Zhonghua Books, the biggest competitor to the Commercial Press, made its publishing debut with a series of *China's Textbooks* (*Zhonghua jiaokeshu*) in 1912. Coinciding perfectly with the establishment of the Republican government, this publishing house even published textbooks adorned with the new national flag. The newly-established Republican government abolished the Qing system of textbooks, and announced its own policies for textbook publication in 1912. Zhonghua Books temporarily seized the chance to occupy the market. When the Commercial Press recovered from this setback, Zhonghua Books still held on to thirty percent of the textbook market. It published textbooks one after another, repeatedly consonant with the changing education system in the first half of the twentieth century (Reed 2004: 230-31; Zhou 2007: 98). This same firm asked Teng Gu

to write a history of Chinese art for its schoolbook series at the beginning of the 1930s. However, Teng was totally occupied by his research in Berlin. In the end, Zheng Wuchang, a former employee of Zhonghua Books, compiled *A History of Chinese Art History* in 1935. Its target readers were secondary-school students and others who were interested in Chinese art.

While the first generation of Chinese publishers at the turn of the twentieth century defined emerging new social practices with their reorganized political priorities (Judge 1996: 198-99), the second generation of publishers between 1912 and 1937 were driven by their awareness of both politics and markets (Reed 2004: 253). Publications concerning Chinese art and Chinese art history played an important role in the agendas of both these generations. Their strong interest in sales of artwork reproductions and art historical textbooks indicates the power of art in politics and markets. Delivered into the hands of a newly constituted readership, printed volumes diffused new formations of visual canons to an unprecedented number of the population in Chinese cities.

3.2 Words and Images: Fu Baoshi and Art Historical Writing

If the gap between words and images has ever been a problem, pre-modern Chinese scholars and artists responded to it positively. Gifted artists, such as Qian Xuan (ca. 1235-before 1307), according to Wen Fong, validated "the simultaneous practice of calligraphy, painting, and poetry as a single art form"(Fong 2003: 274). Words in calligraphy, as inscriptions, or as texts carved on seals, have long been part of visual images in Chinese art. Painters sometimes even treated the composition of a painting "as a flat manuscript page" (Fong 2003: 275). In turn, although the solutions were different, modern Chinese art historical scholarship resolved the tension between words and images via the cooperation of textual explanation and visual representation. Fu Baoshi is a case in point.

Fu Baoshi and his artistic experience in the Republican period

Fu is one of the most important Chinese ink painters in the twentieth century. He was born on 5th October 1904 in Nanchang, Jiangxi. One of Fu Baoshi's ancestors at the end of the fifteenth century was a high official at the Ming court. However, when Fu Baoshi was born, the status of his family had descended dramatically. His father repaired umbrellas for a living. During his childhood, Fu spent most of his time at picture-mounting shops, second-hand bookstores, and seal-engraving stalls learning seal-making, calligraphy, and painting. His earliest recollected encounter with art was the painted decoration on ceramic bowls and plates at home, which he enjoyed copying when he was six. Jingdezhen, the porcelain

capital of China, lies in the northeast of Jiangxi near Fu's birthplace. Ceramics played an important role in Fu Baoshi's life.

In 1917, a certain Mr. Zhang, a member of the same neighbourhood, seeing Fu's potential, enrolled him at an elementary school, and four years later paid the entrance fee for Fu to enter the First Normal College in Jiangxi. Fu faced large financial problems when his father died. Under pressure to make a living, Fu used his carving skill to forge the seals of Zhao Zhiqian (1829-1884), an exponent of epigraphic style. The concierge at the college sold Fu's works as genuine seals by Zhao, paying Fu one fourth of the money he received. These seals fooled several members of the local gentry. After the truth was exposed, the principal of the school appeased the anger of those deceived and helped Fu to sell seals under Fu's own name (Shen 1994: 6-38; Zhang 1991: 30-33).

Before the age of twenty, Fu was already locally famous for seal carving and expanded his engagement to painting. He read and even copied by hand many ancient histories and theories of Chinese painting in the school library and second-hand bookstores. In 1925, he completed his first sustained piece of writing *The General Story of the Origins and Evolution of National Painting* (*Guohua yuanliu shugai*), which remained unpublished until he later revisited it. Imitating old paintings, Fu's earliest surviving painting—a set of four hanging scrolls of landscape in the style of old masters—also dates to the year of 1925. In the autumn of 1926, Fu Baoshi graduated from the art department of the normal college and took a teaching position at an elementary school. In 1927, Fu Baoshi went back to the normal college which then became the First Middle School in Jiangxi. This time he was employed as an art teacher for ink painting and seal-carving (Zhang 1991: 32-33). During this year, he finished his manuscript *Seal-Engraving Studies* (*Moyin xue*). From 1929, Fu also delivered lectures on Chinese art history. Consulting whatever histories of Chinese painting he could buy, he compiled a textbook *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* for his students based upon his earlier text *The General Story of the Origins and Evolution of National Painting*. In 1931, he published this book with the Nanjing Bookstore (Nanjing shudian) in Shanghai (Shen 1994: 38-48).

In June 1931, when Xu Beihong visited Jiangxi, Fu Baoshi was introduced to him by a local banker. They became close friends and Xu supported Fu to study abroad. With Xu's help, Fu Baoshi received a scholarship from the Jiangxi government, which allowed him to study applied arts and design in Japan. The plan was that he would use this experience to improve the design of ceramics in Jingdezhen. From September 1932 to June 1933, Fu Baoshi was in Tokyo, studying Japanese and preparing a report on Japanese crafts which he published in 1935 as "Some Points on Japanese Applied Arts (Riben gongyi meishu zhi jidian baogao)". During his stay in Japan, he became acquainted with Guo Moruo, who helped him in the coming years. Lacking funds, Fu Baoshi returned to China for the

summer (Ye 2004: 8-9; Zhang 1991: 34-35).

Realizing that his true concerns were about Chinese art history rather than design, and, luckily receiving more financial support from the local government, Fu Baoshi travelled to Japan again in October 1933. Among Japanese scholars on art history, Fu Baoshi admired particularly Kinbara Seigo, the leading Japanese expert on Eastern art. Back in Japan, he attempted to study art history under the supervision of Kinbara. He finally enrolled for a post-graduate program at the Japan Imperial Art School (*Nihon teikoku bijutsu gakko*, now Musashino Art University) in April 1934. His major was art theory and the art history of East Asia. Fu also took courses on sculpture with the sculptor and teacher Shimizu Takashi (1897-1981) (Zhang 1991: 35; Shen 2007: 15-16).

Fu Baoshi continued to produce art. With Kinbara's support, his first solo exhibition was held in Ginza, Tokyo, during 10-14 May, 1934. More than one hundred and seventy pieces of his art were on display. According to Kinbara's diary, this exhibition was a great success, and a number of accomplished Japanese painters visited (Kinbara 1994: 34). Meanwhile, Fu Baoshi translated Japanese works concerning art history into Chinese, especially the writings by Kinbara. Under Kinbara's guidance, following the success of his exhibition, Fu Baoshi completed several art historical works in both Japanese and Chinese over the coming year. In September 1934, he wrote a book entitled *Chinese Painting Theorie* (*Zhongguo huihua lilun*) and published it with the Commercial Press one year later. In May 1935, he published an article "The Future and Reconstruction of Chinese National Art (Zhonghua minzu meishu zhi zhanwang yu jianshe)" urging the governmental protection of cultural properties. His "Chronology of Shitao (Kuka washō nenbyō)" in Japanese was published by *The Country of Beauty* in March 1935 (Shen 2007: 17-19; Chen 2000: 257). Publication of this chronology marked the beginning of Fu's long-time enthusiastic research on Shitao.

Due to the unexpected news of his mother's illness, Fu Baoshi returned to China in June 1935. He still planned to go back to Japan to carry out further research with Kinbara. However, after the death of his mother, Fu was invited by Xu Beihong in September 1935 to work as a lecturer in the art department of the National Central University in Nanjing. He took the position and taught calligraphy, seal-carving and Chinese art history. Following the Japanese invasion in the lower part of the Yangzi River, Fu Baoshi brought his whole family inland, using the opportunity to travel in Anhui, visiting places associated with Shitao. In April 1938, Fu accepted a governmental position provided by Guo Moruo. When the Republican government retreated to Chongqing in 1939, he followed, re-assuming his duties as a teacher at the National Central University. He stayed in Chongqing for eight years, moving back to Nanjing in 1947 with the relocation of the National Central University. He remained productive in both writing and painting. Table 3.1 is a list of his art

historical writings from 1937 to 1949 (Shen 2007; Ye 1986, 2004; Zhang 1991; Wan 2008).

Table 3.1

Date	Title	Notes
1937	*Chronological Table of Chinese Art*	heavily reliant on Japanese materials Fu collected
June 1937	*General Discussion on Literati Painting* (*Wenrenhua gailun*)	translation of the art historian Taki Seiichi's (1873-1945) *Bunjinga gairon* (1922)
May 1939	*Biographies of National Artists at the End of the Ming Dynasty*	adapted from a Japanese book entitled *Detailed Biographies of Painting Masters in Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties*（*Sō Gen Min Shin shoga meiken shōden*, 1927)
June 1939	"History of Chinese Art: Early Period (Zhongguo meishushi: gudai pian)"	
June 1939	"On the Seal-Carver Huang Mufu (Guanyu yinren Huang Mufu)"	
April 1940	"The Development of Painting Theories in China"	first published in 1941
April 1940	"A Study of Jin Gu Kaizhi's 'A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain' (Jin Gu Kaizhi 'hua yuntaishan ji' zhi yanjiu)"	
Sept. 1940	"An Investigation of the History of 'Landscape' 'Freehand Brushwork' 'Ink and Wash' in Chinese Painting (Zhongguo huihua 'shanshui' 'xieyi' 'shuimo' zhi shi de kaocha)"	first published in 1943
Sept. 1940	"A Brief History of Chinese Seal-Engraving (Zhongguo zhuankeshi shulüe)"	first published in 1943
Nov. 1940	"Studies on Early Chinese Painting (Zhongguo gudai huihua zhi yanjiu)"	first published in 1943
May 1941	*A Chronicle of Master Shitao* (*Shitao shangren nianpu*)	
August 1943	"China's Applied Arts (Zhongguo zhi gongyi)"	unpublished manuscript
March 1944	"Chinese Painting during a Momentous Era (Zhongguo huihua zai da shidai)"	published in *The China Times* in 1944
April 1947	"Chinese Painting At the Turn of the Ming-Qing Dynasties (Mingqing zhiji de Zhongguohua)"	published *Nanjing and Shanghai Weekly* (*Jinghu zhoukan*) in 1947
August 1947	"The Spirit of Chinese Painting (Zhongguo huihua zhi jingshen)"	a public address in Nanjing, published one month later

In his writings during this period, Fu Baoshi singled out the transitional period between the Ming and Qing dynasties. He focused on a group of Ming-loyalists and their painting styles, which he believed would represent the great spirit of the country then and now. Even in his narrative of the general history of Chinese art, he placed emphasis on Chinese artists' integrity, which he thought determined above all the content and style of their creative efforts. For instance, in his 1940 article entitled "The Development of Painting Theories in China (Zhongguo huihua sixiang zhi jinzhan)", Fu attributed the loose brushwork in Southern Song painting to painters' deeply emotional resentment of the invasion by Northern tribes. Likewise, his explanation for the popularity of bamboo painting in Yuan times was that artists applied the image of bamboo to symbolize their unyielding resistance to the invaders' outright domination (Fu 1986 [1941]: 236-38). Fu Baoshi's propositions were closely related to the contemporary Japanese invasion of China. He drew obvious parallels between the alien overlordships of Mongolia in the Yuan dynasty and Japan in the Republican period. He fully realized the social role of painting in China, insisting that the dominant aim for a history of Chinese painting was "to assist in publicizing the resistance against Japan and inspiring the People's patriotic spirit" (Shen 2007: 22).

Along with his art historical research and teaching, Fu Baoshi held six exhibitions in the 1940s (Zhang 1991: 38-40; Shen 2007). Throughout his life, Fu Baoshi's art production, art teaching, and art historical studies were well matched.

Visuality in Fu Baoshi's art historical writing

In his article entitled "Art-Historical Art: One Aspect of Ch'ing Painting", Max Loehr has persuasively pointed out the importance of the art historical aspect in Qing painting. He analyzes four distinct performances: "the copy made as a study by the beginner"; "the exact copy or reproduction"; "the free copy or paraphrase"; and "the alleged copy, which actually is a free creation". In the multi-layered notion "copy", Loehr challenges the negative status associated with the ubiquitous practice to copy or paraphrase ancient painting styles in the Qing dynasty. According to Loehr, the blurred boundary between copying and creating posed the danger of overlooking the actual objects of art history, simply because they were denigrated as copies (Loehr 1970).

The interest of Loehr's idea concerning art historical art is that it permits the notion of Chinese ink painting creating a visual narrative for the history of painting. To imitate ancient masterpieces or to make a free copy following old subject matters and styles are practices throughout almost the whole history of Chinese painting. This kind of artwork may not be the greatest masterpiece according to the standards of original composition and

style, but it can establish a unique visual strategy in the historiography of art. As Loehr has proposed, "copies are a way of contemplating the past or the art of the past". They are "paintings about painting or ... painted art history" (Loehr 1970). In a sense, art historical narratives are no longer limited to textual explanation, but open to visual representation.

Fu Baoshi's engagement in the practice of painting combined with his academic training as an art historian, which he received in Japan between 1933 and 1935, offered him the tools to switch effortlessly between visual and textual materials.

Fu Baoshi's earliest surviving work from 1925 is a good example. This set of four hanging scrolls is his version of ancient masters' styles. One painting is *Drinking Together near the Pine Cliff* (*Songya duiyin*, Figure 3.1), which imitates the manner of the painter Cheng Sui (ca. 1605-1691). The inscription in the painting is a short art historical statement, which reads

> "Cheng Sui's literary name is Jiangdong Buyi. His ainting follows the style of Dong Yuan [the tenth century painter]. [He] uses dry brushwork to draw landscape. I like his power and simplicity so I imitate [his style]. "

Comparing this painting with one of Cheng Sui's masterpieces *One Thousand Cliffs Contend for Beauty* (*Qianyan jingxiu*, ca. 1687, Figure 3.2), Fu's idea of Cheng seems contradictory. The spirit of both paintings is similar, but, technically, few texture strokes that compose them look alike. Cheng's painting represents his style in dry brush and "scorched ink (*jiaomo*)". Fu Baoshi's lines are much sharper and more moistly inked. It does not mean that Fu's understanding of Cheng's manner is wrong, not least because Fu Baoshi stated clearly in his inscription that Cheng Sui's brush is dry. The reason why the inscription and the image do not seem to match each other is that Fu Baoshi aimed to achieve a spiritual similarity rather than direct technical resemblance to Cheng Sui. This practical example fits the paradoxical ambition of Chinese painting, in which, as James Cahill summarizes, "one could attain the closest resemblance to the old masters in works that did not seem to resemble theirs at all" (Cahill 1982: 37). As a result, Fu Baoshi's interpretation of Cheng Sui was achieved via this work of art, not just through the image or the inscription, but by combining image and inscription together.

More importantly, Fu Baoshi demonstrated an interesting use of visuality in his art historical research. Concerning his concentration on Chinese painting history, Fu claimed:

> "I am most interested in two periods of Chinese painting history. One is the Eastern Jin-Six Dynasties period (from the fourth to sixth centuries); the other is the transition from Ming to Qing (the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries). [My research of] the former [period] begins with Gu Kaizhi [the figure painter (ca. 345-ca.406)], and [it] covers the Six Dynasties. [My research of] the latter [period] begins with Shitao, and

> [it] expands to [the reigns of] Long [Qing] and Wan [Li] of Ming and [the reigns of] Qian [Long] and Jia [Qing] of Qing. During the last ten years, I have made painstaking efforts on behalf of these two great artists [Gu Kaizhi and Shitao] ... These two periods have been always in my head. So the themes for more than half of my paintings belong to one of these two periods."(Fu 1942)

Fu's research did not influence only textual productions, but extended also to his painting. He ambitioned a strong artistic impulse to paint the history of Chinese painting.

Fu Baoshi's study of Gu Kaizhi began with Fu's response to a text published by Ise Sen'ichirō (1891-1948), entitled *From Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao: History of Chinese Landscape Painting* (*Shi Kō Kaishi chi Jin Hō: Shina sansui gashi*, 1933). Ise was a researcher at the Kyoto Institute of Eastern Culture Academy (Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyoto kenkyujo) who conducted a project "History of Chinese Painting with a Focus on the Periods of Song and Yuan (Sōgen ni chūshin tosuru Chūgoku kaiga shi)" from 1929 to 1931. According to Fu Baoshi, Naitō Konan wrote four poems as the foreword of Ise's book. In the last poem, Naitō praised Ise's work highly describing Ise's opinions on Chinese landscape painting as peerless. It was the main reason why Fu paid great attention to this book. After closely reading it several times, Fu produced a Japanese essay "On the Problems in the History of Chinese Landscape Painting from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao (Lun Gu Kaizhi zhi Jing Hao zhi shanshui huashi wenti)" in which he opposed Ise's opinions. In particular, he pointed out Ise's misinterpretation of eight sentences in the ancient text "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain" attributed to Gu Kaizhi. Unable to publish it in Japanese journals at first, Fu translated his essay into Chinese and published it in Shanghai in 1935 (Fu 1935b).

Fu Baoshi's article was prematurely launched at this moment (Shen 2007: 15). Still, after his professional training with Kinbara Seigo, Fu's interests on Gu Kaizhi remained. He spent several years analyzing Gu's mysterious text. He also discussed its ambiguity with friends, such as Guo Moruo and Teng Gu. In 1940, he completed an essay entitled "The Study on Jin Gu Kaizhi's 'A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain'". In this essay, Fu reinterpreted the whole text of "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain" sentence by sentence. Fu was not satisfied with his efforts as simply a textual projection. He designed a graphic plan according to his understanding of Gu's text (Figure 3.3), because he believed that it was nothing less than a plan for a landscape painting based on real mountain scenery. Fu divided the pictorial space of a handscroll into five parts and marked the positions of trees, rocks, animals, and human figures mentioned in the text. Mountains occupied the major space of his composition, while human figures were comparatively tiny in the picture. In Fu's hands, it turned out to be a draft of a landscape painting. Based upon this draft plan, between 1940 and 1941, Fu Baoshi painted two paintings using the same title *A Picture of*

the Yuntai Mountain (*Yuntaishan tu*). One was a painting in colour on paper (Figure 3.4). The other was an ink painting on paper (Figure 3.5). In both paintings, Fu wrote the whole "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain" in the right-hand corner of the scrolls. Guo Moruo composed four poems as an inscription for the coloured version. He stated that Fu's research on "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain", the new painting in particular, was a great achievement in painting history. Responding to Naitō Konan's remarks on Ise Sen'ichirō's book. Guo Moruo believed that Fu's interpretation was better than Ise's.

Fu Baoshi admitted that his painting was not a truthful reconstruction of Gu Kaizhi's *The Yuntai Mountain*, supposing even that Gu had ever painted one. Fu knew that he should have painted with rich colours on silk instead of paper. Lacking materials during wartime, he had to use light colour, ink, and paper. However, he fulfilled his ultimate goal of proving that Gu's "A Record of Painting the Yuntai Mountain" was paintable (Fu 1940). More importantly, he deduced from the excellent composition of Gu's landscape that Gu Kaizhi was not only a figure painter but also a landscape painter. Fu's reconstruction of the history of Chinese landscape painting thus traced the maturity of Chinese landscape painting back to the fourth century. Fu Baoshi's conclusion, not to mention his method, is debatable. Later scholars in China and Japan challenged Fu with their understandings of the text. Nonetheless, Fu initiated the careful and thorough reading of Gu Kaizhi's texts in Chinese art historical scholarship. His visual strategy, for all that it may be questionable, also influenced later studies. In 1968, the Taiwanese scholar Shen Yizheng attached his recreation of the painting *The Yuntai Mountain* to his essay on Gu Kaizhi's text. In Shen's version, landscape became the background and human figures occupied most of the picture surface (Shen 1968: 21). Although Shen's picture is very different from Fu's painting, Shen Yizheng's idea to provide a visual representation has most likely been inspired by Fu Baoshi.

Similarly, Fu Baoshi's scholarship on the late Ming and early Qing master Shitao (1642-1707) is represented not only by his publications, but also by his painting. Fu's admiration for Shitao stimulated him to paint as he conceived Shitao had done, and to conduct thorough textual research on this artist.

Fu Baoshi's approach to Shitao was largely influenced by Japanese scholarship. Shitao and his paintings became very popular in Japan during the early twentieth century. Japanese collectors bought many paintings attributed to Shitao. Academic research followed. Aoki Masaru (1887-1964), a scholar famous for his research on Yuan and Ming dramas, published an essay "Shitao's Painting and Painting Criticism" in 1921. Before his trip to Japan, Fu Baoshi seldom had any chance to view authentic works by Shitao. In

Japan, he almost certainly enjoyed better opportunities to view Shitao's paintings[21]. At the end of 1934, inspired by Japanese scholarship, Fu wrote to Kinbara Seigo that he planned to conduct research on Shitao (Ye 2004: 22; Wan 2008).

Table 3.2

Title	Year	Notes
"Chronology of Shitao"	1935	published in *The Country of Beauty* Vol. 11 No. 3
"A Draft Chronology of Shitao (Shitao nianpu gao)"	1936	published in *Literature and Art Monthly* (*Wenyi yuekan*) Vol. 9 No. 1
"An Investigation of Shitao (Shitao congkao)"	1936	published in *Literature and Art Monthly* Vol. 9 No. 5
"Further Investigation of Shitao (Shitao zaikao)"	1937	published in *Literature and Art Monthly* Vol. 10 No. 6
"A Study of Shitao's Painting Theory (Shitao hualun zhi yanjiu)"	1937	unpublished manuscript
"A Revision of Shitao's Inscriptions and Postscripts (Dadizi tihua shi ba jiaobu)"	1937	unpublished manuscript
"A Third Investigation of Shitao (Shitao sankao)"	1940	manuscript; publication unknown
"Textual Research on Shitao's Birth and Death Dates (Shitao shangren shengzu kao)"	1946	completed in 1936; published in *Cultural Pioneers* (*Wenhua xianfeng*) Vol. 6 No. 12-13
Chronicle of Shitao's Life	1948	finished in 1941; serialised in seven issues of *Nanjing and Shanghai Weekly* in 1947; published as a volume in 1948

What is intriguing is that Fu's texts on Shitao reconstructed Shitao's life and art theory based on written evidence, including treatises, poems, letters, and inscriptions. Fu Baoshi's textual research on Shitao is very similar to the most meticulous category of Japanese hermeneutics. Table 3.2 is a list of Fu Baoshi's publications on Shitao. These nine treatises do not contain any illustrations; all of them are text-oriented. Fu analyzed a lot of inscriptions on Shitao's painting; but no detailed analysis of Shitao's artworks by Fu is available. Instead, he attempted to construct a chronological timetable of Shitao's largely undocumented life. Seven out of nine publications deal with this topic. The remaining two focus on Shitao's painting theory and inscriptions. *Chronicle of Shitao's Life* (*Shitao shangren nianpu*, 1948) was the final outcome of Fu Baoshi's fifteen-year research. Once

[21] Zhang Guoying has suggested that it was unlikely that Fu Baoshi saw many of Shitao's original works even in Japan (Zhang 1991: 116-17).

more, Fu's vivid imagination enabled him to visualize an artist's words. His painting skill allowed him to estimate and discern how the artist achieved visual effects which had been described yet never visually devoted.

Fu Baoshi's paintings concerning Shitao visually balanced his textual studies. Fu often painted according to inspiration from Shitao's poems and essays or directly depicted Shitao's image and behaviour as he understood them. He even conceived of painting a history of Shitao's life, something he, unfortunately, did not achieve. In 1942, however, Fu painted more than ten paintings concerning aspects of Shitao's life. One example is Fu Baoshi's *A Painting of Dadi Thatched House* (*Dadi caotang tu*) painted in 1942 (Figure 3.6). He stated:

> "In March [1942], I attempted to paint the whole life of Shitao...as an album of painted history in order to commemorate this great artist. Although my plan did not succeed, [I] still painted quite a few in succession... Most of them are visualizations based on my research achievements [on Shitao], and [I] tried my best to record my motivations in each inscription on every painting."(Fu 1942)

Although he painted several pictures concerning Shitao, Fu Baoshi only attempted to imitate an actual painting of Shitao once. This surviving work is *Landscape Painting in the Style of Shitao* (*Fang Shitao shanshui tu*, 1943, Figure 3.7), which copies Shitao's *A Picture of Travelling in Huayang Mountain* (*You Huayangshan tu*, ca. 1685-1695, Figure 3.8). Fu did not follow the model slavishly. Although the composition of his version is similar to Shitao's, Fu added a few misty peaks in the right-hand corner of the painting. He also reduced the complexity of the waterfall. His strokes are shorter than Shitao's, executed with a wetter brush and darker ink to create blur. Fu applied a few layers of ink wash for a foggy effect. This kind of brushwork developed into his unique style named "Baoshi Strokes (*Baoshi cun*)", often visible in his later work. Fu Baoshi freely paraphrased Shitao's spirit, rather than truly reproduced Shitao's picture. Once again, besides narrating Shitao's life and explaining the artist's style in words, Fu Baoshi constructed a visual demonstration of Shitao's spirit by exploring his own visual insights.

3.3 Chinese Ink Painters as Scholars

With a few exceptions[22], early twentieth-century Chinese authors of histories of Chinese art received formal training in painting by either traditional or modern methods. Some of these writers, such as the philologist Yu Anlan (1902-1999), the historian Tong Shuye (1908-1968), and the pioneer anthropologist Cen Jiawu (1912-1966), did not become painters. They maintained their interests in art while actually devoting most of their energy to academic research on other subjects. For instance, in 1945, Tong Shuye who specialized in the history of the Spring and Autumn Period, took a position in the history section of the Shanghai Museum, in order to pursue his research on Chinese ceramics. *A Series of Essays on the History of Chinese Ceramics* (*Zhongguo ciqishi luncong*, 1957) is a collection of Tong's pre-1949 works on ceramics (Tong 1989).

More interestingly, two art historians Teng Gu and Hu Man were originally students of painting. Teng Gu learned to paint at his hometown and then in Shanghai during the 1900s and '10s before studying art theory and art history in Japan and later Germany. Hu Man learned oil painting first at the Peking National Art School from 1925 to 1929 and then studied Western oil painting at the painting department of the Leningrad Art Academy between 1935 and 1939. His interest in Chinese art history began in 1934, prior to his experience in the Soviet Union, when he published his first book entitled *The Development of Chinese Art*. After his return to China, Hu Man devoted his attention to the pre-twentieth-century history of Chinese art. In 1942, at Yan'an, the base of the Chinese communist leadership during the Sino-Japanese war, he completed a history of Chinese art.

All of these Chinese writers nurtured their interest in art through practical experience during their youth, even though they later abandoned art production, and none of their artworks survives today. Another group of influential writers on Chinese painting, who gained relatively equal fame for their research and their art, produced works that have survived. The connection between their visual and textual works is easier to trace.

[22] As far as I know, there were only three exceptions in the first half of the twentieth century: Zhu Jieqin who received training to be a historian, Li Puyuan who was a professor of drama, and Chen Zhongfan (1888-1982), who graduated from Beijing University in 1917 and focused on the history of Chinese literature and philosophy. Chen Zhongfan's association with art history was indirect. He did not publish any book on art history, but evidently entertained a plan to conduct research on Chinese art, since he published an essay "A Plan for Research on Chinese Art History (Yanjiu Zhongguo yishushi jihua)" in December, 1936. Chen's plan did not succeed. At least, no results in the form of publication emerged. There is also an unclear case of Liu Sixun, a translator. He published a book entitled *The Development History of Chinese Art* (*Zhongguo meishu fadashi*) in 1946 with the Commercial Press. However, apart from his translation works in the 1920s and '30s, I found no information on him.

Yu Shaosong is a leading example. He was born into a literary family in 1883 in Quzhou, Zhejiang. After studying in Japan, majoring in law from 1905 to 1910, Yu took a position in the Administration of Justice of the Republican government. He lived in Beijing between 1913 and 1928. He owned a seal claiming that he "started to learn painting at the age of thirty-three". In 1915, Yu Shaosong established the Xuannan Painting Society (Xuannan huashe)—the name of which indicated the society's residence in Southwest Beijing—and, through founding the society, he learned to paint. The painting instructor for Yu's society was the ink painter Tang Dingzhi (1879-1948), whose great-grandfather Tang Yifen (1778-1853) was one of the most important Qing painters of his generation. In 1918, Tang Dingzhi also became one of the teachers in the Research Institute of Painting of Beijing University (Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui). Members of the Xuannan Painting Society gathered regularly at Yu Shaosong's house to watch how Tang Dingzhi painted. Chen Shizen participated in the events of this society as well, and his work provided another learning model for the members to follow. At the end of each gathering, society members chose a title as the theme of a painting to present at the next gathering. It was also the weekly occasion when members discussed each other's work. The teachers would comment on them too, and deliver instruction on painting skills (Mao 2006b: 43-44).

Yu Shaosong derived much benefit from these activities. His ink painting skills improved, and he also made good friends with influential artists and scholars, not the least of whom was Chen Shizeng. In the 1920s, partly because of this association, Yu Shaosong's paintings had already drawn the attention of people in Chinese art circles. His reputation reached its summit when the Japanese Empress Dowager bought his work. In his diary, Yu wrote that in 1931 the Japanese Empress Dowager spent a large sum of money to purchase a set of his bamboo paintings, which were four hanging scrolls respectively named *Wind* (*Feng*), *Rain* (*Yu*), *Snow* (*Xue*), and *Moon* (*Yue*). He even attached a cutting of an English report about this story in his diary, recording that, when she visited an exhibition of Chinese and Japanese painting in Tokyo, the Japanese Empress Dowager considered Yu's set of painting the best among all the entries, and "offered the highest price to buy it for her palace"(Yu 2003: 636-37).

Yu Shaosong's painting follows the so-called Southern School tradition which he believed represented the ultimate goal of traditional Chinese ink painting. His horizontal lines of ink are identical to "hemp-fibre strokes (*pima cun*)", believed to have been invented by the landscape painter Dong Yuan (active ca. 937-976). His misty landscapes with loose dots are the result of imitating the noted calligraphers and painters Mi Fu and Mi Youren (ca. 1072-1151).

