

Exploring Visual Modernity and National Identity in Twentieth-Century China: Fu Baoshi's Self-awareness and Critical Response during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the artistic achievement of the twentieth-century Chinese painter Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965) through his envisioning of a national identity and visual modernity in his academic work and painting during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The focus of this thesis is an analysis of a body of his landscape and figure paintings as well as the art historical writings which he produced in Chongqing during the war. The importance of these works is assessed through an analysis of Fu Baoshi's early life in Nanchang (1904-1932) and his studies in Japan (1932-1935) which projected a formative influence on his artistic and intellectual development in Chongqing. Fu Baoshi's participation in cultural exchanges with Chinese artists and foreign figures in the revitalised artistic community in the war capital Chongqing played a significant role in his artistic evolution and the growth of his reputation in art circles in modern China. His pursuit of a new ideal form of artistic expression through models from the past is epitomised in his figure painting. His Sichuan landscape represents his consummate atmospheric approach which is associated with the wet climate and his structural approach using his innovative brush work known as *Baoshi cun* 抱石皴.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other institute of learning

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the artist Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965) who, more than any other artist in the mid-twentieth century, represents in his work the major changes that have taken place in traditional Chinese painting. Fu Baoshi was one of the prominent *guohua* painters who made constant efforts to defend and revitalise Chinese painting under the Western domination in the early and mid-twentieth century.¹ Like many of his contemporaries such as Huang Binhong 黃賓虹(1865-1955) and Chen Shizeng 陳師曾(1876-1923), he was deeply concerned with the issue of how to explore a new creative territory within the Chinese ink and brush tradition and he discussed this frequently in his writings on art. In the preface for his own solo exhibition held in Chongqing from 10 to 12 October 1942, he wrote:²

I have already said, with regard to painting, that I am a person who is sincere in his explorations. I have also stated that I am quite an addict who is enriched by history. As for the former, I try to walk a new path in all aspects of the subject matter and technique. As for the latter, this makes it so that I cannot dare to distance myself too far from tradition. I admit that Chinese painting should change and even more I consider Chinese painting should *move*.³

The above statement clearly demonstrates Fu Baoshi's artistic endeavour to modernise Chinese painting by reinventing and revitalising tradition, a project he focused on throughout his life and career as an artist, a prolific writer and an art teacher. As an artist, he constantly sought to break new ground by experimenting with Chinese painting techniques. As both a prolific writer and an art teacher, he enthusiastically engaged with writing on art history through which he delivered his intellectual and personal perspective on Chinese art, in particular, Chinese painting. As one of the last Chinese artists who went to study in Japan in the 1930s before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Fu Baoshi embodies in his academic work and painting the profound knowledge of art history, intellectual ideas and painting techniques which he had learnt in Japan. It was in the war capital Chongqing during the Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945) that his artistic aspirations were fully realised; this was where he developed his artistic vision in his art historical writings after studying in Japan and established

¹ The term *guohua* 國畫, derived from the Japanese neologism *kokuga* 国画, was used to describe painting executed in the Chinese style and media to distinguish it from Western and Western-style painting (*yanghua* 洋畫). For the definition of *guohua* and how it was used within the history of modern Chinese painting, see the the outline of key terms at the end of this introduction.

² Fu Baoshi, "A Preface to the Exhibition in Chongqing in the Renwu Year [1942]" (*Renwu Chongqing Huazhan zixu* 壬午重慶畫展自序), *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報, 8, 12 and 20 October 1942, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 333-334.

³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 0.1

his reputation as an artist in the Chinese art world. This thesis argues that Fu Baoshi's exploration of national identity and visual modernity were the main driving forces in his artistic talent which he developed in the works he produced in Chongqing during the war. Therefore, it examines his art historical writings from the perspective of how he envisioned his specific ideas on the issues of national identity and visual modernity and explores the way in which he put his ideas into practice in his paintings during that period. In fact, in addition to a large body of paintings, Fu Baoshi left numerous seals which he carved throughout his life. However, an analysis of his seal carving is beyond the scope of this thesis since it is a major area of research which needs to be investigated thoroughly in terms of the evolution of the style and the content. My thesis is a focused study which covers a specific time period rather than his entire career, thus the research was focused on a select number of paintings and writings as visual and textual tools to support the main argument.

A Reflection on Early Scholarship

A large corpus of bibliographical materials covering Fu Baoshi in the general history of Chinese painting is already in existence,⁴ with focused studies in English, Chinese and Japanese sources as well as exhibition catalogues. However, the major research articles and publications referred to in this thesis are only considered in this review section. Among the notable Chinese biographical studies on Fu Baoshi, *The Youth Period of Fu Baoshi* (1994) by Shen Zuoyao provides detailed descriptive records on his life from 1904 to 1935;⁵ *The Chronology of Fu Baoshi* (2004) compiled by Ye Zonghao,⁶ and *A Canon of Fu Baoshi* (2004) compiled by Lu Heng both document his entire life year by year,⁷ while the latter provides more detailed records and illustrations in colour; *A Critical Biography of Fu Baoshi* (2009) by Lin Mu offers a more analytical documentation of his entire life in terms of his art and theory;⁸

⁴ The publications discussing Fu Baoshi in the wider context of the twentieth-century Chinese painting include Michael Sullivan. *Art and Artists of Twentieth Century China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996; Wen Fong. *Between Two Cultures*. New York: New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001; and Julia F. Andrews. *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1994.

⁵ Shen Zuoyao 沈左堯. *The Youth Period of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de qingshaonianshidai 傅抱石的青少年時代)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009.

⁶ Ye Zonghao 葉宗稿. *Chronology of Fu Baoshi's Biography (Fu Baoshi nianpu 傅抱石年譜)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2004.

⁷ Lu Heng 陸衡 ed. *A Canon of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi dadian 傅抱石大典)*. Guwuxuan Chubanshe 古吳軒出版社, 2004.

⁸ Lin Mu 林木. *A Critical Biography of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi pingzhuan 傅抱石評傳)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, 2009.

and *Fu Baoshi* (2000) by Chen Chuanxi provides a comprehensive view of his artistic life.⁹ These publications are particularly useful in providing an overall and detailed understanding of Fu Baoshi's life. By making use of these biographical references in this thesis, Fu Baoshi's life and art from 1931 to 1945 are reconsidered in the cultural, social and political context of twentieth-century China.

For a scholarly approach on the overall account of the development of Fu Baoshi's art, Zhang Guoying's MA thesis *The Study of Fu Baoshi* (1991) discusses the painter in terms of four main aspects: his life, his artistic development over his entire life, his link with Shitao, and his connection with Japanese painting.¹⁰ Siu Fun Kee's PhD thesis *The Conventional and the Individual in Fu Baoshi's (1904-1965) Painting* (2004) provides a comprehensive analysis of the artist as a scholar, seal carver and painter throughout his entire life.¹¹ She discusses the stylistic development of his landscape painting, figure painting and seal carving, as well as the paintings inspired by Mao Zedong's poems. Unlike these two scholarly theses dealing with his whole life and the stylistic development of his painting and seal carving, my thesis mainly focuses on his artistic achievement during the Sino-Japanese war and examines the factors which led to the evolution of his paintings and the formation of his artistic vision from 1904 to 1945.

For the publications discussing Fu Baoshi as a case study in the wider context of the Sino-Japanese relationship, Aida Yuen Wong's *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (2006) partly investigates Fu Baoshi's art history writings in the broader context of the writing of new histories, discussing Fu's studies on Gu Kaizhi in relation to Japan and Gu Kaizhi's influence on his figure painting.¹² Hui Gao's PhD thesis *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-century China* (2010) partly discusses Fu Baoshi as one of the *guohua* artists who engaged in the writing of a 'systematic narrated history' in relation to Japan.¹³ Kuiyi Shen's article "The Japanese Impact on the Construction

⁹ Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, *Fu Baoshi* 傅抱石, Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 2000.

¹⁰ Zhang Guoying 張國英. *A Study of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi yanjiu 傅抱石研究)*, Master thesis. National Taiwan Normal University, 1990.

Siu Fun-Kee. *The Conventional and the Individual in Fu Baoshi's (1904-1965) Painting*. PhD thesis. University of Hong Kong, 2004.

¹² Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National Style Painting in Modern China*. Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawaii press, 2006.

¹³ Hui Gao, *Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-century China*. PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2010.

of Chinese Art History as Modern Field: A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi" (2012) discusses Fu Baoshi as one example who followed the Japanese model in writing art history as a discipline in the 1930s. All of these publications highlight the importance of Fu Baoshi's art history writing as a contribution to Chinese painting history. Although this thesis makes use of these references, it focuses solely on Fu Baoshi rather than discussing him as part of another topic. In addition, this thesis conducts a detailed reading of his writings which have not been covered in those publications and examines his inscriptions to provide a visual analysis of his paintings.

Lastly, with regard to other specific topics on Fu Baoshi, David Clarke's article "Raining, Drowning and Swimming: Fu Baoshi and Water" (2006)¹⁴ examines his water-themed works with reference to the inherited Chinese cultural meanings and recent artistic practices in the People's Republic, as well as to the Maoist state ideology which informed it. In his article, Clarke discusses Fu Baoshi's engagement with water as a medium and subject in the context of modernity. Although my thesis examines the topic of the representation of rain as a modern expression in Fu Baoshi's painting, the difference lies in the way my study provides a detailed analysis of his personal perspective of capturing the wet climate of Sichuan which he addressed in his writings and deals with more examples of paintings including a reading of their inscriptions. For a discussion on Fu Baoshi's figure painting, Shane McCausland's epilogue in *The First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting* (2003) discusses Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll as a model for Fu Baoshi's painting of female figures. Inspired by McCausland's approach, this study makes an extended investigation of Fu Baoshi's studies on Gu Kaizhi's theory and the Admonitions Scroll and examines how he reevaluated Gu Kaizhi as an icon of Chinese painting tradition.

Lastly, the first English language exhibition catalogue solely on the painter Fu Baoshi by Anita Chung (2011), which was published recently, includes articles by scholars such as the curator Anita Chung herself, Aida Yuenwong, Tamaki Maeda, Shen Kuiyi and Julia F Andrews.¹⁵ The catalogue not only offers a useful reproduction of Fu Baoshi's major paintings from 1925 to 1965 but also delivers well-researched scholarly articles dealing with various topics, from an entire overview of his art and life from 1904 to 1965 to the Japanese impact on the changing

¹⁴ David Clark, "Raining, Drowning and Swimming: Fu Baoshi and Water". *Art History*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2006): pp. 108-144.

¹⁵ Anita Chung, *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)*. Exhibition Catalogue. The Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2011.

style of his paintings in the post-Japan era. For further in-depth studies on Fu Baoshi,¹⁶ Huang Ge's *A Research on Fu Baoshi's Painting Ideology* (2009) delivers an analysis of the evolution of Fu Baoshi's perspective on art from an overview of his writings throughout his life, while Wan Xinhua's *Study of Fu Baoshi's Art* (2009) discusses a wide range of issues on his art and writings. Nonetheless, little has been researched and studied on Fu Baoshi's wartime artistic and cultural activity. In a broader context, this seems to be largely due to the lack of scholarly research on the Chinese art world during the war, of which the significance was not fully recognised until recently; moreover, the related materials are not easy to trace. In addition, it is also significant that Fu Baoshi's artistic contribution after 1949 has been given much more importance from a political perspective, while his early formative periods in Nanchang and Japan, as well as his Chongqing years from 1939 to 1946, have been less investigated. Therefore, using the references mentioned above, this thesis aims to show the way in which Fu Baoshi evolved as an artist through a combination of his academic work, his studies in Japan, and the further development of his ideas in Chongqing where he actively participated in the artistic community during the war.

Methodology

In terms of the methodology, by focusing solely on one single painter as the subject, this study takes as its model both Shane McCausland's monograph studies on Zhao Mengfu and Roberta Wue's studies on Ren Bonian.¹⁷ These two works do not merely study the artist but also situate him along with his oeuvres in the relevant art historical and social context: Mongol for Zhao Mengfu, and the Shanghai art world for Ren Bonian. By alluding to these studies, this thesis also necessarily uses a 'traditional' disciplinary approach to trace Fu Baoshi's artistic evolution by investigating his formal development in light of his biographical background and applying textual and visual analysis. In addition to the traditional mode, since the Sino-Japanese war period was the most significant event in Fu Baoshi's artistic evolution, the thesis also deals closely with the wartime context and the critical setting of Chongqing as the cultural centre. In the context of the wartime artistic community, it becomes possible to posit the rising status of Fu Baoshi as an artist and his role in formulating his artistic vision in his art in Chongqing amid the destruction of the period in question. Furthermore, referring to Alfred Gell's idea of art as agency in which the making of things is considered as "a means of

¹⁶ Wan Xinhua 萬新華. *Study of Fu Baoshi's Art* (*Yanjiu Fu Baoshi yishu* 研究傅抱石藝術). Jiangxi Meishu Chubanshe 江西美術出版社, 2009.

¹⁷ Shane McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu: Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China*, Hong Kong University Press, 2011. Roberta Wue. *Making the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840--1895) and Portraits of the Shanghai Art World*. PhD thesis, New York University, 2001.

influencing the thoughts and actions of others,”¹⁸ the thesis also highlights Fu Baoshi’s use of paintings as a spiritual and artistic weapon against the war and as a tool to arouse patriotic feelings in the viewers, which is discussed in chapter four.

With regard to the textual analysis, one of the distinctive aspects of this thesis is that the research has focused on empirical translations of Fu Baoshi’s own writings from magazines, collected writings, newspapers, letters, and inscriptions.¹⁹ This empirical research is applied not only to closely trace Fu Baoshi’s own voice, which has been rarely considered by the previous studies on the painter, but also to show how his conscious use of language is reflected in his writings. The texts have been translated and interpreted substantially to provide a contextual understanding of Fu Baoshi’s personal perspective on current issues and artistic practice, which suffice to explain the way in which his paintings were produced. In his writings he seemed to alternate between classical and vernacular Chinese, reflecting the transition from the classical environment of Chinese culture to modern education. For example, he tended to use a more classical version of Chinese in his inscriptions of paintings, showing his continued respect for the tradition of calligraphy. On the other hand, he preferred a more vernacular style when writing for print media such as newspapers, magazines and textbooks, making them more accessible to a modern young readership in China. In addition to the primary Chinese sources, this thesis also partially translates and interprets Japanese texts such as Fu Baoshi’s writings in that language which he published for art journals in Japan, Japanese scholarly writings on Chinese painting, and other related texts on the artist written by Japanese individuals who knew him in person. Through this cross-cultural linguistic research, the thesis endeavours to map out Fu Baoshi’s artistic and academic activities in Japan and to trace how the scholarship and art world of Japan inspired his art historical studies and paintings.

Primary Sources and Reference Materials

The thesis makes use of primary sources which have been collected during field trips to China, Hong Kong and Japan.²⁰ The major primary references are art historical articles and books

¹⁸ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency*, Clarendon Press, 1998. In this book, Gell shows how art objects embody complex intentionalities and mediate social agency.

¹⁹ All translations of articles, art historical writings, documents and inscriptions on paintings included in this thesis are my own unless otherwise stated.

²⁰ Major resources are mentioned here and other primary resources are also referred to in the text of the chapters. The original articles by Fu Baoshi are available in reprinted publications such as Ye Zonghao ed. *The Anthology of Fu Baoshi’s Writings on Art (Fu Baoshi Meishu Wenji 傅抱石美術文集)*, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2003. In this publication, one third of Fu Baoshi’s entire art

written by Fu Baoshi, newspapers such as *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報) and *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報, and periodicals such as *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) and *Culture Construction* (*Wenhua jianshe* 文化建設). Among them, Fu Baoshi's articles "Viewing Victories in War Resistance from the Perspective of the Chinese Art Spirit" (1940), "Chinese Painting in an Eventful Age" (1944),²¹ "Observations on the History of National Painting since the Republic" (1937),²² and "Preface to the 1942 Painting Exhibition in Chongqing" (1942)²³ are analysed to show Fu Baoshi's personal view on achieving a new national identity and visual modernity. Some articles published in the newspapers *Central Daily* and *Shishi Xinbao* provide information on how Fu Baoshi's contemporaries such as Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953), Zhang Anzhi 張安治 (1911-1990) and Zhang Daofan 張道藩 (1897-1968) as well as American sinologist William Acker assessed him and the work he exhibited in the 1940s.²⁴

The primary Japanese sources collected from the National Library and university libraries in Japan, particularly the Musashino Art University Library²⁵, are also important sources of my research. Among them, Japanese periodicals such as *The Appreciation of Nanga* (*Nanga Kanshō* 南畫鑑賞) and *Land of Beauty* (*Bi no kuni* 美之國) contain Fu Baoshi's articles published in Japanese including "The Chronicle of The Bitter Gourd Monk Shitao" (1935). The diary of Kinbara Seigo 金原省吾 (1888-1958), reprinted in the exhibition catalogue *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School*²⁶ provides Kinbara Seigo's personal diary entries on the research he did with his

historical writings are edited and reproduced which is significantly useful and helpful in examining his various theoretical and practical points of view on art.

²¹ Fu Baoshi, "The Prospects and Reconstruction of Chinese National Arts" (*Zhonghua minzu meishu zhi zhanwang yu jianshe* 中華民族美術之展望與建設). *Cultural Construction* (*Wenhua Jianshe* 文化建設) I, no. 8 (1935): pp. 89-100. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 65-77.

²² Fu Baoshi, "Observations on the History of National [Chinese] Painting since the Republic" (*Minguo yilai guohua zhi shi de guan cha* 民國以來國畫之史的觀察), the twice-monthly journal *Literature and History* (*Wenshi Banyuekan* 文史半月刊) 34, (July 1937). Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 138-43.

²³ Fu Baoshi, "Viewing Victories in War Resistance from the Perspective of Chinese Art Spirit" (*Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshenshang lai kan kangzhan bisheng* 從中國美術的精神上來看抗戰必勝), *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報, 10 April 1940. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 174-75. Fu Baoshi, 1942a. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 322-334.

²⁴ Zhang Anzhi, "Introducing the Exhibition of Fu Baoshi" (*Jieshao Fu Baoshi huazhan* 介紹傅抱石畫展). *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報), 12 November 1945. William Acker also visited Fu Baoshi's exhibition in March 1944 and wrote a review on his art in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報 in 1944. Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 76-77.

²⁵ The author is grateful to Ms. Honjo who kindly helped to locate the related Japanese references in the Musashino Art University Library

²⁶ Musashino Art University Library ed. *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School* (*Fu Hōseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin*

student Fu Baoshi and outlines how they prepared for Fu Baoshi's solo exhibition in Tokyo. The publications and articles by Kinbara Seigo are examined in this thesis to investigate how Japanese research on Chinese painting influenced Fu Baoshi's art historical studies and his painting.²⁷ All of these Japanese references are applied in mapping out Fu Baoshi's studies and artistic activities during his stay in Japan.

This thesis also makes use of articles and books written by Fu Baoshi's family members such as his second son Fu Ershi 傅二石 and daughter Fu Yiyao 傅益搖. Fu Ershi's article "The Memory of Jingangpo" offers personal accounts of the family's experiences and conversations with Fu Baoshi in Chongqing during the war and discusses the interest shown by European and American figures in his work in Chongqing.²⁸ Another article by Fu Ershi "Rain in My Father's Paintings" delivers Fu Baoshi's personal comments on the rainy scenery and his perspective on the depiction of rain in painting.²⁹ Fu Yiyao's essay "Father and His Teacher, Mr. Kinbara Seigo" (1990) gives details of the time Fu Baoshi spent in Japan.³⁰

With regard to Fu Baoshi's cultural exchanges with domestic and foreign figures in Chongqing during the war, recent auction catalogues provide useful information on how he interacted with them and the works he painted for them. The Sotheby's Hong Kong auction catalogue *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying* (October 2006) provides illustrations of the works and the letter that Fu Baoshi gave to Fei Chengwu 費成武 (1911-2000) and Zhang Qianying 張蔭英 (1909-2003) who had taught together with Fu Baoshi at the Central University in Chongqing during the war.³¹ Another Sotheby's Hong Kong auction catalogue *Fine Chinese Painting* (April, 2008) details Fu Baoshi's

gakusei yūshū sakunhinten kinen 傅抱石展：中國美術學院學生優秀作品展紀念). Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, 1994. Also Musashino Art University ed. *Musashino Art University: Collection of Historical Materials of University History: Diary of Kinbara Seigo (Musashino Bijutsu Daigaku: Daigakushi ryoshū, dai go shū: Kinbara Seigo nikki*, 武藏野美術大学: 大学史料集 金原省吾日記 vols. 5 (1934) and 6 (1935), Musashino Art University, 2007.

²⁷ Kinbara Seigo's publications are referred to in the main text of the chapters.

²⁸ Fu Ershi, "The Memory of Jingangpo" (*Jingangpo de huiyi* 金剛破的回憶). In *The Collection of Essays on the Research of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi yanjiu lunwenji* 傅抱石研究論文集), edited by Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009, pp. 346-357.

²⁹ Fu Ershi, "Rain in My Father's Paintings" (*Yiban shuanchuan yuhen-tan fuqin Fu Baoshi yuhua* — 半山川帶雨痕 — 談父親傅抱石畫雨), *Han Mo Magazine*, Special issue on Fu Baoshi's Waterfalls, Springs and Rain Scene. no. 10 (1990), pp. 66-70.

³⁰ Fu Yiyao 傅益搖, "Father and His Teacher, Mr. Kinbara Seigo" (*Fuqin yu enshi — ji fuqin yu Jinyu Shengwu xiansheng de qinqing* 父親與恩師 — 記父親與金原省吾先生的親情), *Han Mo Magazine*, Special issue on Fu Baoshi's Waterfalls, Springs and Rain Scene. no. 1 (1990), pp. 120-135.

³¹ Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006.

acquaintances with French diplomat Hugues Jean de Dianous de La Perrotine (1914-2008) who was in Chongqing in the 1940s.³² The recent China Guardian auction catalogue *Recalling the Surplus of Meian: The Seventy Years Collection of Mr and Mrs. Luo (Yi Meian changwu — Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang 忆梅庵长物 — 罗寄梅夫妇70年珍藏)* (2012) documents the collection of Mr. Luo Jimei 羅寄梅 and his wife Liu Xian 劉先 who had a close relationship with prominent painters such as Zhang Daqian and Fu Baoshi.³³ Among the works in their collection, collaborative paintings by Fu Baoshi and other artists to commemorate the couple's trip to Dunhuang in 1942 gives an idea of how Fu Baoshi shared artistic activities with other intellectuals in Chongqing and what they did together during the war. In addition, the informal discussions which took place during my field trips with the specialist Huang Ge at the Fu Baoshi Memorial Museum in Nanjing and C. K. Cheung, the head of the Chinese painting department at Sotheby's auction house in Hong Kong, are also referred to in this thesis.

The study examines at first hand paintings held in museum collections including the Fu Baoshi Memorial Museum in Nanjing, the British Museum in London, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the Hong Kong Museum of Art in Hong Kong. In addition, the exhibition titled *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)* curated by Anita Chung at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2012 offered the opportunity to conduct a direct visual study of his major art works from the collection at the Nanjing Museum. This study also benefited from viewing a number of other paintings by Fu Baoshi in private collections such as the collection of Khoan and Michael Sullivan and a private collection in Hong Kong.³⁴

Contribution of the Thesis

Fu Baoshi's individual aspect and the ways in which he incorporated foreign visual elements into his painting have been discussed by a number of scholars as mentioned earlier in this introduction. Wen Fong referred to Fu as one of 'the Westernisers' and Chu-Tsing Li categorised him under a group of painters whose painting contributed 'toward a new realism

³² Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Painting*, Auction Catalogue, April, 2008.

³³ China Guardian, *Treasures of Yimeian — 70 Years' Collection by Mr. and Mrs. Luo (Yimeian changwu — Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang 憶梅庵長物—羅寄梅夫婦70年珍藏)*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2012.

³⁴ The thesis also makes use of the catalogues of Fu Baoshi's paintings includes Chen Lüsheng 陳履生 ed. *Complete Works of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi quanji 傅抱石全集)*. 6 vols. Guangxi Meishu Chubanshe, 廣西美術出版社 2008. Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006. Ye Zonghao ed. *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shijie 傅抱石的世界)*. Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004.

in China', while he is described as one of 'the independent traditional masters' by Michael Sullivan in twentieth-century Chinese painting history. Recently, scholars such as Julia F. Andrew, Aida Yuen Wong, Anita Chung and Hui Gao have considered Fu Baoshi as one of the '*guohua* painters' who took part in writing Chinese art history in reaction to Western modern art education. As such, the Chinese modern painting discipline has gradually paid more and more scholarly attention to Fu Baoshi's contribution both as an artist and a scholar. However, a clearer and much more detailed monograph on Fu Baoshi is required in order to clarify his positioning in terms of his artistic practice and academic research in early and mid-twentieth century China. Thus, through the study of a single painter Fu Baoshi, this thesis examines how a Chinese painter explored the new creative territory of modernity and national identity by reinventing and revitalising the Chinese ink and brush tradition in mid-twentieth century China.

Through such an analysis, this thesis reconsiders the painter Fu Baoshi's life and art from 1904 to 1945 within the cultural, social and political context of twentieth-century China. It addresses the evolution of his artistic life, from his provincial hometown of Nanchang via Japan to the wartime capital of Chongqing where the main artistic community had been relocated, a subject which has yet to be thoroughly investigated. By conducting a visual analysis of Fu Baoshi's paintings and translating numerous primary resources such as his writings, inscriptions and letters collected during field trips to China and Japan, the thesis attempts to articulate Fu Baoshi's little-understood artistic experiences as well as his personal thoughts and opinions on art. At the same time, it aims to uncover and highlight the fact that Fu Baoshi was a painter who self-consciously chose the subjects for his figure and landscape painting; he was also able to effectively reproduce his artistic vision and thoughts in his painting and capture his immediate artistic response to the landscape scenery he saw. Furthermore, by investigating Fu Baoshi in the context of wartime Chongqing's artistic community, this thesis endeavours to map out and highlight how Chinese artists strived to apply their artistic talent to the salvation of their country in the early and mid-twentieth century when their nation was facing external threat.

The Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first three chapters analyse in chronological order Fu Baoshi's life, art and cultural exchanges, from Nanchang via Japan to Chongqing, which served as a significant background in his artistic and intellectual development during the war. The last two chapters focus on Fu Baoshi's view on national identity and visual

modernity in his art historical writings and show how he visually embodied them in his paintings. Along with a visual analysis of his paintings, a textual examination of his art historical writings will be featured throughout this thesis, covering various subjects from the history of early Chinese art to Fu Baoshi's views on the direction of twentieth-century Chinese art.

Chapter one investigates the factors in Fu Baoshi's early personal, educational and artistic life in Nanchang (1904-1932) that led to his formation as an artist, a prolific writer on art and an art teacher, and examines his early nationalistic perspective on Chinese painting through a textual analysis of his art historical writing. Chapter two examines the way in which Fu Baoshi rediscovered Chinese artistic traditions and broadened his artistic horizon in Japan from 1932 to 1935. Chapter three investigates how Fu Baoshi adapted to his life in China after his return from Japan in 1935 and examines the significance of Jingangpo where he lived and produced collaborative paintings with other artists, as well as the role that he played as an active participant in the Chongqing artistic community and his cultural interactions with domestic and foreign intellectuals during the war. Chapter four explores the way in which he explored a new ideal of artistic expression to reflect a national identity by reinterpreting the Eastern Jin dynasty painter Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344-406) and by promoting two Chinese patriotic symbols: the ancient poet Qu Yuan 屈原 and the seventeenth-century individualist painter Shitao 石濤. Chapter five examines how Fu Baoshi visualised modernity in his Sichuan landscape painting by experimenting with direct depiction of wet weather and establishing his innovative painting technique *Baoshi cun*. Finally, the conclusion provides a summary of the argument and the contribution of my thesis, and briefly examines Fu Baoshi's life and his legacy after the end of the World War II.

Outline of Key Terms

The purpose of this last section is to outline key terms such as national identity, *guohua*, visual modernity and self-awareness which are discussed in the thesis, and explain their use within the context of early twentieth-century Chinese painting.

National Identity

The idea of 'nation' (*minzu* 民族) played a focal role in the emergence of national identity in

China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁵ Like the majority of Japanese neologisms brought into China from the turn of the twentieth century onwards, the term *minzu* was first used by late Qing intellectuals to develop their own theory of the modern nation-state. It was the historian Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) who used the term in earnest in the late nineteenth century.³⁶ *Minzu* is the Chinese version of the Meiji neologism *minzoku* that the Japanese used to translate the modern European notion of 'nation' and 'race'.³⁷ It is difficult to clearly define the meaning of the Chinese term *minzu* because it tends to imply the political meaning of nation as well as the racial and cultural dimension.³⁸ However, it can be defined as belonging to a nation claiming a unique and distinct political community that is both inherently "limited and sovereign" as described by Benedict Anderson.³⁹ The concept of nation made an avenue toward national identity which is indicative of the disintegration of the Chinese holistic world outlook under the impact of foreign imperialism.⁴⁰ It claims that China began to understand the world and its place as 'a nation' in relation to other nations. The concept of nation was also brought up as a means for China to strengthen itself in reaction to external threats.

External pressures from Western countries and Japan in the early twentieth century also intensified 'nationalism (*minzu zhuyi* 民族主義)' which Liang Qichao considered as "the most fair and partial principle in the world preventing nations from invading freedom."⁴¹ China's nationalism was characterised not only by anti-imperialism and self-defence but also by strong patriotism since Chinese people usually expressed loyalty to the state and a desire to serve

³⁵ Sangwook Lee, *The Beginning of the Path to Self-discovery: A Study on Liang Qichao's Concept of Nation*, MA thesis, University of Pittsburg, 2013. This thesis analysed the trajectory of changes in Liang Qichao's concept of nation and nationalism in the late nineteenth century.

³⁶ Park Chanseung 박찬승, *Nation and Nationalism (minjog·minjogjuui 민족·민족주의)*, Sohwa 소화, 2010. p. 47. Liang Qichao used the term for the first time in his article *Eastern Literature Association (Dongji yuedan 東籍月旦)* written in 1899.

³⁷ Lydia Liu categorised the term *minzu* as a Sino-Japanese-European loanword which consists of kanji terms coined by the Japanese using Chinese characters to translate European words, especially English words. Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity - China, 1900-1937*. Stanford University Press, 1995. p. 292.

³⁸ Sangwook Lee, 2013, pp. 24-25.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Xu Guoqi "Nationalism, Internationalism and National Identity: China from 1895 to 1919". In *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective*, edited by C. X George Wei and Xiaoyuan Liu. Greenwood press, 2001. p. 102. Guoqi Xu argued "that before the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-95), Chinese political thought was primarily based on an isolated world order called *tianxia* 天下, literally meaning 'all under the heaven'. In the *tianxia* system, state legitimacy was determined by divine right (son of heaven), by blood line, and by the so-called mandate of heaven, which did not appeal to any national identity. The *tianxia* system not only refused to acknowledge the world of formally equal states, but more importantly, it disregarded Chinese national sovereignty. The Chinese nation did not even have an official name or a real national flag."

⁴¹ Sangwook Lee, 2013, p. 47.

it. Sometimes Chinese patriotism is synonymous with Chinese nationalism.⁴² Under the intensified nationalism, in order to solidify a Chinese national identity, Chinese intellectuals utilised the history and traditional culture of China. In doing so, almost all fields of artistic and literary production in late Qing and Republican China experienced an accelerated promotion of 'Chineseness' as national identity.⁴³ In the art circles of early Republican China, the writing of a history of Chinese art actively took place in the name of the nation, with the aim of creating a coherent national history of Chinese art.⁴⁴

Guohua

In the context of early twentieth-century Chinese nationalism, the term *guohua* emerged to differentiate from and compete with its foreign counterpart in order to defend Chinese tradition.⁴⁵ Although it is not quite clear when the term was first used, it is believed to have appeared after the founding of the Republic of China in 1911.⁴⁶ The name *guohua* 國畫 derives from the Japanese neologism *kokuga* 國畫, which was used to describe painting executed in the Chinese style and media in order to distinguish it from Western and Western-style painting (*yanghua* 洋畫).⁴⁷ The prefix *guo*-國- ('national', or by extension, 'Chinese') refers to *Zhonghua Minguo* 中華民國 (the Republic of China) or *Zhongguo* 中國 (China) and denotes a meaning of authority and official sanction for the objects being named.⁴⁸ In fact, in earlier times, the term *guochao* 國朝, literally meaning 'national dynasty' or 'this dynasty', was occasionally used to refer to things that originated in China.⁴⁹ In this context, *guochaohua*

⁴² Michael H. Hunt, "Chinese National Identity and the Strong State: The Late Qing-Republican Crisis". In *China's Quest for National Identity*, edited by Dittmer, Lowell and Samuel S. Kim. Cornell University Press, 1993. p. 63.

⁴³ Hui Gao, 2010, p. 15.

⁴⁴ Hui Gao, 2010 and for the discussion on "Nationalism and the Writing of New Histories", see Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 36-53 and also Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: The Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field," *Twentieth Century China*, vol. 32, no. 1 (November, 2006), pp. 4-35.

⁴⁵ For the discussion on *guohua*, see Han-yun Chang, *He Tianjian (1891-1977) and the Defense of Guohua*, PhD thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007, pp. 18-50; Julia F. Andrews, "Nationalism and Painting Societies of the 1930s", Talk for Urban Cultural Institutions in Early 20th Century China (Collaborative research with Kuiyi Shen), 13 April 2002; Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 12-13; and Pedith Pui, Chan, *The Making of a Modern Art World: The Institutionalization of Guohua in Shanghai, 1929-1937*, PhD thesis, SOAS, 2009.

⁴⁶ Han-yun Chang, 2007, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, p. 12 and Hui Gao, 2010, p. 24. Although both terms consist of two-character compounds of 'nation' and 'painting', their practical meanings are different; *kokuga* covered all categories of painting including Western-style painting in Japan, while *guohua* mainly referred to the Chinese native tradition of painting.

⁴⁸ Han-yun Chang, 2007, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

國朝畫 was used by the prominent political thinker and reformer Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) when alluding to paintings from the Qing dynasty in 1907.⁵⁰

In the early twentieth century, as Kao Mayching has pointed out, traditional Chinese painting was also called *guocuihua* 國粹畫, or ‘painting of national essence’, in connection with the National Essence movement (*Guocui yundong* 國粹運動),⁵¹ an important ideological movement urging the revitalisation of native culture, which had been active since the early 1900s and reached its peak in the 1920s.⁵² The development of the concept of ‘national essence’ in China has a broader significance as a key element in the cultural reaction against the Westernisation that had begun to appear after the 1890s.⁵³ In order to distinguish the traditional art forms, mainly ‘calligraphy-and-painting’ (*shuhua* 書畫), from the newly-introduced Western ones, a neologism of ‘national essence painting’ (*guocui hua* 國粹畫) was introduced as the new classification system which was quickly adopted in the 1910s.⁵⁴

From the 1910s to the 1930s, the prefix *guo* 國 became prevalent and was added to other stems including *guoyue* 國樂 (‘Chinese music’), *guoju* 國劇 (‘Chinese Opera’), *guohuo* 國貨 (‘Chinese products’) and *guoyu* 國語 (‘the national language’ or ‘Mandarin’).⁵⁵ These terms were prefixed with *guo* to indicate a defensive connotation which differentiated from and even competed with their foreign counterparts, particularly those from the West.⁵⁶ It is likely that under these circumstances, the previous terms of *guochaohua* 國朝畫 and *guocuihua* 國粹畫 were gradually replaced by the shorter *guohua* 國畫 to represent Chinese painting.⁵⁷ With the increased influx of Western art into China, *guohua* gained a nationalistic and cultural significance and was thus interpreted as ‘national painting.’ *Guohua* was defended and promoted via the various paths taken by a number of artists including Fu Baoshi who actively engaged in writing defensive essays, publishing catalogues of ancient or contemporary

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Hui Gao, 2010, p. 23.

⁵² See Laurence A. Schneider, “National Essence and the New Intelligentsia”. In *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, edited by Charlotte Furth. Harvard University Press, 1976. p. 58.

⁵³ Martin Bernal, “Liu Shih-pei and National Essence” in *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, edited by Charlotte Furth. Harvard University Press, 1976. p. 90.

⁵⁴ Pedith Pui Chan, 2009, p. 21.

⁵⁵ Han Yun-chang, 2007, p. 19.

⁵⁶ Things from the West are usually prefixed with *xi-* 西 - (‘Western’) or *yang-* 洋 - (‘foreign’), both of which derived from the term *xiyang* 西洋 literally meaning ‘Western Ocean’, which was used to refer to the Western world. Han Yun-chang, 2007, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁷ In fact, the term *Zhongguohua* 中國畫 literally meaning ‘Chinese painting’, was still being used along with *guohua* in the early twentieth century.

Chinese paintings, organising peer groups and exhibitions, teaching *guohua* at modern art schools and incorporating new pictorial elements into Chinese brush and ink traditions.

Visual Modernity and Self-Awareness

The term ‘modernity’ is known as *xiandaixing* 現代性 in Chinese. It is believed to be a neologistic equivalent of the English ‘modernity’⁵⁸ via the Japanese *kanji* translation *gendaisei* 現代性.⁵⁹ Like the term *minzu* 民族, ‘modernity’ was one of many European words, especially those of English origin, that were borrowed into modern Japanese using Chinese characters to translate them during Japan’s Meiji modernisation (1868-1912).⁶⁰ Modernity has been considered as an elusive concept that can be used to describe and organise a widely divergent set of events and changes happening all over the world. Nonetheless, according to Rana Mitter, the idea of self-awareness (‘enlightenment’) is the central element of modernity, since “above all, societies are modern in large part because they perceive themselves as being so”.⁶¹ An awareness of oneself allows for an analysis of the condition one lives in, the current issues one has to face, and the possibilities for solving them. In the early twentieth century, under continuous pressure and threats from the West and Japan, the issue of Chinese modernity as ‘self-awareness’ was brought up by the May Fourth Movement in China in 1919. Through this movement, Chinese intellectual discourse considered the Chinese tradition as backward and turned instead toward Western

⁵⁸ In the West, in terms of a broad philosophy, modernity was associated with the Enlightenment, with its faith in reason, in progress and in an unbounded human capacity for pursuing happiness in the world rather than in the afterlife. Modernity yields a sense of the present time in contrast to antiquity and implies a rejection of an outdated past and orientation to the future. See Jay Martin, “Scopic Regimes of Modernity” In *Modernity and Identity*, edited by Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. pp. 178-195; Anthony Giddens, *The Consequence of Modernity* Stanford University Press, 1990; Matei Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977, pp. 13-14. Timothy Mitchell, “The Stages of Modernity” In *Questions of Modernity*, edited by Timothy Mitchell. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000. p. 18.

⁵⁹ Shao Dazhen 邵大箴. “Constancy and inconstancy — A Reflection of Artistic Modernity” (*Hengding xing yu bianhua xing—guan yishu xiandai xing de sikao* 恆定性與變化性—關藝術現代性的思考). In “Four-isms” and the Modern Transformation of Chinese Fine Arts (*Si da zhuyi” yu zhongguo meishu de xiandai zhuanxing* “四大主義”與中國美術的現代轉型), edited by Pan Gongkai 潘公凱. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2010, p. 18 and Huang Xingtao 黃興濤, *The Issue of Modernity in the New Concept of New Neologisms in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period (Qingmo minchu xin mingci xingainian de ‘xiandaixing’ wenti* 清末民初新詞新概念的“現代性”問題), Tianjin Social Science (*Tianjin Shehui Kexue* 天津社會科學), vol. 4 (2005), pp. 50-51.