Meanwhile, Yu Shaosong gained fame as a historian of Chinese painting. In May

1926, he delivered a one-hour speech "The General Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting Studies (Zhongguo huaxue yuanliu zhi gaiguan)" at Yanjing Chinese School, a school which educated Westerners about Chinese culture in Beijing. One of the leading publications of the May Fourth Movement *The Supplement to Morning Post* published the entire talk. In the article, Yu added plum-and-bamboo painting—a genre in which he was skilled—to the standard categories of landscape, flower-and-bird, and human figure. In his account of Yuan painting, he emphasized the genre of ink bamboo painting (*mozhu hua*), which he believed first became truly fashionable during Yuan times. Yu's narrative of Chinese art history reflected his passion for the Southern School in practice. For example, in the same talk, he claimed that the Southern School in different genres of Song painting developed later than the Northern School, but was superior to the Northern School (Yu 1926). Based on his empirical experience, Yu's opinions of Chinese painting history were biased. Unlike Teng Gu, these painters did not intend to construct an objective history of Chinese painting.

Subjective judgement in art historical writing

Since these authors of Chinese painting history were also painters, they unavoidably identified emotionally with painting as the object of their scholarship. Like their ancestors—ancient Chinese scholars on calligraphy and painting—who always expressed their value judgement in their accounts, scholars in modern times combined art criticism with art history. Commenting on past or contemporary artworks, they seldom neglected to introduce the historical background. Telling a history of art in China, they always evaluated artists and expressed their preferences or dislikes.

Huang Binhong's "Biography of Hongren (Meihua guna zhuan)" (1909) is an example of this indigenous style. Although it was only two paragraphs long, this essay united Huang's historical accounts of and his comments on Hongren's life. After the first paragraph on Hongren's biographical story, Huang Binhong devoted the second paragraph to his admiration of Hongren's moral integrity presented by the artist's painting. Citing Xunzi (ca. 300-230 BCE) and Yang Xiong (53 BCE-18 CE), philosophers of ancient China, Huang praised Hongren's loyalty to the Ming dynasty (Huang 1909).

Another example of an author incorporating a personal point of view into his history of Chinese painting is Fu Baoshi's *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* (1931). Fu Baoshi told his readers that in order to rewrite a history of Chinese painting he applied the theme of promoting the Southern School to his narratives (Fu 1931b: 2). In his accounts of different periods, he saw a constant struggle between the Southern and Northern Schools which he considered respectively as literati painting and artisan painting.

He concluded his book with the idea that the Southern School had controlled the painting circle in the Qing dynasty for two hundred and seventy years (Fu 1931a: 188). Influenced by Chen Shizeng, one of the earliest Chinese scholars in the twentieth century to reinterpret and to promote literati painting (Andrews and Shen 2006: 9-12), Fu Baoshi proposed three essential elements of Chinese painting as character (*renpin*), knowledge (*xuewen*), and talent (*tiancai*), a triangular system of appreciation, which he employed to judge the merits of the painters in his book. Among these elements, character was the most important for Fu; knowledge was second and talent third. He believed that the character of a painter determined the spirit of a painting. In Fu's opinion, even if a painter did not possess talent, he could still produce good artworks by edifying his character and improving his knowledge (Fu 1931a: 10-26). His extremely traditional theory supported the idea that literati painting was superior to painting by artisans. Therefore, he discussed the whole history of Chinese painting in favour of literati painting represented by the Southern School. Despite this basic bias, his history was provocative and interesting. His students, for whom Fu wrote this text, were attracted to such an opinion that appealed no doubt to young intellectuals with a vested interest in education.

A more extreme case is in Fu Baoshi's essay "An Investigation on the History of 'Landscape' 'Freehand Brushwork' 'Ink and Wash' in Chinese Painting". Fu Baoshi suggested that in Yuan art, Wang Meng was the only one among the four Yuan masters who possessed nothing splendid (Fu 1943). His highly reductionistic argument was that Wang served the Yuan court, and for Fu this was akin to betraying one's own identity. In similarly extreme cases, other authors treated the process of writing a painting history little differently from drawing a painting, primarily as a means to convey a burst of emotion instead of as an exercise in academic thinking. These works may not be great achievements in the historiography of Chinese art history, but they are useful documents to analyze their authors' involvements in the art historical writing of a formative epoch.

While professional art historians tried to be objective, painters in Republican China made no attempts to hide their strong personal preferences towards certain canonically celebrated painters. Confident in their tastes, they did not pretend to be objective. Due to this prevalent approach, it is difficult to position a number of texts from the Republican period within a single category of art history or art criticism. As a result, scholars sometimes used the term "painting studies (*huaxue*)" in documents of late Qing and Republican China. Zheng Wuchang named his 1929 book *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies*. This text covered three kinds of documentation: artworks and collections, painting theories and criticism, and painters. Zheng connected these categories by their shared historical and cultural contexts (Zheng 1929). The painter Qin Zhongwen (1896-1974) implied a priority

for similar concepts in his 1934 book *A History of Chinese Painting Studies* (*Zhongguo huihuaxue shi*). "Painting studies" here referred to research concerning different fields of art history, art criticism, art theory, and artistic techniques.

Art histories associated with art practice

Even if they made subjective remarks rather than pursuing impersonal judgements, these painters as authors of art historical texts intended to guide the development of contemporary Chinese painting through their historical narratives.

One trend of Chinese ink painting in the early twentieth century was the embrace of calligraphic brush styles and movements. Most Chinese ink painters at that time supported efforts to revive Chinese painting in the direction of borrowing strokes from calligraphy. Learning from calligraphy is not a new phenomenon in Chinese painting history. However, twentieth-century artists now found new types of calligraphy to adopt as their models. Unlike Yuan painters, artists from the mid-nineteenth to the early-twentieth centuries no longer borrowed the technique of brush strokes from the refined calligraphy executed on paper or silk known as *tiexue*. Instead, they believed in following ancient script forms from stele inscriptions, a training that was called *beixue*. A strong faith in the authenticity of stele inscriptions guided this new enthusiasm. This transformation from *tiexue* to *beixue* in painting originated in a major shift in calligraphy fashions during the late Qing period. Chinese calligraphers now discovered the values of script types in ancient inscriptions engraved on stones (including steles and tiles) or cast in bronze vessels. In their mind, ancient script types were superior since these inscriptions were original works rather than later copies of early masterworks. They were also inscriptions associated with objects desired by many in a late Qing early Republican frenzy of collecting. Consequently, they integrated this coarse but powerful style into their long-existing aesthetic system (Ledderose 2001). Paralleled with the transformation of the calligraphic styles from refinement to monumentality, Chinese painters hoped to restore the early ancient styles of simplicity and monumentality in painting. Closely related to the studies of bronze and stone inscriptions, the Epigraphic School (*jinshi pai*) of Chinese painting had gained its predominant power gradually from the mid-nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, ink painters, for example, Wu Changshi and Huang Binhong, claimed that epigraphic expertise could fruitfully develop Chinese painting.

To sanction this appropriation, scholar artists adapted their narratives of Chinese painting history with the classic theory that calligraphy and painting derived from the same origin. Nine out of ten authors of art historical texts in late Qing and Republican China agreed with the so-called shared origin of calligraphy and painting (*shuhua tongyuan*).

For example, Fu Baoshi suggested that the original form of painting in China was "script painting (*wenzi hua*)", a term he created (Fu 1931a: 27-29). Half of these histories listed ancient myths and old texts to buttress the shared origin of calligraphy and painting as one possibility for the birth of painting. Huang Binhong in *Topics on Ancient Drawings* (1925) stated that "Chinese scholars on art have all been saying that calligraphy and painting shared the same origin from the very beginning" (Huang 1925a: 1). Their usual argument traced the idea to Zhang Yanyuan's statement in *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*, saying "at that time [the beginning of writing and painting] writing and painting were still alike in form and had not yet been differentiated" (Bush and Shih 1985: 50).

Of course, a few writers with strong backgrounds in archaeology or history doubted this origin of painting from calligraphy, due to the lack of archaeological evidence. Pan Tianshou wrote an article "No Evidential Proof for the Theory of Calligraphy and Painting's Common Origin (Shuhua tongyuan lun zhi buke ju)" which challenged this theory. Still, he confessed that his challenge owed less to his own ideas and more to the impact of Western- or Japanese-trained archaeologists and historians (Pan 1926c). He concluded that this theory, based on what he termed "Eastern spirit (*dongfang ren de jingshen*)", was a philosophical and conceptual idea rather than a scientific reality (Pan 1926c). Indeed, modern Chinese scholar painters did not literally mean that Chinese painting originated from calligraphy when they discussed the common origin of painting and calligraphy. Their implication was that the technical and aesthetic borrowing of calligraphy from painting was absolutely legitimized conduct, because calligraphy and painting not only used the exact same tools, but also possessed the same spirit.

To encourage their fellow painters to pursue epigraphic links between painting and calligraphy, Republican painters even suggested new canons in Chinese painting history. Labelled as "the last great literati painter"(Li 1979: 61) in China, Huang Binhong attempted to capture the spirit of literati painting through calligraphy. Not surprisingly, in the 1940s and '50s, he put forward an original theory for the recent history of Chinese painting, canonizing paintings under new calligraphic influences. Huang emphasized a renaissance of painting in the reigns of Daoguang (1821-1850) and Xianfeng (1851-1861). He told the art critic Fu Lei in 1944 that:

> "The paintings of the Ming dynasty are dry and those of the Qing dynasty are weak... The Kangxi [1662-1722], Yongzheng [1723-1735], and Qianlong [1736-1795] periods witnessed a decline. It was during the Daoguang and Xianfeng periods that...artists paid attention to the methods of the brush. Artists such as Zhao Zhiqian and Wu Rangzhi were good at brush-and-ink" (Kuo 2004: 34).

In the early 1950s, Huang Binhong reiterated a claim that painting of the mid-

nineteenth century was superior to that of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In one inscription, he wrote:

> "...by the time of the School of Loudong [loudong pai] and the School of Yushan [yushan pai] [both painting schools were active during the early Qing dynasty. Their names were based on their originators' hometowns in today's Jiangsu], painting began to decline. The renaissance of the Daoguang and Xianfeng periods ensued; the painters' ink method was far superior to that of their predecessors."(Kuo 2004: 34)

His explanation was that the study of bronzes and stone inscriptions flourished during that period. The art of painting, then, was inspired by this epigraphic research, and it followed the painting production of the Tianqi (1621-1627) and Chongzhen (1627-1644) periods of late Ming, which he considered to be the true heir of the styles of ancient masters. According to Huang, brushing away the weak styles of the dominant schools in early Qing, painters at the time of the Daoguang and Xianfeng reigns achieved "solidity and density in structure and freshness and moisture in brush-and-ink." Huang believed that the promotion of epigraphy "gave rise to a new and forceful painting style"(Kuo 2004: 33-35). His unspoken message was that the present generation should definitely follow this route to develop Chinese painting. To some extent, Huang Binhong modified the recent history of Chinese painting to justify and promote his own painting practice.

Heirs to the ancient tradition

Early twentieth-century Chinese writers on art history from the background of history, archaeology, and philology, along with those educated in Western countries, were open to Western theories and methodologies in their art historical research. For example, Wang Junchu's writings were hugely influenced by Marxist ideas. He criticized the mythical legends of the origin of Chinese calligraphy and painting. He did not believe that a legendary figure, such as Fuxi or Cangjie, created calligraphy and painting in Chinese culture. Instead, he argued that art originated from human labour (Wang 1934). His training in the Soviet Union differentiated Wang from Chinese scholars. His art historical writings attracted many more followers only after the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. In a sense, his work was the beginning of an approach towards a strongly socialist history of Chinese art during the second half of the twentieth century in the People's Republic of China.[23]

[23] Li Puyuan's case is similar case to that of Hu Man with a strong materialist approach, which I will discuss in Chapter Four. However, Hu Man was much more influential in the People's Republic of China than Li. Li Puyuan, on the other hand, did not produce any more art historical texts after 1949 and died earlier than Hu Man.

By contrast, Chinese painters in the early decades of the twentieth century were inclined to seek reorientation of Chinese art history into the remote past of China, at least in performances which they claimed had taken place in ancient China. The outcome of this tendency was sometimes innovation in the guise of returning to antiquity, as Ledderose has suggested (Ledderose 2001: 213).

These authors depended enormously on the surviving texts concerning art. Quotations from early written documents abounded in their writings. Their published monographs were usually detailed studies concerning individual artists or art schools based upon all kinds of available textual materials. However, the ways in which scholar painters during the late Qing and Republican period treated these old written texts were different from scholars of the past. Their attempt was to revitalize the ancient methodology which they decided had been lost in the Ming-Qing period. They considered that the authors of art historical works since the Ming dynasty had done nothing except copy available early documents and allow falsifications to accumulate. In order to avoid this weakness, these scholars researched multiple versions of famous texts, including many editions of Zhang Yanyuan's *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*. They might not have achieved the same "modern, positivist art historical scholarship of oeuvre definition and biographical investigation" (Gaskell 2002: 158) as their Western counterparts did; nonetheless, they began to gather as much empirical evidence as possible for the objective treatment of each artist. For example, Huang Binhong's studies on Shen Zhou, unlike earlier scattered records, provided detailed materials from ten different perspectives for a full depiction of Shen's life and art, namely family background, behaviour and personality, teachers and friends, travelling experiences, living conditions, personal taste, connoisseurship, poetry and prose, paintings, and a painting chronology (Huang 1929a).

Furthermore, they did not stop at the construction of a history of one artist or one art school. They attempted to identify logic in the biographies of artists. They were no longer satisfied with listing old documents one by one. Instead, they conducted their narratives with major themes to connect different events in a logical sequence. Too often, they incorporated a personal historical point of view into the biographies of artists rather than an objective and scientific one. For example, in his *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* (1931), Fu Baoshi tried to search for a sequence of ideas from various materials and to find antecedents and consequences of artistic production. He presumed that the thread in the history of Chinese painting was "the promotion of the Southern School (*tichang nanzong*)" (Fu 1931b: 2). Huang Binhong's *Topics on Ancient Drawings* (1925) defined each epoch with one major feature of its painting and indicated the successive transformation from one feature to the next. In Huang's view, Tang painting "produced

resonance from its spirit (*you qi sheng yun*)"; painting from the Five Dynasties to Song created principles and worshipped them; Yuan painting advocated free expression; and Ming painting upheld simplicity. Addressing no social or political background, he simply summarized these characteristics observed in artworks. His focus was solely on painting. Concentrating on the aesthetic aspect of painting, Huang Binhong reiterated fundamental conceptions of Chinese painting that were largely ahistorical.

It is interesting that the only two Chinese chronological tables of art published in the 1920s and '30s were both composed by painters. One is Fu Baoshi's *Chronological Table of Chinese Art* (1937), and the other is Huang Binhong's *Chronological Table of Painting History* (*Huashi biannian biao*, 1939). Chronological tables had appeared in the traditional historiography of Chinese history but not in histories of Chinese calligraphy and painting from pre-modern times. Art writers in the early twentieth century who favoured Western thought most likely considered the chronological format to be monotonous. In the case of Fu Baoshi and Huang Binhong, this historical method borrowed from Chinese traditional scholarship was suited to a clear overall view of painting history, especially when directed at the tremendous amount of information that they gathered. Of course, Fu's book relied heavily on Japanese scholarship (Shen 2007: 19-20), but Fu would maintain that this approach had originally been learnt by Japanese scholars visiting China during the Tang-Song period. He treated the Japanese influence as a return to China's lost or unpopular past, all traces of which had survived only in Japan (Fu 1937b: 33).

In the Chinese art world, practice, criticism, theory, connoisseurship, and history have always been integrated through successive intellectual engagements. By means of a positive combination of the roles of art historian and other participants in the art world, a project that has not been seriously promoted in modern Western art historical traditions, the Chinese practice of art historical writing created a specific local interpretative strategy to connect visual products and textual histories. Because of the mutual benefits of this cooperation, it persisted even under the impact of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western scholarship. Chinese scholars then transformed the ancient tradition as they envisaged it to cope with modern challenges. The incorporation of their efforts within Chinese tradition was part of their effort to construct a discipline of Chinese art history in late Qing and Republican China.

Chapter 4 The Appearance and Disappearance of Canons: Canonization in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Art History

Since the 1980s, the discussion of canons has been a dominant theme in the discipline of Western art history. Various concerns have emerged regarding "questions of artistic judgement", "the history genesis of masterpieces", "variations in taste", "the social instruments of canonicity", and even "how canons disappear" (Gotlieb 2002: 163). Western art historians have considered that the canon's appearance in Western visual art embodies aesthetic, ideological, cultural, social, and symbolic values. The decline of academic style and the ascendancy of Modernism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe are two much favoured examples (Barker 1999: 169-87; Gotlieb 2002). More recent research has been concerned with what Anna Brzyski has termed "the mechanics of the canonical system" to explain how the maintenance and change of local canons function in the production of specific meanings under particular circumstances in different geographic locations (Brzyski 2007: 3-4).

In Chinese art history, the idea of a canon including masterpieces, important artists, and forms of art, dates back to the mid-ninth century when Zhang Yanyuan wrote his painting history *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*. Not only does the title of the book suggest Zhang's canonical attitude towards Chinese painting history, but, as a companion work to Zhang's writing on calligraphy *Essential Record of Calligraphy Exemplars* (*Fashu yaolu*), his text on painting history promotes the theory that painting is comparable to the long privileged tradition of calligraphy. For the first time in Chinese history, painters were as crucial as calligraphers in scholars' accounts. Even before this moment, within the painting field, canonization existed in the sixth century. Quoted in *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*, a treatise entitled *Classification of Painters* (*Guhua pinlu* or *Huapin*) was written by the scholar and portrait painter Xie He. Xie used a grading system to rate painters' quality (Bush and Shih 1985: 23). Since then, the processes of canon construction through collection, theorization, and publication have continued in China.

Faced with quite different political, economic, and social conditions amid the instability of the early twentieth century, Chinese scholars attempted to discover new canons for cultural orthodoxy and authority. Joan Judge notes that the late Qing publicists of reform attempted to institute a new canon of national culture, which was a mix of "Western civic educational values" and selected Chinese "established works". Part of their aim was to educate Chinese citizens (Judge 1996: 104). Prasenjit Duara suggests that Chinese historians, such as Gu Jiegang, "recovered counterhistories buried under the canonical

histories of the Confucian establishment". Duara notes that Gu Jiegang—and others—emphasized the Eastern Jin state, that is the Jiangnan region in the fourth century, for its contributions to the rejuvenation and preservation of Chinese culture. Notably—as Duara also suggests—Lu Xun chose the same period in his highly acclaimed project to write a new history of Chinese literature. This tendency to search for an early moment of cultural passage has an interesting parallel in China's art history. As this chapter shows, Chinese scholars attributed the decisive and founding moment of Chinese art to the Han dynasty. Whether or not this kind of historical retrospection to a slightly earlier epoch was accurate, it opened up vital new possibilities in education. Through an analysis of the scholar and publisher Di Baoxian's (1872-1940) art publishing, Richard Vinograd summarizes the leading function of artistic canons as stressing aesthetic education as a national symbol. Not only could canons help to construct a national art history, they could serve as the structural axes of art school curricula, as well as models for art and design production (Vinograd 2007: 19).

Modern means for canonization, such as museums and exhibition displays, cultural and academic institutions, and massive art publications with image reproduction in good quality, brought the process up to an unprecedented speed. It is true that most of these means have comparable counterparts in pre-modern times. However, their enormous scope and overwhelming influence are far beyond the reach of their imperial counterparts.

Through an intertextual reading of the publications on Chinese art history in early twentieth-century China, this chapter explores the transformation of canons in order to shed light on why and how canonical formation happened in Republican China. Canonization in Chinese art at that time organized old and new information of Chinese art into usable knowledge for the field of Chinese art history.

Despite the diverse styles and strategies which Chinese writers used in their narratives, Chinese art historical books produced during the Republican period canonized and de-canonized artworks of the past. The following discussion of these texts with reference to other art historical works comprises three parts: 1) canon formation of artistic forms within the new ideas of fine arts and Chinese art; 2) canonization in the historical temporal structures established by modern Chinese art history writing; 3) canon construction and deconstruction of artists and artworks under the influence of contemporary art production.

4.1 Histories of Various Art Forms

Notions of the fine arts

Neither discourse on the fine arts nor theories of the fine arts had featured prevalently in China before the twentieth century. In classical Chinese no single word conformed to the twentieth-century Western concept of the fine arts. The Chinese dictionary *Ciyuan* first published in 1915, in Shanghai, did not contain a collective term such as *meishu* which was exactly equivalent to the fine arts. Instead, a related concept phrased as *yishu* existed. However, the denotation of *yishu* prior to the late nineteenth century was very different from the present meaning of *yishu* as art. *Yi* had a basic meaning of "to plant", and it was conceptually linked to the traditional idea of the Six Arts (*liuyi*), which include ritual, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics. *Shu* with a basic meaning "path", was associated with medicine, astrology, prophecy, and necromancy. Its stress was more on the technical. Consequently, the term *yishu* in classical Chinese referred to all kinds of skills and techniques, and it includes also a sense that some of these might be cultural attributes. Based on the *wenyuange* edition of *Siku Quanshu*, the most comprehensive collection of Chinese scholarship available in the mid-eighteenth century, *yishu* as a sub-category of the *zi* division (*zibu*) encompassed calligraphy and painting, musical scores, seal carving, and acrobatics. With new usages at the turn of the twentieth century, linguists also understand *yishu* as a "return graphic loan". It is a classical Chinese compound that was "used by the Japanese to translate modern European words" and "reintroduced into modern Chinese" (Liu 1995: 305). The modern notion of *yishu* was borrowed from *geijutsu*, the Japanese translation of a Western concept of art. In 1932, "New Dictionary of Fine Arts (Xin meishu cidian)" by Ni Yide, began its ultimately incomplete serialization in *Art Tri-monthly*. Its dictionary definition identified art as a term "summing up literature, fine arts, music, and drama, which are different from science" (Ni 1932: 9).

It is noteworthy that *meishu* and *yishu* were sometimes used interchangeably in the first half of the twentieth century. *Meishu* imported from the Japanese *bijutsu* is similarly a "Sino-Japanese-European loanword" (Liu 1995: 289); it did not exist in classical Chinese. Actually, the combination of the characters *mei* and *shu* did appear once in an early text from the Song dynasty[24], but the term conveyed a totally different meaning as good paths or methods in which *mei* was an adjective and *shu* was an noun. The eventual appearance of *meishu*, this novel two-character compound was a major stimulus to Chinese scholars' thinking on art during the first half of the twentieth century.

[24] The text is *Liu's Explanations on Spring and Autumn* (*Liushi chunqiu yilin*) by Liu Chang (1019-1068), a Song historian and scholar.

According to existing textual evidences, the Japanese term *bijutsu* was coined in 1873 in a report about the 1872 world fair in Vienna. The Chinese version, *meishu*, first appeared twenty-four years later in *A Dictionary of the English and Chinese Language* (*Huaying zidian*, 1897) compiled by Feng Jingru (d. 1913) known as Kingsell, an activist who supported the revolutionary and political leader Sun Yatsen (1866-1925). Feng also managed a printing shop in Japan, which produced the dictionary, featuring "the fine arts" translated as *liuyi*, *meishu*, and *jinggong* (literally, "fine crafts") (Ogawa 2003: 38-39). Not until the first decade of the twentieth century did several Chinese scholars start to use *meishu* in their writings. However, the boundaries of this term varied according to different users. In its largest sense, any human product was included. Liu Shipei in his article entitled "On the Spatial Division of the arts (Lun meishu yuandi erqu)" (1907) included manipulation of weapons, such as the axe and the bow, in his notion of *meishu* (Liu 1907b: 3). In its narrowest sense, *meishu* meant just painting. In 1904, a Hong Kong newspaper *Something to Say* (*Yousuowei*) used *meishu* to indicate the study of painting exemplified by an important painter of the Lingnan School Chen Shuren (1883-1948). Neither the largest connotation nor the narrowest denotation was the commonly-accepted meaning of *meishu* in China. In fact, Wang Guowei's pioneer interpretation of *meishu* became the widespread understanding of the term. Wang was an classical Chinese scholar with path-breaking contributions in several fields of the emerging humanities. He was the first Chinese critic to use *meishu* in discussions of literature and aesthetics. In his several treatises, for instance "Confucius' Ideas on Aesthetic Education (Kongzi zhi meiyu zhuyi)", he established the notion of *meishu* as architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature (Wang 1904).

From about 1910 onwards, *meishu* became a regularly used term in Chinese. It appeared in the titles of books and magazines and in the names of art academies. One example is *Fine Arts Series* (*Meishu congshu*), published from 1911. This compilation was published by the Chinese National Glory Company under the initial editorship of Deng Shi (1877-1951), a pioneer in the National Essence movement. Huang Binhong joined the editing team for the third set of the series. Although it was criticized for its unrefined proof-reading, this series was highly recommended to people who were interested in art (Yu 1932: 5). Deng Shi and Huang Binhong selected important Chinese writings about art throughout history in order to promote awareness of art in China. They chose diverse books according to a wide-ranging concept of art. In their view, calligraphy, painting, epigraphy, sculpture, craft, ceramics, textiles, stone, ink, music, literature, and even drama were all different branches of art. In a recent study, Ogawa Hiromitsu has re-emphasized the importance of the term *meishu*. Ogawa suggests that using the eye-catching new term *meishu* in the title guaranteed the success of *Fine Arts Series*. He compares this set with another contemporary

compilation *Art Series* (*Yishu congshu*) published in 1916, proving that the books chosen by *Art Series* were similar in content to the treatises from *Fine Arts Series*. However, *Art Series* was much less influential than *Fine Arts Series*, and Chinese readers soon ignored it (Ogawa 2003).

Moreover, in the 1910s, most art schools were no longer called schools of drawing and painting (*tuhua xuexiao*), and art departments were no longer named departments of drawing and handicrafts (*tuhua shougong ke*). In 1912, an art school named the Shanghai Drawing and Art School, later known as the Shanghai Art Academy, was established by Liu Haisu. Another example is the National Art Academy in Beijing founded in 1918. A number of magazines, some of which were edited by these art schools, also contained *meishu* in their titles, for instance *Meishu* issued by the Shanghai Art Academy from 1919[25].

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Chinese intellectuals' discussions of art often started explicitly or implicitly from the conceptualization of *meishu*, in all cases, however, demonstrating attempts to control the new usage of the term. In 1913, Lu Xun attempted to answer the question "What is *meishu*?" in the beginning of his article "Suggestions on Disseminating Art (Ni bobu meishu yijianshu)". Lu Xun indicated that sculpture, painting, literature, architecture, and music were different forms of art (Lu 1956). In 1918, Lü Cheng's article "Art Revolution (Meishu geming)" followed the Western view of art as architecture, sculpture, and painting (Lü 1918). In 1920, Cai Yuanpei proposed both broad and narrow senses of *meishu*. In his article "The Origin of Art (Meishu de qiyuan)", *meishu* in a narrow sense referred to "architecture, sculpture, painting (including drawing) and industrial arts (including decorations)" (Cai 1920)[26]. On the other hand, *meishu* in a broad sense extended its range to other expressive forms, such as literature, music, and dancing. Cai Yuanpei specifically claimed that the narrow notion of *meishu* was used in Western art history while the broad notion of *meishu* was used in Western aesthetics. As Feng Zikai summarized in 1935, the common usage of *meishu* appeared in two ways: *meishu* was used in exactly the same way as *yishu*, referring to any creation and expression of something beautiful; *meishu* only referred to the visual part of *yishu* (chiefly painting, sculpture, and architecture) which excluded music, literature, and drama (Feng 1935: 2). The impact of the term *meishu* in the art world of early twentieth-century China should not be underestimated.

Ideas of Chinese art and hierarchy of categories

The notion of Chinese art also emerged related to the Western conception of the fine arts. In

[25] The earliest recorded Japanese art journal is *Nihon Bijutsu* issued from 1888 to 1943.

[26] What Cai Yuanpei meant by "industrial arts (*gongyi meishu*)" is similar to decorative arts or applied arts. My translation intends to show his emphasis on the function of art in industry.

1907, Liu Shipei published the first two parts of his article "On the Development of Chinese Art Studies (Zhongguo meishuxue bianqian lun)" in *The Journal of National Essence*[27]. Liu briefly summarized the different characteristics of Chinese art in various periods from ancient times to the Song dynasty. For example, Liu suggested that categories of art, such as dancing, singing, drawing, writing, and clothing in prehistoric times were limited by their practical uses; in the Western Zhou, art, if represented by bronzes, jades, music, pictures, and textiles, was closely associated with rites; in the Qin and Han dynasties, only epigraphy was worth discussing as art; in the Tang dynasty, because of religious and imperial influences, sculpture, architecture, calligraphy, and painting of Chinese art made great progress. Liu Shipei's scope of Chinese art broadly encompassed any Chinese creation connected with such moral ideas as Liu termed "truth (*zhen*)" or "goodness (*shan*)" or "beauty (*mei*)" (Liu 1907a). Also in 1907, Wang Guowei, in his article "The Position of Classical Elegance in Aesthetics (Guya zhi zai meixue shang zhi diwei)", suggested an aesthetic concept of "classical elegance (*guya*)" which differed from the philosopher Immanuel Kant's idea of "the beautiful and sublime". Wang enumerated distinct Chinese artistic forms from the West—"calligraphy, bronzes of the three pre-imperial dynasties, rubbings of Qin and Han, stone inscriptions from the Han to Song dynasties, and books in Song and Yuan times"—as art featuring "classical elegance" (Wang 1907). In 1912, "Records on Chinese Art (Zhongguo meishuzhi)", an article serially published in *True Record* (*Zhenxiang huabao*), a pictorial newspaper organized by founders of the Lingnan School in Shanghai, provided other evidence for the creation of the notion of Chinese art. It gathered short anecdotes about different forms of Chinese art other than calligraphy and painting. Most of these stories were about artworks which had been rarely recorded in Chinese formal historical documents of art, such as paper cutting and woodcarving.

The publication of these texts is a major manifestation of a structural transition from calligraphy and painting to the modern concept of Chinese art. Chinese scholars tried not to neglect any possible form of Chinese art from landscape paintings drawn by the literati to drinking vessels made by unidentified artisans. A similar phenomenon occurred in new histories of Chinese literature during the early decades of the twentieth century. Formerly, the orthodox discourse of Chinese literature had concentrated on prose in the classical literary style known as *guwen*. Poetry was the second most important genre in Chinese literature. Fiction and drama only gained their position in Chinese literary history in the late 1910s (Dai 2002: 176). The new histories of Chinese literature in Republican China, on the other hand, discussed not only political prose and poetry, but also other forms of fiction, drama, philosophical prose, and practical writings, such as personal letters.

[27] The remainder of this treatise cannot be found nowadays. So Liu's opinion about the later dynasties is unknown.

The effort to enlarge the scope of historical studies concerning Chinese art beyond its erstwhile limitation to calligraphy and painting continued through the 1910s and up to the 1930s. The emphasis of Chinese scholars aimed to match the well-developed branches of the fine arts (architecture, sculpture, and painting) in the West. Art historical texts applied the Western notions of art to discussions of Chinese art.

The new canonization of Chinese art affected new categories, such as architecture and sculpture. Scholars in late Qing and Republican China introduced the Western concepts of architecture and sculpture to re-categorize different forms of Chinese art. In 1920, the modern artist and art educator Yu Jifan (1891-1968) proposed a serious study of sculpture in China (Yu 1920). He argued that sculpture held a crucial position in art, and he deplored the lack of research on this art form in China. Yu saw sculpture as no less important than painting. He hoped that academic research on Chinese sculpture could be launched immediately. Teng Baiye (1900-1980), the modern sculptor and painter who studied art in both France and America, expressed a similar idea concerning architecture in his article "Art in China (Zhongguo de meishu)" (1934). Teng pointed out that the Western notion of art covered a wide range of activities, some of which had not attracted enough attention in Chinese history. In this article, he chose only to include architecture, bronzes, lacquer, ceramics, and other applied arts, such as glasswork, cloisonné, silk, and embroidery. Painting was not included in his inquiry because the same issue of the journal published an essay specifically addressing painting entitled "Painting in China (Zhongguo de huihua)" by Zheng Wuchang. Teng Baiye in particular noticed the different status of architecture in Western art and Chinese art. His explanation was that Chinese architecture before the Ming dynasty seldom possessed visible characteristics, except in some temples and tombs. In his view, architectural materials in China were easily destroyed, and could seldom last for a long time. Another problem was the replacement by one dynasty with another, an event which hardly ever preserved the palaces of the previous government. The usual actions after occupying a capital city were to destroy the old palaces and to found a new capital elsewhere. Teng believed that research on the history of Chinese architecture had not been developed, due to a lack of abundant working data. His suggestion for architectural studies was to use the existing buildings mostly dating to the Ming and Qing dynasties and to progress this research further on the basis of written documents (Teng 1934a).

Despite the difficulties raised by Teng Baiye, most art historical publications standardized a concept of fine arts in which architecture, sculpture (including epigraphy), and painting were three major elements. Teng Gu's *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926) and Li Puyuan's *Outline of Chinese Art History* (1931) only analyzed these major elements with small adaptations. Teng Gu used a paragraph shorter than seven lines to describe the

existence of stoneware, earthenware, carpentry, and other wares made of shell, carapace, bone, and horn in prehistoric China. None of these wares was mentioned again elsewhere in his book. Li Puyuan's strategy was quite simple. He envisaged epigraphy, bronze, jade, seal, and ceramics as subcategories of sculpture.

Beyond these three main elements, some histories embraced calligraphy, decorative arts, and crafts. *History of Fine Arts* (1917) by Jiang Danshu included a fourth chapter on applied arts involving ceramics, foundry productions, dyeing, and weaving, embroidery, lacquer, metalwork, and jades. Zhu Jieqin in *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936) added calligraphy to his narrative and regarded epigraphy and sculpture as one category. In addition, he analysed the special Chinese stationery of brush, ink, paper, and inkstone because of their key roles in Chinese art. Zheng Wuchang's *A History of Chinese Art* (1935) contained a chapter on calligraphy and separated the account of ceramics from sculpture to form an extra chapter. Shi Yan discussed painting, sculpture, and architecture in his book *Eastern Art History* (1936), and only touched upon calligraphy and decorative arts.

These choices are instructive. During the last two thousand years, the art of calligraphy has enjoyed the greatest prestige among the different forms of art, and painting has taken second place. Aesthetic theories on calligraphy even extended into the field of painting and influenced its development. On the other hand, prior to the twentieth century, little historical information about architecture, sculpture, and decorative arts had been available, in contrast to large quantities of treatises on calligraphy and painting. However, Jiang Danshu, Teng Gu, and Li Puyuan followed the priorities of Western analysis by deciding to make architecture the supreme topic of their discussions, to demote painting to secondary importance, and to omit any mention of calligraphy. Jiang's explanation was that architecture had led the development of the fine arts. Sculpture and painting were initially subordinate to architecture, and then became independent forms of the fine arts. The approaches of Zhu Jieqin and Shi Yan were less radical, in that both of them included calligraphy in their histories. Zhu put calligraphy between sculpture and painting. In the case of Shi Yan's book, the order of various artistic expressions was not absolutely fixed in the narrative of different periods. Nevertheless, painting and calligraphy constituted one larger group and always appeared before the other group of sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts[28]. His chapter on art in the Qin dynasty was an exception. His running order here was architecture, sculpture, calligraphy, and painting. The reason for this hierarchy can probably be explained by the fact that many more concrete records of architecture and sculpture in the Qin dynasty were available than those of calligraphy and painting. Zheng Wuchang adopted a new order: sculpture (including epigraphy, bronze, and jade),

[28] Within the two groups the orders of these categories were different.

architecture, painting, calligraphy, and ceramics. These authors' choices demonstrate their efforts to show the significance of Chinese art according to Western artistic values. They tried to position Chinese art in parallel with Western art, and to elucidate the comparability of Chinese art to Western art.

Imitating the research scope of Western art history, art historical studies on architecture and sculpture occupied an important position in Chinese scholarship concerning art. This new inclusion of architecture and sculpture, artefacts that were made by unnamed artisans, stimulated Chinese scholars to shift at least part of their attention away from paintings by famous scholar artists. Moreover, Western studies on Chinese art had, since the mid-nineteenth century, devoted most attention to ceramics, bronze, lacquer, and other decorative arts. Influenced by a Western focus, Chinese scholars also dedicated their energies to research on such art forms.

Images included in some of these Chinese publications also reveal a dramatic shift in emphasis. Illustrations produced by new printing techniques commanded respect in late Qing and Republican China. Even though no image was included in his *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* due to the expense of picture printing, Zhu Jieqin had planned to print images. He asserted that art historical books should have illustrations for reference and confirmation. Jiang Danshu succeeded in providing images for his readers. Jiang chose twenty-two pictures for his *History of Fine Arts* (1917): four for architecture, three for sculpture, twelve for painting, and three for decorative arts. In the twelve illustrations of painting, three images from the Han dynasty were anonymous works and the other nine pictures were paintings by famous painters of all periods of Chinese history. Transparently, painting of the literati was still the major object of Jiang Danshu's attention. Li Puyuan went one step further. In his *Outline of Chinese Art History* (1931), Li used sixteen pictures. Five of them are about architecture, including a miniature building discovered from a grave. Another five illustrations about sculpture comprise a vessel, a clay oxcart and ox for the dead, a figure of Buddha, and a stone statue from a mausoleum. The last six images of paintings contain three portraits. Among all these sixteen pictures, only five paintings are attributed to well-known artists. The remainder are all works by unknown artists. Wang Junchu's selection of pictures in *The Development of Chinese Art* (1934) was an even more extreme case. His eleven illustrations were either pictographs or patterns from the relics of prehistoric China. The choice of images in their works demonstrates the growing interest in artworks executed by unknown creators, and it implies that paintings by famous scholar artists were no longer the core of art history in China.

4.2 Time in Narratives of Chinese Art Historical Writing

Like in history, the shape of time is crucial in art history which makes historical narratives possible. Writing a history of art in China during the early decades of the twentieth century was closely associated with a new consciousness of time, which in turn affected the process to define a new canon for the national culture. The emergence of temporal frameworks in this period provided new structure and logic for canons in Chinese art.

A linear view of time was "derived from the Chinese reception of a Social Darwinian concept of evolution made popular by the translations of Yan Fu [(1853-1921)] and Liang Qichao at the turn of the [twentieth] century" (Lee 1999: 43). According to Prasenjit Duara, Chinese historians in the early twentieth century adopted the "Enlightenment mode" of a linear and progressive history to write the history of China (Duara 1995: 33-48). This linear and progressive mode also influenced the narratives of art historical texts in the standards of periodization which these writings employed.

While some authors still used the dating system according to the succession of imperial reigns, they also gave the dates in the Western calendar. Fu Baoshi, in his *Chronological Table of Chinese Art* (1937), puts both the Chinese and Western calendars in his table to indicate Chinese and Common Era dates. This dual temporal arrangement inscribes a modern organizational time scheme onto a traditional one. It indicates a new linear consciousness of time which was a founding construction of Chinese modernity, a point that Leo Ou-fan Lee emphasizes in his study *Shanghai Modern* (Lee 1999: 79-80). Both Zhu Jieqin in his *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (1936) and Shi Yan in his *Eastern Art History* (1936) place the corresponding Western dates in brackets following the Chinese dates. Other authors, such as Li Puyuan, even chose only to provide Western dates. Rather than telling the dates according to different emperors' successions, these texts adopted a unified and homogenous calendrical dating from beginning to end. This adoption suggests a new coherence in the history of Chinese art, for the relations between different dates are clearly shown without the cultural shading that dynastic nomenclature inevitably promotes.

Terminology for periodization

According to Johan Huizinga, dividing history into a sequence of periods always "unites all the cultural products of an age and makes them homogeneous" (Huizinga 1984: 76). This strong tendency of periodization was what Chinese scholars of the 1920s and '30s needed for a coherent narrative of Chinese art history. Through different ways to divide the history of Chinese art, these writers on art illustrated their understandings of the inner logic of

Chinese art development according to new standards.

In the initial stage of creating novel narratives of art history, a new consciousness of time was not evident. The division which Jiang Danshu adopted in his *History of Fine Arts* (1917) was based on different forms of art in China rather than historical episodes. Quite different from Jiang, Teng Gu demonstrated his philosophy of time in Chinese art history when he consciously chose an innovative standard of periodization. Teng Gu's first sentence in the preface to *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926) claimed that, under the instruction of Liang Qichao, he decided to study the history of Chinese art. Probably a partial influence from Liang Qichao was Teng Gu's appropriation of a linear and progressive notion of time, particularly visible in his periodization of Chinese art. Teng divided the history of Chinese art into four periods: growth (*shengzhang shidai*, from the emergence of art to Han), cross-fertilization (*hunjiao shidai*, Wei, Jin, and the Six Dynasties), the flourishing period (*changsheng shidai*, from Sui to Song), and stagnation (*chenzhi shidai*, Yuan, Ming, and Qing). The boundaries between different eras for him were not clear-cut. For example, the influence of foreign culture had already existed during the rule of Emperor Mingdi of the Han dynasty (Hanmingdi, 28-75 CE) when Buddhism started to spread in China. Cultural exchange started in his "growth" phase and it became more obvious in the later period of "cross-fertilization". Teng also stressed the last historical stage as "stagnation" rather than decline. His idea coincided with Liang Qichao's major concept of "*jinhua* (growth)". Although *jinhua* is often translated into English as evolution, Liang Qichao used it without a connotation of progress. For Liang, *jinhua* was a constant directional process towards the future. Similarly, Teng Gu compared the history of art to water running in a river: "Sometimes it became a rushing current and sometimes, unsurprisingly, it slowed down; but it never stopped". In his opinion, it was wrong to deny any accomplishment in Yuan, Ming, and Qing times, for unique artworks and artists did appear in these periods (Teng 1926a: 39). Still, art in these dynasties lacked a major break-through, and Teng was not satisfied with the constant recourse to the training technique of copying which had in his view hampered the initiative of creative minds (Teng 1926a: 50). Teng Gu canonized his cross-fertilization and flourishing periods on account of what he judged to be their tremendous innovations in art.

Likewise, Zheng Wuchang claimed in his introduction to *A History of Chinese Art* (1935) that Chinese art could be separated into four eras, exactly as Teng Gu had suggested. Zheng even drew a parallel between Italian art immediately after the High Renaissance, which he considered as "a disastrous decline (*yiluo qianzhang*)", and Chinese art from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. He identified the reason for the stagnation of Chinese art in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties with the cause of what he perceived as the decay

of Italian art in the sixteenth century (Zheng 1935: 9-10). Zheng's understanding of Italian art is problematic, however, the point he attempted to stress is the nature of history to alternate the flourishing period with stagnation. He believed that it was an opportunity for contemporary Chinese art to turn the stagnation of the previous centuries into a starting point of a revival.

The descriptive terminology for division invented by Teng Gu and shared by other Chinese scholars demonstrates their biological view of the past. Different from the European art historians, who by the end of the nineteenth century had already turned away from biological metaphors for the maturity of art history as an academic field (Ledderose 2001: 231), Chinese scholars in pursuit of a scientific discipline of Chinese art history utilized the well-founded and defined terms from natural science for their periodization of Chinese art history. Accordingly, such terms of periodization as "growth", "cross-fertilization", and "decay" appeared in Chinese histories of art.

Chinese historians also suggested other sets of terminology to unify the artistic changes of China's past. Zheng Wuchang's version of Chinese painting history in *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* possessed a new theoretical framework in periodization which contemporary Chinese scholars considered highly original. The most impressive point Zheng made is his structural diagram of four large periods in his book: from the functional period (*shiyong shiqi*, prehistory before Xia times), the ritual period (*lijiao shiqi*, from Xia to Han), the religious period (*zongjiaohua shiqi*, from the Six Dynasties through Tang times), to the literary period (*wenxuehua shiqi*, from the Song dynasty onwards). Zheng's proposition argued against the usual concept of artistic decline during the later dynasties. Instead, he saw a shift of Chinese artists' attention from creating artworks with its practical uses in religious rituals to expressing their emotions in their art production. As Julia Andrews and Shen Kuiyi have suggested, Zheng's interpretation of Chinese painting history provided confidence and hope in Chinese art's potential. It opened up the possibility for Chinese painting to develop continuously along its age-old route in modern times (Andrews and Shen 2006: 25-30).

Zhu Jieqin's *Art History of the Qin and Han Dynasties* mentioned four epochs in his preface: the practical epoch (*shiyong shiqi*), the ritual and ethical epoch (*lizhi/jiaohua shiqi*), the Buddhist and Zen epoch (*fofa/chan shiqi*), and the literati epoch (*wenren shiqi*). Zhu's division was analogous to Zheng Wuchang's idea, and in the same preface Zhu Jieqin acknowledged the influence of Zheng's work. Zhu accepted Zheng's periodization of Chinese painting and expanded its scope to the whole history of Chinese art (Zhu 1936: 1-2).

Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* (1936) dealt with a time span from prehistoric China

to the end of the Five Dynasties (960 CE). As mentioned in Chapter One, Shi Yan divided this duration into two large periods of "Remote Antiquity" (prehistory to the third century BCE) and "Middle Antiquity" (the third century BCE onwards). It is possible to infer a third period as "Recent Antiquity". This division was familiar to the popular tripartite periodization in most narratives of general Chinese histories in the 1920s and '30s (Hon 2004: 516). Within every large period, Shi Yan separated the narrative into dynasties. He explained that he had to employ the dynastic division because his intention was to write a history of Eastern Art, which included China, India, and Japan. Restrained by the complicated historical data of art in "diverse nations, times, regions, and styles", Shi Yan preferred a simple technique of dynastic division which was easy for him to handle. However, Shi considered this dynastic division to be extremely limiting. He maintained in the first chapter of his introduction that division in writing art history should be based upon the changes of thoughts and styles in art instead of following the periodization of political history (Shi 1936d: 4). Unfortunately, his book did not achieve this aim.

Abandonment of dynastic concepts

The problem of periodization is also manifest in the way Chinese art historians disassociated the narrative of Chinese art from the classic cycle of dynastic history. Unlike history, as Siegfried Kracauer has suggested, art history challenges the power of one unified chronological time (Kracauer 1969: 143-45). Art objects have their own peculiar sequence of time in terms of each other rather than the political chronological time according to dynasties. Kracauer's point, which was not intended in the context of Chinese history, is a valuable one, since Chinese intellectuals writing on art endeavoured to break the dynastic concept in periodization. They attempted to define the history of Chinese art according to its own artistic time scheme.

In the introductory part of his book *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times* (1933), Teng Gu regarded Ise Senichirō's method of periodizing the history of Chinese painting as the only truly viable one. According to Teng, Ise Senichirō in his *Chinese Painting* (*Shina no kaiga*, 1922), divided the periods of Chinese painting into the ancient, medieval, and early modern periods (Teng 1933a: 2-4). Ise's terminology for his periods was not innovative. What Teng Gu admired was that Ise disregarded any political name for Chinese dynasties. Using solely the Western calendrical system, Ise proposed that the ancient period of Chinese painting was from prehistory until 712 CE; the medieval period from 713 to 1320; the early modern period from 1321 to the present. The period around 712 CE is the beginning of Tang Emperor Xuanzong's reign (712-756), but also the beginning of the Nara period (710-794) in Japan. This periodization allows for a degree

of synchronous development across both China and Japan. In Teng's view, breaking down the dynastic system, Ise's periodization showed the development of Chinese painting in its own schedule. Teng admitted the political influence on Chinese art, but it was not the only force for him to stimulate the development of Chinese painting. Teng believed that this periodization identified different phases of Chinese painting related to his proposition of style transformation.

Li Puyuan created a much more sophisticated system in *Outline of Chinese Art History* (1931), because he took the political, economic, and social conditions into consideration. Disregarding all the dynasties, Li treated the development of economics and changes in social structure as the standards for his division. Li also used the terms which indicated the political and social conditions to name his different periods. He discussed Chinese art in ten different epochs as Table 4.1 shows.

Table 4.1

Epoch	**Time Span**
Primitive Society (*yuanshi shehui*)	late 27th century to middle 24th century BCE
Early patriarchal-clan society (*chuqi zongfa shehui*)	middle 24th century to late 23rd century BCE
Late patriarchal-clan society (*houqi zongfa shehui*)	late 23rd century to late 12th century BCE
Early feudal society (*chuqi fengjian shehui*)	late 12th century to early 8th century BCE
Late feudal society (*houqi fengjian shehui*)	early 8th century to middle 3rd century BCE
First transitional society (*diyi guoduqi shehui*)	middle 3rd century to late 3rd century BCE
Early composite society (*chuqi hunhe shehui*)	late 3rd century BCE to middle 12th century CE
Late composite society (*houqi hunhe shehui*)	middle 12th century to middle 19th century CE
Second transitional society (*di'er guoduqi shehui*)	1839 to 1918 CE
"Socialist" society (*shehui zhuyi shehui*)	1919 to 1930 CE

This division is unique. In his preface to this book, Li explained that he had two theories to account for this division. He termed one as "materialistic dialectics (*weiwu bianzheng fa*)" and the other as "the theory of culture diffusion (*wenhua chuanbo lun*)". He considered them equally important (Li 1931: 6-9). In Li Puyuan's opinion, the same social and cultural background gestated the same style of art. Within a relatively constant society, the style of art should remain the same. However, Li's second theory pointed out that in a relatively constant society, its style of art attempted to spread and confronted other styles of

other contemporary societies. These styles definitely influenced and penetrated each other. As a result, the style of art in a society never stayed absolutely the same.

Li Puyuan tried to show dynamic trends by adding transitional epochs. Also, he illustrated that the later part of one period differed from its early part because of new, gradually accumulating, minor changes. However, the way he named these epochs— and his extremely uneven separation of them—buried any possible dynamics this division might have. The longest period Li separated was "the early composite society" lasting fourteen centuries, and his shortest period was "the first transitional society" lasting less than five decades. Fourteen centuries contained a tremendous amount of information to cover and Li Puyuan had no choice but to sub-divide his narratives of a lengthy epoch into dynasties. In contrast to Lu Xun, who was drawn to the chaotic period of the Wei and Jin dynasties (Duara 1995: 45-47), Li looked to the more socially stable periods in Chinese history for artistic achievements.

Nevertheless, Li Puyuan tried hard not only to provide a historical description of art in China, but also to answer why artistic changes in China occurred at certain periods and how these changes were disseminated and accepted by society. In the accounts of every period, Li first elucidated the meaning of the title chosen for each period, then described its material life and general culture—language, science, religion, philosophy, law, and morality—of the period, and finally analyzed its art. Li Puyuan's dialectical rules of historical materialism in art history were revolutionary not only by Chinese standards at that time but by Western ones too. Lin Wenzheng, an art theorist trained in France, wrote a preface to this book, and he praised it as a milestone of art historical research in China (Li 1931: 2). Li's book is probably the most radical one among modern Chinese art historical publications in the early decades of the twentieth century. Even the printing pattern of this book distinguished itself from traditional works. Its format was parallel to the Western standards. Instead of the normal vertical arrangement of characters from right to left, the text was in horizontal order reading from left to right.

The Development of Chinese Art (1934) by Wang Junchu was an exception in the case of periodization. Its narrative format was organized thematically. All twenty-one chapters in the main text of the book addressed different aspects of Chinese art ranging from patterns on vessels to the Southern and Northern Schools in landscape painting. There is no apparent connection between the chapters, each of which can be read as an individual essay. Arranging them in a vaguely temporal order, Wang Junchu attempted to offer some different insights into Chinese art throughout history.

Both Li Puyuan and Wang Junchu were quite eccentric that their methods of periodization did not gain immediate success in Republican circles of Chinese art. Their

ideas were too radical to be widely accepted at that time. In a bid to avoid being seen as eccentric, other Chinese art historians, such as Yu Jianhua, followed the longstanding dynastic periodization in their histories of Chinese art. The third group of scholars, including Teng Gu and Zheng Wuchang, was the most successful as their epics of Chinese art history were both novel and acceptable to contemporary scholars. Their publications during the early twentieth century discarded the rigid divisions of dynasties. Rather, they organized individual events in the history of Chinese art into a coherent flow. What had been the relative quiescence of the history of Chinese art changed into a temporal development which moved more continuously and more vigorously.

4.3 The Appearance of New Art Canons

Out of the mass of artworks and artists that emerged in each period only a small proportion of any category became reified as the objects and members of a canon. These lucky few absorbed the most attention from scholars and the public, while the residual remainder was usually consigned to oblivion. Even so, the process of canon formation never ends. Old canons may be reinforced by subsequent judgement and retain their canonical status. Alternatively, challenged by new standards, they may be demoted and replaced by new canons. In late Qing and Republican China, ideological changes took place gradually in the narratives of Chinese art, but they eventually amounted to a shift that converted pre-modern canons from theoretical guidelines into research objects of the past, and replaced them with canons constructed from new content and new categorical logic.

The following discussion will focus on: 1) the emerging canons of unknown artisans; 2) the growing disregard for a symbolic geography of North and South; 3) the canonical shift from the Orthodox School to the Individualist School; 4) the importation of foreign canonical standards.

The artists and artisans

The named artists were the axis of art historical treatises in pre-modern China. Traditional art historical accounts comprised textual descriptions, analysis of artworks, and biographies of their authors. Chinese scholars recorded extensively the names of canonical artists and their artworks. Admittedly, a few artworks whose creators were unknown were also mentioned in these texts. Zhang Yanyuan, for instance, noted mural paintings in the temples of Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty. However, Chinese scholars prior to the twentieth century always considered these works of art to be secondary and relatively less important. A traditional belief in the close connection between the virtue of an artist and his

creation was also a significant factor in why emphasis was given to named artists. From the Tang period, Chinese scholars had been guided by the principle that a great artist "must be a man of superior character and attainments" (Bush and Shih 1985: 194). They encountered difficulties making value judgements on artworks without knowing the identities of authors.

Chinese classical works on art created in the Ming and Qing dynasties attached unique prestige to literati art and exclusively provided accounts of scholarly artists. Distinct from these texts, new histories of Chinese art in the early twentieth century paid more attention to artisans without names and their collective production in seldom discussed categories, such as architecture, sculpture, and decorative arts. Chinese scholars now gave artworks by unknown artisans the same status as "masterpieces" by famous artists in Chinese art history. A case in point is their discussions of art in the Han period. Han achievements in art became the indices of a founding cultural moment that endured through subsequent ages, and functioned historically as a moral and aesthetic reserve against which later art in China—and abroad—could be measured. The modern development of ideas concerning art in China often promotes pictorial values of Han art in a national history of Chinese art. While earlier scholarship addressed only the importance of Han objects for textual studies, researchers from the late nineteenth century onwards promoted Han art's visual, aesthetic and cultural values.

The earliest record of Han art available today is not from a text on art but can be found in *Commentary on the Waterways Classic* (*Shuijing zhu*), an ancient geographical book describing rivers in China, compiled by the scholar Li Daoyuan (d. 527). In this treatise, Li described images on the stones of Han tombs (Li 1984: 291). Han artworks were first treated as art in Zhang Yanyuan's *Record of Famous Painters of All the Dynasties*. Zhang listed six painting events at the Han court, nine titles of Han painting, and twelve Han painters. He recorded the didactic significance of mural paintings of virtuous historical figures in imperial palaces (Zhang 1963: 2). His interpretation of these idealized portraits followed a Confucian idea. Zhang also mentioned the art activities of Emperor Ming of Han. According to Zhang, Emperor Ming collected paintings and commissioned mural paintings of Buddha (Zhang 1963: 3, 75). Zhang Yanyuan also provided as much information as he could for the nine titles of Han painting, such as the authors, the creation times, the contents, and the reasons for production (Zhang 1963: 54-56). He stated that he had not actually viewed these paintings himself, but had gained the information from earlier documents (Zhang 1963: 25-26). Furthermore, Zhang Yanyuan recorded twelve painters in the Han dynasty. Eight of them were court painters, and the other four were officials of the Han government. Zhang began by providing biographical information for these painters and then remarked on their painting skills.

During the following eight hundred years, pre-modern Chinese scholars accepted Zhang Yanyuan's narrative concerning Han painting as the orthodox history. Subsequently, new developments emerged outside the orthodox histories of painting. Song scholars' interests in antiques and Qing epigraphic studies stimulated great attention for Han objects other than paintings. For example, the epigraphist Zhao Mingcheng's (1081-1129) *Records of Bronzes and Stone Carvings* (*Jinshi lu*, completed in 1117) included Han stone rubbings. However, the major focus of Song literati was on the inscriptions which accompanied the portraits in Han rubbings rather than engraved images (Wu 1989: 3-4, 38-42). These scholars and antiquarians treated Han stones as rare ancient objects, and they paid relatively little attention to their pictorial values. Likewise, in the eighteenth century, Qing scholars were still concerned with ancient inscriptions, although Qing epigraphic studies on Han objects collected abundant materials of Han bronzes, stones, and bricks from excavations.

A different orientation toward a synthesis of textual and pictorial data emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Wu Hung, *An Index to Bronzes and Stone Carvings* (*Jinshi suo*) written by the late Qing scholars Feng Yunpeng and Feng Yunyuan in 1821 was a turning point in the scholarship of Han art. In spite of its textual bias, this book attempted to explain both literary and pictorial materials from the Wuliang Shrine (Wuliang ci) in terms of their interrelatedness. The Wuliang Shrine, which dates back to the second century CE, in what is now south-western Shandong, is a traditional Chinese stone chamber dedicated to a family of Wu (Wu 1989: xxi, 45-46). As a result of this late-Qing research on the Wuliang Shrine, images created by unknown artisans were no longer converted into historical narrative destined only to be promoted by scholars many generations later. Neither did they serve merely as a supplement ready to be reproduced in support of textual sources. Rather, they appeared side by side with inscriptions, and they contributed as visual evidence to the understanding of the shrine.

Taking one step further in the canonization of Han art, researchers in late Qing and Republican China directly pointed out the significance of Han objects in the long history of Chinese painting. The Qing scholar Yang Han (1812-1882) held up stone engravings from the Han dynasty as vital evidence central to his argument that the history of Chinese painting did not begin with the emergence of scroll paintings in the Wei-Jin period. Instead, he suggested that images from Han objects should be viewed as an important foundation of Chinese painting history (Yang 2000: 71).

Modern scholars, unlike their predecessors, consciously promoted Han art not for its historical significance to textual studies but for its own artistic values. Zheng Wuchang claimed in his *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* (1929) that it was a pity that no Han artisans had been recorded by texts of the past. They had disappeared from

the canons established around scroll painting from Song to early Qing. The Han dynasty, in Zheng's view, was the starting point when elite artists occupied the whole scenery of Chinese painting (Zheng 1929: 37-38). Zheng Wuchang demonstrated Han painting through images on stones and bronzes. He was amazed by the portraits in the Wuliang Shrine. He considered them to be successful and influential, and representative of the high artistic level of Han painting (Zheng 1929: 28-35). In his *Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting* (1931), Fu Baoshi attributed the root of beautiful lines in Chinese painting to the patterns on Han objects, to Han mural paintings, and to Han stone engravings (Fu 1931a: 41-42). He not only admired the simplicity in Han art, but also believed that Chinese painting established its tradition of lines in the Han period. Likewise, in 1936, the philosopher and aesthetician Zong Baihua (1897-1986) claimed that "the Eastern Jin [painter] Gu Kaizhi's painting absolutely emerged from Han painting" (Zong 1936). Meanwhile, Zhu Jieqin devoted a whole monograph to Qin and Han art. Zhu emphasized the great accomplishments of the Han dynasty in architecture, sculpture as bronzes and steles, and calligraphy. In particular, he noted the great influence of Han calligraphy on subsequent generations (Zhu 1936). The scholar Feng Guanyi singled out stone engravings of the Han dynasty for one chapter of his book entitled *Separate Comments on Chinese Art History* (*Zhongguo yishushi gelun*, 1941). In Feng's opinion, the stone engravings showed the prosperousness of Han wall painting and stone carving. He even enjoyed the special artistic delight of the ink rubbings, which he believed to be far superior to those created by later generations (Feng 1941: 348-49). Lu Xun was also interested in Han art, and collected stone engravings and rubbings of the Han Dynasty (now in the Lu Xun Museum in Beijing).