⁶⁰ Lidia H. Liu, 1995, pp.18-19. The Japanese had long borrowed from classical Chinese but the reverse process began in the late nineteenth century. The massive influx of neologisms from Japan to China in the late nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century was unprecedented in terms of scale and influence.

⁶¹ Rana Mitter, *Modern China: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 13.

democracy and science.⁶² In this context, as Gao Mingliu argued, “Chinese modernity was rooted in a desire for internal strengthening in reaction to the impact of Western forces. It could be labelled a defensive modernity which has been bound up with the articulation of a national identity.⁶³”

In the art world, the discourse on modernity was also addressed by questioning the problems of Chinese painting under the influx of Western art. Fu Baoshi took part in bringing the issue into the historical and social context by being aware that everything in the era seemed to be in motion, change and transition toward the future. He stated:⁶⁴

If everything now is compared with fifty years ago, all aspects [of life] have gone through rapid change. Today, what is seen and heard is not like it was previously, because even lifestyles change and naturally everyone feels differently than before. According to cultural history, there is no question that at this time China needs a new kind of art which suits reality and of this there is no question. However, if we look into this [we can ask the question] “Does Chinese painting currently have anything to do with ‘modernity’?”⁶⁵

Fu Baoshi consciously acknowledged that China needed a new kind of art in line with the reality of the rapid transformations in all spheres of life. In questioning modernity in Chinese painting, the Chinese artists and intellectuals considered a progressive mode of representation as one of the qualities of visual modernity. For instance, reformists such as Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) saw realism as a progressive mode of representation⁶⁶ and particularly condemned Chinese literati painting for not complying with the realistic mode. On the other hand, *guohua* painters like Chen Shizeng paradoxically justified the relevance of traditional Chinese literati painting to modern times, arguing that postimpressionism, cubism, and futurism share the tendency to “de-emphasise the objective and focus on the subjective”, which was true of literati painting.⁶⁷ Armed with a conscious

⁶² For the discourse on Chinese modernity in the May Fourth Movement, see Kai-Wing Chow et al. *Beyond the May Fourth Paradigm: In Search of Chinese Modernity*. Lexington books, 2008.

⁶³ Gao Mingliu, “Toward a Transnational Modernity” in *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*, edited by Gao Mingliu. The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1998 p. 16.

⁶⁴ Gao Mingliu, 1998, p. 139.

⁶⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 0.2

⁶⁶ The main characteristics of classical Western-style painting which are ‘one-point perspective’ and ‘realistic depiction’ were considered more scientific and advanced than traditional Chinese ink painting.

⁶⁷ Zhu Wanzhang 朱萬章. *A Complete Works of Famous Chinese Painters: Chen Shizeng (Zhongguo minghua jia quanji: Chen Shizeng 中國名畫家全集：陳師曾)*, Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 2003. pp.86-87, and for the discussion on modernity in relation to ‘progress’ in Chinese painting in the case of Chen Shizeng see Song Xiaoxia 宋曉霞, “Chinese Modernity as “Self-Awareness” Cultural Ventures: In the Case of Chen Shizeng (*Dui Zhongguo xiandai wenhua de “zijue”: Yi Chen Shizeng weilii 對中國現代文化的“自覺”：以陳師曾為例*),” In *Self-Awareness and the Inquiry of Chinese Modernity (Zijue yu Zhongguo xiandaixing de tanxun 自覺與中國現代性的探詢)*, edited by Pan

awareness of these issues, Fu Baoshi tried to articulate the modernity of his painting in his own way: experimenting with painting techniques, showing his self-reflection by referring to his personal life and feelings in relation to his family, and executing his immediate visual response to his artistic experience, which is analysed and argued in detail in chapter five.

CHAPTER ONE

The Hometown of Nanchang: Forming the Artistic Pursuit (1904-1932)

I. Introduction

This chapter reconstructs Fu Baoshi's early life and art in Nanchang from 1904 to 1932. Using biographical materials from diverse sources, it outlines how aspects of his early life contributed to his later development as a leading painter, a prolific writer on art, and an art teacher. All aspects of Fu Baoshi's life and experiences from his childhood until he reached the age of twenty-nine are examined not only in relation to Nanchang but also in the broader context of cultural, social and political circumstances of early twentieth-century China. Fu Baoshi was born in the last years of the Qing dynasty when China was going through unprecedented turmoil and transformation. Despite his humble background, his diverse experiences from an early age, including his encounters with porcelain decoration, his frequent visits to the mounting and seal carving shops, his education at the newly established modern school, his teaching experiences, his identity as an artist after adopting a pen name, and his political activities all played a significant role in contributing to his individual artistic pursuit as well as his responsibility and mission as an artist for his country. This chapter also analyses Fu Baoshi's textbook *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang* 中國繪畫變遷史綱) which was completed in 1929 and published in 1931. This early text delivers the young artist's attempt to follow the trend of art historical writings in the construction of Chinese art history as a modern discourse in the 1920s, and marks his early nationalistic perspective on Chinese art through his awareness of both Japanese and Western scholarship. Lastly, this chapter examines how Fu Baoshi's meeting with the painter Xu Beihong in Nanchang in 1931 offered him a significant opportunity to study in Japan, which became an important turning point in his life as an artist.

II. Fu Baoshi's Early Years in Nanchang, 1904-1932

1. Family Background

Fu Baoshi was born on 5 October 1904, seven years before the end of the Qing dynasty, and he lived through the dramatic transformations of the nation in the political, social and cultural spheres of the twentieth century. In contrast to scholar-painters such as Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894-1968) and Chen Shizeng who came from eminent family backgrounds and had the

advantage of a cultivated upbringing,⁶⁸ Fu Baoshi was born into an impoverished farming family in Nanchang 南昌, the largest city and capital of Jiangxi province (Fig. 1.1).⁶⁹ His father Fu Degui 傅德貴 (1862-1921) was originally in line to take care of the Fu family shrine in the ancestral hometown Xinyu 新喻 (now a prefectural city) in west-central Jiangxi Province.⁷⁰ In fact, one of the ancestors of the Fu family of Xinyu was a high-ranking scholar-official called Fu Han 傅瀚 (1435-1502) who held a position as the Director of the Board of Rites (*li bu shang shu* 禮部尚書) at the court and was highly respected by the Hongzhi emperor (1470-1505) of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Fu Han was also renowned for an episode concerning one of the most talented Ming painters, Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470-1524), who was falsely accused of infringing the examination rules.⁷¹ Having failed the examination to become an official, he was compelled to spend the rest of his life painting for his living and became one of the most prominent figure painters of the Ming dynasty.

By the late nineteenth century Fu Baoshi's family had fallen on harder times, as farming had been the principal occupation of his grandfather Fu Kaiwu 傅開五,⁷² so Fu Baoshi's father Fu Degui left his hometown Xinyu and moved to Nanchang where he could earn a living as an umbrella repairer. His mother (only her surname Xu 徐 is known) was the daughter of a peasant family from Xinjian 新建 county in Nanchang. Fu Baoshi's parents gave him the birth name (*ming* 名) Changsheng 長生, literally meaning 'long life' after having lost six out of seven of their other children in childhood, with only their first daughter Fu Zhaodi 傅招弟 (1896-1960) surviving.⁷³ Even Fu Baoshi, the eighth and last child, had caused his parents much concern that he might be blind because he did not open his eyes until he was one month

⁶⁸ For further biographical studies on Wu Hufan and Chen Shizeng see Clarissa von Spee, *Wu Hufan: A Twentieth Century Art Connoisseur in Shanghai*. Berlin: Reimer, 2008 and Zhu Wanzhang, 2003.

⁶⁹ Nanchang was a city located in the north-central portion of the province. The name Nanchang, literally 'Southern Flourishing', is said to date to 201 BCE during the Han dynasty (206 BCE -220 CE). The name was coined for the purpose of developing the area of southern China by emperor Gaozu of the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE-8 CE). 戴均良, *The Major Dictionary of Ancient and Contemporary Place Names in China (Zhongguo gujin diming dacidian 中國古今地名大詞典)*, vol. 2, Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe 上海辭書出版社, 2005, p. 2080.

⁷⁰ Chen Chuanxi, 2000, pp. 2-3.

⁷¹ For the episode between Fu Han and Tang Yin, see Chen Chuanxi, 2000, p. 2 and Anne de Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of Tang Yin*, The University of Chicago, 1991, pp. 5-6. Together with Du Mu 都穆 (1458-1525), a contemporary of Tang Yin who was jealous of his talent, Fu Han accused his political rival Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1445-1499) of secretly revealing the exam questions to Tang Yin's friend Xu Jing 徐經 (1473-1507), who in turn is believed to have told Tang Yin. As a result, Cheng Minzheng, Xu Jing and Tang Yin were sent to prison.

⁷² Lin Mu, 2009, pp. 2-3.

⁷³ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 2. Fu Zhaodi was eight years older than Fu Changsheng [Fu Baoshi] and she later married a chef in Nanchang, see Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 1.

old.⁷⁴

Fu Baoshi later married Luo Shihui 羅時慧 (1910-2001) in March 1930.⁷⁵ She was one of his students who had studied at the Jiangxi First Middle School (*Jiangxisheng diyi zhongxue* 江西省第一中學) where Fu Baoshi had taught from 1928 to 1929. She later studied art at the Hubei Wuhan Professional Art School (*Hubei Wuhan zhuanke xuexiao* 湖北武漢藝術專科學校). As she shared Fu Baoshi's interest in art, she offered comments and suggestions about his paintings and played a strong supportive role in his artistic development throughout his life. They had six children: two sons, Fu Xiaoshi 傅小石 and Fu Ershi 傅二石, and four daughters, Fu Yishan 傅益珊, Fu Yixuan 傅益璇, Fu Yiyao 傅益瑤, and Fu Yiyu 傅益玉 (Fig. 1.2). Most of them took after their father and became painters, with Fu Ershi and Fu Yiyao continuing in their painting careers to the present day.

2. First Encounter with Art – Porcelain Decoration

Fu Baoshi first experienced art through painting decorations on porcelain in his hometown of Nanchang when he was about five years old. Nanchang was located near Jingdezhen in the northeast of Jiangxi province, the centre of porcelain production since the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) (Fig.1.3).⁷⁶ At the beginning of the Republican era, the porcelain industry was being reconstructed and revitalised in Jingdezhen, having been in decline due to the turbulence of the Taiping rebellion and the loss of overseas markets to Japanese and Western porcelain.⁷⁷ Porcelain companies including the Jiangxi Porcelain Company (*Jiangxi Ciye Gongsi* 江西瓷業公司) were established to restructure the industry, and a market for decorative porcelain emerged with professional artists earning a living by decorating glazed white porcelain made in the Jingdezhen potteries and ceramic workshops.⁷⁸ The revitalisation

⁷⁴ Chen Chuanxi, 2002, p. 4.

⁷⁵ Luo Shihui was from a well-off family and her father was Luo Hongbin 羅洪賓 who worked as an officer, served as Commissioner of the Inland Revenue and the Chair of the Court of Law, Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 43.

⁷⁶ Taking the era name of the emperor Jingde 景德 (1004-7) during whose reign the kiln centre was established, Jingdezhen's porcelain production first rose to fame during the Northern Song dynasty.

⁷⁷ Simon Kwan, "Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century" in *Brush and Clay: Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by Urban Council. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1990, p. 36.

⁷⁸ Due to the new market, Jingdezhen porcelain painters began to be recognised as professional artists. Simon Kwan, 1990, pp. 39-40. For the development of porcelain painting in the early twentieth century, see Christina Chu, "Masters of Porcelain Painting in the Early Twentieth Century" In *Brush and Clay: Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by Urban Council. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1990, pp. 128-138.

of the porcelain industry in Jingdezhen led to the development of the porcelain-decorating practice in many large cities throughout the country, including Nanchang.

Nanchang's booming industries in porcelain production and decoration in the early twentieth century meant that decorated porcelain was in everyday use even by lower-class households such as Fu Baoshi's family.⁷⁹ Fascinated by the decorated coloured images on porcelain bowls and plates, Fu Baoshi enjoyed copying images of landscapes, flowers and birds, and legendary and historical figures from the decorated porcelain at home,⁸⁰ and his artistic talent impressed his parents as well as local residents. When he was about nine years old, some neighbours sympathised with the family's financial plight. Acknowledging Fu Baoshi's artistic talent, they suggested that the boy should take up an apprenticeship at a porcelain shop, which could later provide him with employment as a porcelain painter.⁸¹

In Nanchang there were several shops, such as Lizexuan 麗澤軒 and Dazhonghua 大中華, which hired local craftsmen as well as Jingdezhen decorators to paint figures and various designs on porcelain (Fig. 1.4).⁸² The shops not only sold ready-painted Jingdezhen porcelain but also stocked fired and glazed articles from Jingdezhen. They employed their own craftsmen to decorate them following customers' commissions.⁸³ In 1915, with the help of the neighbours, the twelve-year-old Fu Baoshi briefly became a ceramic apprentice at one of the porcelain shops in Nanchang and his income contributed to easing his family's poverty.⁸⁴ Although he hoped to train as a ceramic decorator, most of his time was spent running trivial errands and cleaning for the owner. While working at the shop, however, he suffered from lung problems and his apprenticeship ended after only one year.⁸⁵

Fu Baoshi maintained close ties with the porcelain trade until his twenties. In around 1930 he was invited to be in charge of designing a preview exhibition in Jiangxi province for an international exposition to be held in the USA. In the early twentieth century, it was quite common for nations to participate in international expositions to showcase their products and

⁷⁹ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 7.

⁸¹ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 5.

⁸² Liu Xinyuan, "A Register of Jingdezhen Porcelain Craftsmen 1860-1950" in *Brush and Clay: Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by Urban Council. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1990, pp. 99-100.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁸⁴ It is not known exactly which ceramic shop he worked at, or where it was. Chen Chuanxi, 2000, p. 7.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

culture as well as their latest accomplishments to the world.⁸⁶ As a result, these expositions often stimulated the process of domestic and international industrialisation. Fu Baoshi was called on to design a preview exhibition of special local products such as porcelain and grass linen⁸⁷ in Jiangxi province, in preparation for the Century of Progress Exposition to be held in Chicago between 1933 and 1934.⁸⁸ The exposition was a world fair to celebrate the city of Chicago's centenary and the theme of the fair was technological innovation.⁸⁹ The preview exhibition was aimed at choosing outstanding products through public appraisal. Fu Baoshi designed the layout of the exhibition venue with the help of a group of students from the art department at the school where he later taught.⁹⁰ Although the exact location of the venue remains unknown, his design may have inspired one of the Chinese exhibition settings shown in the photograph of a Chinese garden inside the Horticulture Building at the exposition in Chicago (Fig. 1.5). Fu Baoshi was rewarded for fulfilling this task and his talent in design was recognised.⁹¹

3. Chinese Classics, Seal Carving and Mounting Shops

Although the lack of family finances kept Fu Baoshi from being formally educated as a child, he was in fact given the chance to study classical Chinese texts and develop his early interest in seal carving and painting. With the help of a police officer named Tao 陶 who cared about his welfare, in 1911 he began attending classical Chinese classes at an old-style private school (*sishu 私塾*) in the guildhall of Xinyu County (Xinyu Huiguan 新喻會館) in Nanchang, and continued for about a year. In this short period he studied the Confucian Classics including *The Four Books* (*Si Shu* 四書)⁹² and *Five Classics* (*Wu Jing* 五經), giving him a foundation in traditional classical learning.⁹³

⁸⁶ Noriko Aso, *New Illusions: The Emergence of a Discourse on Traditional Japanese Arts and Crafts 1868-1945*. PhD thesis. The University of Chicago, 1997. p. 2.

⁸⁷ Grass linen refers to a type of cloth made from a flowering plant native to East Asia, including China. It had been exported from East Asia to Europe in the late eighteenth century.

⁸⁸ Shen Zuoyao, 2009. p. 62.

⁸⁹ For further details on the Chicago exposition, see the exposition catalogue *A Century of Progress, 1933-1934*, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc, 1933.

⁹⁰ Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 62.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² The Four Books are *The Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), *The Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語) and *The Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子). Lin Mu, 2009, p. 2.

⁹³ The Five Classics of Confucianism namely, *The Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經), *The Book of History* (*Shujing* 書經), *The Classic of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經) and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).

Fu Baoshi discovered the art of seal carving through frequent visits to a seal-carving shop which helped to develop his interest in painting and calligraphy. The seal carving shop was run by a master called Zheng 鄭 who carved seals based on the seal script characters in the *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典).⁹⁴ Fu Baoshi was fascinated by the whole process of making a seal and its impression on paper which he observed in Master Zheng's shop.⁹⁵ The Master taught him the basics of seal carving including how to choose the stone and use the cutting knife, and he also taught him about the seal carver, painter and calligrapher Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829-1884).⁹⁶ Fu Baoshi became interested in Zhao Zhiqian's seals, which incorporated the clerical script of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE) and the engraved stone steles of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535).⁹⁷ Fu Baoshi was given some old seal-cutting knives and stones by Master Zheng and started to practise seal carving based on characters in the *Kangxi Dictionary*, a copy of which was given to him by his brother-in-law.⁹⁸ He also carved seals based on the seal manuscript of Zhao Zhiqian, *Two Golden Butterflies Studio Seal Manual* (*Erjindietang Yinpu* 二金蝶堂印譜), and later started selling his seals to support him while studying at school.⁹⁹

In 1916, during visits to a local mounting shop in Nanchang, Fu Baoshi had access to original paintings and calligraphies.¹⁰⁰

I started to learn seal carving and calligraphy from a teacher and I could start learning painting because there was a [painting] mounting shop next to my father's umbrella repair shop. I myself often went there to see paintings, and the mounting master knew I liked paintings so he often lent me those which were waiting to be mounted and let me take them home to copy them. In this way, I had more time to look at the paintings and learnt some traditional painting techniques.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ The *Kangxi Dictionary*, named after the Kangxi emperor, was compiled in 1716 and is multi-volumed. It contains 49,030 single-character entries and was the largest Chinese dictionary ever compiled until 1993.

⁹⁵ Fu Baoshi's curious attention was drawn to selecting a stone for a seal, carving characters in seal script based on the *Kangxi Dictionary* and stamping a seal with red ink paste on paper to make the impression of the seal. Lin Mu, 2009, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Sun Weizu, *Chinese Seals: Carving Authority and Creating History*, San Francisco: Long River Press, 2004, pp. 70-72.

⁹⁸ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Liu Zhenduo 劉振鐸, "The Immortal Spirit of the Life Drawing *Twenty Thousand Miles of Mountain: The Days When I Met the Great Master [Fu Baoshi] in 1961*" (*"Liangwan shan qianli" xiasheng de buhui jingshen: 1961 nian yu dashi xiangchu de rizi* 兩萬山千裡"寫生的不滅精神-1961年與大師相處的日子). *Heilongjiang Pictorial Magazine* (*Heilongjiang huabao* 黑龍江畫報) (August 2009): 151-153. p. 151.

¹⁰¹ For Chinese text, see appendix 1.1.