Most successfully, Teng Gu's research in the 1930s on Han engraved stones represents a modern trend in both Chinese and Western art historical scholarship on Han pictorial art. Applying formal analysis to his 1937 discussion of the engraved stones from a Han tomb in Nanyang, Henan, Teng established a Chinese artistic tradition in designing and carving pictorial scenes on stones. He concluded that two modes of Chinese stone engravings, which he labelled respectively as "bas-relief style (*ni fudiao de*)" and "painting style (*ni huihua de*)", coexisted in the Han period. Teng claimed that the Nanyang reliefs were the archetype for the bas-relief style, which should not be positioned in the category of painting. On the other hand, the painting style represented by the carvings in the Wuliang Shrine was much closer to painting. Teng Gu suggested that the second kind of carvings, radically different from the reliefs of Ancient Greece, Ancient Egypt, and Ancient Middle East, possessed an art historical value for research on Han painting. He also mentioned that brushwork in Han brick carvings was very similar to that of Han mural painting (Teng 1937c). Teng Gu's analysis led to discussions on Han mural art by Western scholars, such as

Wilma Fairbank, from the 1940s onwards. Fairbank developed the concept of two different artistic modes of Eastern Han stone carvings when she compared carvings from three Han sites in Shandong (Wu 1989: 56). Her explanation for the emergence of two distinct Han engraving styles laid the foundation for Martin Powers' studies on the patronage of Han art which emphasizes the social and political influence on styles of artworks (Powers 1991: 23-30).

Modern Chinese researchers provided detailed descriptions of artworks by unknown artisans. The Han objects mentioned above are part of these recovered canons. Similarly, scholars conducted academic research on other surviving works of art by unknown producers. Examples include the Buddhist caves of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, embroideries of the Tang dynasty, and ceramics from the Song and Yuan period. Their research was not concerned with the makers of these artworks. It was more important for them to analyze the style, form, and content of these objects in relation to other products in art history. Scholars in early twentieth-century China discovered unknown artists whom previous researchers had considered as unimportant artisans. Via various professional studies, they positioned these artworks as canons in Chinese art history.

The Southern and Northern Schools

The idea of the Southern and Northern Schools, one of the crucial formulations in Chinese art history, appeared in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Ming artist and scholar Dong Qichang might not be the creator of this division, but he theorized it to the extent that most later Chinese scholars on art engaged with it either positively or negatively. Dong Qichang held a strong preference for the Southern School. While he promoted the Southern School which he considered flawless, the Northern School, for Dong, "slipped into unimportance" (Cahill 1987: 430). During the early Qing period, Dong and his "Southern School" dominated the Chinese art world. His followers echoed his aesthetic taste in their art productions. Only in the Republican period, did Dong's theory meet a severe challenge.

There have been discussions concerning two major uncertainties about the Southern and Northern Schools from the Republican period: the true originator of the theory and the existence of the South-North division. In 1932, Yu Shaosong was the first scholar to express doubt about Dong Qichang as the originator of the theory (Yu 1932: 22-23, volume 3). Instead, he declared another Ming scholar named Mo Shilong to be the creator. For the next thirty years, this view of the intermingling between the writings of Mo Shilong and Dong Qichang was described as "a near-consensus" by Wai-kam Ho (Ho 1976: 113).

As Tong Shuye recalled, in 1925 his painting tutor Wang Jihuan (1898-1936) told him that the division of the Southern and Northern Schools was unreal (Tong 1941: 178).

Wang's explanation for this was the distribution of artists' hometowns in these two schools. Artists in Dong's Southern School were mostly from the northern part of China, while artists in his Northern School were mostly from the South. This argument somehow misses the point. According to Wai-kam Ho, Dong Qichang "made it amply clear that in his theory the geographical origin of the artists was not taken into account" (Ho 1976: 115). A group of art historians, including Teng Gu, Yu Jianhua, Qi Gong (1912-2005), and Tong Shuye, found other problems. They came up with the more persuasive criticism that this late Ming product was "ahistorical and biased" (Cahill 1987: 429).

Teng Gu disputed the division between the styles of painting by the literati and those by the artisans. In his mind, it was problematic not only to divide Chinese painting into the Southern and Northern Schools, but also to divide Chinese painters into literati and court styles. He believed that most recorded Chinese painters were literati with different life attitudes and tastes (Teng 1931b). Thus, Teng Gu deconstructed the contradiction between the two schools. Yu Jianhua explicitly pointed out that Dong's division was entirely subjective and without historical evidence (Yu 1937: 132). Late in 1963, Yu published another book entitled *On the Southern and Northern Schools of Chinese Landscape Painting* (*Zhongguo shanshuihua de nanbeizong lun*), in which he claimed that Dong Qichang's theory reflected a contemporary struggle between "scholar-official circles and the inner court circles...dominated by eunuchs" (Cahill 1987: 442). James Cahill has found Yu's suggestion stimulating. Similarly, Qi Gong analyzed the reason why Dong Qichang and his contemporaries invented this division. His conclusion was that these initiators attempted to degrade their rival, the Zhe School (*zhe pai*) painters led by Dai Jin (1388-1462), and to promote their own lineage, the Wu School (*wu pai*) from Shen Zhou (Qi 1991 [1944]). Tong Shuye concurred with Qi Gong's opinion and even claimed a new division of the Southern and Northern Schools on the basis of geography and painting style. Scholars who showed sympathy to Dong Qichang, such as Deng Yizhe (1892-1973), also maintained that Dong's idea was a philosophical statement rather than a historical one.

The crucial motive for modern Chinese writers on art to object to the late Ming division of the Southern and Northern Schools in Chinese landscape painting was their efforts to support the more realistic style in old Chinese paintings. In their view, it was improper that the canonical status of the Southern School was superior to that of the Northern School. Disregarding the symbolic geographical division of North and South in painting, they sustained the equal importance of styles by both the literati and the so-called artisans.

The Orthodox and the Individualist

One of the major shifts of art canons in early twentieth-century China is from the Orthodox School to the Individualist School. This transition took place in both art practice and art historical writing.

In late Ming and early Qing, the Loudong School, founded by Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, occupied the seat of Orthodoxy. It carried on the lineage of painting from Dong Qichang. Their version of Chinese painting history became the official account when the Qing emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) accepted this version and appointed Wang Yuanqi, the grandson of Wang Shimin and the legitimate successor to the Loudong School, artistic advisor to the court. According to James Cahill, the Manchu rulers supported the Orthodox landscape manner as the official style of Qing court painting (Cahill 1982: 190). These three artists, all with the same family name Wang, along with another established painter Wang Hui were called the "Four Wangs" by Chinese scholars. Their styles dominated the painting discourse in the Qing dynasty. Most elite followed this mainstream of Chinese painting. Even at the turn of the twentieth century, the literati still painted in the style of the Four Wangs. For example, landscape paintings by the official Wu Dazheng (1835-1902) were usually in the manner of Wang Jian and Wang Yuanqi.

From the late nineteenth century, in the southern part of China around Shanghai, the influence of the Four Wangs declined due to the rise of painters in Anhui and Yangzhou, and painters of the Shanghai School. Most ink painters no longer imitated the Four Wangs exclusively. They started by copying artworks by the Four Wangs but expanded to those by other ancient masters. Also, the contemporaries of the Four Wangs, who were Ming loyalists called *yimin* and represented by Shitao and Bada Shanren (1626-1705), attracted Chinese scholars and artists' attention. Two decades later, Yu Jianhua recalled this change of the late 1920s as a time when almost everyone painted in the styles of Shitao, Bada Shanren, and other earlier Ming loyalists and painters, for instance Gong Xian (1618-1689) and Kuncan (1612-1673). Yu claimed that the prices of artworks done by Ming loyalists were extremely high, and collectors lost interest in the Four Wangs (Yu 1986 [1947]).

Under the rule of Manchu, Ming loyalists' artistic influence was muted by the Orthodox School even though they gained their reputation locally in small circles. Late Qing and Republican scholars rediscovered these painters labelled as individualists. They employed the styles and methods of the Individualist School and opposed those of the Orthodox School, which they saw as responsible for the decay of Chinese painting in the Qing dynasty. These scholars believe that the individualists would breathe new life into Chinese ink painting.

Resonant with this switch in art practice, most histories of Chinese painting in

the Republican period reconsidered the Orthodox and Individualist Schools' positions respectively in Chinese art canons. Both Kang Youwei and Chen Duxiu emotionally blamed the bad habits of endless copying in Chinese painting inherited from the Four Wangs at the end of the 1910s. In 1925, Teng Gu criticized the Orthodox School severely for its narrowness. He had no time for this school at all and, consequently, he made a terrible mistake about the kinship between Wang Jian, Wang Shiming, and Wang Yuanqi. Wang Jian had no blood relationship with either Wang Shiming or Wang Yuanqi. Teng mistakenly claimed that Wang Jian was the son of Wang Shiming and the father of Wang Yuanqi (Teng 1926a). Such an error was unforgivable in a professional historical study. However, this fault reveals that Teng Gu did not take the Orthodox School seriously. Pan Tianshou totally agreed with Teng Gu and even reproduced his mistake, repeating Teng's story in his history of Chinese painting (Pan 1926a). Yu Jianhua also denied that the Four Wangs' work had made any contribution to Chinese painting. In contrast, he praised the Individualist School highly (Yu 1937). Yu was very passionate about Shitao and the artist's creation while his attitude towards other artists was much calmer.

Admittedly, a few authors of Chinese art history, such as Zheng Wuchang, treated the Orthodox and Individualist Schools more objectively. The majority of early twentieth-century intellectuals on art engaged in promoting the Individual School to replace the Orthodox School's canonical position.

The foreign and the native

The production of Chinese native canons in late Qing and Republican China also involved the importation of foreign canonical standards. Constantly paralleling Chinese artworks with famous foreign productions, Western masterpieces in particular, these art historical texts of the early twentieth century indirectly demonstrate the pre-eminence of certain Chinese artworks in an emerging Chinese canon, which Chinese scholars would expect to be adopted soon by scholars outside China as well. Teng Gu's *A Brief History of Chinese Art* (1926) is a good example. Teng proposed that the Yungang Grottos and the Longmen Grottos shared the same glory as the renowned sculptures in Florence and Venice, even though he did not specify which sculptures he had in mind (Teng 1926a: 18). He even drew a parallel between ancient Egyptian and Babylonian high towers and ancient Chinese high terraces to suggest the universal enjoyment of height in antiquity (Teng 1926a: 2). Teng's aim was not to carefully compare Chinese and foreign artworks but to illustrate the greatness of Chinese art in a universal scope.

Similarly, Zhu Jieqin regarded the art of the Qin and Han dynasties in China to be on a par with that of the Hellenistic age and the early Roman Empire in Europe, which

formed a connecting link between the preceding Zhou, Spring and Autumn, Warring States periods and the following era of the Six Dynasties (Zhu 1936: 5). His idea was that in both China and the West the preceding art styles were actually the progenitors of the following ones. He listed different Western schools as Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, Naturalism, Impressionism, Neo-impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Neo-Idealism, Cubism, and New-Romanticism. In his view, painting in the Han period could be termed Classicism, since it fostered the emergence of painting in Wei, Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties, a period of Romanticism (Zhu 1936: 141-42). Zhu suggested that the role of art in the Han dynasty, especially its influence on the art of the later periods, was as important as Classicism to Romanticism. Because his discussion of Chinese art was only about the Qin and Han periods, Zhu did not exploit his parallels for later Western schools.

Before his analysis of Chinese mural painting from the Han dynasty, Zhu Jieqin introduced the story of Altamira, a cave in Spain famous for its Upper Palaeolithic featuring drawings and polychrome rock paintings of wild mammals. He considered drawing as an activity common to primitive people around the world. He inferred that people in prehistoric China must have also created similar outline drawings to represent something which could not be expressed in language or by gesture. He claimed that according to ancient documents, mural paintings existed in the pre-imperial period and became popular during the Han dynasty (Zhu 1936: 129-31). Zhu actually used an example in the development of Western art to infer a developing stage of Chinese art without giving any concrete proof.

Zhu Jieqin also connected paintings from the Han dynasty with sculptures by the sculptor, Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), claiming that a parallel existed between Han paintings and Rodin's sculptures. Zhu suggested a similarity between two forms of art so wide apart in time and space. His aim was to bring discussions about Chinese art close to the Western artistic system. Zhu Jieqin's mention of Rodin can largely be explained by the contemporary popularity of Rodin in China. Several books and articles introduced Rodin's artworks and art theories, for instance, the translation of Rodin's *L'Art* into Chinese in 1930 (Zeng 1930) and the publication of "Art of Rodin (Luodan de yishu)" in 1933 (Yi 1933). Rodin, one of the most successful modern artists, occupied a unique position in any available Chinese account of contemporary Western fine arts. Zhu Jieqin must have read at least part of these texts on Rodin, which inspired him to compare this Western master with Chinese art productions. Zhu maintained that, in spite of its unsophisticated style, Han painting's naivety, just like Rodin's sculptures modelled on nature, possessed a certain artless beauty (Zhu 1936: 141-42). He achieved the same joy in his appreciation of Han paintings and Rodin's sculptures. In a sense, Zhu Jieqin raised the importance of Han painting and proposed a universal standard of beauty in art works regardless of their

different expressive forms.

Not only art productions but also art theories were compared. When talking about Ming painting, Li Puyuan in *Outline of Chinese Art History* (1931) investigated the relationship between painting and music suggested by the Ming scholar Shen Hao (b. 1586), in his *Painting World* (*Hua chen*). He explained that a French landscape painter, Constantine Troyon (1810-1865)[29] received a certain acclaim for being the first painter in France to possess a musical flavour. It was a surprise for Li to find a Chinese instance of a similar idea two or three hundred years before this Western one. Li Puyuan cited Shen Hao's words to demonstrate an innovative statement that great paintings had musical rhyme and lingering charm. He exclaimed it a pity that although art theories in the Ming period were in a leading position all over the world, they were not maintained in that high position by later thinkers. It seemed to him that they were so novel that later generations did not dare to mention them again (Li 1931: 175).

Through various comparisons between China and the West, these authors determined to show the achievements of Chinese art in terms of creativity and on the basis of theories in accordance with predominantly Western terms.

Beyond the attitude of general paralleling China with the West, these Chinese publications also focused on the influences from the geographical territory outside China in the history of Chinese art. An example given by Jiang Danshu was a style of columns in the Yungang Grottos. Jiang regarded these columns as Corinthian columns in Greek and Roman times, for they shared the same style. He believed that these columns were evidence of Western influence on Chinese art (Jiang 1917: 6). A more popular idea shared by these texts was the external impacts from India and West Asia in the history of Chinese art. In Teng Gu and Zheng Wuchang's narratives, Chinese art gained tremendous benefits from the internalization of Indian and West Asian influences from the third to tenth centuries. Wang Junchun also mentioned that Chinese art made progress when absorbing the Indian style with the introduction and spread of Buddhism.

The layout of Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* (1936) confirmed Shi's effort to demonstrate the relationship within what he called Eastern Art. He placed the descriptions of Chinese art, Indian art, and Japanese art in the same period together and emphasized the interaction between them.

Furthermore, these writings analyzed achievements in the history of Chinese art in order to understand contemporary Chinese art and to explore the possible development of Chinese art in the future. In Teng Gu and Zheng Wuchang's opinion, the prosperity

[29] The information given by Li Puyuan in the book is not correct. The artist's real name is Constant Troyon, a French animal painter of the first rank who was born in 1810 rather than 1813.

of Chinese art in ancient times was associated with the internalization of nature and the external impacts of foreign art. Consequently, they expected that learning from Western art and the imitation of nature would expose a unique aura for Chinese art and ensure its survival in the future. Teng Gu applied an example from eugenics to verify this view. That is, since a person with his or her parents from different ethnic groups was often exceptionally endowed, Chinese art combined with foreign cultures would produce splendid outcomes (Teng 1926a: 15, 26).

Wang Junchu in Chapter Twenty of *The Development of Chinese Art* (1934) emphasized the complex situation of contemporary schools of Chinese art through different adoptions of external influences on Chinese art traditions. Wang reckoned that the emergence of woodcarving in Shanghai in the 1920s and '30s was a phenomenon of regeneration in Chinese art. According to him, woodcarving combined the indigenous techniques of carving and a preference for the Western styles to represent contemporary social life in the main cities of China (Wang 1934: 71). Also, Li Puyuan expressed in his last chapter "the Future of Chinese Art (Zhongguo yishu zhi jianglai)" that, based upon the future social and economic background of China, Chinese art would increasingly engage with the outside world, and would become one part of a universalized art. Li's big hope for Chinese art was that rather than hang in the air, it might touch the solid ground of daily life (Li 1931: 212-16).

Innovations in writing the art history of China represented efforts by Chinese scholars to adapt to changes in society and to conserve Chinese tradition. This development provided new ways for Chinese scholars to reconsider Chinese art, its theories, canons, and functions. The extension of Chinese art to various categories shows the enlarged scope of Chinese scholarship on art. The linear time scheme indicates Chinese scholars' efforts to forge a continuous national history of art. New canons represented by artworks of unknown artisans and of the Individualist School secure Chinese artists' confidence in the future of Chinese art.

Chinese art historical publications in the early decades of the twentieth century applied these new paradigms in historical narratives of art in China so as to ensure a new access to China's art historical past. They disseminated modern knowledge of Chinese art in China with the intention of enlightenment. This process of writing new histories for Chinese art contributed to the formation of a new canonical set of works for art history in early twentieth-century China.

Chapter 5 Art Historical Narrative in Exhibitions: *The Shanghai Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1935)

The significance of the 1935 Shanghai exhibition has long been obscured by another exhibition that took place soon afterwards in London.

> "Never in the world's history has there been an assemblage for exhibition of Chinese art objects and antiquities… The British people are to be envied this unique opportunity of seeing the finest art of one of the most artistic countries in the world…" (Sowerby 1935b: 360)

This is part of a report about the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* at Burlington House, Piccadilly, held from 28th November 1935 to 7th March 1936. No doubt, this Chinese art exhibition in London was a remarkable event which presented incomparable Chinese art pieces, attracted unprecedented crowds, and broke all records for attendance. It was the first time in history that such a large amount of Chinese objects had been on loan to a foreign country. The exhibition was an outstanding success for both Britain and Republican China. Western scholars have claimed that this exhibition "inaugurated the modern era of Chinese art historical studies" in Europe (Elliott and Shambaugh 2005: 83-84). An English report at that time also commented that "China reveals itself as an influence comparable with Greece and Italy, not only in what is patronisingly called 'the applied arts,' but in the fine arts as well" (Sowerby 1936: 204).

However, approximately eight months before the opening of this *International Exhibition*, the Chinese Preparation Committee held a preliminary exhibition in Shanghai displaying all the art pieces originating from different Chinese collections which would subsequently travel to Europe for the *International Exhibition*. Never before had such a large selection of ancient works of art been on public display in China. Selected artworks from different Chinese public collections for the first time entered a completely new exhibition space. While Western experts called these exhibits "art treasures", both Chinese media and scholars addressed these exhibits as "national treasures (*guobao*)". The emphasis on the idea of "nation" instead of "art" suggests a growing conception in China that these artefacts were no longer imperial property, but items in a national tradition collectively owned by the public.

This chapter uses the *Shanghai Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1935) as a case study to investigate the relationship between Chinese practices for exhibiting ancient art and Chinese efforts to write the history of art in China during the 1920s and '30s. My analysis argues that the *Preliminary Exhibition* provided a narrative of Chinese art history to the exhibition visitors. The whole process of selecting, exhibiting, and viewing in the

Preliminary Exhibition affected the way in which Chinese scholars constructed anew the history of art in China.

I will first describe exhibition practices current in late imperial and modern China and introduce the entire event of the *International Exhibition*. Then I will discuss the *Preliminary Exhibition* by comparing it with the *International Exhibition*. Different foci of Chinese and British organizing committees resulted in two quite different exhibitions. These differences were most obvious in the selection of exhibits, format of display, the catalogues that they produced, and responses that they elicited from the public. These distinctions highlight crucial areas of intellectual and inter-cultural negotiation in respect of defining art in China as well as writing art history. After looking at the background, my discussion consists of four sections, focusing respectively on: sanctification of objects; hierarchy of art forms; prioritization of historical periods; and canonization of artists.

5.1 Early Exhibition Practice in China

The practice of exhibiting to the public in China probably started with the establishment of Siccawei Museum, a natural history museum built in the French Concession of Shanghai, now Xujiahui, by the French cleric Pierre Heude (1836-1902) in 1868. Before then neither imperial nor private collections in China had been destined for display before a large audience. On the one hand, the imperial collections were for the cultivation and entertainment of emperors and their imperial family members. On the other, they served as a symbol of power. Only a highly select group of people had the opportunity to see the contents of the imperial collections. Private collections in imperial times were also shown only to a limited circle of their owners' relatives and friends.

The first museum to include art as part of its display in China was the Nantong Museum, initially called *bolanguan*. In 1905, the industrialist Zhang Jian (1853-1926) founded this first domestically conceived and managed museum in Nantong, a town on the north side of the Yangzi estuary. As Lisa Claypool has shown, at that time, Chinese elites employed the Western institution of museums to create cultural, historical, and zoological narratives of China (Claypool 2005). The Nantong Museum represented an attempt to provide Chinese youth with knowledge relevant to their formal school education. It not only showed artworks with historical or aesthetic significance, but also displayed natural specimens. These exhibits, as contemporary Chinese scholars hoped, demonstrated a full control of the country on various levels.

Before the establishment of his own museum, Zhang Jian had already suggested twice to the Qing court that they build museums in every province, and establish an

imperial institution in the capital. This suggestion was ignored and Zhang had to rely on the individual support of his friends to open a local museum. In 1912, with the downfall of the Qing dynasty, the new government paid more attention to museums. The government founded the first official museum in Beijing, the National History Museum (Guoli lishi bowuguan), in July 1912. In October 1914, the Internal Affairs of the Beiyang government launched the first exhibition of imperial artefacts to the public. Since the inner court of the Forbidden City was still occupied by the last emperor, this exhibition took place in two halls in the outer court of the Forbidden City. This part of the imperial collection, then known as the Peking Antiquities Exhibition Hall (Beiping guwu chenliesuo), was later given the name National Museum. And so began Chinese citizens' acquaintance with the palace collection (Pao 1964: 23-26).

More significantly, the National Peking Palace Museum (Guoli Beiping gugong bowuyuan) was finally inaugurated in the Forbidden City on 10th October, 1925 after the last emperor was ordered to leave by the government (Elliott and Shambaugh 2005: 71). Only now did the Forbidden City open its doors fully to the public. In 1933, however, political instability in China led contemporary experts in the museum to transport what they considered to be the most prestigious items of the collection to the southern part of the country. Eventually, in 1948 and 1949, the Nationalist government moved part of the national collection to Taipei (Na 1957: 97-206).

Calligraphy and painting exhibitions

Calligraphy and painting were crucial parts of the Palace Museum's collection, and they were displayed in the museum along with bronzes, jades, ceramics, and rare books, together functioning as symbolic signs of the past. Bearing quite different contemporary connotations, calligraphy and painting in the earliest Chinese formal exhibitions were presented as educational achievements by schools and colleges. The first one of these "school achievement exhibitions (*chengji zhanlanhui*)" was organized in Suzhou in January 1909 (Tsuruta 1991: 19). Later, in various modern art schools, it became frequent practice to exhibit the productions—mainly modern categories of Western-style painting—of teachers and students. Also, imitating Western salons and Japanese exhibitions, art societies often displayed artworks created by their members.

Exhibiting calligraphy and painting was also adopted as a practice among calligraphers, traditional painters, and members of the social elite in early twentieth-century China. In late Qing, such elegant gatherings were popular as the main form of intellectual and social intercourse. Chinese calligraphers and painters, as well as scholars, wealthy merchants, and political figures regularly cooperated to organize gatherings. In

these meetings, usually held in tea houses or gardens, artists displayed their own work and attempted to sell it to other participants. Sometimes these gatherings also exhibited private collections of old artworks. In April 1912, Wenmei hui, an association for literary and art activities in Shanghai, assembled a group of Chinese artists and intellectuals in a drinking house (Liu 2003: 124). The association arranged three exhibiting rooms: one for exchanging artworks; one for selling works; and one purely for exhibition. The main purpose of these gatherings was commercial. A large percentage of the artworks shown in these gatherings were contemporary products. The number of old pieces of calligraphy and painting available for study was comparatively small.

One of the early temporary exhibition events devoted solely to ancient items of Chinese calligraphy and painting was an assembly of traditional paintings loaned by Beijing collectors and installed in the Central Park (now Zhongshan Park) in 1917. Information on this event is recorded in the inscription to Chen Shizeng's *A Picture of Reading Paintings* (*Duhua tu*, Figure 5.1). This seven-day event showed about one hundred paintings each day, with exhibits being rotated on a daily basis. Its purpose was to raise money for the victims of a flood near Beijing.

The earliest known nationwide exhibition of painting is recorded in Suzhou at the beginning of 1919. *The First Suzhou Painting Competition* (*Diyijie Suzhou saihua hui*), which was actually not a competition at all, gathered contemporary artworks in both traditional and Western style from all over the country (Tsuruta 1991: 19).

Many more modern exhibitions took place in the 1920s and '30s, especially those for Western-style painting organized by art schools and art societies in big cities. The Tianma Society organized eight exhibitions each year from the end of 1919 to 1927 in Shanghai. The majority of its exhibits were paintings in either Western or traditional style, but they also included other art forms, such as pattern drawings, photography (the seventh and the eighth exhibitions), and sculpture (the eighth exhibition) (Liu 2003: 127-28).

As Chinese scholars became more familiar with the Western practice of art exhibitions, they adapted it to promote Chinese traditional art as well. Two major societies of traditional art in Beijing during the 1920s and '30s—the Society for the Study of Chinese Painting (Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui) and the Lake Society (Hu she)—held many exhibitions of traditional painting. The Lake Society, from the moment of its establishment, organized an exhibition approximately every two weeks, and each event usually included both its members' new productions and old masterpieces for study. Yu Zhuyun, one of the society's members, recorded that three paintings, by two Ming artists Dai Jin and Ding Yunpeng (1547-1621), and the early Qing painter Wang Hui, respectively, had been on display (Yu 1928). The Society for the Study of Chinese Painting and the Lake Society

succeeded in co-organizing six Sino-Japanese painting exhibitions between 1921 and 1931. The initiator of these joint exhibitions was the Japanese artist Watanabe Shimpo (1867-1938). His original plan was to include old masters' paintings alongside contemporary works. The first four exhibitions (Beijing, 1921; Tokyo, 1922; Beijing and Shanghai, 1924; Tokyo and Osaka, 1926) only displayed contemporary paintings by both Chinese and Japanese artists. The last two exhibitions (Tokyo, 1928; Tokyo, 1931) were different. They showed only ancient Chinese works from both Japanese and Chinese private collections. The main audience for these last two exhibitions in Tokyo was Japanese rather than Chinese. According to Aida Wong, all six joint exhibitions were semi-official, a status impossible to achieve without the support of government authorities in Japan and China (Wong 1999: 71-96).

Exhibitions of ancient paintings turned out to be more successful than those of contemporary Western-style paintings in attracting audiences' attention. A good example is the first officially-organized national art exhibition known as *the Ministry of Education First National Fine Art Exhibition* (*Jiaoyubu diyici quanguo meishu zhanlanhui*). It took place in Shanghai in April 1929. Planning for this exhibition lasted seven years from the original proposal to its realization. The location for the exhibition was Xinpuyu Hall (*xinpuyu tang*), a complex of two three-floor buildings in the Huangpu District of southern Shanghai. The exhibition divided its exhibits into seven sections: calligraphy and painting; inscriptions; Western-style painting; sculpture; architecture; applied arts; and artistic photography. It also included contemporary Japanese paintings, works by foreigners living in China, masterpieces by recently deceased artists, and ancient Chinese paintings, which served as so-called "reference works". Chinese private art collectors from all over the country, such as Chen Xiaodie (1897-1989), Pang Yuanji (1863-1949), and Di Baoxian, presented the best items of their collections. They rotated these items daily in a fierce spirit of competition. Although this national exhibition was impelled by scholars and artists under Western and Japanese influence, such as the Western-style painter Liu Haisu, ancient works of art dominated this event (Yen 2002). It had never been the intention of the organizers to emphasize the antiquity section, nonetheless, reports on this event in *Shenbao*, and also the exhibition catalogue published in 1930, devoted more than half of their coverage to ancient exhibits. Scholars, and in particular those focusing on Western knowledge, discussed and wrote extensively on contemporary works. Yet, for the general public, classical artworks were apparently much more attractive. Even the price of a ticket to see the ancient section of the exhibition was twice as much as the price of the ticket for the contemporary works. The success of the ancient part of this exhibition inspired the authorities to position old artworks as the major emphasis for the next two national art exhibitions in the 1930s.

International Exhibition of Chinese Art

China's art collections caught the attention of a worldwide audience from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Many art pieces found their way to Japan and Western countries. After the establishment of the Palace Museum in 1925, foreign art collectors became more familiar with the former imperial art collection. The organizers of *The 1928 Exhibition of Masterpieces from the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties* at the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum had originally intended to borrow works from the Palace Museum. The Japanese organizers even wrote to Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), then leader of the Nanjing government, to ask for help. Despite nominal support from Chiang, the Palace Museum refused to loan pieces from its collection due to the increasing hostility towards Japan in the late 1920s, and the anxiety over the possibility of losing precious art objects (Wong 1999: 89). In the end, only art pieces from Chinese individual collectors, such as Ye Gongchuo and Luo Zhenyu, appeared in this Sino-Japanese exhibition.[30]

The decision made by the Republican government and the Palace Museum following another loan request six years later was different. At the end of 1932, some British collectors proposed to hold a comprehensive exhibition of Chinese art in London. Formal negotiations with the Chinese government for a loan of China's art objects started in 1934. After a long discussion, China's Ministry of Education, which was in charge of national cultural events, decided to take part in this *International Exhibition*. In order to demonstrate to the Chinese public that the ownership of the artworks was not being handed over to foreign powers, the Republican government promised to organize a preliminary exhibition in Shanghai, before shipping the exhibits to Britain, and to hold a repatriation exhibition in Nanjing on their return from London (Zhuang 1936; Na 1957: 145-46).

It was the first time that national art possessions were sent abroad officially. Only two loans were granted by the Chinese government in the first half of the twentieth century. The *International Exhibition* was the first and only one in which such a large amount of art objects from the Palace Museum was sent to a foreign country. The second official loan consisted of about one hundred objects of secondary importance, which were transported to the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1942 (Elliott and Shambaugh 2005: 84-85). Usually, exhibitions of old Chinese art pieces in foreign countries were organized with local or international help from private collectors. For example, in Paris, *the Exposition de la peinture chinoise* (1933) exhibited old pieces from some French collections. But the significance of these exhibits was transcended by the official loan of art to London two years later.

[30] And indeed, a large amount of these loaned objects from Chinese private collections were bought by Japanese collectors and became part of Japanese collections.

The government attached great importance to the *International Exhibition* as both a symbolic representation of the nation and as a diplomatic tool with which to gain support for its war against invaders. It established a special Chinese preparatory committee of eleven high officials led by Wang Shijie (1891-1981), the Minister of Education. Other ministries in the government pledged unconditional support. The committee worked together with its British counterpart to decide which pieces from the holdings of public collections would be sent to London. The final selections were gathered in Shanghai and exhibited in the former German Club from 8th April to 5th May, 1935. The *Preliminary Exhibition* was an outstanding event in Shanghai. Despite the relatively high admission price, which was two *yuan*, the exhibition was very popular. On 8th April, 1935, the opening day, more than two thousand people arrived to visit. The exhibition had to add ticket offices in different branches of the Bank of China and of the Shanghai Commercial Saving Bank to meet public demand. The hours of admission were originally between 9:00 am to 4:30 pm. From 10th April, the last admission was postponed to 6:00 pm and the closing time was 7:00 pm. It was also open on Sundays and only closed on Monday mornings. From 14th April, one week after the opening, overcrowding forced the Chinese committee to limit the number of daily visitors to three thousand. Group visits made the situation worse, and the organizers had to restrict the hours for group visiting. More than a hundred groups from different universities, middle schools, painting societies, and companies visited the exhibition within the first two weeks. Following a public request for extension, the Chinese committee prolonged the exhibition by five days from 30th April to 5th May. On the last day which was, coincidentally, a Sunday, a huge number of people went to the exhibition, and some refused to leave before closing. The total number of visitors during these twenty-eight days reached sixty thousand. Only a limitation on numbers kept the attendance figures from going even higher.

On 7th June 1935, the British cruiser HMS *Suffolk* left Shanghai, transporting ninety-three steel cases with 1,022 items from Chinese collections to London. Between 28th November, 1935 and 7th March, 1936, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* was held at Burlington House, the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Eight hundred and fifty-seven artworks out of 1,022 items sent by the Chinese government were exhibited alongside another 1,294 pieces from more than two hundred and forty collections from various countries (Zhuang 1936; Na 1957: 149-50; Jie 2004). The exhibition was a great success both politically and culturally. Immediately afterwards, delegations came from America, France, and Germany proposing that the objects be transported to other places for new exhibitions. However, these proposals failed, and the artworks were shipped directly back to Shanghai.

On 1st June 1936, *the Nanjing Exhibition for the London Exhibits of Chinese Art* opened as promised. Besides all the items returned from London, the exhibition included 1,360 photos of exhibits from various overseas collections, all the items which had featured in the *International Exhibition*. These photos indicated the general status of Chinese art collecting abroad (Chen 2003).

Through these three internally-connected exhibitions, Chinese artworks were viewed by an unprecedented number of people inside and outside China on a scale that had never before been attempted.

5.2 Sanctification of Objects

These three serial exhibitions in Shanghai, London, and Nanjing happened at a crucial point in the development of a public understanding of national art heritage. The emergence of this idea of "national heritage" was connected with the transformation of the imperial collection to its new status as a public collection.

At the end of 1924, the imperial household collection was placed in the custody and ownership of the Chinese government. The government deliberately chose 10th October, Republican China's National Day, as the opening of the Palace Museum in 1925 (Lin 2002). This transformation meant that all pieces in this imperial collection became a national heritage owned by the public. Added to other objects discovered in the geographical region of China, a Chinese national collection was formed, and one with the potential to grow.

In 1932, fearing the threat of Japanese aggression after the 1931 occupation of Manchuria, the Republican government decided to move part of the Palace Museum collection to Nanjing and Shanghai. After five months, archives from the Palace Museum arrived in the new capital of Nanjing. Art objects and ancient books reached Shanghai. It was mainly from this part of the national collection, stored in the French and British Concessions of Shanghai, that the Chinese selection committee chose objects representative of all branches of Chinese art (Zhuang 1936; Na 1957: 146-49).

Hidden away in warehouses by the government, the significance of these art pieces could hardly be understood by the Chinese or any other public. Only through displaying, did these objects gain a new level of profound meaning. As Carol Duncan has suggested, art museums are excellent examples of the disguised ritual sites that publicly represent the values and truths of their communities (Duncan 1998). In this light, the *Preliminary Exhibition* in Shanghai functioned like a religious ritual to sanctify Chinese art objects from the previous dynasties. Its exhibition space was carefully chosen and arranged by the Chinese organizers. The exhibition required its visitors to obey certain rules. Its exhibits

were no longer just art pieces, but objects in a national heritage which represented Chinese civilization. Advertisements for this exhibition in *Shenbao* (6th April, 1935) called the exhibits "the crystallization of Chinese art (*Zhongguo yishu zhi jiejing*)". The Chinese organizers hoped that the Chinese public would cherish, appreciate, or even worship the selected exhibits.

The Shanghai art exhibition conformed closely to Cai Yuanpei's famous proposition that aesthetic education might substitute the role of religion in society. From the late 1910s Cai began to promote aesthetic education. In his opinion, art museums and exhibitions formed a crucial part of aesthetic education, which he envisaged as essential for a harmonious society. Cai believed that aesthetic education could function as religion had done, and it should replace religion in order to cultivate the sublime and moral feelings of all members of society (Teng and Faribank 1979: 274-79).

Objections against loaning

Intense enthusiasm for a new-found national heritage also engendered reverse effects. Objections against loaning China's art were strong. Following the request from the British committee to select ancient artworks for the *International Exhibition* in early 1934, a vigorous argument ensued about loaning valuable items for the exhibition. Two opposite opinions appeared. Some scholars thought that it was too dangerous to send these artworks belonging to the national heritage so far away. They worried that if anything untoward happened to these objects there would be no recourse to compensation. Rumours circulated that the government had actually mortgaged these items in order to borrow money from Britain. Opposing this pessimism was the idea that the exhibition was an opportunity for China to show Westerners the high achievements of Chinese art. Most people in the West, with the exception of a few specialists, knew little about Chinese culture. Wang Shijie resolutely promoted and supported the loaning idea. In his view, risks had to be taken for the opportunity to put Chinese culture on display, and in October 1934, the Republican government finally decided to loan artworks to the *International Exhibition* (Zhuang 1936; Na 1957: 145-46).

In Nanjing, on 25th January, 1935, Xu Beihong decried this decision by the government as seriously irresponsible (Xu 1935). And two days later, on 27th January, 1935, four professors from Tsinghua University published a protest against the loan of artworks in the *Peking Morning Post* (*Beiping chenbao*). They stated:

> "since the Nine Eighteen Incident [*jiuyiba shibian*], [these artworks] can not be seen by citizens. Now following one simple request from Britain, the government will allow [a loan abroad]. It is indeed unfair. These so-called 'national treasures' have degenerated into an anniversary gift from the politicians, containing nothing to do with the nation."

Another group of professors in Beijing, including Liang Sicheng and the writer Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948), made a second declaration against the lending of art objects (Lin 2002). These scholars considered the loan to be part of an inappropriate foreign policy. In their opinion, art items belonging to the whole nation should not be used by the government to oil the wheels of foreign policy.

Surprisingly, by the time of the *Preliminary Exhibition*'s inauguration in Shanghai in April 1935, much of this opposition had become muted. Some of these voices may have had been suppressed by the government. Other opponents shifted their attack to criticizing the selection and display of the exhibition.

Authenticity of objects

The Chinese selection committee of the *Preliminary Exhibition* worked together with a delegation of five Western experts from the British organizing committee of the *International Exhibition*. Painstakingly, they decided the final list of artworks which would be first on display in Shanghai and then sent to London. The Chinese experts believed that the chosen exhibits were authentic.

In 1934, the experts in the Palace Museum spent several months making the initial choice from more than sixty thousand objects in Shanghai. They presented 2,054 artworks for further checking. Likewise, other institutions, such as the Henan Museum (Henan bowuguan), conducted their own primary selections and provided another two thousand pieces (Zhang 2006).

Once these initial selections were gathered in two storage rooms in Shanghai, the Chinese selection committee began their examination. Aside from Ma Heng (1881-1955), director of the Palace Museum, the committee included museum staff, officials from the Ministry of Education, Chinese art collectors, connoisseurs, and artists, such as the traditional landscape painter and art collector Wu Hufan (1894-1968), the art collector and specialist in ceramics Guo Baochang (1867-1940), and Xu Bangda (1911-), a connoisseur of calligraphy and painting (Cao 2004). The committee also employed the services of a special advisor, John Ferguson (1866-1945). Ferguson, an American collector and scholar of Chinese art, had long acted as an adviser on cultural policies to successive Chinese governments from 1903 onwards. The British organizing committee of the *International Exhibition* invited five experts to Shanghai. The British selection committee consisted of the French sinologist and historian Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) and four British experts, namely Sir Percival David (1892-1964), initiator of the *International Exhibition* and authority on Chinese ceramics, Robert Hobson (1873-1941), Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum at that time, George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939), and

Oscar Raphael (1874-1941), both prestigious collectors of Chinese antiquities. They arrived in Shanghai in early spring of 1935 (Sowerby 1935a: 307).

The Chinese and British parties discussed and evaluated together for more than two months. Their final selection for the *International Exhibition* included 1,022 items from seven public institutions and one private collector. Seven hundred and thirty-five pieces were from the Palace Museum, forty-seven objects from the National Museum, eight bronzes (found in Henan in 1923) from the Henan Museum, four bronzes from the Anhui Library (Anhui tushuguan), fifty ancient books from the Peking Library (Beiping tushuguan), one hundred and thirteen archaeological examples from the Academia Sinica (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan), and sixty-five jades from the collection of Zhang Naiji (1900-1949), a collector most famous for his interest in ancient coins.

The Chinese selection committee attempted to provide fine examples of Chinese art with both high historical and artistic values. However, larger pieces of extraordinary size were not included because of the technical difficulties involved in displaying them (Chinese Preparatory Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London 1936b: 13-14). Moreover, mindful of the consequences if a piece were to be damaged or lost, the Chinese committee followed a guiding principle: if one piece was the only representative item of an artist or an artistic genre, or if it was too fragile to travel, it was excluded from the exhibition list. For example, the painting *Kuanglu tu* attributed to the painter and theorist Jing Hao (ca. 855-915), was considered too precious to be sent abroad by the Chinese committee. The same reason was given for the exclusion of a bronze vessel, *Sanshi pan* dating to Western Zhou and excavated in the late seventeenth century (Na and Zhuang 2007).

In order to establish each object's authenticity, Ferguson recalled that committee members usually looked into records of earlier ascriptions and studied seals and signatures on the objects themselves. Since it was impossible to draw any absolute conclusion regarding pieces of dubious origin, the experts from the Chinese side were not always unanimous. Nevertheless, all the decisions were finally passed by a majority of the selection committee (Ferguson 1936).

Obviously, the British committee wanted to select the finest examples of Chinese art. They could not understand the rule of the Chinese committee not to select the most valuable pieces and as a result were dissatisfied with choices provided by the Chinese side. However, the Chinese committee insisted on this rule and the British had no choice but to concede and accept it. Subsequently, they turned to collections of Chinese art in other countries for more possibilities (Sowerby 1935a: 307).

During their stay in Shanghai, the British delegation scrutinised every piece minutely.

They were careful in making decisions. For instance, one of the British experts found that the shape of a pot in a painting on silk considered to be a painting from Southern Song was similar to pots of Qing times. He doubted the authenticity of this painting and eliminated it from the exhibition list (Na and Zhuang 2007). There was a clear preference within the British selection criteria for those pieces with inscriptions and seals of Qing emperors, most notably Qianlong (1711-1799). The British selectors did not hesitate to put items with these marks on the list (Wu 1935a).

Final decisions were made through consultation between the Chinese and British sides. According to the official catalogue produced by the British organizing committee, the process of selection was pleasant and expeditious. However, in his interview with Jeannette Shambaugh Elliott, Basil Gray (1904-1989), former Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, suggested something quite different. Gray claimed:

> "Having failed to persuade the Chinese side to allow the joint Sino-British Committee to make the selection, the London Committee … set about to fill in the gaps, visiting Europe, the United States, and China. After having assessed the Chinese loans in Shanghai, and having failed to persuade the officials to modify their selection by addition or subtraction, they proceeded to Japan." (Elliott and Shambaugh 2005: 83)

On the other hand, the Chinese committee also declared that the British side made the final decision regardless of their objections. As far as the Chinese side was concerned, the British delegation was responsible for the selection. In response to public criticism of the *Preliminary Exhibition*, Wu Hufan explained:

> "During the consultation, the British side had the power of decision-making and the Chinese side just made the initial selection. The British side removed most of those items which were not to their taste. And they were free to include again those pieces which had already been omitted from consideration by the Chinese side. As a result, the efforts made by the Chinese side for the initial selection were useless." (Wu 1935b)

Actually, both sides participated in the decision-making. It is clear from their comments that a number of conflicts arose during the negotiation process. The British side took much more control of the *International Exhibition*, whereas the *Preliminary Exhibition* in Shanghai lay largely in the hands of the Chinese side.

While the British side were usually very cautious in making decisions and tended to doubt the authenticity of objects, the Chinese experts were more confident in making claims for the rarity and speciality of Chinese collections. In particular, Chinese scholars treasured early paintings and considered them as genuine examples of ancient canons. They were unwilling to treat the genuineness of these works sceptically.

Ferguson criticized the British committee for considerable changes in the labels

affixed to the exhibits of the *International Exhibition*. He claimed that:

> "Although I have found a few corrections in the labels of objects loaned by others, the Chinese Government seems to have been singled out as having failed in an unusual manner to supply correct information concerning its exhibits. … A great opportunity has been lost… It is a pity that the Western world could not have learned for once what China without censorship thinks of her own things…" (Ferguson 1936)

These "corrections" demonstrated exactly the different opinions between the Chinese and the British experts. According to Ferguson, the most striking case was painting. Painting should have provided the best argued selections of the Chinese committee. The British side had comparatively little experience with calligraphy and painting. Since the expertise of the four British members of the selection committee covered neither Chinese calligraphy nor painting, the British committee had to rely on Paul Pelliot for advice. Even so, Pelliot's contribution to the selection is not very clear. The preface to the catalogue of the *International Exhibition* mentions Pelliot's "expert help in Shanghai, Paris, and London" (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* 1935: v).

It was quite difficult for Western scholars to believe that paintings on silk or paper had survived from the ninth century or earlier. They suspected certain works' authenticity, and they were inclined to consider them later copies of original works. As a result, the British organizing committee made a number of changes to the production dates of paintings. In the description written by the Chinese committee, the Song painting master and theorist Guo Xi's (ca. 1001-ca. 1090) *Spring Snow on a Mountain Pass* (*Guanshan chunxue tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) was dated from 1072 CE. The British side claimed that it was "signed and dated A.D. 1072, but probably Yuan" (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* 1935: 69). Two paintings, which were attributed by the Chinese side to unknown artists of the Song dynasty, the British committee considered to date from the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. Based upon ancient sources on painting, Chinese experts were happy to label paintings as the work of legendary painters in the history of Chinese art. In the Chinese catalogue, the first painting was *Lo-yang Mansion* (*Luoyang lou tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) attributed to the Tang painter Li Zhaodao (ca. 675-741). The Chinese experts used the character "attributed (*chuan*) " after the title of the painting, but the British catalogue amended this to "traditionally attributed" (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* 1935: 56) to explicitly indicate the uncertainty harboured by Western authorities. In the case of the second painting attributed to Li Zhaodao *Travelling in the Mountains in Spring* (*Chunshan xinglü tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei), the British side stated directly that this painting was "possibly a Ming copy" (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* 1935: 80).

Display space

In "The Art Museum as Ritual", Carol Duncan refers to a Western practice of art museums resembling ritual sites physically and symbolically. In her view, organizers of art exhibitions deliberately choose monumental architecture as display space, and they clearly define precincts of display space to set it apart from other structures (Duncan 1998: 473-76). Like Western organizers of exhibitions, the Chinese committee of the *Preliminary Exhibition* were conscious of the importance of the exhibition's location and space to create cultural aroma around exhibits. However, in Republican Shanghai, under the pressures of a limited time schedule, the Chinese committee struggled to find a monumental building for the exhibition. Their choice was a three-storied building at No. 22 Huangputan Road (the Bund, now Zhongshan Road) on the Huangpu waterfront. It was neither a gallery nor a formal exhibition hall. This castle-like building of baroque style was the former German Club (also known as the Club Concordia) built in 1907. After World War One, the Bank of China bought this building and used it as a branch office. At the beginning of 1935, the bank moved out and planned to pull it down. While the building was unoccupied, it was turned temporarily into an exhibition space by the Chinese committee. Within a year of the *Preliminary Exhibition*, it had been demolished (Wu 2007). The choice of this Western-style building was consistent with the idea of exhibiting as a Western practice. It is conceivable that the Chinese committee might also have considered it as a rehearsal for the *International Exhibition* and a way of visualizing the effects of displaying Chinese antiquities in a Western building.

Inside the building, the *Preliminary Exhibition* was arranged on the ground and first floors with a grand interconnecting staircase of white marble. This impressive flight of stairs along with the magnificent doorway and the monumental marble pillars resembles what Duncan has described as "borrowing architectural forms from ritual structures of the past" in the West (Duncan 1998: 475).

Although the space was rather full, the Chinese committee believed that they had achieved the most appropriate way to display these art pieces. They prioritised shape, format, content, and they stressed primarily the meanings of these exhibits as they comprehended them. As Figures 5.2 and 5.3 shows, items of calligraphy and painting, retained in their original mountings, were hung on the walls. Labels were placed on the right-hand side of these exhibits. Strainers in the form of silk ribbons were tied to scroll ends to prevent the heavy scrolls damaging pieces when hung up for a long time. No protective framing was provided. In order to avoid any damage from the audience touching the works, wooden railings were installed half a metre away from the walls in the two exhibition halls displaying calligraphy and painting. In other halls, cabinets were installed

along the walls and in the middle of the room (Figure 5.4). Ceramic objects were placed in glass-fronted cabinets. The descriptions for the objects were positioned beside them in the cabinets. For security, every screw fastening in these cabinets was covered with a small paper seal, which was meant to frustrate any attempt to open the cabinets secretly.

Experts in the Chinese committee sent by the Republican government to London were disappointed at the way the British authorities handled the calligraphy and painting exhibits. To save space, hanging scrolls and hand scrolls were folded and inscriptions were ignored, because the British organizers deemed them superfluous. Paintings covered by glass in wooden frames were hung on the wall, much higher than visitors' eye level. Sometimes the reflection of the glass blurred the visitors' view of a painting. As a result, visitors were unable to observe the details of a painting hung in this way (Zhuang 1936). Chinese scholars also noticed that a few bronze weapons and ancient books were positioned upside down (Fu 1936). These complaints by Chinese experts suggest perhaps that in the *Preliminary Exhibition* the Chinese committee controlled arrangements better. These characteristics of the *International Exhibition* were considered to be mistakes by the Chinese committee whose Chinese experts aimed to emphasize the beauty and integrity of every single object. A Chinese viewer with an awareness of general features of Chinese art needed to know more details concerning each exhibit.

The *Preliminary Exhibition* removed its exhibits from their original settings and put them into a special display space, and in doing so, redefined them as works of art to represent a national heritage. Like Western art museums, which Duncan parallels to ritual scenarios, the German Club transformed the items beyond their former decorative, religious, or practical uses into national art exhibits.

Viewing habits

Viewing these artworks in a Western exhibition format was quite different from the traditional way of viewing in China. Western exhibiting practices separated the audience from the exhibits. A visitor could only appreciate an artwork at a distance. In traditional China, a scholar always held a piece in his hand to view it. This kind of intimacy was needed to distinguish the movement of a brush and to see the details of inscriptions and seals on objects.

In the early Chinese painting exhibitions of the 1910s, this intimacy was still sometimes available. The painting *A Picture of Reading Paintings* (Figure 5.1) by Chen Shizeng records the very moment of viewing paintings at an exhibition in Beijing, in 1917. This painting depicts the traditional viewing engagement. In the foreground a group of people—male, female, Chinese and foreign—surround a table covered by a white cloth to

view calligraphy and painting. Some of them bow forward and point at some details of a painting. They can even touch the exhibits if they want. This viewing practice is consistent with the traditional viewing habits of Chinese scholars. In the background, another group of people are standing in front of two landscape paintings hung on the wall. It is not clear how close they are to the paintings. This group either still represents the traditional way of viewing or imitates the Western exhibition practice. Chen Shizeng's painting indicates neatly the situation of emerging exhibitions in early Republican China. Chinese scholars at that time began to accept the Western practice of showing artworks to a large audience. However, sometimes they still clung to old viewing habits.

Compared with the exhibition notions suggested by Chen Shizeng, the *Preliminary Exhibition* went one step further in applying Western exhibiting practices. The organization of exhibitions built a hierarchy of privileges into viewing. Only an expert engaged in authentication was allowed to handle the exhibits. In a sense, then, exhibitions permitted a larger audience to be included only in a secondary viewing practice.

Furthermore, visiting a public exhibition has acquired its own ritualization. For instance, visitors must obey certain security regulations. The usual exhibiting space "is carefully marked off and culturally designated as reserved for a special quality of attention … One is also expected to behave with a certain decorum" (Duncan 1998: 476). Similarly, the *Preliminary Exhibition* established several rules: children younger than ten years old were not allowed to enter; umbrellas, canes, or cameras were not permitted in the exhibition rooms; even without cameras, visitors were forbidden to copy or record exhibits by any other means; visitors should follow the display sequence, and they should not retrace their steps; no food, drinks, or cigarettes were allowed; no one was allowed to touch the exhibits.

In the *Preliminary Exhibition*, a visitor was kept at a certain distance from the exhibits. Further emphasis was afforded to these objects by a number of policies. Distance, both physical and legal, sanctified the objects.

Security for transportation

In order to assuage domestic anxiety, the Republican government promised to take appropriate safety measures: a British navy vessel would transport these treasures and prevent any possible attack; experienced Chinese experts would handle these objects with care. The most important measure was mentioned above that all the exhibits from China would have a preliminary show in Shanghai before going abroad and a post show in Nanjing after returning. If the Chinese public did not trust the government, they could see the exhibits with their own eyes and compare them to know whether all the treasures remained intact after the loan (Na 1957: 145-46).

The Chinese side proposed the special requirement of transportation by a British navy vessel. They trusted the protection of a naval ship rather than the merchant fleets which usually took responsibility for transporting art exhibits. The British side dispatched HMS *Suffolk*, a Royal Navy heavy cruiser, for the task of transporting the artworks from Shanghai to Britain. At that time, this battleship was serving in the Far East under the Commanding Officer Captain Errol Manners (1883-1953). Her crew included about two hundred naval officers, and over a thousand soldiers. The cruiser was equipped with powerful weapons, such as dual and single guns, aircrafts, and torpedoes (Bishop 1998: 491). The Chinese side was satisfied with this arrangement.

On the return trip to China, no warship was available for the whole voyage and so the British organizers provided the passenger liner *Ranpura* to carry all the exhibits back to China. As a precautionary measure, five British navy vessels were to escort the liner, respectively, on different parts of this journey. The Chinese organizers accepted this plan. The *Ranpura* departed on 9th April, 1935. When the ship arrived in Gibraltar at noon on 14th April, it stopped for a break. However, when the crew tried to continue the journey later that evening, they found that the *Ranpura* had been stranded. The British Royal Naval sent two ships to the liner's aid, but the *Ranpura* was too heavy to drag. The news spread almost immediately to China. The organizers back home started to panic and telegraphed the liner several times. Rumours circulated that being stranded was just an excuse not to transport the Chinese art pieces back to China. The following evening, after the liner had discharged three thousand tons of other cargo, five ships from the British Royal Naval pulled the *Ranpura* out of the sand and into deep water. With the news that the liner had resumed its voyage the rumours abated (Zhuang 1936: 131-35). This incident illustrates just how sensitive the Chinese public were about the exhibits. They realized the value and the importance of these items.

The objects of the *Preliminary Exhibition* were sanctified in a number of remarkable ways. The Chinese government attempted to create a holy atmosphere around the country's national heritage. Unlike the *International Exhibition*, no reports on the *Preliminary Exhibition* in China touched upon the exhibition's subtle impact on viewers' everyday life. Some Western responses to the *International Exhibition* discussed the colours or patterns of Chinese art objects, and they theorized these could be utilised in European fashion and design. Such notions were not mentioned by Chinese reviewers. Rather, all their remarks focused on the representative effects of these exhibits as "true" Chinese art. The Republican government promoted these exhibits to be part of an inherited high culture. They were deemed more important for academic research than for daily use.

5.3 Hierarchy of Art Forms

Museums and exhibitions impose meaning on their exhibits through displaying. Art exhibitions display objects in certain orders. They classify them into categories which are derived from a rational system that reflects institutional and cultural priorities. The *Preliminary Exhibition* demonstrates a rather fixed Chinese hierarchy in art, which is missing in the *International Exhibition*.

Orders of classification

In the *Preliminary Exhibition*, the Chinese committee divided over one thousand exhibits into three different categories based on media: bronze, porcelain, and calligraphy/painting on paper or silk. In addition, they defined a miscellaneous group which comprised textile, jades, carvings in red lacquer, cloisonné, folding fans, furniture, stationery, archaeological specimens, and ancient books. This separation was strictly followed. Of the total six exhibition halls, five halls were attributed to a single category. Only the first hall held pieces from the categories of calligraphy/painting and miscellaneous objects. The second hall was for calligraphy and painting, the third for bronze vessels, the fourth and the fifth for ceramics, and the sixth for miscellaneous objects. Within each category, the Chinese committee decided arrangements by following a chronological order (Zhang 2006).

Conversely, the *International Exhibition* gave first priority to the chronological order (Figure 5.5). Exhibits were arranged within different periods and then by media. However, the British committee did not strictly apply these general rules. Three-dimensional and two-dimensional pieces were mixed together to fill the exhibition space. Inside the entrance, the Vestibule was labelled as "European Taste" and displayed two horizontal panels of painted paper, one silk tapestry, one mural painting (termed "*fresco*"), and one painting, all of which were from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The Central Hall was mainly devoted to royal loans and large items of Chinese sculpture (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* 1935: xxii). Also, the compact association between calligraphy and painting in Chinese art was lost in London as works of calligraphy and painting were separated by the British committee.

These two orders employed respectively by the *Preliminary Exhibition* and the *International Exhibition* served different purposes. They both attempted to provide a clear narrative of Chinese art, taking into the consideration the viewing habits of their audiences. The Chinese audience for the *Preliminary Exhibition* already had sufficient knowledge of the history of China and the evolution of different dynasties. The display was arranged so that they would be able to observe the development of each genre of art through the

ages and gain the impression of a coherent progress of changes within each genre. Faced with a mainly European audience, the British committee chose not to create boundaries between different forms of art. They were primarily interested in offering a dynastic idea of the history of China to the audience. Objects from the same period were positioned together to generate an overview of art at a given point in history. Some rooms were even topic-driven. For example, one particular theme was Buddhism. This arrangement helped a visitor to understand these artworks in the context of religious stories, functions, rituals, and practices. Conscious of the tastes of their audience, the British committee decided to open the exhibition with a hall dedicated to "European Taste", regardless of the differences in time and medium between the exhibits. They deliberately chose to show familiar items at the beginning of the exhibition so as to arouse a sense of acquaintance. From there the exhibition could proceed towards more unfamiliar genres. In this arrangement, items of calligraphy and ancient books were positioned at the end of the exhibition in a less central location.

The rank of categories

In pre-modern Chinese history, calligraphy and painting possessed great prestige among Chinese literati. Art objects, such as porcelain and jades were treated and understood differently. They were seen simply as items of decoration or for practical use. Unlike calligraphy and painting, Chinese intellectuals were seldom interested in the processes of their manufacture.

During the early twentieth century, under the influence of new ideas on the historiography of art, mainly absorbed through Japan, Chinese scholars began to discuss other forms of art in the same narrative of calligraphy and painting. They started to write a history of Chinese art, adding objects to the established history of calligraphy and painting. Chinese intellectuals realized that, like calligraphy and painting, porcelain, jades, woodcarving, and sculpture were great achievements of China in the past. These objects too represented the creativity of Chinese people. Consequently, more research on art objects emerged in Republican China.

It was not an easy process for the Chinese elite to fully adapt to the Western hierarchy of art. Calligraphy and painting still occupied a disproportionately large share of most art exhibitions before 1935 in China. The *Preliminary Exhibition* in Shanghai was the first exhibition of this scale organized in China where exhibits of porcelain were more numerous than those of calligraphy and painting. It was unusual that porcelain objects (three hundred and fifty-two items) numbered twice those of calligraphy and painting (one hundred and seventy-five pieces). The largest category of the exhibition—ceramic objects—comprised

more than one third of all exhibits. This situation can probably be attributed to the interest in ceramics of the British committee.

Chinese porcelain had gained tremendous attention from British collectors, merchants, and scholars since the 1840s. British collectors at the beginning of the twentieth century were mostly familiar with Chinese porcelain, jades, and bronzes. Large collections and several academic publications on Chinese ceramics were available. During the 1920s and '30s, the taste for Chinese ceramics changed in England due to the increased availability of early Chinese porcelain items (Green 2000). The general attitude was shifting from a preference for highly decorated later wares to the championing of pre-Qing porcelain. This trend was reflected in the choice of Chinese porcelain for the exhibitions. More than half of the ceramics on display in Shanghai were from pre-Qing times. Those pieces from the Qing dynasty were only wares from the period of the first four emperors (1644-1795) (Chinese Preparatory Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London 1936a: 3-8).

The Chinese committee accepted the ideas about porcelain from the British side and this is reflected in the *Preliminary Exhibition*, which highlighted for the Chinese audience the amazing achievements of Chinese porcelain along with calligraphy and painting. In terms of ceramics, the *Preliminary Exhibition* was unique in Republican China. The Chinese Ministry of Education organized *the Ministry of Education Second National Fine Art Exhibition* in 1937. This exhibition, principally for contemporary art products, included a large section named "calligraphy and painting of successive dynasties (Lidai shuhua)". This section, which was separated from the displays of contemporary calligraphy and painting, comprised more than four hundred items. Ceramics, on the other hand, both old and new, were displayed together under the category of applied arts. The number of both ancient and contemporary porcelain exhibits was about half of that of old calligraphy and painting (Tsuruta 1991).