Although Fu Baoshi was not able to view the finest examples of paintings in private collections, the local mounting shop gave him the opportunity to see and study the work attributed to pre-modern masters including Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707), as well as works by local painters and calligraphers which were for sale. The mounting of both landscape and flower and bird paintings was carried out daily on a large table.¹⁰² The shop also repaired old paintings and employed six professional painters and one calligrapher who were employed to make copies of the pre-modern paintings.¹⁰³ One of the copyists, Master Zuo (*Zuo Shifu* 左師傅), who specialised in copying the painting of Shitao, was impressed by Fu Baoshi's appreciation of the painting and taught him how to look at paintings, giving him guidance on copying the paintings with permission from the owner of the shop.¹⁰⁴

4. Education and Teaching at the Newly Established Modern School

In 1917, at the age of fourteen, Fu Baoshi joined the fourth grade of the lower primary school¹⁰⁵ which was the elementary division of the Jiangxi First Normal school (*Jiangxishengli diyi shifan fushu xiaoxue* 江西省立第一師範附屬小學) with the help of Mr. Zhang 張, the director of the school and a neighbour of Fu Baoshi.¹⁰⁶ The Jiangxi First Normal School was based on the second modern educational system established by the Ministry of Education of the provisional government in Nanjing in 1912 (Fig. 1.6).¹⁰⁷ Fu Baoshi enrolled at the school with a new name Ruilin 瑞麟 which had been given to him by Mr. Zhang, as he thought the name Changsheng was not sufficiently refined enough or appropriate for him. The new name Ruilin had an auspicious meaning associated with the symbol of the mythical animal *qilin* 麒麟, so it was given in the wish that Fu Baoshi's life could be prosperous and successful.¹⁰⁸ The following year, he entered the first grade of the upper primary school and graduated top of his class in 1921. Subsequently, he was given an exemption from the entrance examination and proceeded directly to the preparatory course of the Jiangxi First Normal School (*Jiangxisheng diyi shifan* 江西省第一師範) in the same year.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Lin Mu, 2009, p. 3.

¹⁰³ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Chen Chuanxi, 2000, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ The lower primary school consists of four years and the higher primary school consists of a three-year course

¹⁰⁶ Chen Chuanxi, 2000, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁷ Theobore Encheng Hsiao, *A History of Modern Education in China*, PhD thesis, New York University, 1925, pp. 67-68. The second modern educational system was more resemblant of the American educational model than the first system proposed in 1903.

¹⁰⁸ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 3.

At the Jiangxi First Normal School, Fu Baoshi trained to become a teacher through the Western style of learning and completed an art training course. The normal school system not only implemented teacher training “to accelerate the spread of modern knowledge” but also played a key role in the dissemination of Western concepts of art in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁰ At the normal school, Fu Baoshi took an English course during the first year and worked as a part-time assistant arranging and supervising books in the school library.¹¹¹ In 1925, he took art courses for the third grade and officially started to carry out his studies on practical art training and art theory.¹¹² The art courses on drawing (*tuhua* 圖畫) and handicrafts (*shougong* 手工) were then being adopted in the new-style curricula at school.¹¹³ In the art courses Fu Baoshi probably acquired practical skills such as the rendering of light, volume, and perspective through the practice of drawing as well as carving bamboo and wood, pouring plaster casts, moulding clay and making paper-cuts through the classes on handicrafts.¹¹⁴ The practice of drawing and handicrafts also offered him the chance to train himself to become an art teacher afterwards. Apart from the Western style art training course, Fu Baoshi also learnt seal carving from the seal carver and Chinese language teacher, Wang Yi 王易 (1889-1956) who taught at the school.¹¹⁵

Fu Baoshi further developed his early interest in books on Chinese art through his work as a part-time assistant arranging and supervising books in the school library and his frequent visits to a second hand book shop called *Saoye Shanfang* 掃葉山房 near the school.¹¹⁶ The bookshop had a stock of books on Chinese traditional culture and art and the shopkeeper was so impressed by his profound knowledge that he lent him some books to study and copy at home. He was particularly drawn to early texts on Chinese painting, such as *Records of Celebrated Paintings Through the Past Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua* 歷代名畫記) compiled by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 815-ca. 877) and *Remarks on Painting* (*Huayulu* 畫語錄) by

¹¹⁰ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012, p. 29. To save the country from demolition, late Qing educational reformers believed that they needed to implement a system of normal schools to accelerate the spread of modern knowledge by training teachers.

¹¹¹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 4.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Mayching Kao, *China's Response to the West: 1898-1937*, PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1972, pp. 60-66.

¹¹⁴ Juila F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2012, p. 30.

¹¹⁵ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 7.

Shitao.¹¹⁷ These publications provided useful references for the first art history text *A General Account on the Origin and Evolution of National Painting* (*Guohua yuanliu shugai* 國畫源流述概), a book he wrote in 1925 which was not published. The original manuscript was later revised and retitled *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting*, published through the Nanjing Bookstore (*Nanjing shudian* 南京書店) in Shanghai in 1931, which was used by Fu Baoshi to teach students.¹¹⁸ This publication contains a brief but comprehensive history of Chinese painting from the historical period up to the Qing period by discussing the main distinctive topics of each period for educational purposes.¹¹⁹

Graduating from the normal school in 1926, Fu Baoshi was hired as a teacher and worked mostly part-time, teaching drawing and handicrafts at various schools including Nanchang Model Primary School (*Nanchang mofan xuexiao* 南昌模範小學), the Jiangxi First Middle School and Junior High School, private schools in Nanchang including Hongsheng 鴻聲, Hongdou 洪都, Xinyuan 心遠, and the Women's Normal School (*Nüzi shifan* 女子師範), between 1926 and 1929.¹²⁰ In 1930, he was promoted to the position of main teacher for the art course at the Jiangxi Senior High School and taught Chinese painting (*guohua*), drawings, handicrafts and music.¹²¹ He also delivered lectures on Chinese art history, using his text *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (1931) which he compiled for his students.¹²² Some of the teachers at the school who were university graduates condemned the fact that Fu Baoshi was not qualified to be a secondary school teacher as he did not have a university degree. They complained to the Education Bureau and Fu Baoshi lost his teaching positions.¹²³ Facing the misfortune of being unemployed, he did a variety of temporary jobs including painting advertising signboards.¹²⁴ These experiences may have prompted his desperation to find an opportunity to get the higher education he needed for his career as a teacher.

¹¹⁷ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 7. Zhang Yanyuan's *Records of Celebrated Paintings through the Past Dynasties* covers art works from the Wei-Jin period to the late Tang. Zhang not only gives brief biographical descriptions of some 370 painters but also evaluates their ability in the text.

¹¹⁸ Fu Baoshi, *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang* 中國繪畫變遷史綱), Shanghai: Nanjing Shudian 南京書店, 1931. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 2-52.

¹¹⁹ Fu Baoshi's early text *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (1931) is discussed in detail in the last section of this chapter.

¹²⁰ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 6.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹²² Lin Mu, 2009, p. 8

¹²³ Chen Chuanxi, 2000, p. 11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

5. The Adoption of an Artistic Pen Name

Fu Baoshi' adoption of the pen name Baoshi 抱石 in 1921, after his father passed away, led to his resolute engagement with seal carving and painting. The name Baoshi, literally meaning 'embracing a stone', took inspiration from his two heroes, the poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (340-278 BCE) and the painter Shitao 石濤 (1604-1707). His pen name refers to Qu Yuan since the two characters of 'Baoshi' recall the way in which Qu Yuan was believed to have committed suicide by carrying a stone and plunging into the Miluo 汨羅 River after he wrote his last piece *Encountering Sorrow* (*Li Sao* 離騷).¹²⁵ Additionally, using this name shows Fu Baoshi's admiration for the late Ming loyalist painter Shitao through the use of the character *shi* 石 (most notable in Shitao), thus giving a meaning along the lines of 'cherish Shi[tao] (*baoshi* 抱石).'¹²⁶

With his pen name, Fu Baoshi started to take commissions for seal carvings to support his family's finances and to produce paintings. His earliest surviving paintings are a set of four landscape hanging scrolls dated 1925 (Figs. 1.7, 1.8, 1.9 and 1.10).¹²⁷ Painted when he was still a student of the Jiangxi First Normal School where he carried out his art training, the four paintings reveal the hand of a novice who was attempting to represent the style of the seventeenth-century Orthodox masters. In the inscription on the painting *Walking with a Stick and Carrying a Qin* (*cezhang xiexin* 策杖攜琴) (Fig. 1.9), Fu states:

Ni Yu [Ni Zan] says: what your humble servant calls painting is merely following the brush to paint freely, not seeking a likeness of form but only expressing the unrestrained natural spirit in the mind. Those who evaluate paintings usually use [the four classes] of divine [*shen*], wonderful [*miao*], skillful [*neng*], and spontaneous [*yi*] to judge them. Was not the [eighth-century critic] Zhu Jingxuan [朱景玄] uniquely perceptive in this regard? On the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month of the *yichou* year [1925], seeking the advice of Mr Zhenqing [振清]. The Master of Baoshi studio.¹²⁸

The inscription reveals that a set of four paintings was commissioned by Mr. Zhenqing, a patron of Fu Baoshi,¹²⁹ and refers to the fourteenth-century painter Ni Zan 倪贊 (1301-1374)

¹²⁵ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 3. *Li Sao* is considered as a centrally important piece in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chu Ci* 楚辭), an anthology of Chinese poetry from the Warring States period. Fu Baoshi's homage to Qu Yuan is discussed further in detail in chapter four.

¹²⁶ Chen Chuanxi, 2000, p. 9.

¹²⁷ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 4.

¹²⁸ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 1.2.

¹²⁹ It is unknown who Mr. Zhenqing was.

who painted individualistic representations of landscape with his personal sparse dry brushwork. Fu Baoshi quotes Ni Zan's statement, which summed up some of the focal characteristics of literati painting, that the purpose of the painting is to perfect self-expression, not to produce a faithful representation of natural forms. On another painting from the set entitled *Riding a Donkey under Bamboo* (*zhuxia qilü* 竹下騎驢) (1925), Fu Baoshi's inscription reads (Fig. 1.8):

Among the followers of Mi Fu [米黻], Gao Kegong [高翹恭] may be called the most brilliant. Dong Sibai [Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636)] established his reputation in Yunjian [present-day Songjiang, Shanghai] with his inherent great gift and said "those who follow the style of Mi Fu in this world only apply ink dots and pile them up like a wall with no division; in the end they gain nothing [of the level of Mi Fu]. [Fu] Baoshi.¹³⁰

The inscription refers to the Northern Song gentleman-painter Mi Fu 米黻 (1051-1107), and to the comments of the Ming connoisseur and painter Dong Qichang that those merely followed Mi Fu's brushwork would not have the competence to reach the master's level. Fu Baoshi's painting shows the landscape in the style of Mi Fu with the layers of wet horizontal dots, the so-called 'Mi dots', which appear to be repetitive and patterned without much variation in their application. His stylistic reference to past masters and his knowledge of art history were likely to have given value to the paintings. The set of four paintings may have been made at the request of his patron Mr. Zhenqing who wanted to acquire paintings displaying a literati flavour. Such landscapes that belonged within the corpus of styles of the literati tradition had been produced in southern China since the late Ming and were still used by professional artists in the early twentieth century. This landscape style was also often used in ceramic decorations in Nanchang and Jingdezhen (Fig. 1.11).¹³¹ Fu Baoshi's early surviving paintings convey the practice of a young artist who learned to paint by imitating the work of professional artists in the painting and porcelain shops of Nanchang.

6. Political Activities

Fu Baoshi began to participate in political activities in Nanchang at an early age, which reflects his concern for the plight of his country. His political experiences influenced his thoughts and laid the basis for his strongly patriotic nationalistic perspective which was later addressed in his writing and paintings. In 1924, during the First United Front between the Nationalist and

¹³⁰ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 1.3.

¹³¹ For the rise of the literati painting style of porcelain decoration in the twentieth century, see Urban Council, 1990, pp. 39-40.

Communist Party (1923-1927), he participated in and organised the activities of the Youth Association of Nanchang (*Nanchang qingnian xuehui* 南昌青年學會) while he was still studying at school.¹³² He often read magazines such as *The New Youth* (*Xinqingnian* 新青年) and *The Guide* (*Xiangdao* 向導) and he was inspired by the progressive thoughts and contact with many other young people.¹³³ He became a member of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1925, and in the following year joined the propaganda department in the Jiangxi provincial headquarters of the Nationalist party while the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied Nanchang. Fu Baoshi was also involved with many political propaganda activities including producing wall paintings and slogans within the city of Nanchang.¹³⁴ The breakdown of the First United Front occurred in 1927, and this was followed by the 12 April coup in which Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石 1887-1975) massacred the Communists in Shanghai.¹³⁵ During the incident, one of Fu Baoshi's friends, a member of the Communist Party, was murdered. Fu Baoshi's mother made arrangements for his friend's funeral¹³⁶ and Fu Baoshi fled to Linchuan 臨川 for a month to escape the turmoil. The Communist survivors of the purge in Shanghai fled to Nanchang and held the city for several days.¹³⁷ Nanchang became the site of one of the uprisings organised by the Chinese Communist Party in August 1927, which was eventually defeated by the Nationalist troops.¹³⁸ On 23 August 1927, Fu Baoshi left the Nationalist Party. He resumed his art propaganda work, however, on a friend's recommendation in 1929, and officially resigned from the Nationalist Party in May 1930.¹³⁹

III. Nationalistic Fervour: Fu Baoshi's Early Art History Text *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (1931)

Fu Baoshi's earliest extant art history text *A Historical Outline of the Transformation of Chinese Painting* (1931) reflects his involvement with the new trend for textbook writing in the 1920s to reconstruct Chinese art history for educational purposes. In the preface of this text he clearly states its aim:¹⁴⁰

¹³² Lin Mu, 2009, p. 7.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁵ For a further understanding of the Shanghai massacre of 1927, see Stephen Anthony Smith, *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920-1927*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

¹³⁶ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 6.

¹³⁷ Khoon Choy Lee, *Pioneers of Modern China: Understanding the Inscrutable Chinese*, World Scientific, 2005, p. 330.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 6-7. No further information on Fu's friend's murder and his departure from the Nationalist Party could be located.

¹⁴⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 2.

Last year I was asked to take charge of teaching *guohua* for a senior high school art course at the Jiangxi First Normal School. I would always teach my students there to read more books on the theory of *guohua*. If they did not say [grumble] that they had no way to read them, they would say that they [simply] did not understand them and desired that I put together some teaching materials, so I agreed.¹⁴¹

Fu Baoshi's textbook was used as teaching material to provide the students with an easily comprehensible and concise text on this history of Chinese painting, and to arouse in them a nationalistic spirit and a defence of national traditions amid the unrest facing the country. Following the establishment of a modern educational system in 1902, textbooks and curricula were urgently needed in all areas of learning.¹⁴² Textbook writing was thus carried out to promote the history of Chinese art within the curriculum in reaction to the dominance of Western art in education programmes.¹⁴³ Since there was little modern research on Chinese art history and textbooks, teaching materials from books published in the late Meiji- and early Taisho periods in Japan were borrowed and adopted in the production of textbooks on Chinese art in China in the 1920s.¹⁴⁴

Fu Baoshi's 1931 text seems to have been influenced by textbooks written by other Chinese *guohua* artists as well as Western scholars on Chinese art. In the preface of his text, he stated:¹⁴⁵

Aren't the books already published, such as *The History of Chinese Painting* by Chen Shizeng; *The History of Chinese Painting* by Pan Tianshou (1897-1971); *A Complete History of the Study of Chinese Painting* by Zheng Wuchang (1894-1952); and *Guohua ABC* by Zhu Yingpeng (b. 1895), so much richer and more complete than mine?¹⁴⁶

As mentioned above, Fu Baoshi seemed to be aware of those books on Chinese art which had been published in the 1920s. Most of these publications on Chinese art functioned as school textbooks.¹⁴⁷ They showed an attempt to adopt Western methodology which had been

¹⁴¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.4.

¹⁴² Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2006, p. 16.

¹⁴³ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2006, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 33 and Hui Gao, 2010, pp. 14-49.

¹⁴⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Chen Shizeng [陳師曾], *The History of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihuashi* 中國繪畫史) (1925), Pan Tianshou 潘天壽, *The History of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihuashi* 中國繪畫史) (1926), Zheng Wuchang, *A Complete History of the Study of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huaxue quanshi* 中國畫學全史) (1929) and Zhu Yingpeng [朱應鵬(b. 1895)], *Guohua* 國畫 ABC (1929). For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.5.

¹⁴⁷ Pan Tianshou's *The History of Chinese Painting* (1926) was written as a textbook while Pan was teaching at the Shanghai Art Academy. Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, p. 42.

learnt through Sino-Japanese contact in the early twentieth century.¹⁴⁸

The structure Fu Baoshi applied in his text seems to have an affinity with that of Zheng Wuchang in following the chronological order of the subject and discussing the major characteristic topics within each larger period. Following Zheng Wuchang's adaptation of different patterns of narration by dividing Chinese painting history into four periods showing characteristic features,¹⁴⁹ Fu Baoshi attempted to lay out the main pictorial developments from the early period to the Qing dynasty in seven subject areas: the connections between pictographic writing and early painting (from the pre-Shang to the Han dynasty), Buddhist influence (from the Han to the Sui dynasties), court art and non-court art of the Tang dynasty, the power of the imperial academy and its influence (from the Song to the Yuan dynasties), the revival of the 'Southern school' and the division of painting schools (Ming dynasty), and lastly the two hundred and seventy years of the Qing dynasty.¹⁵⁰

Fu Baoshi seemed to have understood the problems of traditional Chinese narratives of the past which undermined the ideal of the nation addressed by intellectuals such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) in the fields of history and art history.¹⁵¹ In the text, Fu Baoshi expressed his concern about the way in which the history of Chinese painting was explained and the historical periodisation that had been made in the past. He wrote that traditional Chinese narratives were ineffective in establishing continuity and coherence due to the preponderance of a writing style which simply recorded and listed available materials (*jizhangshi* 記賬式).¹⁵² Fu Baoshi claimed that the history of art should not be divided into too many sections according to the chronological period and should focus instead on the shift of phases of development.¹⁵³ He suggested that the whole system of its history should be considered and

¹⁴⁸ The publications by Chen Shizheng and Pan Tianshou followed the structure of the Japanese written work *A History of Chinese Painting (Shina Kaigashi 支那繪畫史)* by Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 and Oga Seiun 小麿青雲 published in 1913. The Japanese written work consists of the three stages of Chinese painting history - ancient, medieval and modern - reflecting the adoption of Western concepts of historical progression.

See Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2006, pp. 19-25 and Hui Gao, 2010, p. 20.

¹⁴⁹ Zheng Wuchang 鄭武昌, *Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies (Zhongguo huaxue quanshi, 中國畫學全史)*, Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1966. In his book, Zheng Wuchang divided Chinese art history into four large periods: the Functional Period (before Xia), the Ritual Period (from Xia to Han), the Religious Period (from the Six Dynasties to Tang), and the Literary Period (from Song to Qing). His periodisation was also influenced by Japanese predecessors. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2006, pp. 26-27.

¹⁵⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 2-52.

¹⁵¹ For nationalism and the writing of new history, see Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp. 35-53. and Hui Gao, 2010.

¹⁵² Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 2.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

that it would be necessary to mention the key points and outline of the history, which could facilitate the readers' understanding.¹⁵⁴

As for the major point on literati painting in the text, Fu Baoshi's text seems to have been closely related to and adopted from Chen Shizeng's thoughts on literati painting and its criteria. Fu Baoshi believed that the right path of Chinese painting would be "to promote the 'Southern school'" (*tichang nanzong* 提倡南宗),¹⁵⁵ referring to Dong Qichang's classification of historical literati painting. He also pointed out that literati painting represents Chinese painting and stated the three essential criteria of Chinese painting: moral character (*renpin* 人品), learning (*xuewen* 學問) and talent (*tiancai* 天才). These are adopted from Chen Shizeng's four criteria for literati painting: moral character (*renpin* 人品), learning (*xuewen* 學問), capabilities and feelings (*caiqing* 才情), and thought (*sixiang* 思想), all of which were addressed in Chen Shizeng's essay "The Value of Literati Painting" (1921).¹⁵⁶ Fu Baoshi further went on to mention the three essential criteria of literati painting, claiming and that they enhanced the value of Chinese painting and would promote its pro-active contribution to the world, which in turn would form a foundation for the universal and everlasting development of Chinese painting.¹⁵⁷ The three criteria would be used in assessing painters and applied as the basis for deciding whether their artwork was of a satisfactory standard.¹⁵⁸

Among these three criteria, Fu Baoshi particularly emphasised 'moral character' which represents a painter himself. He discussed the relationship between 'self' (*wo* 我) and 'painting surface' (*huamian* 畫面):¹⁵⁹

The painting surface has a 'self', and the 'self' has a painting surface. The painting surface and the self become one. If one hopes to [achieve] a superb level, progressive value, intense spirit and sustainable life of the painting surface, one must first achieve

¹⁵⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ The term 'Southern school painting' is a designation coined by Dong Qichang who promoted the theory of the 'Northern and Southern Schools' (*Nanbeizong* 南北宗). By making an analogy to Chan Buddhism, the theory claims that the Southern School lineage of literati painters is superior to the Northern School lineage of professional painters (artisans and court painters).