The British executive committee for the *International Exhibition* seemed to be very confident in their expertise on Chinese ceramics. They made scores of corrections to the descriptions of porcelains written by the Chinese experts before displaying them in London. As previously mentioned, Ferguson was very dissatisfied with this action by the British committee. He commented:

> "It was a rash act on the part of the London Executive Committee to set itself in opposition to this official opinion and it amounted to a challenge to Chinese experts to show cause why a small group of British experts was not qualified to teach them how to label their own national treasures".

He asserted that the decisions of the Chinese Committee in Shanghai were based upon

careful examination. He claimed that the descriptions were the official view of the Chinese government (Ferguson 1936). Ferguson might have gone too far. The conflicting opinions on these porcelain pieces resulted in different narratives for the exhibitions. Faced with different audiences in two locations as far apart as China and Britain, it was inevitable that the two committees held contrasting opinions and provided different information.

Among all the items sent to London by the Chinese government, one hundred and sixty-five objects were not displayed in the *International Exhibition* due to a lack of space. The British side's reselection strengthened their own narrative of Chinese art. They prioritized Chinese ceramics. Only one piece of porcelain was dropped, while nineteen items of calligraphy and painting were removed. These nineteen pieces included a painting *Presentation of Tablets among Three Arhats* (*Sanxian shoujian tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) which the Chinese side attributed to the Song painter Yan Wengui (active 980-1010)[31].

The British committee eliminated most of the archaeological specimens listed by the Chinese side (ninety-three pieces out of one hundred and thirteen objects). All the archaeological exhibits were contributed by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Most of these artefacts were from Yinxu. The Chinese side selected a number of oracle bones, stone tools, bone works, arrowheads, and ivory carvings (Chinese Preparatory Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London 1936c: 119). They were proud of these very ancient items. For them, these exhibits showed the origins of a long-lasting Chinese civilization. The British understanding of different genres of art in China was more or less restricted to the Western concept of art. These primitive tools seldom belonged to the Western category of art at that moment. The *International Exhibition* only displayed twenty items from the archaeological section. These remaining exhibits were stone carvings and pottery. Thirteen such objects were provided by the Chinese committee at the special request of Paul Pelliott representing the British committee (Chinese Preparatory Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London 1936b: 150).

The British experts also removed more than half of the exhibits in the "ancient books" category (twenty-seven pieces out of fifty). The craftsmanship on the production of books in ancient China had been extraordinary. But the puzzling Chinese characters made no sense to Western audience. It was difficult for them to appreciate books in the same binding style with different contents. A few fine examples in various styles would be enough to demonstrate the production of books in China.

[31] This painting is still regarded as a Yan Wengui painting by experts in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

All the bronze objects loaned by the Republican government remained in the *International Exhibition*. According to Ferguson, Walter Perceval Yetts (1878-1957), a professor of Chinese art and an authority on bronzes, was responsible for this decision. Significantly, Yetts made no corrections to the labels for the bronze exhibits. He just abbreviated some information. Ferguson praised Yetts as a careful and modest scholar (Ferguson 1936).

These decisions made by the British committee indicated a gap between the understandings of *yishu* in the Chinese perspective and art as a Western term at that time. Calligraphy and painting were the most important categories in the Chinese hierarchy of art. Bronze objects were crucial to an empire in pre-modern China, which legitimized the authority of an emperor over the country. Chinese scholars at that moment started to understand the artistic value of bronze vessels. Porcelain was definitely the most popular and familiar Chinese art form to a Western visitor. The hierarchy of different art genres was clear in the four volumes of the catalogue for the *Preliminary Exhibition*. Long introductory texts were available for bronze, porcelain, calligraphy/painting, and archaeological exhibits. With the exception of a brief description attached to each photo of an exhibit, no extra information was provided for objects in other minor categories of art, such as tapestry and embroidery, jades, cloisonné, and red lacquer.

Furthermore, the exhibition sequence in the *Preliminary Exhibition* placed calligraphy and painting in a primary position. The Chinese committee expected their audience to initially visit the first floor of the exhibition building, in order to see the second to the sixth halls, and then subsequently to visit the first hall downstairs. As a result, they arranged items of calligraphy and painting from Tang to Yuan times in the first hall on the first floor; bronzes in the next hall; ceramics in the next two halls; and part of the miscellaneous section in the last hall. Descending to the ground floor, the only exhibition room was arranged to display calligraphy and painting from the Ming and Qing dynasties and any remaining miscellaneous items. The message was apparent: calligraphy and painting were the most important genres of Chinese art, but the productions of the Ming and Qing periods were not as high in the art historical value system as that of the previous periods.

Even the reviews of the *Preliminary Exhibition* indicated the importance of calligraphy and painting. Most Chinese reviews were about calligraphy and painting. Some remarked on other media with a few sentences. Some just talked about painting. Shi Chongpeng (1909-2003), a traditional artist and art educator, published a series of essays in *National Painting Monthly*. His articles were about the painting part of the *Preliminary Exhibition* based on his experiences as a visitor. He gave very detailed descriptions of each painting on show: the title, size, author if known, content, inscription, and style. Shi

also made a brief comment on each painting. One year later, he combined all these essays into a book entitled *Notes on Viewing and Studying Chinese Famous Paintings* (*Zhongguo minghua guanmo ji*) (Shi 1936a). More comments on the significance of calligraphy and painting must have been given publicly or privately. One of the members of the Chinese committee, Wu Hufan, had to write an article in *Dagongbao*, one of the most important daily newspapers in early twentieth-century China, on the last day of the *Preliminary Exhibition*. He clarified the choices that had been made on calligraphy and painting in response to various critiques on that part of the exhibition (Wu 1935b). While contemporary Chinese scholars had accepted other media as different branches of art, calligraphy and painting still occupied the highest position in the hierarchy of art in China.

The symbolism of genres

The bilingual catalogue of the *Preliminary Exhibition* was published in four illustrated volumes by the Commercial Press in Shanghai, 1936. The third volume was devoted to items of calligraphy and painting. An introductory note in both Chinese and English prefaced this volume. The writers of this catalogue were the members of the Chinese committee; although the exact authorship of this particular article is unknown now. This essay divided its narrative of Chinese calligraphy and painting into two chapters. The development of Chinese calligraphy was described first. Then the narrative moved on to painting. This painting part included three sections labelled as "landscape (*shanshui*)", "figures (*renwu*)", and "sketch (*xiesheng*)" (Chinese Preparatory Committee of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London 1936b: 5-11). This division was unconventional. "Sketch" is a Western category borrowed by the Chinese committee to explain Chinese painting history. Traditionally, writers of Chinese painting defined different genres according to the subject matter of painting. Landscape and flower-and-bird painting were two of the most well-known genres from the Ming dynasty onwards. Compared to these two, figure painting and architecture painting were minor categories. Sub-genres, such as horse painting and Buddhist painting, were also available.

In spite of the extant system of painting genres in China, the board of the *Preliminary Exhibition* decided to create their own categories. This unusual division between landscape, figure, and sketch in the catalogue of the *Preliminary Exhibition* represents the strong intentions of the Chinese organizers. It was also consonant with the contemporary changes of conception in the Chinese art world.

The crucial genre of landscape remained in the categorization of the exhibition. Most Chinese scholars considered landscape painting to be the greatest achievement in the Chinese history of painting. It is perhaps no surprise then that the committee of the

Preliminary Exhibition gave a special status to landscape, which had been praised as the paradigmatic expression of literati painting. In fact, the number of landscape paintings (eighty items) constituted almost half of the calligraphy and painting exhibits (one hundred and seventy-five items). The catalogue followed the traditional division of two schools—the Southern and Northern Schools—to introduce Chinese landscape painting. It stated that there was no clear line between these two schools. This idea was consistent with the growing challenge to the conventional separation of these two schools at that time in publications on the history of Chinese art.

The catalogue did not mention the genre of flower-and-bird painting. Still, flower-and-bird painting was the second largest genre in the exhibition part of painting. The paintings selected included many of birds and plants with propitious and fine connotations in China, such as pines, bamboos, plums, and peacocks. The Chinese committee picked a painting of peonies attributed to the Song artist Zhao Chang (ca. 960-after 1016), who was famous for his flower painting. This choice was in accord with the taste of new Chinese art patrons in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Auspicious motifs had been very popular among the emerging elite in Chinese cities from the nineteenth century. They were undoubtedly attractive in the commercial market. However, this ink painting by Zhao Chang seemed not to be fully appreciated by the British side. It did not appear in the *International Exhibition*. Instead, another of Zhao Chang's paintings, *New Year's Day* (*Suizhao tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei), a coloured one, was on display in London.

The definitions for "figures" and "sketch" were not clearly explained in the catalogue and there was no attempt to distinguish the two. Based on the text, "figures" referred to the painting of human and animal figures. The painters of this genre either drew meticulous details in a lifelike style or painted with rough outlines in quick strokes for spiritual resonance. The genre "sketch" here specifically referred to real scenery and lifelike figures. The appearance of this type of work in the exhibition demonstrated the emphasis of the Chinese Committee on the skill of imitating nature with accurate representation. Chinese intellectuals at that time no longer exclusively favoured abstract brushwork.

The appearance of paintings with human figures as the dominant subject in the painting space in the *Preliminary Exhibition* indicates the contemporary revival of artistic interest in figure painting in nineteenth- and twentieth- century China. Portraits from the National Museum of the first two emperors in the Song dynasty and of the emperors and their wives in the Yuan dynasty entered the list made by the Chinese side. Chinese experts usually treated these pictures as historical documents rather than artworks. Through the *Preliminary Exhibition*, they started to establish an art historical interest in these portraits.

That said, the amount of figure painting on display at the exhibition was relatively small. It was less important to Chinese scholars than landscape painting. Compared with the British organizers of the *International Exhibition*, portraits were definitely not the first concern of the Chinese side. Unsatisfied with the portion of figure painting provided by the Chinese committee, the British side added a large quantity of paintings with human figures from other collections outside China. For example, a painting *Ladies of the Palace Sewing* (*Huishan shinü tu* or *Zhishan shinütu*[32], now in the Palace Museum, Beijing) was on display in the *International Exhibition*. This painting was attributed to Zhou Fang (ca. 730-ca. 800), an acknowledged figure painter from a high official family. The British committee borrowed the artwork from a private collector, Mrs. William Moore, in New York.

5.4 Prioritization of Historical Periods

From the end of 1934 to the end of 1935, experts in and outside China participated in a complicated procedure of selection for the *Preliminary Exhibition* in Shanghai and ultimately for the *International Exhibition*. The final outcome was a list of objects carefully judged by art historical standards. The emphasis of the *Preliminary Exhibition* enhanced generally accepted ideas in early twentieth-century Chinese art historical writings.

The "AD 1800" terminus

According to Xu Beihong, the British committee stated that only pieces created before 1800 CE should be selected. Chinese artworks from the modern and contemporary period were not considered worthy of representing the fine production of Chinese art.

Chinese scholars, contemporary artists especially, were outraged by this suggestion. In an article in January 1935, Xu Beihong argued that British scholars considered China after the eighteenth century to be without any great cultural accomplishment and contemporary China to be without culture. He was not happy with the members of the British delegation. He thought that they were businessmen rather than experts like Walter Perceval Yetts and Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), a pioneer in the European study of Far Eastern art. He suggested that perhaps the Chinese government should ask for a loan of British painting and sculpture only created after 1800 to form a British art exhibition

[32] The Chinese and English titles of this painting seem to address totally different paintings. This English title was used in *the International Exhibition*. The two Chinese titles (literary ladies of the Palace waving a fan) are used now by the Palace Museum, Beijing. Actually, two titles pointed to different sections of this long scroll. The whole painting includes five groups of ladies in different activities: waving a fan; holding a music instrument; looking into a mirror; sewing; and, taking a rest (from right to left).

in China (Xu 1935). Xu Beihong seemed to forget that two years earlier in 1933, *the Exposition de la peinture chinoise* at the Jeu de Paume in Paris, which he co-organized, consisted of 64 ancient paintings from the Han to the Ming dynasties and 180 contemporary paintings in traditional styles. It might not have been his idea to represent Chinese painting using only traditional styles, but he agreed to do so on at least one occasion.

The Chinese committee, on the other hand, was successfully persuaded to choose nothing after the eighteenth century. It was a widely accepted idea in the first half of the twentieth century that Chinese art from the nineteenth century had undergone at least stagnation if not outright decline. In 1917, Kang Youwei stated that: "Late Chinese painting has declined terribly" (Kang 1917). Most histories of Chinese art published in the 1920s and '30s described Chinese art from the Qing dynasty onwards as decadent. In a sense, priceless national artworks were from the pre-Qing dynasties. This narrative paralleled those choices made for the *Preliminary Exhibition*. In 1937, Li Yishi (1886-1942), an oil painter who was the first Chinese to study in a Western art academy, recalled that the selection of paintings did not go beyond the Qianlong period. He considered this decision as a sign of the degeneration of traditional painting and hoped that Chinese artists would revive Chinese art and reverse the situation (Li 1937).

The "Tang-Song transition" (618-1279)

In 1888, the founder of Japanese studies on the history of East Asia, Naka Michiyo (1851-1908) published a book entitled *The General History of China* (*Shina tsūshi*). He borrowed the tripartite periodization in the Western historiography to divide the history of China into three periods as ancient times (*shanggu*), medieval times (*zhongshi*), and early modern times (*jinshi*). Many scholars in Japan and China agreed with this tripartite idea, but they developed their own approaches to separate these three periods. One influential scholar was Naitō Konan, one of the founding fathers of modern Japanese studies of China. He put forward the "Tang-Song transition" hypothesis, in which he considered the Song dynasty as the beginning of the "modern" period in China (Naitō 1922). Naitō's periodization suggested that as early as the late Tang and early Song dynasties a total transformation in Chinese culture accompanied China's entrance into what he conceived as "modernity". He argued that the Tang period absorbed significant foreign elements into the Chinese culture and that the Song period resembled the glorious Renaissance in Europe (Fogel 1984: xv, 197). Similar ideas appeared in the history of Chinese art during the 1920s and '30s.

The *Preliminary Exhibition* treated Tang and Song times in Chinese history as the most flourishing period of Chinese art, chiefly in the case of painting. Altogether, sixty-two paintings from the Tang and Song dynasties occupied more than one third of all the samples

of calligraphy and painting selected. The Song paintings (fifty-four items) dominated those of different dynasties. The introduction of the *Preliminary Exhibition* catalogue clearly stated that landscape painting became important in the Tang dynasty. It also provided a long list of painters in various periods. The Song dynasty stood out as the one with the largest number of masters (forty-one artists in all three genres of painting). This focus on Tang and Song times was closely associated with a common understanding in the contemporary Chinese art world: the greatest achievements of calligraphy and painting were represented by the Tang and Song dynasties. In 1926, Teng Gu published *A Brief History of Chinese Art*. In this book, he proposed that the period of Sui to Song was the most flourishing era in the history of Chinese art. In 1935, Teng wrote a book devoted to Tang and Song painting, entitled *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times*. Zheng Wuchang's 1929 book *A Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* devoted a larger portion of text to Tang and Song times than that of the subsequent Ming-Qing period. Much more information was available for art in the later ages, but Zheng chose to keep his narrative simple. Teng and Zheng were representative of contemporary Chinese intellectuals.

After visiting the *Preliminary Exhibition*, Li Puyuan summarized the merits of Tang and Song painting to analyze the problems of contemporary Chinese painting. Li admired Tang and Song painters for their harmonious relationship to nature, which they chose to depict. Li envisioned that these masters drew the light, tone, and outline of a landscape without too much ink and too many lines. By contrast, Li Puyuan criticized the pure copying technique of some Ming and Qing literati painters. As a result of his experiences at this exhibition, Li thought that Chinese painting should follow Tang and Song examples to imitate nature rather than simply copying old paintings (Li 1935).

5.5 Canonization of Artists

The presence of a particular work of art in important exhibitions such as the *Preliminary Exhibition* and the *International Exhibition* represents a form of canonization. The organizing committees distinguished the chosen artworks from the excluded ones. Based upon a set of principles, such as the authenticity of the work, how representative those art pieces were, or simply taking into consideration the need to keep an object safe, they justified the inclusion of the exhibits in the exhibitions. Those items selected had passed the shared judgement of two committees and were considered worthy of being placed in the spotlight.

Castiglione

Some differences in selection between the *Preliminary Exhibition* and the *International Exhibition* suggest disagreements on the value of certain artists and their pieces. An indication of diverging views between the Chinese and the British committees was the case of Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining, 1688-1768), the Italian Qing court painter. The Chinese side had not considered Castiglione's paintings for display. Their argument was that, since Castiglione was not an artist of Chinese origin, his works were not appropriate for this exhibition of Chinese art. The British side totally disagreed and insisted on including two of Castiglione's works for both exhibitions (Na and Zhuang 2007). In the *International Exhibition*, they even added one more painting by Castiglione on loan from the Musée Guimet in Paris. It was a painting of a historical scene entitled *Kazak Kirghis Envoys Presenting Horses to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung*. Including Castiglione, only sixteen artists had three or more works of art on show.

Castiglione's style of combining the Chinese brush and the Western perspective was more easily appreciated and understood by a Western audience at that time than the unfamiliar Chinese style which could not be measured by Western painting standards from the Renaissance. Also, Castiglione's painting demonstrated an artistic exchange between China and the West two centuries ago. The Chinese committee eventually conceded and Castiglione's paintings appeared in the *Preliminary Exhibition*. They made a compromise. In *The Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London* (*Canjia Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui chupin tushuo*, 1936), the Chinese committee listed these two paintings by Castiglione at the end of the volume "Calligraphy and Painting (Shuhua)" as appendages. Particular note was made of the fact that Castiglione was from Italy.

From a different perspective, the Chinese side may well have realized, albeit reluctantly, that even though they were painted by an Italian, these paintings could still be part of the Chinese national heritage. A national heritage was not simply confined to creations by Chinese people. Instead, even those works by artists outside the Chinese tradition, since they had been collected and passed down in China, could reasonably be considered as national heritage. Castiglione's paintings were Qing court paintings commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor and had both historical and artistic merit.

Additionally, this decision was coincident with contemporary historical ideas on the development of Chinese painting. Chinese art historical writings in the 1920s and '30s praised Castiglione highly for his artistic achievement. A number of Chinese scholars and artists believed that the future of Chinese painting lay in the direction of a synthesis of Chinese and Western painting styles and techniques. Castiglione was held up as an example

of this synthesis. In the illustrations for his publication *Outline of Chinese Art History* (1931), Li Puyuan chose one work by Castiglione, from a wide array of Qing paintings available, as the sole example of Chinese art in the Qing dynasty. His special appreciation of Lang Shining's art indicates his support for modern Chinese art learning from Western elements. Castiglione's painting experience in the Qing court was a significant demonstration of the communication in art between China and the outside world. This was a point of great interest to Chinese scholars at that time.

Bada Shanren/Shitao

Bada Shanren and Shitao were both prestigious painters in the early Qing dynasty. Their styles were very distinct from the Orthodox School of their times. They gained their popularity in the Chinese art circles of the Republican period. In Shanghai in the early 1930s, there was a definite trend for Chinese painters to paint in the manner of Bada Shanren and Shi Tao instead of the "Four Wangs" (see Chapter Three).

Surprisingly, the *Preliminary Exhibition* omitted any work by Bada and included just one painting by Shitao, a collaborative piece with Wang Yuanqi, the orthodox painter praised by the Qing court. Some scholars were unhappy about the exclusion and publicly raised the issue. The explanation given by Wu Hufan was that there were no other options available in the Palace Museum collection. These two painters, both descendants of the Ming royal family, lived as left-over loyalists in early Qing times. The Qing court was most unlikely to collect their works. Thus, the Palace Museum and the National Museum which inherited the Qing imperial collection, did not obtain any individual works by Bada or Shitao.

Related to the core of this problem, Ye Gongchuo raised one of the disadvantages of organizing the *Preliminary Exhibitio*n. As a private collector, Ye doubted that the exhibits taken solely from the public collections could be truly representative of the entirety of Chinese art (Ye 1935). He believed that a number of classic works in Chinese art history were absent from the exhibition.

Multiplicity of media

Different media of art in China have always connected to each other. Calligraphy and painting have constantly appeared together on porcelain surfaces and in carvings of stone, ivory, wood, bamboo, and jade. They have supplied subjects and compositions to tapestry and embroidery. Yet, the Chinese organizers of the *Preliminary Exhibition* appeared unaware of the intertextuality of art forms in China. That said, they unconsciously employed the multiplicity of forms to emphasize particular works of calligraphy and painting.

The *Preliminary Exhibition* included a display of twenty folding fans. These fans, which had been categorized as belonging to the miscellaneous group, had been selected not because the craftsmanship in working bones and covering fans was extraordinary, but because the Chinese organizers favoured the works of calligraphy and painting put on them by important artists. Three of the fans had Qiu Ying's (ca. 1498-1552) painting on them. Qiu was a famous painter in the Ming dynasty who followed the so-called "academic style (*yuanti*)" of the Song dynasty. His painting *Carrying the Lute* (*Fuqin tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) was accompanied by a piece of calligraphy composed by Dong Qichang. Two other works of art by Dong, in the form of folding fans, were also presented.

Similarly, calligraphy and painting were reproduced in the form of textiles. Twenty-nine items of tapestry and embroidery were shown by the Chinese committee, although no details of the makers of these textiles were mentioned at the exhibition. Instead, the committee chose to highlight some creators of the original pieces of calligraphy and painting on display. Zhao Chang's painting *Bamboos, Plum Blossoms, and Magpies* (*Zhumei shuangque tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) was present. And a work of calligraphy on silk tapestry by the Song calligrapher and painter Mi Fu was also on display.

The multiplicity of artworks by several artists in more than one medium demonstrates the influence and popularity of these artists. The reappearance of these names beyond the usual format of calligraphy and painting strengthens their status as the canons of art in China.

Artists' gender

Gender was an unspoken issue in the *Preliminary Exhibition*. Among all the exhibits of painting whose authors were known, only two paintings were works of art by women artists. One was *Bamboos and Stones* (*Zhu shi*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) attributed to Guan Daosheng (1262-1319), probably China's most famous woman calligrapher and painter. She was the wife of the famous Yuan artist, Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322). Her work usually became a footnote to that of her husband (Weidner 1988: 20). The other was *Bodhisattva* (*Guanyin dashi xiang*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) by Xing Cijing, sister of the calligrapher Xing Tong (1551-1612). The catalogue of the *Preliminary Exhibition* mentioned that Xing Cijing excelled in flower painting and religious figure painting in the manner of Guan Daosheng. The remaining paintings in the *Preliminary Exhibition* were all done by male artists. The Chinese committee never made the gender difference explicit and no information was provided for visitors to distinguish the women painters from their male counterparts.

Female names entered the male history of Chinese painting in the tenth century. From then on they were positioned either at the end of each group or in an appendix with little information in the form of artists' biographies. Traditional Chinese writings on art overlooked women and did not take them seriously. In 1831, Tang Shuyu, wife of Wang Yuansun (1794-1836), who belonged to a scholarly family, compiled the first treatise on a history of female painters in China—*The Jade Terrace History of Painting* (*Yutai huashi*). Tang collected more than two hundred female artists from more than a hundred sources. With this one exception, there were far fewer women than men listed in any Chinese art historical record. Also, far fewer works of painting by women survived down the ages than those by men. On the whole, scholars simply did not consider women artists to be great masters. Marsha Weidner suggested that Guan Daosheng might be the only exception (Weidner 1988: 13). The presence of Guan's work in the *Preliminary Exhibition* unquestionably promoted her status in the history of Chinese painting.

In terms of other media, textiles were most likely to be associated with women. Twenty-nine pieces of tapestry and embroidery were on display in the *Preliminary Exhibition*. Still, no creators of the needlework were recorded by either the exhibition catalogue or the labels on the exhibits. In the case of folding fans, two paintings on fans were attributed to women painters. The Chinese committee gave no data on them other than their names: Zhao Wenshu and Ma Shouzhen. Both these women were from the Ming dynasty. Zhao Wenshu could be Wen Shu (1595-1634), a woman painter from a literati family active in art. Her great-grandfather was the brother of the artist Wen Zhengming (1470-1559). Wen Shu married into another old elite family in Suzhou, the so-called "cultural capital of China" at that time. Her husband's family traced its ancestry back to Zhao Mengfu. Her paintings were so well known that someone faked them for money. Weidner has pointed out that Wen Shu became a model for later generations of Chinese women painters (Weidner 1988: 31-34). In the *Preliminary Exhibition*, Wen Shu's work was a colour painting *Poppies* (*Yingsu tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) on a fan. She excelled at this flower-and-rock theme. Ma Shouzhen (1548-1604) was a courtesan in Jinling (now Nanjing), one of the entertainment quarters in affluent South China during the Ming dynasty. She was talented in painting, poetry, music, and calligraphy. The *Preliminary Exhibition* displayed a fan with her painting *Butterflies* (*Huadie tu*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) in colour and a poem transcribed by her paramour, Wang Zhideng (1535-1612).

The *International Exhibition* specifically pointed out the gender of Chinese artists. It exhibited all the pieces by women artists loaned by the Chinese government. It also added one more painting *Bamboos* by Guan Daosheng. Guan was very much appreciated

by Westerners. In the catalogue of the *International Exhibition* and the labels attached to these five exhibits, female creators were addressed as "lady" before their names. Again, Guan Daosheng was the only female artist that was properly introduced by the British committee. The *International Exhibition* merely indicated the names and dates of the other three women painters; no further information was provided on these creators for the audience of the *International Exhibition*. They appeared to be unimportant for the British committee. Guan was introduced not as an independent artist, but instead as the wife of an accomplished artist—an attachment to the dominant male figures.

Most women artists and their creations were missing in the canonization of Chinese art in the early twentieth century. Nobody paid enough attention to the Chinese female creators and their works of art. They were treated as sustainers rather than innovators of art by both Chinese and foreign experts in the 1930s.

The international loan of 1935-6 and its pre-exhibition in April and May, 1935, were landmark events central to rewriting art history in China. In imperial China, Chinese art had been passed down by the imperial collection and private collections. Art historical materials also emerged within these two categories of collections. Writers of histories, classifications, and catalogues of calligraphy and painting were usually the owners of collections or lived in a family in possession of some precious pieces. The peculiarity of these collections limited the possibility for research on Chinese art history to a small group of elite scholars. From the beginning of the twentieth century, museum opening and exhibition holding in China drew in new materials and inspirations for art historical scholarship. In comparison with the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London (1935-1936), the *Shanghai Preliminary Exhibition of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art* becomes a unique instance demonstrating how a Chinese practice of selecting, exhibiting and viewing in Republican China formed a historical narrative of Chinese art with elements similar to or different from Western views. An art historical narrative unfolded within the exhibiting space.

Conclusion

In February, 1989, Beijing, *China/Avant-Garde* (*Zhongguo xiandai yishuzhan*) exhibited an installation "*A History of Chinese Painting* and *A Concise History of Modern Painting* Washed in a Washing Machine for Two Minutes (Zhongguo huihuashi he Xiandai huihua jianshi zai xiyiji li jiaoban le liang fenzhong)" (Figure 6.1) by the pioneer of Chinese conceptual art Huang Yongping (1954-). Viewers are confronted with an old and dirty-looking wooden box which is open from the top. Still attached to the box is the original tag with Huang's name and his old address in Hangzhou. To illustrate his change of address, Huang has added Fuzhou—the city of his new address—after an arrow mark next to the tag. The box supports a piece of broken glass on which a conglomeration of paper pulp is piled up. The contents of these pieces of paper are partially recognizable, and include characters on a book cover "a history of Chinese painting (Zhongguo huihuashi)". On the lid of this box, Huang has inscribed the title of the artwork, the date "1987.12.1" when he created this installation, and "maintaining the humidity (*baochi shidu*)" implying the way in which he keeps this work. He informs his audience that this junk is the ruins of two art historical books, one on Chinese painting and another on Western modern painting. Huang Yongping's choice of literature is deliberate. *A History of Chinese Painting* (1982) is an influential post-1949 art historical text written by the art historian and painter Wang Bomin (1924-); the Chinese translation (1979) of Herbert Read's *A Concise History of Modern Painting*, is the first Western book on Modern Art translated into Chinese after the 1950s, and was considered by Chinese scholars in the mid-1980s to be an authoritative text on modern Western art (Gao 2005: 129, 56). Huang places the texts into a washing machine and turns the machine on for two minutes. The result of this cynical and destructive wash—a pile of paper paste—becomes the major part of Huang's artwork.

Huang Yongping provides a cynical explanation of this work:

> "In China, regarding the two cultures of the East and the West, traditional and modern, it is constantly being discussed as to which is right, which is wrong, and how to blend the two. In my opinion, placing these two texts in the washing machine for two minutes symbolizes this situation well and solves the problem much more effectively and appropriately than debates lasting a hundred years." (Gao 2005)

Viewed in the context of the 1980s, this work expresses Huang's negation of the conflicts between the traditional and the modern, the Eastern and the Western. According to Wu Hung, it also recalls the unforgettable memory of destroying books during the Cultural Revolution (Wu 1998: 62). In turn, this also suggests, obliquely, that no one has had much to say from 1949 until recently. As a result, the Republican period becomes all the more

important. At another level, then, this artwork figuratively summarizes the various efforts that Chinese scholars made in the historiography of Chinese art during the first half of the twentieth century.

Given the scope of this dissertation, I have not addressed certain aspects of writing Chinese art history in late imperial and modern China. For instance, the institutionalization of the modern discipline of Chinese art history in twentieth-century China remains a topic for further study. It is well known that courses of Chinese art history in China first appeared in the 1910s. This kind of teaching reached a new institutional definition in 1937. On 18th May that year, the Chinese Research Association of Art History was established in Nanjing. This organization was crucial for the establishment of a social network among Chinese art historians. Its members included Teng Gu, Ma Heng, Zong Baihua, and Chang Renxia. These scholars very likely envisioned a major engagement for art history, but progress stagnated amid the Sino-Japanese war. At least, no trace of activities in this institution has survived. Similarly, it is interesting to examine the roles played by modern publishing houses in art historical discourse. How and why did they choose to print particular books on Chinese art history? What profit was gained from these books? How large was the readership of these books? If appropriate data become available, these are the sorts of questions that future research will have to address.