¹⁵⁶ In the vernacular (earlier) version, Chen Shizeng's four criteria are moral character (*renpin* 人品), learning (*xuewen* 學問), capabilities (*cai* 天才) and feelings (*qing* 情). Gu Lin 顧森 and Li Shushing 李樹聲 ed. *The Canon of One Hundred Years of Chinese Art: Chinese Traditional Art (Bainian Zhongguo meishu jingdian: 百年中國美術經典 : Zhongguo chuantong meishu 中國傳統美術 (1896-1949)*. Shenzhen: Haitian Chubanshe 海天出版社, 1998, p. 29.

¹⁵⁷ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

excellence, progress, intensity and sustainability of the 'self'. [You can] imagine how important the self is! 'Self' is the prerequisite matter.¹⁶⁰

Apart from the Chinese publications mentioned earlier, Fu Baoshi also referred to Western early scholarship such as *Chinese Art* by Stephen W. Bushell (1844-1908)¹⁶¹ which was first published in 1904¹⁶² and later translated into Chinese in 1923.¹⁶³ Bushell's book was also cited in other Chinese publications on Chinese art including Zheng Wuchang's book *Complete History of Chinese Painting Studies* (1929).¹⁶⁴ In the early twentieth century, Bushell's book not only received positive reviews, being regarded as a well-researched Western survey on Chinese art, but was also seen as a better reference work than the Chinese ones at that time.¹⁶⁵ Fu Baoshi's reference to Bushell's book is evident in his comments on Qiu Ying in which he cited as follows:

The British scholar says "The Chinese respect Qiu Ying most highly among the painters."¹⁶⁶

This statement refers to Bushell who mentioned that the Ming painter Qiu Ying 仇英 was perhaps the most highly appreciated of the Ming artists by Chinese critics in his book *Chinese Art*.¹⁶⁷ Fu Baoshi also stated that Qiu Ying's work *Springtime in the Imperial Palace of the Han Dynasty* was at the time held at the British Museum, which he is most likely to have picked up from Bushell since the image of the Qiu Ying painting appeared in the list of illustrations in the back of the book and Bushell's comment on the painting was also included (Fig. 1.12).¹⁶⁸ The internalisation of Western ideas in Chinese art is also apparent in Fu Baoshi's analysis of the painting style of the Yuan master Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354) (Fig. 1.13). He describes Huang Gongwang's practice of painting as equivalent to a sketch in modern painting, even using the English term 'sketch' which most certainly indicates 'sketch' even though the

¹⁶⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.6.

¹⁶¹ Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, 2 vols. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914.

¹⁶² Stephen W. Bushell, 1914, vol. 2, p. 116.

¹⁶³ Buxier [Stephan W. Bushell], *Chinese Art (Zhongguo meishu [shi] 中國美術〔史〕)* translated by Dai Yue. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1923.

¹⁶⁴ Hui Gao, 2010, p. 53.

¹⁶⁵ Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 38-39.

¹⁶⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 43. For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.7.

¹⁶⁷ Bushell further commented that Qiu Ying's pictures are often copied in the present day and he excelled in figure subjects. Stephen W. Bushell, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 142-143.

¹⁶⁸ Fu Baoshi further commented that Qiu Ying was very good at painting the spring palace and in modern times his works are much more valued as treasured works. During Qiu Ying's lifetime, he tended to be regarded as inferior to Wen Zhengming and Shen Zhou, and he did not enjoy a high reputation. In the early twentieth century, he was widely recognised both in China and overseas. Fu Baoshi was aware of the other Chinese paintings at the British Museum which he may have known through Stephen Bushell's books. Fu Baoshi, 1931, Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 43 and Stephen W. Bushell, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 142-143.

spelling is slightly incorrect.¹⁶⁹

Fu Baoshi's strong nationalistic view was reflected in the 1931 text and he emphasised the distinctive character of Chinese painting:¹⁷⁰

Chinese painting really is a "Chinese [National] Painting". China has a long history of many thousands of years so a national character cannot be separated from it... and therefore, Chinese painting has a particular national character, which when compared to the painting of other nationalities, makes it entirely different.¹⁷¹

Fu Baoshi was also concerned about the current research field of Chinese art history following the examples of Japanese scholarship on Chinese art. He made a further radical criticism in the statement below:¹⁷²

The Republic of China is the big brother and bowing our heads towards our second neighbour [Japan] is humiliating! It is like committing suicide! We should carefully examine our national treasures and take good care of them...How many Chinese people attempt to look at books on Chinese painting? How many researchers are there? What is the current status of China? What is the attitude of Chinese people towards the researchers? All these things let us down. At least... we must not neglect our own capability and should work hard on researching [our national culture]. As a result, our minimum achievement should be greater than that of our second neighbour [Japan]."¹⁷³

In this passage, Fu Baoshi wrote in an emotional tone that it was a great shame to admit that the Japanese were making more effort to research Chinese art than the Chinese. He further emphasised that Chinese scholars should work harder and make greater efforts in their achievement in the research on Chinese art. Fu Baoshi's radical tone in the teaching text reveals his desire to arouse a sense of nationalism among the young students and stimulate them into taking on the historical mission of rescuing a nation which was facing ruin. Although such a statement may suggest that his early nationalistic perspective was extremely strong and explicit, it actually reveals his faith in the possibility to rescue the stricken nation and his attempt to fortify it by valuing and researching the national traditions. His strong sense of nationalism played a significant role in spiritually motivating him to undertake the task of researching Chinese art and producing a number of publications on the subject. His early awareness of extensively following examples of Japanese scholarship on Chinese art in the early twentieth century might have encouraged him to be more careful and critical in dealing

¹⁶⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 35.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.8.

¹⁷² Fu Baoshi, 1931, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 3.

¹⁷³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 1.9.

with the materials while he was studying in Japan from 1932 to 1935. This attitude further enabled him to scrutinise Japanese scholarship on Chinese painting and show his critical reaction to them, which is discussed in the following chapters.

IV. A Turning Point in Fu Baoshi's Artistic Life: Meeting Xu Beihong

This section explores the way in which Fu Baoshi's meeting with Xu Beihong in Nanchang in July 1931 brought a significant turning point in his artistic life by providing him with a chance to study in Japan (Fig. 1.14). Xu Beihong visited Nanchang upon the invitation of the Jiangxi government and stayed at the hotel of the Jiangxi Yumin Bank (Jiangxi Yumin Yinhang 江西裕民銀行).¹⁷⁴ The president of the bank was Liao Ti Yuan 廖體元, an uncle of Liao Lideng 廖李登 who was the director of the school where Fu Baoshi was teaching at the time. Liao Lideng acknowledged Fu Baoshi's artistic talent and suggested that he meet Xu Beihong. Fu brought his seal carving albums, paintings and art historical texts to show Xu Beihong, who was impressed by the young man's artistic ability. Fu Baoshi accompanied Xu Beihong's tour to famous historical sites including the former residence of the painter Bada Shanren 八大山人 (ca. 1626-1705), the Water Guanyin Pavilion (Shuiguanyinting 水觀音), and Youmin Temple (Youminsi 佑民寺) in Nanchang.¹⁷⁵ They unexpectedly encountered an explosion of ammunition stockpiled at the side chamber inside the Buddhist temple but escaped without harm.¹⁷⁶ Fu Baoshi invited Xu Beihong to his home and gave him a seal made from copper as a gift. In return, Xu Beihong made a painting of geese which he dedicated to Fu Baoshi. The inscription of the painting read:¹⁷⁷

In early summer in the *xinwei* year [1931], [I] happened to visit Nanchang. [I] received a copper seal as a gift which Mr. [Fu] Baoshi carved at night and for this, [I] feel deeply grateful. Here I clumsily paint and present this as a gift. I therefore hope that [Fu Baoshi] will kindly accept this and keep it as a memento. I feel ashamed that it cannot compare [with his seal]. [Inscribed by] Beihong.¹⁷⁸

Recognising the young man's talent, Xu Beihong recommended Fu Baoshi for an overseas study programme in France supported by the Chinese government.¹⁷⁹ Xu Beihong went to visit the provincial governor of Jiangxi province Xiong Shihui 熊式輝 (1893-1974) to suggest

¹⁷⁴ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 17.

¹⁷⁵ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 17 and Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 7.

¹⁷⁶ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 7.

¹⁷⁷ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 8.

¹⁷⁸ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 1.10.

¹⁷⁹ Lin Mu, 2009, p. 18

that the provincial government support Fu Baoshi in applying for the scholarship. To persuade the governor, Xu Beihong painted a horse for Xiong Shihui.¹⁸⁰ With Xiong Shihui's support, Fu Baoshi was awarded funding in the amount of one thousand five hundred yuan. Since this was not enough for the cost of travel and study to France, Fu Baoshi had to spend a further year dealing with the funding issue.¹⁸¹ Xu Beihong wrote to him to persuade him to consider studying in Japan instead.¹⁸² Since Xu Beihong had travelled to Tokyo in 1917 to study art before studying in Paris in 1919, he knew that Japan could be an ideal alternative place for Fu Baoshi to develop his artistic and intellectual talent. The Japanese environment had been vibrant since the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), with constant artistic and intellectual activities and interactions with Western ideas and culture.

In the summer of 1932, Fu Baoshi was finally notified of his permission to study in Japan and received a scholarship from the Jiangxi government to travel to Tokyo the same year. The scholarship was for him to carry out research into Japanese arts and crafts and ceramic design so as to improve the ceramic production in Jingdezhen¹⁸³ In August 1932, he went to Nanjing which had been the capital of the Republic of China since 1927 and spent a month there to deal with his application and his passport as well as other procedures at the Ministry of Education. He visited Xu Beihong who was preparing for the exhibition on modern Chinese painting to be held in Paris early the following year.¹⁸⁴ Xu Beihong introduced Fu Baoshi to his friends at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education. With a letter of introduction from Chen Jitang 陳際唐, a director of a school in Nanchang, Fu also visited the Minister of the Central Organisation Department (*Zhongyang zuzhi buzhang* 中央組織部長), Chen Lifu 陳立夫, who gave him support and assistance in preparing to study abroad. While he was involved with the application procedure in Nanjing, he produced the painting *Dwelling in Purified Place with Water and Trees* (*shuimu qinghu zhi ju* 水木清華之居) (Fig. 1.15).¹⁸⁵ In the inscription on the painting, Fu stated:

During the Great Heat [mid-summer] of the *renshen* year [1932], on a brief visit to Jinling [Nanjing], in a long summer with nothing to do [I] paint this to excite the spirit and dispel boredom. Baoshi.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 96.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 97.

¹⁸⁵ Lu Heng, 2004, p. 19.

¹⁸⁶ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 1.11.

While waiting for his application to be approved, Fu Baoshi would have depicted this painting to reflect his expectations of his forthcoming trip to Japan. Compared with the set of four paintings he produced in 1925, this painting shows a more mature rendering of light and distance (Figs. 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 1.10 and 1.15). The painting recalls the style of Shitao in Fu Baoshi's use of expressive brushwork and vivid dots to enliven the mountains and rocks in the diagonal elongated composition (Figs. 1.15 and 1.16).

V. Conclusion

By exploring Fu Baoshi's social and cultural background through his biography, it has become possible to posit his growth as a promising young painter and art teacher in the context of art history in early twentieth century China. Having experienced the radical educational reforms - from traditional Confucian-oriented learning to a new modern educational system - Fu Baoshi was able to direct his art and vision toward forming a bridge between tradition and modernity. His basic traditional and classical Chinese learning in private classes and his practical experience in seal carving and traditional painting as well as his Western art training in drawing and handicrafts and his teacher training at the newly established normal school in China all played a pivotal role in developing his ability to link the classical and the modern in his early life as an artist.

As Western-style art and Western art education became strong currents within the wave of modernisation that characterised the nation-building movements of the early Republic, Fu Baoshi took on an educating role - along with other committed individuals - and became actively involved with the new trend for writing educational textbooks on Chinese art which began in the 1920s. These textbooks on the history of Chinese art were written with the aim of reconstructing Chinese art history as a modern discipline in reaction to the predominance of Western art education. Fu Baoshi's self-conscious efforts to write about the history of art in his youth became a driving force in the subsequent evolution of his writing on Chinese art which contributed to this field in twentieth-century China.

In positioning Fu Baoshi's early life in the context of the early twentieth century porcelain industry in Jiangxi province, we have witnessed how his role in promoting China's porcelain affected his life as an artist. His involvement with the porcelain industry not only introduced him to the field of painted ceramic decoration which inspired his practice of painting but also provided him with an opportunity to study in Japan with the help of Xu Beihong. His overseas study was financially supported by government funds which aimed to revitalise China's porcelain industry. In addition, at a time of political turmoil, his participation in political

activities in Nanchang and his concern for the country in his youth are evidence of his growing patriotism which became a strong mental tool to pursue his artistic vision throughout his life, particularly during the war.

CHAPTER TWO

Exploring Modern Japan: Fu Baoshi's Rediscovery of Chinese Artistic Tradition (1932-1935)

I. Introduction

This chapter explores Fu Baoshi's studies in Japan from 1932 to 1935 with particular attention to its role as a catalyst for him to rethink the nature of Chinese art and its tradition, which provided him with an opportunity to enlarge his artistic horizon. It aims to carry out a detailed investigation of the period of his study in Japan from 5 September 1932 to 24 June 1935. Fu Baoshi first went to Japan under a Chinese government scholarship to carry out research into Japanese arts and crafts with the aim of improving the Jingdezhen ceramic industry. His research culminated in an article entitled "A Report on Aspects of Japanese Arts and Crafts" published in 1935.¹⁸⁷ The chapter begins with an analysis of his article on Japanese art and crafts and another article entitled "The Prospects and Reconstruction of Chinese National Art", also published in 1935, to investigate his observations and critical responses to the modern developments in the Japanese art world which was charged with nationalism both at the domestic and international level.

During Fu Baoshi's second year as a post-graduate student at the Imperial School of Fine Arts in Tokyo (*Teikoku bijutsu gakkō* 帝国美術学校; today Musashino Art University), he concentrated on art historical training as well as preparing for his first solo exhibition in Japan. This chapter therefore also examines the way in which he engaged with art historical research on Chinese art through the lens of Japanese scholarship and how he rediscovered and reinterpreted the Chinese art tradition by analysing his writings and other related Japanese articles. The final part considers his solo exhibitions in Tokyo and examines the paintings which he produced in Japan from 1932 to 1935 as a significant body of his early works. The variety in the style of these paintings shows the process of experimentation in his search to find his own personal style.

¹⁸⁷ Fu Baoshi, "A Report on [Several] Aspects of Japanese Arts and Crafts" (*Riben gongyi meishu zhi jidian baogao* 日本工藝美術之幾點報告). *Comments on Japan (Riben pinglun* 日本評論), vol. 6, no. 4, (1935). Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 78-81. I will leave out 'several' in future references to this article.

II. Encountering Modern Aspects of the Japanese Art World

In September 1933, Fu Baoshi left Nanchang, a provincial city that was unlike the major art centres of Beijing and Shanghai, and set sail via Shanghai for Tokyo, the capital of Japan during the Showa Era (1926-1989).¹⁸⁸ On his arrival in Tokyo, he discovered the urbane and foreign environment of the Japanese metropolis, which was stimulating and overwhelming with its aura of national pride. The landscape of Tokyo had been drastically transformed and modernised since the Meiji Restoration which had begun over sixty years earlier. As one of the victorious nations in the First World War (1914-1918), Japan was enjoying a heightened status as an imperial power. The mid-1930s were also a period of spectacular transformation for Japanese industry and an increasing militarisation seen in the earlier Manchu incident in 1931.¹⁸⁹

Fu Baoshi's stay in Japan can be divided into two periods: the first trip from September 1932 to June 1933 and the second from August 1933 to June 1935. On his first trip, Fu Baoshi wrote the article "A Report on Aspects of Japanese Arts and Crafts" which was intended to revitalise the ceramic industry of Jingdezhen and to raise its reputation internationally.¹⁹⁰ On the second trip, he was the first Chinese post-graduate student to enroll at the Imperial School of Fine Arts in April 1934 with the specific purpose of developing his scholarly knowledge and broadening his creative vision.

1. Fu Baoshi's Article "A Report on Aspects of Japanese Arts and Crafts"

During his first year in Tokyo investigating Japanese arts and crafts, Fu Baoshi saw how the Japanese art world had been transformed through the modernisation process that had taken place since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Since the late nineteenth century, Japanese indigenous arts and in particular crafts had been regarded as distinctive symbols of Japanese national identity, with objects encouraged and promoted as part of the broader promotion of industry and manufacturing.¹⁹¹ During his research, Fu Baoshi observed the Japanese endeavours to promote and improve Japanese arts and crafts domestically and internationally

¹⁸⁸ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake: how the shogun's ancient capital became a great modern city, 1867-1923*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991, pp. 279-80. Nakamura, Takafusa, *A History of Showa Japan, 1926-1989*, translated by Edwin Whemmouth. University of Tokyo Press, 1998, pp. 83-109.

¹⁹⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 78-81.

¹⁹¹ For Japanese art and crafts in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Noriko Aso, 1997.

and recorded his observations in the article “A Report on Aspects of Japanese Arts and Crafts”, which was written in 1932 and published in 1935.¹⁹² In the article, he claimed that although Japanese arts and crafts had in the past copied Chinese models, recently he had seen a drastic improvement in terms of the quality and production sponsored by the Japanese government.¹⁹³ He stated:¹⁹⁴

In the facilitation of arts and crafts, apart from in school education and its inclusion in the fourth section of the Imperial Art Exhibition as well as exhaustedly assisting groups and individuals, the Japanese government has set up members of arts and crafts...in the Imperial Arts and Crafts Selection Committee...The Industrial and Commercial Department often sends specialists on arts and crafts abroad to investigate which shapes, designs and colours of products are liked or disliked by people of various regions. According to this report, with regard to the standards of [Japanese] products, [Japanese] domestic arts and crafts circles, not only constantly conduct research, but continue to obtain reports from foreign countries so as to provide models with which to work. As a result, Japanese products soon circulated all around the world.¹⁹⁵

Fu Baoshi reported that Japan promoted and developed arts and crafts through education, exhibitions, governmental support, and organisations as well as international investigation, trade and expositions. He was impressed by the way in which the Japanese government supported the production of Japanese arts and crafts at both the domestic and international level. In the main part of his investigation, he conducted a survey on the production of ceramics in Japan and wrote that the Japanese had recently invented a machine for printing on the curved surface of porcelain. He stated:¹⁹⁶

In Japan on 4 February this year the completion of an astonishing invention was announced: a machine for printing on the curved surface of porcelain. It is predicted hereafter the method of drawing directly onto the porcelain surface will disappear. Indirectly there will be a fatal impact on the Chinese porcelain market. This machine uses an automatic electricity generator of thirteen horsepower. It only needs two or three workers to run it and is capable of producing one thousand printings on a curved surface in one hour. Writing and flower decoration are freely portrayed, while all kinds of complex patterns are represented with perfect accuracy and [the printing machine] can print in many different colours. The inventor is Mr. Hakogi Ichirō [箱木一郎 (b. 1896)]...¹⁹⁷

Hakogi Ichirō's printing machine was invented with technical and official backing (Fig. 2.1).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 9-10.