This dissertation has focused instead on historiographical practices linked to authors, texts, artworks, and exhibitions in the early twentieth centuries. The legacy of this period is still felt today. Despite the wide temporal gap, the extensive absorption of foreign ideas in Chinese art circles between the 1980s and the beginning of the twenty-first century resembles the situation of Chinese art during the 1920s and ’30s. Recent studies of contemporary Chinese art trace the roots of contemporary Chinese artworks to the Republican period, in particular the 1920s and ’30s. This period is crucial for art historians to understand how the production and historiography of Chinese art integrated native and foreign elements. In revealing a new aim to promote a modern nation-state, new categories of fine arts, new academic methodologies of art history, and last but not least, the new institutional developments for the discipline, writing Chinese art history in the 1920s and ’30s both reorganized and constructed new canons for Chinese art.

Faced with the external pressure from Western art, a totally different artistic tradition; seeing the impact of Japanese scholarship on its own art and Chinese art; and realizing the need to maintain an indigenous knowledge of China’s own past, Chinese art scholars in the late Qing and Republican period were keen to rewrite the history of Chinese art. They mixed what they understood as Chinese traditional scholarship on calligraphy and painting with what they had learned from Japan and Western methods that they considered useful. In this dissertation, I identify these indigenous and foreign elements and explore the reasons

behind modern Chinese art historians' choices.

Although he did not admit it, Shi Yan, the author of *Eastern Art History*, followed the new strategy for dealing with Japanese art and Western art that had been provided by Japanese art historians. His ancient history of Chinese art examined Chinese art within an Asian scope in order to show the significance of Chinese art for other Asian arts. Shi believed that Chinese art had initially learned from Indian art and then proceeded to develop into a greater and more influential tradition. His extreme claims included the idea that Chinese art had defined the shape of Japanese art, and that the latter was only a variation of Chinese art. He concluded that, due to its power in Asia, Chinese art was in a strong position to confront the dominance of Western art in modern times. While some of the points Shi Yan made are contentious, they serve well his ultimate goal of promoting Chinese ancient art.

As a scholar, the ink painter Fu Baoshi followed the traditional practice of a Chinese artist. Fu's version of Chinese art history inherited a unique Chinese art historical language. During his stay in Japan, he chose to follow the relatively conservative methods of modern Japanese studies on Chinese art history. His detailed analysis of written documents and his relevant painting productions balanced the textual and visual dimensions of art history. Fu Baoshi's answers to historical questions of Chinese painting are sometimes biased, and consequently they have been challenged by later generations of art historians. However, his visual approach to art history, by means of image representation rather than word explanation, has been adopted and carried on by later scholars.

In his article "Painting and the Built Environment in Late-19th-Century Shanghai", Jonathan Hay suggests that the traditional Chinese painters of the Shanghai School unconsciously used the inherited resources of Chinese culture to show the changes in China. For Hay, indigenous painting proved adequate to respond to these changes. So its vitality in the nineteenth century affirmed a sense of Chinese cultural belonging (Hay 2001). In the early twentieth century, Chinese authors of art history took an extra step. These scholars incorporated the history of Chinese art within the intensified social changes of their day in order to create a cultural identity for China as a nation. For these authors, artworks were concrete proof of a national art tradition and a means by which their readers could easily participate in the glory of Chinese culture. During the 1920s and '30s, art historical writings in China carried very strong nationalistic overtones. Chinese intellectuals emphasized the importance of objects still extant in China in order to legitimize China's cultural identity in the world. For most Chinese intellectuals in the Republican period, the history of Chinese art was a battlefield, which ranged themselves on one side against foreign scholarship—Japanese studies on Chinese art in particular—on the other. They felt that it was their responsibility to create a satisfactory history of art for China as a modern nation.

Comparatively speaking, Teng Gu's approach to Chinese art history is more academic. He discovered in Wölfflin's style analysis of Renaissance Art and Baroque Art a powerful tool with which to construct a history of Chinese painting. He tried to divide the history of Chinese painting according to style development rather than political changes. He also explored the stylistic divergence between Chinese paintings in different periods. Since painting in China and in Western countries was so different, Teng Gu encountered unavoidable difficulties when trying to interpret Wölfflin's terms in ways suitable for the context of Chinese painting. He had to adjust his explanation a few times in essays he produced during the 1930s. Teng's discussion of Tang-Song art in his three publications of the 1930s—"An Investigation into the History of Academic Style Painting and Literati Painting" (1931), *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times* (1933), and "The Characteristics of Tang Art" (1935)—exemplifies the changes in Teng's adaptation of Wölfflin's theory. At first, he directly applied his Chinese translation of Wölfflin's terms. Then he invented the names of styles in Chinese painting. His last step was to extend these stylistic notions in Chinese painting to other forms of art, such as Chinese sculpture. The outcome was quite mechanical and odd, but Teng Gu's daring endeavour inaugurated a new perspective with which to examine the history of Chinese art.

Teng Gu is the forerunner of modern Chinese art history scholarship. His views of China's past art are unique in Republican China. Teng suggested that Chinese scholars needed more archaeological discoveries to prepare them for theoretical approaches. It is no coincidence that Herbert Read, whom Teng introduced to Chinese readers in the 1920s, was reintroduced to China by art historians in the 1980s. This time Read's books became prevalent among Chinese intellectuals. Likewise, Teng Gu's style analysis of Chinese art in the 1930s finally gained currency fifty years later.

In most cases of late Qing and Republican China, the three forces of Western art historical scholarship, Japanese art studies on China, and traditional art historical treatises overlapped every author's attempt to create a modern Chinese field of art history. Ancient Chinese texts on art were basic materials for every new publication on Chinese art history no matter whether its author was inclined towards Japanese, Western, or age-old Chinese methods. Citations from Japanese and Western-language sources appeared side by side in histories of Chinese art. Researchers of Chinese art history at that time, such as Shi Yan, Teng Gu, and Fu Baoshi, could emphasize one of these three forces, but they could not employ one approach exclusively to compose a history of Chinese art.

The results of various Chinese intellectual efforts to theorize on art in the early twentieth century were a new set of canons in Chinese art. Parts of old canons were sustained with new meanings. For instance, the Tang dynasty has long been acknowledged as one of the most prosperous periods in Chinese art history. In the Republican period,

Chinese researchers discovered new merits in Tang art which had developed from the internalization of nature and the absorption of foreign elements. Other old canons were repudiated by early twentieth-century Chinese scholars. One example is the Orthodox School of painting in early Qing. Its prominent status established in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was no longer accepted by modern Chinese authors of Chinese painting history. Moreover, artists and artworks which had previously gone unnoticed by scholars now occupied a canonical position in new histories of Chinese art.

This formation of canons in the 1920s and '30s was buttressed by contemporary art exhibitions in China. Art display in early twentieth-century China affected the way in which contemporary Chinese scholars constructed the history of art in China. The exhibiting practices of old art objects gained definition in an emerging concept of art, and they generated a new narrative for the history of art in China. Both concept and narrative were echoed in the contemporary art historical writings in China. Exhibition practice and art history writing shared several common points. They prioritized the medium of calligraphy and painting in art while taking consideration of other artistic forms in order to create a comprehensive discourse of art. This process had no precedent. They considered the Tang and Song period as a peak of Chinese creativity, and diagnosed a decline of art in China from at least the nineteenth century. They canonized certain artworks and, just as significantly, they did not canonize others.

No reorganization is comprehensive; no construction encompasses every eventuality. Were that so, the efforts of nearly one century ago would not continue to generate the interest that they still do. But the achievements of Republican scholarship and criticism were unprecedented. They covered aspects of content and form; they advanced the scope of rhetorical ambitions; they shifted the dimensions of historical debate. These achievements mark a cultural founding moment, one in which observers today cannot help but see parallels. And, perhaps more striking today than then, is how pertinently Chinese experiments with Japanese and Western ideas adapted them to Chinese conditions. Republican intellectual history, if considered from an art historical perspective, did not simply welcome the new and the foreign, while discarding the old and the local. Pioneering writers of the period contributed in ways that were not disadvantageously qualified by borders or by different temporalities. Even if it was not fully realized before—and much less during the catastrophic distractions of the 1960s and '70s—it is increasingly clear today that these early voices spoke to a discourse that has grown in transnational and disciplinary relevance.

Figures

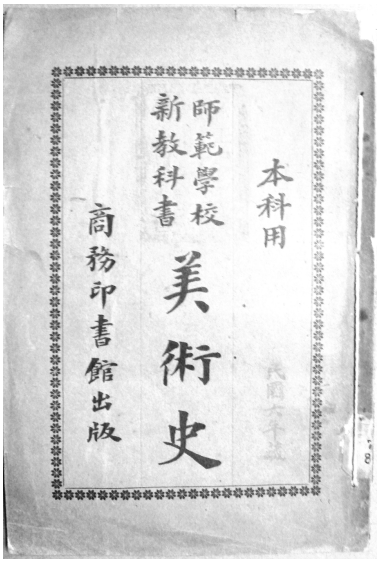


Figure 0.1
Cover of Jiang Danshu's *History of Fine Arts* (1917)

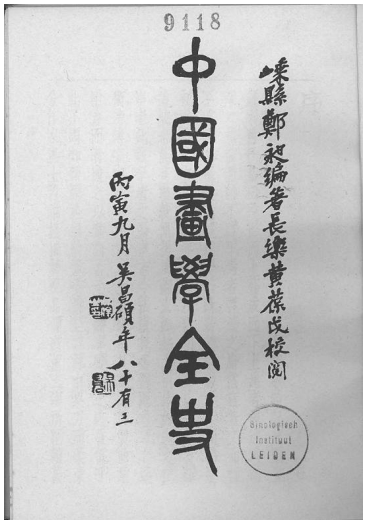


Figure 0.2
Title page of Zheng Wuchang's *A Complete History of Chinese Painting* (1929)



Figure 1.1

Page 330 from Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* (1936) with the illustration of *Beauties under the Tree*



Figure 1.2

Page 397 from Shi Yan's *Eastern Art History* (1936) with the illustration of the first panel of *Screen Panels with Ladies under Trees*, 133.9 x 54.4 cm, North Section, Shōsōin Collection, Nara



Figure 3.1
Fu Baoshi, *Hobnobbing near the Pine Cliff*, 1925, hanging scroll, light colour on paper, 132.6 x 32.2 cm, Nanjing Museum, Nanjing

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Figure 3.2
Cheng Sui, *Thousands of Rocks Contend for Beauty*, ca. 1687, ink on paper, 29.3 x 22.7 cm, Zhejiang Museum, Hangzhou (After Yang 1988: 38)

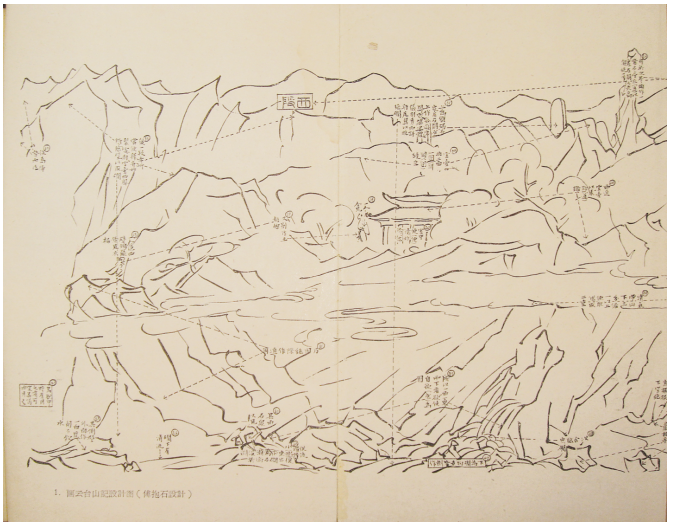


Figure 3.3
Fu Baoshi's graphic plan of *A Picture of the Cloud Terrace Mountain* (After Fu 1960)

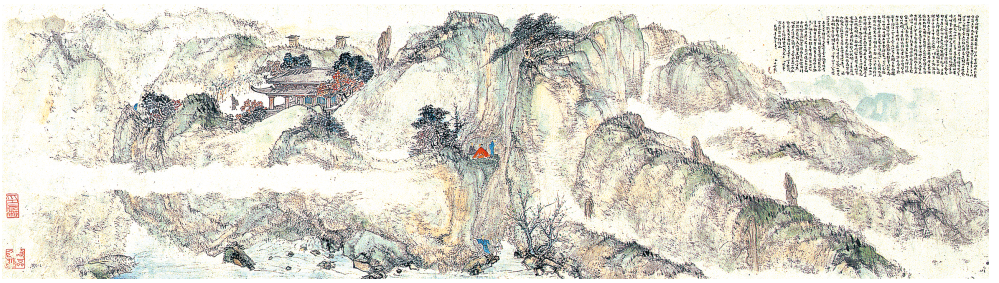


Figure 3.4
Fu Baoshi, *A Picture of the Cloud Terrace Mountain*, 1941, hand scroll, colour on paper, 31 x 112 cm, Nanjing Museum, Nanjing

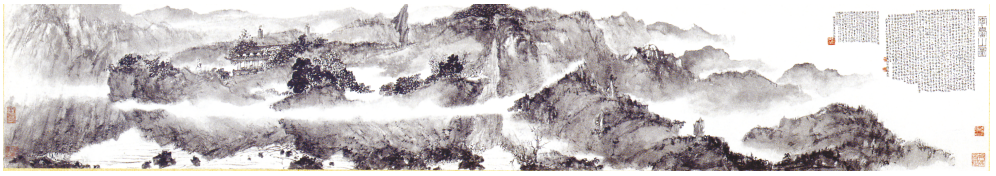


Figure 3.5
Fu Baoshi, *A Picture of the Cloud Terrace Mountain*, 1941, hand scroll, ink on paper, 29 x 165 cm, private collection



Figure 3.6
Fu Baoshi, *A Painting of Dadi Thatched House*, 1942, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 85 x 58 cm, private collection (After Chen 1998: 1910)



Figure 3.7
Fu Baoshi, *Landscape Painting in the Style of Shitao*, 1943, hanging scroll, light colour on paper, 150.5 x 53.7 cm, Nanjing Museum, Nanjing



Figure 3.8
Shitao, *A Picture of Travelling in Huayang Mountain*, ca. 1685-1695, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 239.6 x 102.3 cm, Shanghai Museum, Shanghai



Figure 5.1
Chen Shizeng, *A Picture of Reading Paintings,* 1917, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 87.7 x 46.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing (After Li 1997: 18)



Figure 5.2
Calligraphy and painting display in the *Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art* (After Na and Zhuang 2007: 37)



Figure 5.3
A pictorial news report on the *Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art* from *Shenbao Monthly*, vol. 4, no. 5, May 1935



Figure 5.4
Ceramics display in the *Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art* (After Na and Zhuang 2007: 37)

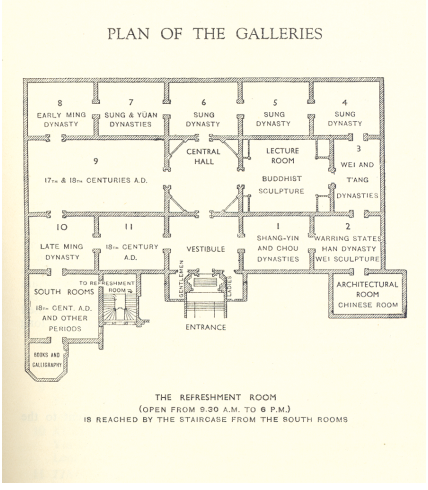


Figure 5.5
Plan of the Galleries in the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* from *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* (1935), page xxiii



Figure 6.1
Installation view of Huang Yongping's A History of Chinese Painting *and* A Concise History of Modern Painting *Washed in a Washing Machine for Two Minutes* (1987) (After Gao 2005: 92)

Appendix I

A List of Chinese Art historical Books on Art in China Published between 1911 and 1949 Excluding Translated Works

Book	Writer/Editor	Year	Publisher
美術史 *History of Fine Arts*	Jiang Danshu 姜丹書	1917	Commercial Press
蜀畫史稿 *Paintings and Painters of Sichuan*	Luo Yuanfu 羅元黼	1917	Cungu Publishing House 成都存古局
中國工藝沿革史略 *A History of Chinese Crafts*	Xu Yanzhuo 許衍灼	1917	Commercial Press
美術史參考書 *Reference to History of Fine Arts*	Jiang Danshu	1918	Commercial Press
海上墨林 *A Collection of Biographical Notes on Shanghai Artists*	Yang Yi 楊逸	1919	Yuyuan shuhua shanhui 豫園書畫善會
中國文人畫之研究*A Study of Chinese Literati Painting*	Chen Shizeng 陳師曾	1922	Zhonghua Books 中華書局
金石家書畫集小傳*Biographies of Epigraphists*	Xiling yinshe 西泠印社	1924	Hangzhou xiling yinshe 杭州西西泠印社
中國美術史 *A History of Chinese Art*	Ye Han 葉瀚	1924	National Peking University 國立北平大學
中國繪畫史 *A History of Chinese Painting*	Chen Shizeng 陳師曾	1925	Jinan Art Institute of Brush and Ink 濟南翰墨緣美術院
中國美術小史 *A Brief History of Chinese Art*	Teng Gu 滕固	1926	Commercial Press
中國繪畫史 *A History of Chinese Painting*	Pan Tianshou 潘天壽	1926	Commercial Press
鄭板橋評傳 *A Critical Biography of Zheng Banqiao*	Chen Dongyuan陳東原	1928	Commercial Press
國畫史略 *A History of National Painting*	Zhu Rongxuan 朱榮軒	1928	Henan Art School 河南藝術學校
越中歷代畫人傳*Biographies of Painters from the Past Dynasties in Middle Yue Area*	Wang Zhanmin 王瞻民	1929	Hangzhou xiling yinshe
中國畫學全史 *A Complete History of Chinese Painting*	Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌	1929	Zhonghua Books
古畫微 *Topics on Ancient Drawings*	Huang Binhong 黃賓虹	1929	Commercial Press
嶺南畫征略 *Outline of Lingnan School Painting*	Wang Zhaoyong 汪兆鏞	1929	?
常熟書畫史彙傳 *Collected History of Changshu Calligraphy and Painting*	Pang Shilong 龐士龍	1930	Changshu Calligraphy and Painting Club 常熟龐氏蘭石軒

中國建築史 *A History of Chinese Architecture*	Fu Weiping 傅偉平	1930	Commercial Press
中國藝術史概論 *Outline of Chinese Art History*	Li Puyuan 李朴園	1931	Liangyou Publishing House良友印刷公司
中國繪畫變遷史綱*Historical Outline of the Development in Chinese Painting*	Fu Baoshi 傅抱石	1931	Nanjing Bookstore 南京書店
中國繪畫上的六法論 *The Six Laws in Chinese Painting*	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	1931	Zhonghua Books
唐宋繪畫史 *A History of Painting from Tang to Song Times*	Teng Gu	1933	Chinese National Glory Company神州國光社
中西畫學綱要 *Outline of Chinese and Western Painting*	Ma Zhenlin 馬振麟	1933	Xinya Bookstore 新亞書店
中國建築史 *A History of Chinese Architecture*	Le Jiazao 樂嘉藻	1933	Commercial Press
中國美術的演變 *The Development of Chinese Art*	Wang Junchu 王均初	1934	Wenxin Bookstore 文心書店
中國繪畫史 *A History of Chinese Painting*	Su Jiheng 蘇吉亨	1934	Baicheng Books 百城書局
中國繪畫學史 *History of Chinese Painting Studies*	Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文	1934	Lida Bookstore 立達書店
中國美術史 *A History of Chinese Art*	Zheng Wuchang	1935	Zhonghua Books
當湖歷代畫人傳*Biographies of Danghu Painters* from Past Dynasties	Sun Zhenlin 孫振麟	1935	Danghu Sunshi Xueyin Cottage 黨湖孫氏雪映盧
東洋美術史*Eastern Art History*	Shi Yan 史岩	1935	Commercial Press
海鹽畫史 *Painting History of Haiyan*	Zhu Duan 朱端	1935	Youfangyi Publishing House 幽芳簃印书馆
秦漢美術史 *Art History of Qin and Han Dynasties*	Zhu Jieqin 朱傑勤	1936	Commercial Press
近代中國藝術發展史 *A History of Modern Chinese Art Development*	Li Puyuan	1936	Liangyou Publishing House
中國陶瓷史 *A History of Chinese Ceramics*	Wu Renjing and Xin Anchao 吳仁敬;辛安潮	1936	Commercial Press
中國繪畫史 (修訂版) *A History of Chinese Painting* (Revised Edition)	Pan Tianshou	1936	Commercial Press
漆器考 *A Study of Lacquer*	Zheng Shixu 鄭師許	1936	Zhonghua Books
銅鼓考略 *A Brief Study on Bronze Drums*	Zheng Shixu	1936	Zhonghua Books

顧繡考 *A Study of Gu Embroidery*	Xu Weinan 徐蔚南	1936	Zhonghua Books
中國繪畫史 *A History of Chinese Painting*	Yu Jianhua 俞劍華	1937	Commercial Press
中國美術年表 *Chronological Table of Chinese Art*	Fu Baoshi	1937	Commercial Press
明末民族藝人傳 *Biographies of National Artists at the End of Ming Dynasty*	Fu Baoshi	1939	Commercial Press
中國工藝美術 *Chinese Applied Arts*	Xu Weinan	1940	Zhonghua Books
商周彝器通考*A General Study of Sacrificial Vessels in Shang and Zhou Times*	Rong Geng 容庚	1941	Yanjing University 燕京大學
中國藝術史各論 *Various Remarks on Chinese Art History*	Feng Guanyi 馮貫一	1941	Huizhong Publishing House 匯中印書館
木刻史 *A History of Woodcut*	Shi Yan	1943	Yadian Society 雅典社
中國現代木刻史 *A History of Chinese Modern Woodcut*	Tang Yingwei 唐英偉	1943	Muhe Society 木合社
清初六大畫家 *Six Painting Masters of Early Qing*	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1945	World Books 世界書局
元季四大畫家 *Four Painting Masters of Yuan*	Wen Zhaotong	1945	World Books
晉唐二大畫家*Two Painting Masters of Jin Tang*	Wen Zhaotong	1945	World Books
明代四大畫家 *Four Painting Masters of Ming*	Wen Zhaotong	1946	World Books
中國美術史 *A History of Chinese Art*	Hu Man 胡蠻	1946	Quanyi Publisher 群益出版社
瓷器和浙江 *Ceramics and Zhejiang*	Chen Wanli 陳万里	1946	Zhonghua Books
中國美術發達史 *The Developmental History of Chinese Art*	Liu Sixun 劉思訓	1946	Commercial Press
書學史*A History of Calligraphy*	Zhu Jia 祝嘉	1947	Shanghai Education Bookstore 上海教育書店
明清兩代宮苑沿革圖考 *An Pictorial Investigation on the Course of Changes and Development of Imperial Palaces and Gardens in Ming and Qing Times*	Zhu Qi 朱契	1947	Commercial Press

Appendix II

A List of Translated Art Historical Books in the 1920s and '30s

Title	Author	Translator	Year	Publisher
文人畫之復興 *The Revival of Literati Painting*	Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖	Chen Shizeng	1922	Zhonghua Books
中國美術 *Chinese Art*	S.W. Bushell	Dai Yue戴嶽	1923	Commercial Press
中國美術史 *A History of Chinese Art*	Ōmura Seigai	Chen Binhe 陳彬龢	1928	Commercial Press
近代歐洲繪畫 *Modern European Painting*	William George Constable	Zhang Daofan 張道藩	1928	Commercial Press
近代畫家論 *Modern Painters*	John Ruskin	Peng Zhaoliang 彭兆良	1929	Zhonghua New Education Society 中華新教育社
近代美術史潮論 *Trends in Modern Art History*	Itagaki Takao 板垣鷹穗	Lu Xun 魯迅	1929	Beixin Books 北新書局
美的常識與美術史 *Knowledge of Beauty and Art History*	Aoyama Tamekichi 青山為吉	Yang Bo'an 楊伯安	1929	Lequn Bookstore 樂群書店
現代藝術十二講 *Twelve Lectures on Modern Art*	Ueda Bin上田敏	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1929	Kaiming Bookstore 開明書店
蘇俄新藝術概觀 *General Outline of Russian New Art*	Ose Keishi 尾瀨敬止	Lei Tongqun 雷通群	1930	Xinyuzhou 新宇宙
現代歐洲的藝術 *Modern European Art*	Ivan Mat⌒s⌒a	Xue Feng 雪峰	1930	Dajiang Bookstore 大江書鋪
法蘭西近代畫史 *Modern History of French Painting*	Itagaki Takao	Xu Da 許達	1931	Culture and Art Publishing House 文化美術圖書印刷公司
少年美術史（上、下卷） *Junior Art History*	Kimura Sōhachi 木村莊八	Luo San 洛三	1931	Chinese National Glory Company
西方藝術史（上卷） *Western Art History*	Ivan Mat⌒s⌒a	Wu Simao 武思茂	1931	Kaiming Bookstore
西洋藝術史話 *A History of Western Art*	Kimura Sōhachi	Qian Juntao 錢君匋	1932	Kaiming Bookstore

近世美術史概論 *General Outline of Modern Art History*	Itagaki Takao	Zhao Shiming 趙世銘	1933	Nüzi Bookstore 女子書店
西洋雕刻簡史 *A History of Western Sculpture*	Murray Sheehan	Zhu Wugua 朱無挂	1934	Commercial Press
現代繪畫概論 *Introduction to Contemporary Painting*	Toyama Usaburō 外山卯三郎	Ni Yide 倪貽德	1934	Kaiming Bookstore
唐宋之繪畫 *Painting of Tang and Song*	Kinbara Seigo金原省吾	Fu Baoshi	1935	Commercial Press
王摩詰 *Wang Mojie*	Umezawa Waken 梅澤和軒	Fu Baoshi	1935	Commercial Press
米蓋朗琪羅傳 *Michelangelo*	Romain Rolland	Fu Lei 傅雷	1935	Commercial Press
西方美術東漸史 *A History of Western Art Eastwards*	Seki Mamoru 関衛	Xiong Deshan 熊得山	1936	Commercial Press
俄國西洋畫史 *Russian School of Art*	?	Qiu Jingmei 邱景梅	1936	Liangyou Publishing House
現代繪畫論 *The Modern Movement in Painting*	Thomas Wade Earp	Liu Haisu	1936	Commercial Press
阿波羅藝術史 *Apollo: An Illustrated Manual of the History of Art throughout the Ages*	Salomon Reinach	Li Puyuan 李朴園	1937	Commercial Press
美術史 *Art History*	Adolph Goldschmidt	Teng Gu	1937	Commercial Press
藝術史的問題 *Problems of Art History*	Takase Tarō; Amakasu Sekisuke 高瀨;甘粕	Xin Yuan 辛苑	1937	Zhiwen Society
中國繪畫史 *A History of Chinese Painting*	Nakamura Fusetsu; Kojika Seiun (Oga Seiun) 中村不折；小鹿青雲	Guo Xuzhong 郭虛中	1937	Zhengzhong Books 正中書局
支那繪畫小史 *A Brief History of Chinese Painting*	Ōmura Seigai	Zhang Yijun 張一均	?	Shanghai juzhen fangsong yinshuju 上海聚珍仿宋印書局

Glossary

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892-1927)
Anhui tushuguan 安徽圖書館
Aoki Masaru 青木正兒 (1887-1964)

Bada Shanren 八大山人 (1662-1705)
Baike xiaocongshu 百科小叢書
baluoke shi 巴洛克式
baochi shidu 保持濕度
Baoshi cun 抱石皴
Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui 北京大學畫法研究會
Beiping chenbao 北平晨報
Beiping guwu chenliesuo 北平古物陳列所
Beiping tushuguan 北平圖書館
beixue 碑學
beizong 北宗
benxing 本性
Bi no kuni 美の国
Bihua 壁畫
bijutsu 美術
bimo jiangu 筆墨兼顧
bolanguan 博覽舘
bunjinga 文人画
Bunmei no kyūsai 文明の救濟

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940)
Canjia Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui chupin tushuo 參加倫敦中國藝術國際展覽會出品圖說
canlan qi 燦爛期
Cangjie 倉頡
Cen Jiawu 岑家梧 (1912-1966)
Chang Renxia 常任俠 (1904-1996)
changsheng shidai 昌盛時代
chao geren 超個人
Chen Baochen 陳寶琛 (1849-1935)
Chen Binhe 陳彬龢 (1897-1945)
Chen Danya 陳丹崖
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1880-1942)
Chen Qingquan 陳清泉
Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923)
Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1883-1948)
Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶 (1897-1989)
Chen Yuguang 陳裕光 (1893-1989)
Chen Zhongfan 陳鍾凡 (1888-1982)
Cheng Sui 程邃 (ca. 1605-1691)
chengji zhanlanhui 成績展覽會
chenzhi shidai 沉滯時代
Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975)
Chongzhen 崇禎
chuan 傳
Chunshan xinglü tu 春山行旅圖
chuqi fengjian shehui 初期封建社會
chuqi hunhe shehui 初期混合社會
chuqi zongfa shehui 初期宗法社會
"Chuxue jianhua fa" 初學鑑畫法
Chuangzao she 創造社
chuidie xiang 鎚鍱像
Ciyuan 辭源

Dadi caotang tu 大滌草堂圖
"Dadizi tihua shi ba jiaobu" 大滌子題畫詩跋校補
Dadong shuju 大東書局
Dagongbao 大公報
Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462)
Dai Kui 戴逵 (ca. 326-ca. 396)
dancun hua 單純化
Daoguang 道光
dashi 大勢
Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877-1951)
Deng Yizhe 鄧以蟄 (1892-1973)
Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (1872-1940)

di'er guoduqi shehui 第二過渡期社會
Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547-1621)
Diwang tu 帝王圖
diyi guoduqi shehui 第一過渡期社會
Diyijie Suzhou saihua hui 第一屆蘇州賽畫會
Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636)
dongfang ren de jingshen 東方人的精神
Dongfang yishu yanjiu xuehui 東方藝術研究學會
Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌
dongxi 東西
dongxiyang 東西洋
dongyang 東洋
Dong Yuan 董源 (active ca. 937-976)
Duan Fang 端方 (1861-1911)
Duhua tu 讀畫圖