¹⁹³ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p.78.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.79.

¹⁹⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.1.

¹⁹⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 80-81.

¹⁹⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.2

¹⁹⁸ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 81.

Fu Baoshi was very surprised by the invention of such a machine for decorating porcelain and worried about the serious loss it would bring to the Chinese market. In his survey, he realised the necessity to promote arts and crafts in China and urged the Chinese government to take prompt action. He stated:¹⁹⁹

Government authorities might also do well to use the Japanese example and to supervise the enforcement of rewards strictly. Those who can achieve excellence in certain types of arts and crafts sufficient so as to improve supply, whether they be experts or craftsmen, must be highly commended for it. Furthermore, dates should be decided upon for holding an exhibition and conference to increase the opportunity to make observations and react upon them. Our country's arts and crafts and fine arts could be rejuvenated!²⁰⁰

Fu Baoshi's report aimed to introduce Japanese art and craft developments to China as a means of revitalising Chinese arts and crafts. He felt disappointed by the fact that Japanese arts and crafts which had been imitating Chinese models and applying Chinese techniques since ancient times had found their own way to meet international artistic standards, whereas Chinese arts and crafts were in decline.²⁰¹ His survey on Japanese arts and crafts revealed his strong sense of social mission and responsibility for his country.

2. Visits to Libraries, Bookstores, Museums and Galleries: Realising the Importance of Preserving National Art

While carrying out his research in Tokyo, Fu Baoshi also spent a great deal of time visiting libraries, bookstores, art schools, galleries and museums. He frequented the Ueno Library in Tokyo which had a rich collection of Japanese and foreign printed books, newspapers, periodicals and art catalogues.²⁰² He frequently browsed second-hand bookstores, both in the Kanda district where many Chinese students lived and the Hongo district where the Tokyo Imperial University was located.²⁰³ These bookstores were often crowded with university students as they were renowned for displaying and selling all kinds of publications including rare books on specialised subjects. Fu Baoshi was particularly interested in buying painting catalogues, stating that "as the printing technology in Japan was much better than China, I spent money buying painting catalogues and by copying [the reproductions of paintings in]

¹⁹⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 81.

²⁰⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.3.

²⁰¹ Fu Baoshi, 1935a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 79.

²⁰² Shen Zuoyao, 2009, p. 118.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

them, I could improve my painting.”²⁰⁴ The libraries and bookstores were an ideal place for him to nurture his intellectual and artistic enthusiasm during his first year in Tokyo when he was preparing the report for the Jiangxi provincial government.

By visiting art schools, galleries and museums, Fu Baoshi learnt about the systemic institutionalisation of art by the Japanese government and its promotion of art exhibitions and art associations. He also discovered that numerous Chinese national art works had been taken out of his home country and preserved in Japan and other foreign countries. In his article “The Prospects and Reconstruction of Chinese National Art” (1935), he made a list of major Chinese art objects from the Han to the Song dynasties as well as from Central Asia that were preserved in museums and private collections in the West and Japan.²⁰⁵ He stated:²⁰⁶

Ancient art [*gu meishu* 古美術] is the supreme treasure of the nation, not only is it a glorious proof of the past, but it is also a foundation for constructing the future. Our future generations should do their utmost to protect it [ancient art] throughout their lives. Unfortunately, most of the important objects of our past are no longer in China! If the painting *Portraits of Former Emperors* by Yan Liben [閻立本 (c. 600-673)] can no longer be protected, then we will only be able to obtain material evidence of paintings from the seventh century onwards. [As for] important works from before the Song dynasty that have gone overseas and have been highlighted here; having just looked at roughly one tenth of the list, what kind of feelings can arise within our hearts?²⁰⁷

In this passage, Fu Baoshi emphasised the significance of the national treasures in terms of both their historical value and their importance in establishing the artistic foundations for the future. He further mentioned:

I am quite clear about what ancient Chinese art works are in Japanese public and private collections and [I] have seen many of them. If you ask me what there is in China, I really don't know at all. Under such circumstances, it is still a trivial matter if researchers are unable to see the works that they should be seeing for their studies. This large quantity of treasures should be revered by later generations and should cause these generations to unconsciously understand the notion of national veneration and respect.²⁰⁸

In order to preserve all the national treasures still available in China, Fu Baoshi suggested that under the supervision of the government, Chinese national museums and galleries should be built to preserve the national art objects for the future. He further suggested that these new

²⁰⁴ Liu Zhenduo, 2009, p. 68.

²⁰⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1935b, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 73-75.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 73.

²⁰⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.4.

²⁰⁸ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.5.

institutions should invite specialists to produce publications illustrating the collections so that they could be made available to scholars for their research.²⁰⁹ He suggested that artworks held in private collections should be registered at local provincial museums and galleries so that an official report could be filed whenever they were moved or sold. He stressed the importance of these measures and emphasised that it was the responsibility of the Chinese people to safeguard Chinese artworks and to carry out research on them.²¹⁰

During Fu Baoshi's first trip to Japan, his exposure to what he regarded as the sophisticated developments of the Japanese art world stimulated his nationalistic thoughts. In June 1933, he returned to China for two months because he was short of funds. In July he was given an additional grant from the Jiangxi Provincial Education Department with the support of the provincial governor Xiong Shihui and he returned to Japan in August.²¹¹ In September 1933, using a letter of introduction from Chen Lifu and Xu Beihong, he found part-time work in Tokyo, earning sixty yuan a month supervising and helping Chinese students to settle in Japan.²¹²

III. The Rediscovery of Chinese Tradition through the Japanese Scholarly Lens

When Fu Baoshi returned to Japan in August 1933, he decided to study under Kinbara Seigo 金原省吾 (1888-1958), then professor at the Imperial School of Fine Arts in Tokyo (Fig. 2.2). It was Kinbara Seigo who suggested establishing the Imperial School as he felt the necessity to have more art schools for students which could compete with the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō* 東京美術学校).²¹³ He set up the school with Natori Takashi 名取堯 (b. 1890) and others in Tokyo in 1929.²¹⁴ Kinbara Seigo was also a leading sinologist and art

²⁰⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1935b, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 76.

²¹⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1935b, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 76.

²¹¹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 11-12. When Fu Baoshi visited Chen Lifu in July, Chen Lifu wrote a letter to Xiong Shihui asking him to help Fu Baoshi with the shortfall in his expenses for overseas study and also offered Fu Baoshi five hundred yuan. Once back in Nanchang, Fu Baoshi met Xiong Shihui who ordered the provincial education department to offer him an additional grant.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ In 1948 the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts became Musashino Art School (*Musashino bijutsu gakkō* 武蔵野美術学校) and in 1962 it became Musashino Art University (*Musashino bijutsu daigaku* 武蔵野美術大学). Tokyo School of Fine Arts (inaugurated in 1887 and officially opened in 1889) is now the Fine Arts Department at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (*Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku bijutsu gakubu* 東京芸術大学美術学部).

²¹⁴ See Musashino Art University ed. *History of Sixty Years of Musashino Art University (Musashino bijutsu daigaku rokujūen shi* 武蔵野美術大学六十年史). Tokyo: Musashino Art University, 1991, pp. 22-24. Kinbara Seigo and Natori were concerned about the art training and education at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts becoming formalised and stereotyped. They therefore aimed to promote freedom in the students' perspective and reception of art in their learning at the Imperial School of Fine Arts.

historian in Japan who had earlier spent some years studying *nanga* 南画 painting with the painter Hirafuku Hyakusui 平福百穂 (1877-1933) who took part in supporting the revival of *bunjinga* 文人画²¹⁵ in Japan in the early twentieth century.²¹⁶ Kinbara Seigo later carried out research into Chinese painting over a period of twenty years and produced a number of publications on the subject, some of which were translated into Chinese, German and French.²¹⁷

Before Fu Baoshi visited Japan, he had already read Kinbara Seigo's book *Oriental Painting (Tōyōga 東洋畫)*²¹⁸ which his friend He Yangling 賀揚靈 (1901-1947)²¹⁹ had brought back from the country. Fu Baoshi was interested in Kinbara Seigo's approach to academic research which employed scientific textual methods to analyse Chinese painting theories, especially the Six Principles (Liufa 六法) of Xie He 謝赫 (ca. 479-535).²²⁰ Fu Baoshi wrote to Kinbara Seigo asking to study with him, and Kinbara gladly accepted him as his student.²²¹ In his diary, Kinbara Seigo wrote (Fig. 2. 3):²²²

Sunday 25 March [1934]

Announcement of Promotion to Next Academic Level

Fu Baoshi (from China, a teacher in charge of the art course at a high school in Jiangxi province) has written three books. He wants to study sculpture and the theory of oriental painting [*Tōyō garon 東洋画論*]. He has a good personality and I give him approval to start his post-graduate studies.²²³

The diary notes show that Fu Baoshi was to follow a post-graduate level course at the school.

²¹⁵ The term *nanga*, which is used often interchangeably with *bunjinga*, is often used to describe the painting tradition inspired by Chinese literati painting that evolved in Japan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See James Cahill, *Scholar Painters of Japan: The Nanga School*, The Asia Society, 1972, pp. 9-11.

²¹⁶ For the revival of *bunjinga* during the Taisho period (1912-1926), see Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 54-63.

²¹⁷ Fu Baoshi, "Introducing the Authority on the Oriental Art Theory, Kinbara Seigo" (*Jieshao dongfang hualun zhi quanweizhe Jinyuan Shengwu 介紹東方畫論之權威者金原省吾*). *Publishers Weekly (Chuban Zhoukan 出版周刊)*, vol. 125, (1935), p. 13.

²¹⁸ Fu Baoshi mentioned that the Japanese term *Tōyōga 東洋画* originally referred to the painting of India, China, Korea and Japan, but in general it only refers to Chinese and Japanese painting. Fu Baoshi trans. *The Principles of Landscape Painting (Xieshan yaofa 寫山要法)*, Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1957. p. 6.

²¹⁹ In early 1930, He Yangling went to Japan and studied as a graduate student in the literature department in Waseda University.

²²⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1935c, p. 13.

²²¹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 16-17.

²²² The notes referring to Fu Baoshi from the diary of Kinbara Seigo from 1934 to 1947 are reprinted in Musashino Art University Library ed. 1994, pp. 26-36.

²²³ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.6.

On the following day, Kinbara Seigo further described Fu Baoshi:²²⁴

Monday 26 March [1934] A Cloudy Day

A student called Fu Baoshi, from a province in China, has arrived. He hopes to learn Western painting from Nakagawa Kigen [中川紀元]²²⁵ and painting theory from me. He is a teacher in China. The term of study here is two years during which time he [Fu Baoshi] would like to take a post-graduate course. He cannot speak Japanese, however, he can read Japanese texts. He came to Japan because he is fond of reading my books.²²⁶

Although Kinbara Seigo's diary entries are often repetitive and unclear, these notes suggest that Fu was originally interested in studying Western painting, sculpture and art theory at the school. In particular, he wanted to study art history with Kinbara Seigo. In his diary, Kinbara Seigo expressed his feelings about having a Chinese student:²²⁷

Friday 30 March [1934] A Clear Day

[Fu Baoshi wrote the following] "In my country [I] have always had great respect and admiration for you"... The fact that my first student is Chinese is such a wonderful stroke of luck. It would be a good thing if I can transmit my ideas on painting in China.²²⁸

Kinbara Seigo was pleased to have Fu Baoshi as his first Chinese post-graduate student and hoped that Fu could assist him in introducing his ideas on Chinese painting to China. Fu Baoshi's academic studies on Chinese art under Kinbara Seigo played a significant role in his rediscovery of the Chinese artistic tradition. He later translated publications on Chinese art by Japanese scholars for a Chinese audience. His translations and academic publications not only delivered a Sino-Japanese discourse on Chinese painting but also shaped the development of Chinese art history in twentieth-century China. In the following section, Fu Baoshi's studies under Kinbara Seigo and other Japanese academics are examined to demonstrate how they guided his academic studies on Chinese painting and enriched his painting. This is carried out by examining: (1) Gu Kaizhi and research on the use of line in painting; (2) studies on the painting of the Tang and Song periods; and (3) interest in Shitao.

1. Gu Kaizhi and Research on the Use of Line in Painting

Fu Baoshi rediscovered the Eastern Jin dynasty painter Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344-ca. 406) and embarked on his study of the painter while he was in Japan. Japanese interest in Gu

²²⁴ Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 26.

²²⁵ Nakagawa Kigen was a painter who went to France and studied Henri Matisse (1869-1954).

²²⁶ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.7.

²²⁷ Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 26.

²²⁸ For the Japanese text, see appendix. 2.8.

Kaizhi, the pioneering master of Chinese figure painting, had arisen in the early twentieth century following the British Museum's acquisition in 1903 of the Admonitions Scroll (Fig. 2.4).²²⁹ The British Museum employed the Japanese printmaker Urushibara Yoshijirō 漆原由次郎 (1888-1953) and others to produce a set of one hundred woodblock printed copies of the painting that went on sale in 1912.²³⁰ In 1923, two *nihonga* painters, Kobayashi Kokei 小林古徑 (1883-1957) and Maeda Seison 前田青邨 (1885-1977), collaborated on a painted replica of the scroll at the British Museum, which has been held in the Tohoku University Library collection in the Japanese city of Sendai since 1924.²³¹ There were numerous discussions on the authenticity and date of the Admonitions Scroll among Japanese art historians in the early twentieth century: in 1914, Taki Seiichi 瀧精一 (1873–1945) published an article on the scroll dating it to the Northern Song period in the journal *Kokka* 國華;²³² between 1922 and 1923, Fukui Rikihirō 福井利吉郎 (1886-1972) researched the scroll and made a detailed record of its condition, considering it to be a Tang dynasty copy;²³³ and in 1927 Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934) considered the scroll as a close copy of the late Six Dynasties period (221-589).²³⁴

During his stay in Japan, Fu Baoshi was aware of the presence of the Admonitions Scroll at the British Museum, which he listed as one of the national treasures in overseas collections in his article “The Prospects and Reconstruction of Chinese National Art” (1935).²³⁵ He also described the use of brushwork in the depiction of figures in the scroll. He wrote:²³⁶

²²⁹ Charles Mason, “The Admonitions Scroll in the Twentieth Century”. In *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, edited by Shane McCausland. The British Museum Press, 2003, p. 288. The Admonitions scroll attributed to Gu Kaizhi entered the British Museum through purchase from Indian army cavalry officer Captain Clarence A. K. Johnson (1870-1937) in 1903. Since then the scroll has been preserved as one of the treasures of the museum.

²³⁰ The circumstances of the Japanese woodblock reproduction of the Admonitions Scroll are outlined in John Clark, *Japanese Exchanges in Art. 1850s to 1930s, with Britain, Continental Europe, and the USA: Papers and Research Materials*. Sydney: Power Publications, 2001, pp. 335-336.

²³¹ Shane McCausland, “Nihonga Meets Gu Kaizhi: A Japanese Copy of a Chinese Painting in the British Museum”. *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 87, no. 4, (December 2005), p. 688.

²³² Taki Seiichi 瀧精一, “The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies by Gu Kaizhi in the British Museum” (*Eikoku Hakubutsukan Ko Gaishi no joshi shin zukan* 英国博物館顧愷之の女史箴図卷), *Kokka* 國華, no. 287 (April, 1914). pp. 259-265. See Shane McCausland, 2003, p. 131.

²³³ For the Japanese involvement with the Admonitions Scroll, see Kohara Hironobu, *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies Scroll*, translated and edited by Shane McCausland. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art Occasional Papers 1, The School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000.

²³⁴ Kohara Hironobu, 2002, p. 2.

²³⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1935b, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 74.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll is kept in the storage at the British Museum. This is an object of the fourth century in which the figures' gestures are graceful and solemn, the lines are strong, and the arrangement is elegant.²³⁷

Fu Baoshi was familiar with the materials on the Admonitions Scroll that were available in Japan as well as Gu Kaizhi,²³⁸ and the Japanese scholarship on the subject. Before studying at university there, Fu Baoshi encountered the Japanese scholarly article entitled "History of Chinese Landscape Painting: From Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao" by Ise Sen'ichirō 伊勢專一郎 (1891-1973).²³⁹ However, he disagreed with some of Ise's points. To point out Ise's misinterpretation of the materials on Chinese landscapes, he wrote his own article, "Problems in the History of Chinese Landscape Paintings from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao", in December 1933.²⁴⁰ In his article, Fu Baoshi questioned the following points: (1) Gu Kaizhi as the founder of landscape painting; (2) the problem of nature; (3) the study of the birth and death of Wang Wei; and (4) the problem of the Northern and Southern Schools.²⁴¹

Kinbara Seigo was acknowledged by Feng Zikai and Fu Baoshi as one of the most prominent Japanese scholars on the study of Gu Kaizhi in the 1920s and 1930s. Feng Zikai had earlier introduced the Japanese scholar's theory [Kinbara Seigo's] on the Six Principles of Chinese painting for a Chinese readership, particularly in relation to Gu Kaizhi in the Chinese journal *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) which was published in China in 1930.²⁴²

²³⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.9.

²³⁸ Fu Baoshi mentioned that while in Japan, he had been familiar with Taki Seiichi's scholarly articles on Gu Kaizhi such as "About Gu Kaizhi's Nymph of the Luo River", "The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies by Gu Kaizhi in the British Museum" (1914) and "Research on Gu Kaizhi's Painting." See Fu Baoshi, "The Study on the History of Chinese Ancient Landscape Painting" (*Zhongguo gudai shanshuihua de yanjiu* 中國古代山水畫史的研究), 1940. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 297.

²³⁹ Ise Sen'ichirō 伊勢專一郎, *History of Chinese Landscape Painting: From Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao* (*Shina sansui gashi: ji Ko Gaishi yori Kei Kō ni itaru*: 支那山水畫史: 自顧愷之至荆浩) Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute, research report (*Tōhōbunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo hōkoku* 東方文化學院京都研究所報告), no. 5. Kyoto: Kyoto Institute, Academy of Oriental Culture, 1933.

²⁴⁰ Fu Baoshi, "Problems in the History of Chinese Landscape Paintings from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao" (*Lun Gu Kaizhi zhi Jing Hao zhi shanshui huashi wenti* 論顧愷之至荆浩之山水畫史問題). *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) (October 1935), pp. 177-183. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 54-61. This issue has been briefly discussed by Kuiyi Shen in his article "The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field: A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi". In *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, edited by Joshua A. Fogel. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California, 2012. p. 236.

²⁴¹ Fu Baoshi's involvement with and criticism of Ise's article is revisited and further discussed in chapter four.

²⁴² See Feng Zikai 豐子愷, "Research on the Theory of the Six Principles of Oriental Painting" (*Dongyanghai liufa de lilun de yanjiu* 東洋畫六法的論理的研究). *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), vol. 27, no. 1, (1930), pp. 67-81 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷, "Thoughts on Chinese Painting" (*Zhongguo de huihua sixiang* 中國的繪畫思想). *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), vol. 27, no. 1 (1930), pp. 83-87.

These articles were compiled by translating and quoting from Kinbara Seigo's book *Research on Chinese Painting Theory* (*Shina garon kenkyū* 支那画論研究) (1924), a study of texts on painting produced during the Six Dynasties (ca. 222-589 CE) which took seven years to complete. The book outlines the art theories of Gu Kaizhi, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443), Wang Wei 王維 (415-443), Xie He 謝赫 (active ca. 500-535), Yao Zui 姚最 (535-602), Sun Changzhi 孫暢之, and Emperor Yuan 元 of the Liang 梁 (508-555).