Fa yan 法言
Fashu yaolu 法書要錄
Fan Kuan 范寬 (active ca. 1023-1031)
*Fang Shitao shanshui tu*仿石濤山水圖
fashi bu 法式部
Feng 風
Feng Guanyi 馮貫一
Feng Jingru 馮鏡如 (d. 1913)
Feng Yunpeng 馮云鵬
Feng Yunyuan 馮云鵷
Feng Zikai 豊子愷 (1898-1975)
fengge fazhan/zhuanhuan 風格發展/轉換
fofa/chan shiqi 佛法/禪時期
Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965)
Fu Lei 傅雷 (1908-1966)
Fujioka Sakutaro 藤岡作太郎 (1870-1910)
Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1866-1929)
Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835-1901)
fupi cun 斧劈皴
Fuqin tu 撫琴圖
Fuxi 伏羲

ganqing yiru yu qiyun shengdong 感情移入與氣韻生動
Gao Jianfu 高劍父 (1879-1951)
gaoyi bei 高頤碑
geijutsu 芸術
Gong Xian 龔賢 (1618-1689)
gongshi louge hua 宮室樓閣畫
gongyi meishu 工藝美術
gouzhuo 勾斫
Guhua pinlu or *Huapin* (古)畫品(錄)
Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980)
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 345-ca. 406)
Guan Daosheng 管道昇 (1262-1319)
Guan Mianjun 関冕均
guange ti 舘閣体
Guanshan chunxue tu 關山春雪圖
Guanyin dashi xiang 觀音大士像
"Guanyu yinren Huang Mufu" 關於印人黃牧父
Gudai yishu shehui de yiyi 古代藝術社會的意義
Guo Baochang 郭葆昌 (1867-1940)
Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978)
Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1001-ca. 1090)
Guo Xuzhong 郭虛中
guobao 國寶
*guocui pai*國粹派
Guocui xuebao 國粹學報
guocui 國粹
guocuihua 國粹畫
guogu 國故
guohua 國畫
Guohua yuanliu shugai 國畫源流述概
Guohua yuekan 國畫月刊
*guohun*國魂
guohuo 國貨
guohuo yundong 國貨運動
guoju 國劇

Guoli Beiping gugong bowuyuan 國立北平故宮博物院
Guoli Dunhuang yishu yanjiusuo 國立敦煌藝術研究所
Guoli lishi bowuguan 國立歷史博物館
guomin xing 國民性
guowen 國文
guoxue 國學
guoyue 國樂
guwen 古文
guya 古雅

Hanmingdi 漢明帝
haoshuang de 豪爽的
Henan bowuguan 河南博物館
Hongren 弘仁 (1610-1664)
houqi fengjian shehui 後期封建社會
houqi hunhe shehui 後期混合社會
houqi zongfa shehui 後期宗法社會
Hōryūji 法隆寺
Hu Man 胡蛮 (1904-1986)
Hu Peiheng 胡佩衡 (1892-1965)
Hu she 湖社
"Hua Yuntaishan ji" 畫雲台山記
Hua chen 畫塵
huade 畫的
Huadie tu 花蝶圖
huafa 畫法
Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865-1955)
Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354)
Huang Wenbi 黃文弼 (1893-1966)
Huang Yongping 黃永砯 (1954-)
huaniao hua 花鳥畫
Huashi 畫史
Huashi biannian biao 畫史編年表
huaxue 畫學
Huaying zidian 華英字典
Huihua de lilun yu shiji 繪畫的理論與實際
Huishan shinü tu or Zhishan shinü tu 揮扇(執扇)仕女圖
huitu 繪圖
hunjiao shidai 混交時代
Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140-117 BCE)

Ise Sen'ichirō 伊勢專一郎 (1891-1948)
Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882-1958)
Itō Chūta 伊東忠太 (1867-1954)

Jiang Danshu 姜丹书 (1885-1962)
Jiangshan xueji tu 江山雪霽圖
jianingqi xiang 夾苧漆像
jiaomo 焦墨
Jiaoyubu di'erci quanguo meishu zhanlanhui 教育部第二次全國美術展覽會
Jiaoyubu diyici quanguo meishu zhanlanhui 教育部第一次全國美術展覽會
jiaxie 夾纈
jiehua 界畫
Jin Cheng 金城 (1878-1926)
Jin Tang Song Yuan Ming Qing minghua daguan 晉唐宋元明清名畫大觀
Jinan hanmoyuan meishuyuan 濟南翰墨緣美術院
Jing Hao 荊浩 (ca. 855-915)
jinggong 精工
Jinghu zhoukan 京滬周刊
jingu 近古
jinhua 進化
jinshi 近世
Jinshi lu 金石錄
jinshi pai 金石派
Jinshi suo 金石索
Jiushiliu nüxia yiwen 九十六女俠異聞
jiuyiba shibian 九一八事變
jixing hua 畸形化

Kagaku gairon 科學概論
Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927)

Kangxi 康熙
kexue de yanjiu 科學的研究
Kinbara Seigo 金原省吾 (1888-1963)
Kojika Seiun 小鹿青雲
kokuga 国画
kokusui 國粋
"Kuka washō nenbyō" 苦瓜和尚年表
Kuanglu tu 匡廬圖
Kuncan 髡殘 (1612-1673)

Lang Shining 郎世寧 (1688-1768)
Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527)
Li Puyuan 李朴園 (1901-1956)
Li Shibin 李士彬 (1835-1913)
Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942)
Li Sixun 李思訓 (651-716)
Li Tang 李唐 (ca. 1050-after 1130)
Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942)
Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (ca. 675-741)
Liang Hongzhi 梁鴻志 (1882-1946)
Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929)
"Lidai shuhua" 歷代書畫
lijiao shiqi 禮教時期
lizhi/jiaohua shiqi 禮制/教化時期
Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991)
Lin Wenzheng 林文錚 (1903-1989)
lingnan pai 嶺南派
Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-1068)
Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 (1897-1968)
Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994)
Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884-1919)
Liu Sixun 劉思訓
Liu Songnian 劉松年 (ca. 1150-after 1225)
Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 (1880-1956)
liufa 六法
Liushi chunqiu yilin 劉氏春秋意林
liuyi 六藝
liuzhi 六肢
loudong pai 婁東派
Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896-1989)
Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936)
Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui Shanghai yuzhan 倫敦中國藝術國際展覽會上海預展
Luo Fuyi 羅福頤 (1905-1981)
Luo Yuanfu 羅元黼 (1856-1931)
Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940)
luoma shi 羅馬式
Luoyang lou tu 洛陽樓圖

Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955)
Ma Shouzhen 馬守貞 (1548-1604)
Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active before 1189-after 1225)
mei 美
meishu 美術
Meishu congshu 美術叢書
meiyu 美育
Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107)
Mi Youren 米友仁 (ca. 1072-1151)
ming'an fa 明暗法
"Ming Qing zhiji de Zhongguohua" 明清之際的中國畫
Minzhong xijushe 民衆戲劇社
minzu fengge 民族風格
minzu 民族
mo 墨
Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1537-1587)
mo xi 墨戲
mozhu hua 墨竹畫
Moyin xue 摹印學
Muke shi 木刻史

Naitō Konan (Torajirō) 内藤湖南 (虎次郎) (1866-1934)
Naka Michiyo 那珂通世 (1851-1908)
Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1865-1943)
Nakamura Ryōhei 中村亮平 (1887-1947)
nanbei zong 南北宗

nanga 南画
Nanjing shudian 南京書店
nanzong 南宗
ni fudiao de 擬浮雕的
ni huihua de 擬繪畫的
Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970)
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374)
Niaomao linü pingfeng 鳥毛立女屏風
nihonga 日本画
Nüshi zhen tujuan 女史箴圖卷

Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) 岡倉覺三 (天心) (1862-1913)
Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1876-1923)
Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩 (1889-1962)

Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 (1886-1971)
Peiwenzhai shuhua pu 佩文齋書畫譜
Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1863-1949)
pima cun 披麻皴
pomo 潑墨
Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967)

Qi Gong 啓功 (1912-2005)
Qianlong 乾隆
Qian Xuan 錢選 (ca. 1235-before 1307)
Qianyan jingxiu 千巖競秀
Qin Zhongwen 秦仲文 (1896-1974)
qiyun 氣韻
Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1498-1552)
quanbu de lishi 全部的歷史
Que Duo 闕鐸 (1874-1935)

Raizō Sono 園賴三 (b. 1891)
renpin 人品
renwu 人物
"Riben gongyi meishu zhi jidian baogao" 日本工藝美術之幾點報告
Riben meishu yanjin xiaoshi 日本美術演進小史
Riben xin meishu de xin yinxiang 日本新美術的新印象

Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811-1864)
sandai 三代
Sanshi pan 散氏盤
Sanxian shoujian tu 三仙授簡圖
Sawamura Sentarō 澤村專太郎 (1885-1930)
se 色
Secai xue 色彩學
shan 善
shanggu 上古
Shanghai juzhen fangsong yinshuju 上海聚珍仿宋印書局
Shanghai yishu xuehui 上海藝術學會
shanshui 山水
Shanshui tu 山水圖
Shawangtun 沙網屯
shehui zhuyi shehui 社會主義社會
Shen Hao 沈顥 (b. 1586)
Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509)
Shenbao 申報
shengzhang shidai 生長時代
Shenzhou daguan 神州大觀
Shenzhou guoguang ji 神州國光集
Shenzhou guoguang she 神州國光社
shi 式
Shi Chongpeng 施翀鵬 (1909-2003)
Shi Kō Kaishi chi Jin Hō: Shina sansui gashi 自顧愷之至荆浩：支那山水畫史
Shi Yan 史岩 (1904-1994)
Shi Zhecun 施蟄存 (1905-2003)
shidafu hua 士大夫畫
Shidi xiaocongshu 史地小叢書
"Shifeng zongjiao de meishu" 侍奉宗教的美術
Shijie minghua ji 世界名畫集
Shimizu Takashi 清水多嘉示 (1897-1981)
Shina no kaiga 支那の繪畫
Shina tsūshi 支那通史

Shishi xinbao 時事新報
Shitao石濤 (1642-1707)
“Shitao congkao” 石濤從攷
“Shitao hualun zhi yanjiu” 石濤畫論之研究
“Shitao nianpu gao” 石濤年譜稿
“Shitao sankao” 石濤三攷
Shitao shangren nianpu 石濤上人年譜
“Shitao shangren shengzu kao” 石濤上人生卒攷
“Shitao zaikao” 石濤再攷
shiyong shiqi 實用時期
Shōsōin 正倉院
shu 術
“Shuhua” 書畫
Shuhua shigao 蜀畫史稿
shuhua tongyuan 書畫同源
Shuilian 睡蓮
Shuijing zhu 水經注
shuqing de 抒情的
Shuxia meiren tu 樹下美人圖
Siku Quanshu 四庫全書
si wang 四王
Sima Da (Dazhi, Dadeng) 司馬達 (達止, 達等) (active 6th century)
Sō Gen Min Shin shoga meiken shōden 宋元明清書画名賢詳傳
“Sōgen ni chūshin tosuru Chūgoku kaiga shi” 宋元に中心とする中國繪畫史
Songya duiyin 松崖對飲
S ongzi tianwang tu 送子天王圖
Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101)
Sugiura Katoshi 杉浦香俊
Suizhao tu 歲朝圖
Sun Yatsen 孫中山 (1866-1925)
Suzuki Munetada 鈴木宗忠 (1881-1963)

taigu 太古
Taki Seiichi 瀧精一 (1873-1945)
Tanabe Hajime 田邊元 (1885-1962)
Tang Dingzhi 湯定之 (1879-1948)
Tang Shuyu 湯漱玉
Tang Yifen 湯貽汾 (1778-1853)
taotie 饕餮
Teng Baiye 滕白也 (1900-1980)
Teng Gu 滕固 (1901-1941)
tiancai 天才
Tianma hui 天馬會
Tianqi 天啓
Tianwang xiang 天王像
tichang nanzong 提倡南宗
tiexian miao 鉄綫描
tiexue 帖學
Tong Shuye 童書業 (1908-1968)
Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyoto kenkyujo 東方文化學院京都研究所
Tōyō bijutsu no chishiki 東洋美術の智識
Tōyō bijutsushi no kenkyū 東洋美術史の研究
tōyō bijutsushi 東洋美術史
tōyō dōtoku seiyō geijutsu 東洋道德西洋芸術
tōyō 東洋
tōyōshi 東洋史
tubi 禿筆
tuhua shougong ke 圖畫手工科
tuhua xuexiao 圖畫學校
tushu 圖書
“Tushu shi” 圖書史

Umezawa Waken 梅澤和軒 (1871-1931)

wailai wenhua 外來文化
Wang Bomin 王伯敏 (1924-)
Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927)
wang hua 王畫
Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717)
Wang Jian 王鑒 (1598-1677)
Wang Jihuan 王季歡 (1898-1936)

Wang Junchu 王均初 (1904-1986)
Wang Meng 王蒙 (ca. 1308-1385)
Wang Qishu 王啓淑 (1728-1800)
Wang Shijie 王世傑 (1891-1981)
Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680)
Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1562-1590)
Wang Wei 王維 (699-759)
Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894-1983)
Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715)
Wang Yuansun 汪遠孫 (1794-1836)
Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1979)
Wang Zhideng 王穉登 (1535-1612)
Watanabe Shimpo 渡邊晨畝 (1867-1938)
Weimei pai de wenxue 唯美派的文學
weiwu bianzheng fa 唯物辨証法
Wen Shu 文俶 (1595-1634)
Wen Zhengming 文征明 (1470-1559)
wenhua chuanbo lun 文化傳播論
Wenhua xianfeng 文化先鋒
Wenmeihui 文美會
Wenrenhua gailun 文人畫概論
"Wenrenhua zhi fuxing" 文人畫之復興
"Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi" 文人畫之價值
wenren shiqi 文人時期
wenxian bu 文獻部
Wenxue yanjiuhui 文學研究會
wenxuehua shiqi 文學化時期
Wenyi yuekan 文藝月刊
wenyuange 文淵閣
wenzi hua 文字畫
Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927)
Wu Daozi 吳道子 (active ca. 710-760)
Wu Dazheng 吳大徵 (1835-1902)
Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894-1968)
wu pai 吳派
Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354)
Wuliang ci 武梁祠

Xia Gui 夏圭 (active early 13th century)
xian 線
Xianfeng 咸豐
Xiandai jiating zhuangshi 現代家庭裝飾
xianmiao de 綫描的
Xie He 謝赫 (active 6th century)
xiede 寫的
xiesheng 寫生
xihua 西畫
xin shixue 新史學
xin wenhua yundong 新文化運動
xin'an huapai 新安畫派
Xing Cijing 邢慈靜
Xing Tong 邢侗 (1551-1612)
xing xiang 行像
xinguohua 新國畫
xinpuyu tang 新普育堂
xiyanghua 西洋畫
xiyang 西洋
xiyu 西域
xiyu huafeng 西域畫風
Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953)
Xu Bangda 徐邦達 (1911-)
"Xu moyin" 敍摹印
xuandan fa 渲淡法
Xuannan huashe 宣南畫社
xuanran de 渲染的
Xuanzong 玄宗
Xue 雪
Xuedeng 學燈
xue rou 血肉
xueheng pai 學衡派
xuewen 學問
"Xuli" 敍例
Xunzi荀子 (ca. 300-230 BCE)

ya ca 壓擦
Yaboluo 亞波羅
Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853-1921)
Yan Liben 閻立本 (ca. 600-673)

Yan Wengui 燕文貴 (active 980-1010)
"Yanjiu Zhongguo yishushi jihua" 研究中國藝術史計劃
Yang Han 楊翰 (1812-1882)
Yang Xiong 楊雄 (58 BCE-18 CE)
yanghua 洋畫
yangwu yundong 洋務運動
Yao Yuxiang 姚漁湘
Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1881-1968)
Ye Han 葉瀚
Ye Qiuyuan 葉秋原
yi 藝
Yi Peiji 易培基 (1880-1937)
yiluo qianzhang 一落千丈
yimin 遺民
Ying Xing 嬰行
Yingzao fashi 營造法式
Yingsu tu 鶯粟圖
yishu 藝術
Yishu banhua zuofa 藝術版畫作法
Yishu congshu 藝術叢書
Yishu xunkan 藝術旬刊
yōga 洋画
Yongzheng 雍正
You Huayangshan tu 游華陽山圖
you qi sheng yun 由氣生韻
Yousuowei 有所謂
Youzheng shuju 有正書局
Yu 雨
Yu Anlan 于安瀾 (1902-1999)
Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945)
Yu Jianhua 俞剑华 (1895-1979)
Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1891-1968)
Yu Zhuyun 余鑄雲
Yuan sijia 元四家
yuanshi shehui 原始社會
yuanti 院体
Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 (7th century)
yudian cun 雨點皴
Yue 月
Yue Jiazao 樂嘉藻 (1870-1941)
Yuntaishan tu 雲台山圖
yushan pai 虞山派
Yutai huashi 玉台畫史

Zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui 造形美術研究會
Zhan Ziqian 展子虔 (mid-late 6th century)
Zhang Hong 張虹 (1891-1968)
Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926)
Zhang Naiji 張乃驥 (1900-1949)
Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (9th century)
Zhang Yijun 張一均
Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909)
Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1119-1185)
Zhao Chang 趙昌 (ca. 960-after 1016)
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322)
Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081-1129)
Zhao Wenshu 趙文淑
Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829-1884)
zhe pai 浙派
zhen 真
Zhenxiang huabao 真相畫報
Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1894-1952)
Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958)
zhengzhao 徵兆
Zhengzhong shuju正中書局
zhigan 質感
Zhina huihua xiaoshi 支那繪畫小史
Zhongde xuehui 中德學會
zhonggu 中古
Zhongguo ciqishi luncong 中國瓷器史論叢
"Zhongguo de huihua" 中國的繪畫
Zhongguo fojiao meishu quansheng qi 中國佛教美術全盛期
"Zhongguo gudai huihua zhi yanjiu" 中國古代繪畫之研究
Zhongguo huahui 中國畫會
Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui 中國畫學研究會

Zhongguo huihua lilun 中國繪畫理論
"Zhongguo huihua shilüe" 中國繪畫史略
Zhongguo huihua xueshi 中國繪畫學史
"Zhongguo huihua zai da shidai" 中國繪畫在大時代
"Zhongguo huihua zhi jingshen" 中國繪畫之精神
"Zhongguo huihuashi" 中國繪畫史
"Zhongguo huihuashi he Xifang xiandai huihuashi zai xiyiji li jiaoban liang fenzhong"《中國繪畫史》和《西方現代繪畫史》在洗衣機裏攪拌兩分鐘
*Zhongguo meishu fadashi*中國美術發達史
Zhongguo meishushi 中國美術史
"Zhongguo meishushi: gudai pian" 中國美術史：古代篇
"Zhongguo meishuzhi" 中國美術志
Zhongguo minghua 中國名畫
Zhongguo minghua guanmo ji 中國名畫觀摩記
Zhongguo minzu yishu zhi baiyin shidai 中國民族藝術之白銀時代
Zhongguo minzu yishu zhi huangjin shidai 中國民族藝術之黃金時代
Zhongguo shanshuihua de nanbeizong lun 中國山水畫的南北宗論
Zhongguo wenhua guanshu qi zhong Riben meishu zhi boxing 中國文化灌輸期中日本美術之勃興
Zhongguo wenhua guanshu qi zhong Riben meishu zhi shuguang 中國文化灌輸期中日本美術之曙光
Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中國文化研究所
Zhongguo xiandai yishuzhan 中國現代藝術展
Zhongguo yingzao xueshe 中國營造學社
Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan 中國營造學社匯刊
"Zhongguo yishu zhi jianglai" 中國藝術之將來
Zhongguo yishu luncong 中國藝術論叢
Zhongguo yishu zhi jiejing 中國藝術之結晶
Zhongguo yishushi xuehui 中國藝術史學會
"Zhongguo zhi gongyi" 中國之工藝
"Zhongguo zhuankeshi shulüe" 中國篆刻史述略
Zhongguohua 中國畫
Zhonghua 中畫
Zhonghua jiaokeshu 中華教科書
"Zhonghua minzu meishu zhi zhanwang yu jianshe" 中華民族美術之展望與建設
*zhongxi*中西
zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong 中學為體，西學為用
Zhongyang guwu baoguan weiyuanhui 中央古物保管委員會
Zhongyang yanjiuyuan 中央研究院
Zhou Fang 周昉 (ca. 730-ca. 800)
Zhouhe zhai 宙和齋
Zhu Jieqin 朱傑勤 (1913-1990)
Zhu Qiqian 朱啓鈐 (1872-1964)
Zhu shi 竹石
Zhu Xizu 朱希祖 (1879-1944)
Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948)
zhuangshi de 裝飾的
zhuanmenshi 專門史
Zhumei shuangque tu 竹梅雙鵲圖
zibu 子部
Zong Baihua 宗白華 (1897-1986)
Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰
zongjiaohua shiqi 宗教化時期
Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885)

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift stelt dat het schrijven van Chinese kunstgeschiedenis in China aan het eind van de Qing dynastie en in de Republikeinse periode het Chinese culturele bewustzijn aanwakkerde door een herinterpretatie van Chinese tradities. Het proefschrift doet dit op grond van kunsthistorische publicaties in China aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Sinds de Song dynastie was de Chinese elite bepalend voor de constructie van de klassieke traditie van Chinese kunst, gebaseerd op de zogenaamde zuidelijke traditie van kalligrafie en literati-schilderkunst. In de eerste decennia van de twintigste eeuw werd deze inmiddels diep gewortelde constructie betwist door verschillende factoren, waaronder de behoefte van China om zich te ontwikkelen, haar indirecte en directe ontmoetingen met Westerse kunst en Westerse ideeën en de conclusies die voortkwamen uit vergelijkingen met de moderne Japanse wetenschap. Traditie was nog altijd van het grootste belang voor moderne Chinese kunsthistorici. Wat veranderde was hoe zij deze traditie interpreteerden. Zo verwezen auteurs van kunsthistorische teksten ook gedurende de "New Culture Movement" in de jaren 1910 en 1920, een periode die over het algemeen beschouwd wordt als één van radicaal iconoclasme, naar de oudheid om hun uitvindingen geldig te maken. Wanneer Chinese artistieke tradities uit het recente verleden niet tegemoet kwamen aan moderne Westerse artistieke standaarden, probeerden Chinese intellectuelen dit tekort te overbruggen door zich te beroepen op artistieke tradities uit de oudheid in het moderne kunsthistorische debat. Klaarblijkelijk versterkte deze toe-eigening het vertrouwen van Chinese wetenschappers in hun artistieke erfenis en culturele identiteit. Echter, belangrijker nog was het feit dat Chinese experts het Chinese artistieke verleden opnieuw uitvonden, met als doel het vakgebied van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis om te vormen tot een moderne wetenschappelijke discipline.

Mijn onderzoek naar de geschiedschrijving van de Chinese kunst bestudeert de volgende onderwerpen: 1) het bedenken van een nationale kunstgeschiedenis in vroeg-Republikeins China, beïnvloed door Japan; 2) het zich eigen maken van Westerse ideeën in Chinese kunsthistorische teksten in de jaren 1920 en 1930; 3) de praktijk van kunstenaars als kunsthistorici aan het eind van de keizerlijke periode en het begin van de moderne tijd in China; 4) het canoniseren van kunstwerken in Chinese kunsthistorische teksten uit het begin van de twintigste eeuw; 5) de ontwikkeling van een kunstgeschiedenis in tentoonstellingen in de Republikeinse periode.

Hoofdstuk een onderzoekt Chinese kunsthistorische teksten aan het eind van de Qing dynastie en in de Republikeinse periode. Ik toon aan dat de auteurs van deze teksten zochten naar een kunstgeschiedenis voor China als een moderne natie. Uit vrijwel alle

kunsthistorische teksten uit die periode blijkt dat men streefde naar de verbreiding van een Chinese nationale identiteit. Dit stond in verband met een Japanse invloed op het Chinese kunsthistorische schrijven. Chinese auteurs uit de Republikeinse periode betrachtten een grote voorzichtigheid bij het selecteren en vertalen van Japanse teksten over Chinese kunst---dit in tegenstelling tot de manier waarop zij Westerse bronnen behandelden. Tegelijkertijd namen zij uit het Japanse materiaal Westerse concepten over die al lang succesvol onderdeel waren van het Japanse kunsthistorische debat.

In dit hoofdstuk analyseer ik ook het gebruik van het verleden en van ideeën over kunst door enkele pioniers van het moderne vakgebied van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis. Ik suggereer dat dit gebruik een bijdrage leverde aan de pogingen van zowel de Republikeinse regering als individuele Chinese geleerden om een nationale cultuur te construeren. *Eastern Art History* (*Dongyang meishushi*) door Shi Yan is een voorbeeld dat aantoont hoe de Chinese adaptatie van een Japanse methode bijdroeg aan de constructie van een Chinees kunsthistorisch verleden.

In Hoofdstuk twee richt ik mij op de invloed van Westerse bronnen op Chinees kunsthistorisch onderzoek in de jaren 1920 en 1930, zoals blijkt uit het werk van Teng Gu. Teng Gu had de gelegenheid om in het buitenland nieuwe kunsthistorische ideeën te bestuderen en hij ontwikkelde een nieuwe methode om na te denken over Chinese kunst. De nadruk van dit hoofdstuk ligt op de manier waarop Teng Gu met behulp van Westerse analysemethodes een Chinese kunstgeschiedenis construeerde. Het hoofdstuk richt zich in het bijzonder op de belemmeringen die zich daarbij voordeden, zowel bij het identificeren van bepaalde Chinese artistieke stijlen als bij het plaatsen van deze stijlen in een historische en culturele context.

Hoofdstuk drie onderzoekt Chinese auteurs van kunsthistorische teksten uit de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw. De diverse bezigheden van deze auteurs, waaronder het maken van kunst, schrijven, verzamelen, onderwijzen en publiceren, hadden invloed op de manier waarop zij vorm gaven aan hun kunstgeschiedenissen van China. Het voorbeeld van Fu Baoshi illustreert hoe kunstenaars zich continu bezig hielden met theoretische en kritische kwesties van de premoderne kunst. De diverse benaderingen van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis in deze periode stimuleerden een nieuw Chinees kunsthistorisch debat in de jaren 1920 en 1930.

Hoofdstuk vier behandelt de verschillende canons in het Chinese kunsthistorische schrijven aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Een canon was het resultaat van nieuwe interpretaties van Chinese kunst en van het groeiende bewustzijn van die periode, beschreven in kunsthistorische teksten. Aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw begonnen Chinese geleerden kunstenaars, kunstobjecten en kunststromingen die eerder genegeerd

waren te beschouwen als onderdeel van de nieuwe canon. Zij besteedden bijvoorbeeld grotere aandacht aan kunst gemaakt door kunstenaars die niet bekend stonden onder de noemer “literati”. Vaak ontwikkelden Chinese geschiedschrijvers nieuwe kaders en pasten zij een nieuwe logica toe om oude canons te interpreteren. Zij hechtten nieuwe betekenissen aan kunstenaars, objecten en stromingen in de canon zodat zij aanspraak konden maken op mogelijke toekomstige ontwikkelingen in de Chinese kunst.

Hoofdstuk vijf richt zich op het tentoonstellen van kunst. Tentoonstellingen, ontstaan in Europa, hebben altijd meerdere doelen gediend. Ik onderzoek het tentoonstellen van kunst als een methode om de beeldvorming van het publiek ten opzichte van de kunstgeschiedenis te manipuleren. Ik richt mij in het bijzonder op de *Shanghai Preliminary Exhibition of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London* (*Lundun Zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui Shanghai yuzhan*, 1935) en de Chinese praktijken van het selecteren, tentoonstellen en bekijken van kunst in de Republikeinse periode. Ondanks onderhandelingen met beroemde Britse verzamelaars en vertegenwoordigers van het comité van de *International Exhibition*, behield het Chinese tentoonstellingscomité de controle over de inhoud van de *Preliminary Exhibition*. Door te bepalen welke objecten konden worden uitgeleend en tentoongesteld creëerde dit comité haar eigen versie van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis.

Kunstgeschiedenis was in het China van de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw een vakgebied in ontwikkeling, waarin men experimenteerde met verschillende methodes. De produktie van vernieuwende kunsthistorische teksten en de bijdrage van toegewijde kunsthistorici stimuleerden een nieuw Chinees kunsthistorisch debat. Geconfronteerd met de Westerse kunstgeschiedenis en beïnvloed door de Japanse wetenschap over de Japanse en de Chinese kunst, herschreven Chinese kunsthistorici de geschiedenis van de kunst in China. Zij hielden daarbij de behoefte om zelf kennis te hebben van het eigen verleden hoog in het vaandel. Zij verenigden hun interpretatie van traditionele Chinese ideeën over kalligrafie en schilderkunst met wat zij geleerd hadden van Japanse en Westerse methodes. In dit proefschrift benoem ik deze interne en externe elementen en onderzoek ik de onderliggende redenen voor de keuzes van moderne Chinese kunsthistorici. Aan het eind van de Qing dynastie en in de Republikeinse periode waren de Westerse kunstgeschiedenis, Japanse studies over Chinese kunst en traditionele kunsthistorische werken bepalend voor het moderne vakgebied van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis. Oude Chinese teksten over kunst stonden aan de basis van elke nieuwe Chinese kunsthistorische publikatie, ongeacht de voorkeur van de betreffende auteur voor Japanse, Westerse of Chinese methodes. In geschiedenissen van Chinese kunst werden citaten uit Westerse en Japanse bronnen tegelijkertijd gebruikt. Onderzoekers van de Chinese kunst uit die tijd zoals Shi Yan, Teng

Gu en Fu Baoshi benadrukten vaak de Westerse, Japanse of traditioneel Chinese methode in hun studies, maar zij konden geen van deze benaderingen exclusief gebruiken voor hun beschrijving van de Chinese kunstgeschiedenis.

Voor kunsthistorici is onderzoek naar de Republikeinse periode essentieel voor kennis van de versmelting van interne en externe elementen in de geschiedschrijving van de Chinese kunst. Het schrijven van kunstgeschiedenis in China in de jaren 1920 en 1930 was een bevestiging van de oude canon en creëerde tegelijkertijd een nieuwe canon voor de Chinese kunst, door het stimuleren van ideeën over een moderne natie, nieuwe kunststromingen en methodes en nieuwe instituten voor het vakgebied.

(Translated by Paramita Paul)

Curriculum Vitae

Guo Hui was born in the People's Republic of China. She received her BA in Humanities from Tsinghua University in 2003 and her MA in Social Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University in 2004. In 2005, she began her PhD research on the historiography of Chinese art in late Qing and Republican China, with the benefit of a grant from The Hulsewé-Wazniewski Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and Research in the Archaeology, Art and Material Culture of China at Leiden University. She helped Dr. Francesca Dal Lago to organize the international symposium "'China' on Display: Past and Present Practices of Selecting, Exhibiting and Viewing Chinese Visual and Material Culture" (Leiden, December 2007), and she presented her own work there. She also gave papers at the Heidelberg Colloquies on East Asian Art History (Heidelberg, September 2006), the 32nd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art (Melbourne, January 2008), the XVIIth Conference of the European Association for Chinese Studies (Lund, August 2008), and the International Graduate Symposium Concordia University (Montreal, 2009).