In Fu Baoshi's article introducing Kinbara Seigo and his academic achievement in writing on Chinese art,²⁴³ he also considered Kinbara's book *Research on Chinese Painting Theory* (1924) as a consummate and systemically researched work.²⁴⁴ He was particularly interested in Kinbara's *Study of Lines in Painting* (*Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyū* 絵画に於ける線の研究) (1927), and in his letter to his professor, he wrote:²⁴⁵

After I return to Japan, I plan to translate your work *Study of Lines*, thus this book will be able to assist Chinese painters. Whether in Shanghai, Nanjing or other places, with regard to your profound knowledge, I have stated everything in detail, as all my Chinese friends have wanted me to study with you for a long time, and this is also my hope. Your student Fu Baoshi, 24 July [1934].²⁴⁶

As an artist, Fu Baoshi may have been attracted to the way in which Kinbara visually analysed the diversity of brush lines in Chinese painting with examples of illustrations (Fig. 2.5). In his book, Kinbara Seigo discussed '[brush]lines' in four chapters: first, "the origin of lines (*sen no hassei* 線の発生)", second, "outlines (*rinkaku sen* 輪廓線)", third, "the line drawing method (*senbyō hō* 線描法)" and fourth, "the painterly qualities of line (*sen no kaigasei* 線の繪畫性)". In the third chapter, Kinbara Seigo classified various types of line applied in the depiction of the garments worn by figures. He placed the characteristic line drawing of Gu Kaizhi into a category called the "lofty archaic gossamer thread" method (*kōko yūshi byō* 高古遊絲描) which follows the changes in the direction of the lines caused by the speed of a brush.²⁴⁷ Fu Baoshi later assisted his Japanese professor with correcting and revising the book *Study of*

²⁴³ Kinbara's publications which Fu Baoshi mentioned are: *Studies on Early Chinese Painting Theory* (*Shina jōdai garon kenkyū* 支那上代畫論研究) (1924), *General Studies on Eastern Painting* (*Tōyō ga gairon* 東洋畫概論) (1924), *Painting of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tōdai no kaiga* 唐代の繪畫) (1931) *Painting of the Song Dynasty* (*Sōdai no kaiga* 宋代の繪畫) (1931) and so on.

²⁴⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1935c, p. 13.

²⁴⁵ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 19.

²⁴⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.10.

²⁴⁷ Kinbara Seigo 金原省吾. *Study of Lines in Painting* (*Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyū* 絵画に於ける線の研究), Tokyo: Kokin Shoin 古今書院, 1927. Reprinted in 1953, p. 203.

Lines. He quoted Kinbara's statements about lines as focal elements in painting in his book:²⁴⁸

The Japanese [scholar] Kinbara Seigo said: The foundation of art lies in neither 'dot' or 'surface', but in 'line'. Oriental painting consists of lines, and it is from the lines that the surface of the picture emerges. Therefore, line is the first and last element of Oriental painting.²⁴⁹

To explore the use of brush line, Fu Baoshi practised figure painting, studying not only Gu Kaizhi's brush work but all varieties of line in Chinese art. He wrote:²⁵⁰

At first I was not able to draw the fine and delicate lines of the human figure. It was ten years ago in Tokyo that I began, for a short period, to practise [this] whilst researching the history of variation in 'line' in Chinese painting. Because in Chinese painting the types of 'line' in the clothing of the human figure are most varied [I have studied] from the linear patterns on ancient bronzes to the outline in Qing flower painting; the 'speed', 'pressure' and 'area' [of line], all of which are different with their unique context and meaning, [so] I study these things and often paint figures.²⁵¹

Inspired by Kinbara Seigo's studies, Fu Baoshi started researching the history of line in Chinese painting, and through his study of Japanese scholarship, he developed his scholarly interest in Gu Kaizhi. He later continued his studies on Gu Kaizhi's theory and painting, thus contributing to the legacy of the Eastern Jin dynasty painter in the history of Chinese painting which is further discussed in the chapter four.

2. Studies on the Painting of the Tang and Song Periods

Kinbara Seigo's scholarship on Chinese painting of the Tang dynasty and the Song period broadened Fu Baoshi's perspective on the subject²⁵² through translating his teacher's publications on Tang and Song painting for a Chinese readership. He translated two books written by Kinbara Seigo: *Painting of the Tang Dynasty (Tōdai no kaiga 唐代の絵画)* (1929) and *Painting of the Song Dynasty (Sōdai no kaiga 宋代の絵画)* (1930),²⁵³ which he

²⁴⁸ Fu Baoshi, *The Theory of Chinese Painting (Zhongguo huihua lilun 中國繪畫理論)*, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935. Reprinted by Jiangsu Jiayu Chubanshe 江蘇教育出版社, 2005, p. 93.

²⁴⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.11.

²⁵⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1942a. Reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 328.

²⁵¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.12.

²⁵² This issue has been briefly discussed in Tamaki Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting" In *Writing Modern Chinese Art: Historiographic Explorations*, edited by Josh Yiu. Seattle Art Museum, 2009, p. 74.

²⁵³ Kinbara Seigo gave his manuscript of *Painting of the Song Dynasty* as a gift to Fu Baoshi. In response, Fu Baoshi told him that the manuscript would be his family treasure. Fu Baoshi trans. *Painting*

incorporated into one volume entitled *Painting of the Tang and Song Dynasties* (*Tang Song zhi huihua* 唐宋之繪畫) in 1935. Fu added illustrations taken from a series of the catalogues entitled *The Collections of World Art* (*Sekai bijutsu zenshū* 世界美術全集)²⁵⁴ to the book which was published in 1935.²⁵⁵ In its preface, he explained why he wanted to translate and introduce this work in China:²⁵⁶

This book by Kinbara Seigo does not arrange and select the examples of paintings from the Tang and Song dynasties but studies the genesis and origin of the representative painters of these dynasties. Its value and importance lies in this. In China there are many who talk about Tang and Song paintings. However, they all begin [their research] from the category of a certain painting school, a certain painter, or a certain group distributed within a dynastic framework. Kinbara Seigo, though, applies the three elements of 'colour' [*se* 色], 'line' [*xian* 線] and 'ink' [*mo* 墨] in discussing their development, explaining their hidden meaning, in analysing works and talking about their influence. As soon as I understood what it was that had been developed by the painting circles and the painters of the Tang and Song, it was not difficult to understand this clearest of systems as being most helpful in exploring the three periods of the Song, Yuan and Ming.²⁵⁷

Fu Baoshi considered Kinbara Seigo's methodology as original and logical in that he visually discussed the works of the Tang and Song periods and their development in terms of the three elements outlined above. Kinbara Seigo's approach of singling out certain formal elements to analyse artistic change and artistic genealogy strongly appealed to Fu. In Fu Baoshi's view, this work provided an alternative methodology for painting history, replacing the traditional engagement with a list of painters and painting schools.

Through his work on the book, Fu Baoshi was inspired by his teacher's discussion on previously neglected works such as ink paintings by Chinese Chan monk-painters like Liang Kai 梁楷 (c.1140-c.1210) and Muqi 牧溪 (fl. 13th century) (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7).²⁵⁸ He also learnt that several of their works were preserved in Japanese collections which were long forgotten and out of favour in China at that time.²⁵⁹ Fu Baoshi later talked about this issue with

of the Tang and Song Dynasties (*Tang Song zhi huihua* 唐宋之繪畫), Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935, pp.1-2.

²⁵⁴ *The Collections of World Art* totalled 36 volumes which were edited by Shimonaka Yasaburō 下中彌三郎 and published by Nihon Heibonsha 日本平凡社 in 1928.

²⁵⁵ See the notes on Saturday 9 June 1934 from Kinbara Seigo's diary, reprinted in Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 28.

²⁵⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1935e, pp. 4-5.

²⁵⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.13.

²⁵⁸ Fu Baoshi, 1935e and Tamaki Maeda, 2009, p. 74. Chinese Chan monk-painters including Liang Kai and Muqi and their works were analysed by Kinbara Seigo in the book *Painting of the Song Dynasty* (*Sōdai no kaiga* 宋代の絵画) (1931). It is certain that Fu Baoshi saw the reproductions of their works in the book although it is unknown whether he saw their actual works in Japan.

²⁵⁹ While Muqi's work was not popular among Chinese patrons, his distinctive painting style was highly

his student and artist Cao Wen 曹汶 (b. 1926). Cao Wen recalled:²⁶⁰

Looking at these sketches by Master Fu [Baoshi], one cannot help being reminded of the works of the Southern Song Dynasty monk painters Yujian [玉潤] and Muqi, as the style of these paintings and those of Fu [Baoshi] (these sketches of mists and clouds ever changing, executed with great facility) have certain similarities with each other. On one occasion Fu [Baoshi] mentioned that these two monk painters had not been taken seriously in Chinese painting history and at times had been denigrated. [Fu Baoshi] would sigh with sorrow, and say that the influence of Yujian and Muqi was great in Japan, where they still preserve these immensely treasured paintings. The work of these two monks has much to offer.²⁶¹

Fu Baoshi lamented the fact that works by Chan monks had been downgraded in China, yet abroad they were highly valued for their artistic expression and well preserved. In the context of Chinese painting history, Chan painting did not fully develop in China primarily due to scholarly criticism, particularly made by the Southern Song art critic Deng Chun 鄧椿 (fl. 1127-1167) and later by the Ming critic Dong Qichang. These scholars had degraded Chan paintings on the basis of the low social standing of monk-artists and considered their dramatic treatment of ink to be unorthodox and far from the stylistic choice of the calligraphic disciplined brushwork they valued.²⁶² In Japan, in contrast, having been imported along with Chinese literati culture by Japanese Zen monasteries since the thirteenth century, Chan paintings have been preserved to the present day due to the bond between the Zen temples and the elite patrons.²⁶³ The paintings by Chan monks Muqi, Liang Kai and Yujian have continued to be highly valued since Zen art increasingly became a means of reaffirming Japanese identity in the Meiji period.²⁶⁴

valued by Japanese monks and patrons during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. His works were collected among the Japanese ruling class and his style was often copied by later Japanese painters. See Yukio Lippit, "Awakenings: The Development of the Zen Figural Pattern," in *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan*, edited by Naomi Noble Richard and Melanie B. D. Klein. Yale University Press, 2007, p. 15 and Yoshiaki Shimizu and Carolyn Wheelwright eds. *Japanese Ink Paintings from American Collections*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 43-47.

²⁶⁰ Cao Wen 曹汶, "Some Matters on Mr. Baoshi" (*Baoshi xiansheng er san shi* 抱石先生二三事). In *Collected Writings in the Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death (Fu Baoshi xiansheng shishi ershi zhounian jinian ji* 傅抱石先生逝世二十周年紀念集), edited by the Preparatory Committee Commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death 紀念傅抱石先生逝世二十周年籌備委員會. The Preparatory Committee Commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death, 1985, p. 43.

²⁶¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.14.

²⁶² For the issue of the Chinese literati's rejection of Chan painting, see Valerie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*, Brill, 1999, pp. 160-165.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* According to Japanese philosophers' explanation, Zen was the foundation of all the Japanese arts, including the art forms imported from China.

Through the Japanese scholarship and interest in Chinese Chan painting, Fu Baoshi not only realised the importance of the works by Chan monks of the Southern Song in terms of Chinese painting history but was also attracted to the use of brushwork and ink in their works. Inspired by his Japanese professor, he tried to analyse Chinese painting history from the perspective of painting substance, method, and technique, emphasising the use of brushwork and ink. The dramatic treatment of ink and experimentation with ink tonality by Chan monks exerted an impact on his landscape paintings after he returned from Japan.²⁶⁵

3. Interest in Shitao

Although Fu Baoshi's personal interest and respect for the individualist Ming loyalist painter Shitao started at an early age, his intellectual approach to Shitao and research on the painter was largely stimulated and developed during his stay in Japan. Shitao's works were available in Japan due to an influx of his paintings from China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As early as 1897, the seal carver Kuwana Tetsujō 桑名鐵城 (1864-1937) purchased paintings in China which included two of Shitao's works, *A Waterfall on Mount Lu* and the album *Returning Home* (ca. 1695) (Fig. 2.8).²⁶⁶ By the 1920s, two leaves from his most popular album *Eight Views of Mt. Huang* were collected by the Japanese painter Ishii Rinkyō 石井林響 (1884-1930),²⁶⁷ while both the album *Landscape* and the handscroll *Plum Blossom* were in the private collection of the painter and scholar Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883-1945).²⁶⁸ The availability of Shitao's works in Japan and the interest in the painter drew the attention of Japanese scholars. Masaru Aoki 青木正児 (1887-1964), who specialised in Yuan and Ming dramas, wrote an essay "Shitao's Painting and Painting Theory" (*Sekitō no ga to garon to* 石濤の画と画論と) in the journal *Study on China (Shina gaku* 支那学) in 1927.²⁶⁹ The painter and scholar Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883-1945) published a

²⁶⁵ For the impact of Chan painting on the stylistic transformation in Fu Baoshi's landscape painting, see Tamaki Maeda and Aida Yuen Wong, "Kindred Spirits: Fu Baoshi and the Japanese Art World," in Anita Chung, 2011, p. 38.

²⁶⁶ Shitao's album *Returning Home* is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

²⁶⁷ The albums *Eight Views of Mt. Huang* and *Landscape of Mount Huang* (1699) are now both in the Sumitomo collection. Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 31-33. Sen-okuhakuko Kan 泉屋博古館編 ed. *Chinese Painting in Sen-okuhakuko (Senoku hakuko Chūgoku kaiga* 泉屋博古中国絵画), Sen-okuhakuko Kan 泉屋博古館, 1996.

²⁶⁸ Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪. *Shitao (Sekitō* 石濤). Tokyo: Chūō Bijtsushi 中央美術史, 1926, p. 1.

²⁶⁹ Masaru Aoki 青木正児, "Shitao's Painting and Painting Theory" (*Sekitō no ga to garon to* 石濤の画と画論と). *Study on China (Shina gaku* 支那学), 1927.

book entitled *Sekitō* 石濤 in 1926 which was the first monograph on the painter.²⁷⁰ In this publication, Hashimoto discussed topics that included ‘Mount Huang and Shitao’, a comparison between ‘the Four Wangs, Wu Li 吳歷 (ca. 1632-1718), Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690)²⁷¹ and ‘Shitao’, ‘Shitao’s painting theory’, and ‘Shitao’s poetry and his painting.’

While in Japan, Fu Baoshi was aware of the Japanese interest in Shitao. At the end of 1934, inspired by Japanese scholarship on the painter, he wrote to Kinbara Seigo and told him that he planned to produce a critical biography on Shitao:²⁷²

I now want to write a critique using the notes I made from my research into Shitao during this period of rest...Hashimoto Kansetsu [who wrote a book *Sekitō*] once said: I considered writing a critical biography of Shitao but I was unable to. I [Fu Baoshi] recently made an effort to do this. I don’t know whether there is hope for this or not.²⁷³

Inspired by Hashimoto Kansetsu’s monograph, Fu Baoshi published his first scholarly article on Shitao in March 1935 entitled “A Chronology of the Bitter Gourd Monk” (*Kuka oshō nenpu* 苦瓜和尚年譜) which he wrote in Japanese for the art journal *Land of Beauty* (*Bi no kuni* 美の国).²⁷⁴ In the article, he wrote:²⁷⁵

According to records, the Bitter Gourd Monk Shitao “in later years spent much of his time in the Guangling [Yangzhou]” and because of this, I have viewed many of his works. However, I consider that these works cannot all be authentic. Thus this shows that it is extremely difficult to seek materials related to Shitao. Recently, I have been fortunate enough to have the pleasure of reading the book *Shitao* by Master Hashimoto Kansetsu. In the preface, he [Hashimoto Kansetsu] writes: I have always harboured in my mind a deep interest in Shitao, yet, I have just set out to compile this book. I feel very frustrated because there is such a lack of material.²⁷⁶

Fu Baoshi mentioned that he had a chance to view Shitao’s works since Guangling, the district of Yangzhou where Shitao had extensively produced his paintings in his later years, was near

²⁷⁰ Hashimoto Kansetsu, 1926.

²⁷¹ The Four Wangs refers to the four painters who all had the surname Wang: Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680), Wang Jian 王鑒 (1598-1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717) and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715). With Wu Li and Yun Shouping, they were collectively known as the Six Masters of the Early Qing period.

²⁷² From the letter from Fu Baoshi to Kinbara Seigo on 29 December 1934 in Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 22.

²⁷³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.15.

²⁷⁴ Fu Hōseki [Fu Baoshi] 傅抱石, “A Chronology of the Bitter-Melon Monk” (*Kuka oshō nenpu* 苦瓜和尚年譜). *Land of Beauty* (*Bi no kuni* 美の国), vol. 11, no. 3 (1935), pp. 38-43. This article was later translated by Fu Yiyao, Fu Baoshi’s daughter into Chinese, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 63-64.

²⁷⁵ Fu Hōseki [Fu Baoshi], 1935, p. 38.

²⁷⁶ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.16.

to Nanchang where Fu Baoshi lived. However, he addressed an authenticity issue in Shitao's works and keenly felt Hashimoto's Kansetsu's frustration with the lack of references on the painter. He emphasised the difficulties of collecting materials by citing a further statement by Hashimoto Kansetsu that "there had been very little trace of the life of Shitao as he escaped from the troubled times and became a hermit throughout his life."²⁷⁷

Due to the lack of materials, Fu Baoshi claimed that he could only rely on the texts such as Shitao's *Records on Painting* with a short written account, and make a brief list of the records.²⁷⁸ He ended his article with a table outlining a short and concise chronology of Shitao's life (Fig. 2.9). Although Fu Baoshi expressed his regret at the shortage of references for the article, his first written texts on Shitao published for the Japanese journal marked the beginning of his enthusiastic and lifelong research on the painter.

IV. The First Solo Exhibition in Tokyo (May 1935): Searching For Fu Baoshi's Own Path

This section investigates Fu Baoshi's debut as an artist in his first solo exhibition in Tokyo in 1935 and makes a visual analysis of the paintings he produced during his stay in Japan. Fu Baoshi's solo exhibition was held at the Matsuzakaya Department Store in Ginza, Tokyo, from 10 to 14 May 1935 and was organised with the help of Kinbara Seigo and the writer and politician Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) (Fig. 2.10). The exhibition included about one hundred and seventy-five works including seals, paintings, and calligraphy, most of which Fu Baoshi produced while he was in Tokyo.²⁷⁹ Many of his works were sold and distributed through the exhibition, and about twenty-six paintings are now housed in the library and museum collections of Musashino Art University since Kinbara Seigo bequeathed them to the university on his death.

The paintings Fu Baoshi produced in Japan between 1932 and 1935, most of which were on display at his Tokyo exhibition, show great variety in style and subject. Given that these paintings represent the early body of his work, he is likely to have practised with different styles. This is evident in the notes from Kinbara Seigo's diary which record both the exhibition preparation process and its aim:²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Fu Hōseki [Fu Baoshi], 1935, p. 38.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁷⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 322.

²⁸⁰ Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 28.

A fine day, Tuesday 19 June 1934.

If this exhibition can be held in Japan, he [Fu Baoshi] will be able to get some support in the future. I am going to make it so that it can be [published] in an art magazine. The objectives [of the exhibition] are first to request a critical appraisal and second to decide on a pathway for the style [of work]. I really hope to do this in the autumn. If Matsuzakaya [department store] is not available, Shiseido could be considered a good option.²⁸¹

Kinbara thought that holding a solo exhibition in Japan would offer Fu Baoshi a solid platform to develop his future career as an artist.²⁸² The purpose of the exhibition was to provide Fu Baoshi a chance to find his own path and establish his personal style through an evaluation of his art works. In fact Japan, and particularly Tokyo, was a cultural and commercial hub which in the 1930s attracted renowned figures as well as wealthy collectors in search of Chinese art, both antique and modern.²⁸³ For a Chinese artist to be represented in the exhibitions in Tokyo was a certainly a testimony to Fu Baoshi's status and market value since at that time an artist's commercial success increasingly relied on social networking and depended on these exhibitions and sales to build a professional reputation.²⁸⁴ With this in mind, Kinbara Seigo supported Fu Baoshi in organising the exhibition at well-known department stores such as Matsuzakaya and Shiseido, since department stores served as a primary venue for art exhibitions in Japan at the time by offering exhibition space to artists.²⁸⁵ The exhibition was not only to support Fu Baoshi financially but also to introduce his works to the Japanese art world. The exhibition turned out to be a success, which is described by Kinbara Seigo in his diary on 10 May 1935:²⁸⁶

I saw Fu Baoshi's solo exhibition at the Matsuzakaya department store in Ginza. The fact that Mr. [Yokoyama] Taikan [横山大観 (1868-1958)], Satō Haruo [佐藤春夫], and Mr. Kamikita [神北] bought his works is appreciated. Today the objects were sold in one day for a total of 300 yen, and Fu Baoshi was pleased. The two of us took a picture. It was good that the exhibition, which I had wanted for a long time, took place.²⁸⁷

²⁸¹ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.17.

²⁸² Fu Baoshi's Tokyo exhibition was also advertised in the Chinese journal *New China* (*Xin Zhonghua* 新中華), 1935, vol. 3, issue no. 11, p. 15.

²⁸³ For a discussion on the marketing mechanism of Chinese art in Japan, see Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 92-99.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95

²⁸⁵ For the role played by department stores as cultural venues for art exhibitions in modern Japan, see Younjung Ho, *Art into Everyday Life: Department Stores as Purveyors of Culture in Modern Japan*, PhD thesis, University of Southern California, 2012.

²⁸⁶ Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 34.

²⁸⁷ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.18.

The exhibition attracted well-known individuals such as the *nihonga* painter Yokoyama Taikan, the novelist and critic Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫, the calligrapher Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866-1943), and the seal engraver Kawai Senro 河井荃廬 (1871-1945).²⁸⁸ To explore Fu Baoshi's works which attracted these Japanese figures, the following section will analyse the paintings he produced in Japan in terms of showing his practice with Chinese stylistic reference and his experimentation with Japanese visual elements.

1. Practice with Chinese Stylistic References

Masaki Naohiko 正木直彦 (1862-1940), former director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, described his impression of Fu Baoshi's exhibition in his diary on 13 May 1935:²⁸⁹

At eleven o'clock in the morning, I went to see Fu Baoshi's solo exhibition of calligraphy, painting and seal carving at Matsuzakaya [department store]. All his calligraphies in ancient seal scripts were brilliant. The paintings rendered in the style of Yuan masters Baidoujin 梅道人 [Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354)] and Ōkaku Sanshō 黃鶴山樵 [Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1388)] were good and the Shanghai-school style painting entitled *Sokō* [疎(疏)獷]²⁹⁰ was also displayed.²⁹¹

The passage reveals that Fu Baoshi's works at the exhibition showed diverse styles modelled after the Chinese painters from the past as well as the recent schools of painting. For example, the work in the style of Wang Meng mentioned by Masaki is most likely to refer to the painting *Autumn Valleys and Singing Springs* (*Qiuhe mingquan* 秋壑鳴泉) which Fu Baoshi produced in Japan in 1933 (Fig. 2.11). This painting shows he is following the tradition of the late Yuan masters. This monumental and compact landscape depicting towering mountains, steep valleys, plunging waterfalls and flowing springs follows the composition and brushwork of Wang Meng. The inscription states:

Autumn Valleys and Singing Springs. [I] imitate the painting by the Firewood Gatherer of the Yellow Crane Mountain [Wang Meng ca. 1308-1385], the ninth lunar month in autumn of the *guiyou* year [1933]. Fu Baoshi.²⁹²

If compared with Wang Meng's *Autumn Valleys and Singing Springs*, Fu Baoshi's painting

²⁸⁸ Lu Heng, 2004, p. 41.

²⁸⁹ Masaki Chifuyu 正木千冬, *Masaki Naohiko's Diary (Jūsanshōdō Nikki* 十三松堂日記), vol. 3. Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 1966, p.1230.

²⁹⁰ 'Sokō [疎(疏)獷]' refers to an individual who is rough, strong and heroic, which was used in the *Book of the Later Han (Hou Han Shu* 後漢書).

²⁹¹ For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.19.

²⁹² For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.20.

appears to be copying the Yuan master's densely textured brushwork in an almost identical composition (Figs. 2.11 and 2.12). Whether Fu Baoshi had a chance to view the painting by Wang Meng then preserved in the collection of the Chinese private collector Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 (1872-1942) or not is unknown.²⁹³ However, it is likely that he would have known that the Wang Meng painting was on display in the fifth Sino-Japanese joint exhibition entitled 'Exhibition of Masterpieces from the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties' (*Tō Sō Gen Min meigaten* 唐宋元明名画展), held in November 1928 at the Imperial Household Museum (now Tokyo National Museum) in Tokyo.²⁹⁴ Many of the paintings at the exhibition, including the Wang Meng painting, were from private collections in China²⁹⁵ and Japanese collections. The exhibition was considered one of the first major exhibitions of Chinese art that was held abroad on a spectacular scale.²⁹⁶

If viewers had seen the painting by Wang Meng at this celebrated exhibition in 1928, they would have been clearly reminded of it by looking at Fu Baoshi's painting which was displayed at his solo exhibition in 1935 (Figs. 2.11 and 2.12). The fact that Wang Meng's painting was chosen to be displayed in such a large-scale international exhibition in Tokyo may have given Fu Baoshi a strong sense of the painting's value and importance. He copied the painting and studied the Yuan master Wang Meng in his search for insights and techniques essential in developing personal expression. Through his position in the Japanese art world and with the increasing availability of Chinese painting in public exhibitions and print media, Fu Baoshi was aware of the Japanese appreciation of his country's art and knew that he could draw reference from a vast array of Chinese works, including those previously inaccessible elite collections.

The painting style of Shanghai School master Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) is also evident in Fu Baoshi's choice of subject and style in the paintings at his solo exhibition. His inscription on the painting *Loquat (Pipa tu 枇杷圖)* reads (Fig. 2.13):

²⁹³ Di Baoxian also had one of the most famous paintings by Wang Meng, *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (*Qingbian yinju* 青卞隱居) dated 1366. Di Baoxian, an artist, collector and connoisseur, was a well-known member of the art circle and regarded as a specialist on the paintings of Wang Meng in the early twentieth century. See Clarissa von Spee, *Wu Hufan: A Twentieth Century Art Connoisseur in Shanghai*, Berlin: Reimer, 2008, p. 179.

²⁹⁴ *A Collection of Famous Chinese Paintings from the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties* (*Tang Song Yuan Ming hua daguan* 唐宋元明畫大觀), Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe Youxian Gongsì 成文出版社有限公司, 1976. The series of Sino-Japanese exhibitions were held from 1921 to 1931, with participation by artists and collectors from both countries.

²⁹⁵ The paintings from the private collection in China displayed at the exhibition in Tokyo in 1928 had never before been shown outside China. Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, p. 117.

²⁹⁶ Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, p. 117.

[Fu] Baoshi writes [this] at Edo [old name of Tokyo], Japan. In the third lunar month, the middle of spring, the *yihai* year [1935].²⁹⁷

The painting, which was produced in Tokyo in 1935, evokes Wu Changshuo's bold application of vibrant palette and boldly assertive brushstrokes derived from the study of archaic script styles and seal carvings (Figs. 2.13 and 2.14). Wu Changshuo adopted the archaistic taste inspired by early carved stone scripts and epigraphy in his painting. In his article "Observations on the History of Chinese Painting since the Republic" (1937) (*Minguo yilai guohua zhi shi de guan cha* 民國以來國畫之史的觀察), Fu Baoshi described the 'influence (*yingxiang* 影響) of Wu Changshuo':²⁹⁸

When talking about trends in Chinese painting, for the greatest influence [*yingxiang* 影響], [we] must put forward Wu Changshuo. With his paintings, such as those of flowers and fruits, mountains and water and even his calligraphy, it is not known exactly how many painters have been influenced by him. His own art, of course, is the outcome of his great efforts in writing the calligraphic inscriptions on the drum stones over several decades. Thus, each of his brushstrokes has their origins and in no way do they focus on resorting to trickery in order to embellish the form of a Chinese character.²⁹⁹

In the passage, Fu Baoshi stresses that Wu Changshuo exerted the greatest influence on other painters in the development of Chinese painting. Since Fu Baoshi had been familiar with archaic seal scripts since he was a child through his frequent visits to the seal carving shop, he must have been strongly attracted to the epigraphic style of the Shanghai master. In addition, he was aware of Wu Changshuo's fame and reputation in the Japanese art world in the early twentieth century.³⁰⁰ In particular, the seal carver Kawai Senro, who visited Fu Baoshi's solo exhibition, was a Japanese disciple of Wu Changshuo and had vigorously promoted Wu's style in Japan, forming a distinctive school of calligraphy and seal carving that has remained influential to this day.³⁰¹

Two other paintings that Fu Baoshi displayed at his solo exhibition, *Bird (Jitu 雞圖)* (1934) and *Cage and Bird (Longji tu 籠雞圖)* (Figs. 2.15 and 2.16), reflect the simplicity and economical brushstrokes of another senior contemporary Chinese painter Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957).

²⁹⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.21.

²⁹⁸ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 140.

²⁹⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.22.

³⁰⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 140.

³⁰¹ Kuiyi Shen, *Wu Changshuo and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. PhD thesis, The Ohio State University, 2000, pp. 114-115.

Small animals and birds from everyday life, which appeared vivid and sometimes vulnerable, were often used by Qi Baishi as subjects for his painting (Fig. 2.17). The former painting depicts a cockerel looking for food by a fence while the latter shows a large empty cage and a hen with three chickens. Fu Baoshi once expressed his views on Qi Baishi, stating:³⁰²

His [Qi Baishi's] paintings in recent years have been held in high regard by some in the north but no less respected are the paintings of Wu Changshuo of around the tenth year of the Republic [1921]....Qi Baishi is even more different, and some of his compositional arrangements are completely fascinating to the viewer. Nonetheless, the time when Wu Changshuo and Qi Baishi lived is just [the period] when China was facing great chaos and turmoil, the cultural direction had already been shaken and had gradually begun to transform. That the instability in people's minds produced this kind of style is naturally an inevitable consequence.³⁰³

This passage shows Fu Baoshi's conscious observations on the style of Qi Baishi's works in the context of historical structure. Understanding Qi Baishi's painting style as an outcome of the drastic changes and the reflection of the instability in people's minds in early twentieth century China, he counted on the unique characteristics of Qi Baishi's compositional arrangements. Inspired by Qi Baishi, he chose everyday subjects in a simple but bold composition in his paintings.

Apart from the style of painting, the inscriptions of the painting *Cage and Bird* testify to Fu Baoshi's significant acquaintance with Guo Moruo which lasted throughout his lifetime. On the top left of the painting, there are two inscriptions written by Fu Baoshi and Guo Moruo which read (Fig. 2.16):

Grain is sufficient to satisfy your hunger and the cage offers you abode, how are you going to repay [this]? [Even with your] skin and [your] flesh. [Fu] Baoshi depicts this feeling very cold.³⁰⁴

In the cage there is heaven and earth, between heaven and earth is a bird cage.
My life consists of eating and drinking, whether I am at peace is up to me.
How can 'flying high' satisfy my desire? Artful words only raise conflict.
Silently and ever silently, my mind and the Way of the Dao are interconnected.
[Fu] Baoshi depicts this painting to search for this topic and [I] endows
[this inscription] in response, [Guo] Moruo.³⁰⁵

In January 1933, through the introduction of Zhu Jiefu 朱洁夫 (1914-1993), Fu Baoshi met

³⁰² Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 140.

³⁰³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.23.

³⁰⁴ Inscription written by Fu Baoshi, for the Chinese text, see appendix 2.24.

³⁰⁵ Inscription written by Guo Moruo, for the Chinese text, see appendix 2.25.

Guo Moruo in Tokyo and they talked about their interests in history, poetry, art and archaeology as well as their personal feelings regarding their time in Japan.³⁰⁶ In his inscription on the painting, Fu Baoshi conveyed his struggle against hunger and cold due to his lack of funds. He described his difficult situation in July of 1933.³⁰⁷

During the last two years, hunger and cold have been so distressing, my mental state so low. Although I have carved many seals, these are seldom finely made.³⁰⁸

During Fu Baoshi's stay in Japan, despite the support given by family members and other people, he was often short of money and tried to sell his seals to supplement his funds. In response to his inscription, Guo Moruo expressed his feelings of hardship and the unease of his life in exile in Japan by making an analogy to a bird cage. Guo Moruo had fled to Japan in 1929 after the failure of the Communist Nanchang uprising in 1927 and since then his daily life had been monitored by the Japanese police.³⁰⁹ He was particularly fond of this painting by Fu Baoshi.³¹⁰ The two continued to share their feelings on art over the next thirty years.

2. Experimentation with Japanese Visual Elements

Among the diverse styles from the Chinese tradition which Fu Baoshi drew upon in the paintings he produced for the exhibition, it is apparent that he also made use of new visual elements that he had absorbed while living in Japan. These visual elements, drawn from contemporary Japanese painting, were important for the stylistic transformation of his work, but their significance became much more evident after his return to China. The Japanese scholar and painter Shiode Hideo 塩出英雄 (1912-2001), who shared a room with Fu Baoshi at the university in Tokyo, mentioned the Japanese teachers with whom Fu studied at the university. Shiode states:³¹¹

³⁰⁶ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 10.

³⁰⁷ Fu Baoshi, "Preface to the *Album of Seal Carvings by Fu Baoshi*" (*Fu Baoshi suozao yingaoxu* 傅抱石所造印稿序), 1933, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 53. Fu Baoshi supported himself by earning money through selling seals in Japan. For further details, see Liu Zhenduo, pp.151-152.

³⁰⁸ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.26.

³⁰⁹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 10.

³¹⁰ Wang Benxing 王本興, *The Art World of Fu Baoshi's Seals (Fu Baoshi zhuanke yishu shijie* 傅抱石篆刻藝術世界), Beijing Gongyi Meishu Chubanshe 北京工藝美術出版社, 2004, p. 8.

³¹¹ Shiode Hideo 塩出英雄, "Reminiscences of Mr. Fu Baoshi" (*Fu Hōseki sensei wo tsumoku suru* 傅抱石先生を追憶する) in *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hōseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakunhinten kinen* 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念), edited by Musashino Art University Library. Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, 1994, p. 20.

[Fu Baoshi] learnt Japanese painting from the masters Yamaguchi Hōshun [山口蓬春 (1893-1971)], Kawasaki Kōta [川崎小虎 (1886-1967)] and Kobayashi Sōkyō [小林巢居 (1897-1978)]. Also [Fu Baoshi] studied sculpture with the master Seisui Takashi [清水多嘉示 (1897-1981)]. Kinbara Seigo taught [Fu Baoshi] the theory of Oriental painting, the history of Oriental art and Oriental aesthetics.³¹²

This passage reveals that apart from Fu Baoshi's art history studies with Kinbara Seigo, he took Japanese painting classes with the *nihonga* painters at the university. Although it is unclear exactly which areas of Japanese painting he studied, it is likely that he may have learnt a range of styles from pre-modern to contemporary periods. Fu Baoshi would also have been influenced by exhibitions he visited, as well as printed materials introducing Japanese and Western art available in Japan at that time.

Some of Fu Baoshi's paintings have some visual characteristics of *nanga* painting.³¹³ For example, *Living in Seclusion in a Bamboo Grove* (*Zhulin youju tu* 竹林幽居圖) depicts a mountain with a grove of tall bamboos and a small house surrounded by fences in the foreground (Fig. 2.18). Although it seems difficult to make clear stylistic references to *nanga*, some features that distinguish it from Chinese painting are evident in Fu Baoshi's painting.³¹⁴ For example, there are similar visual elements between Fu Baoshi's painting and *Landscape* by the renowned *nanga* painter, Ikeno Taiga 池大雅 (1723-1776) (Figs. 2.18 and 2.19). First, both of them are rendered in a rather unusually tall and narrow format. Second, the painting surface in both appears to be flattened with no real sense of recession. Lastly, they both show less emphasis on the calligraphic disciplined brushwork which is visually apparent in Fu Baoshi's work in the style of Wang Meng featuring classical Chinese literati painting (Fig. 2.11).

Another example of Fu Baoshi's paintings, *Bird Singing on the Branches* (*Zhishang mingniao tu* 枝上鳴鳥圖), dated 1934, demonstrates his experimentation with the painting technique of Rimpa 琳派, one of the major schools of Japanese painting (Fig. 2.20). The visual representation here is almost entirely filled with the branches and twigs of a tree bearing dense foliage, in the middle of which a bird perches on a twig and appears to be chirping with its beak open. This painting appears to apply different painting techniques to those normally used

³¹² For the Japanese text, see appendix 2.27.

³¹³ *Nanga* has a diversity of subject matter and style, partly because *nanga* painters took models including professional paintings as well as literati paintings. Since artists learned by copying Chinese paintings and illustrations in woodblock printed manuals, *nanga* is stylistically different from Chinese literati painting. See James Cahill, 1972. p. 12.

³¹⁴ James Cahill, 1972, p. 17. The features of *Nanga* pointed out by James Cahill are applied here to compare Fu Baoshi's painting with that of Ikeno Taiga.

in Chinese painting, particularly in the depiction of the foliage (Figs. 2.20 and 2.21). Some parts of the leaves and the tree branches are formed by diluted ink outlines filled with ink washes but the overall depiction of the leaves appears to be rendered in several pools of the diluted and blurred ink washes with some traces of yellowish and greenish colours (Fig. 2.20). This rendering does not appear to be traditionally Chinese but rather Fu Baoshi's experimentation with the painting techniques he encountered in Japan. A visual connection can be drawn between the painting by Fu Baoshi and that of Japanese painter Sano Kōsui 佐野光穂 (1896-1960) showing a black cat sitting among melon leaves (Figs. 2.20 and 2.22). Fu Baoshi uses a technique similar to the one Sano uses depicting the surface patterns of the melons and leaves in his painting. The technique called *tarashikomi* 垂らし込み is a procedure in which ink and mineral pigments are applied wet onto a still wet surface of ink (Fig. 2.22). This technique was popularised by Japanese painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (fl. early 17th century), the co-founder of the Rimpa School of Japanese painting (Fig. 2.23). Although the effect of the technique used in the two paintings is not exactly the same, it is likely that Fu Baoshi was trying to create the new visual effect inspired by the Rimpa School painting technique which was also used in *nihonga* painting of the early twentieth century. Fu Baoshi's roommate Shiode mentions that Fu Baoshi was interested in the Rimpa School and this may support this possible stylistic connection.³¹⁵

Another painting *A Pair of Geese* (*Shuang e tu* 雙鵝圖), dated 1934, appears to have Japanese visual elements although the employment of distinctive idioms in painting is based on a Chinese cultural, historical and literary context. The painting represents the famous anecdote from the life of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361), one of the most famous Chinese calligraphers (Fig. 2.24). The story of Wang Xizhi had often been depicted in narrative illustration, such as in the painting by the Yuan painter Qian Xuan (ca. 1235-1303) (Fig. 2.25).³¹⁶ However, Fu Baoshi chose to depict two geese in the lush river foliage in a rather more symbolic presentation, while the inscription on the left clearly refers to Wang Xizhi (Fig. 2.24) as Fu Baoshi writes:

[I] hate that nowadays there is no Wang Xizhi [303-361]! On the thirteenth day of the eleventh lunar month [the second month of winter]. [Fu] Baoshi casually depicts [this].³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Shiode Hideo, 1994, p. 20.

³¹⁶ The story of Wang Xizhi was often represented in paintings by illustrating the calligrapher in a pavilion, observing geese whose movement inspired his calligraphy.

³¹⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 2.28.

This visual inspiration is likely to have come from Xu Beihong's painting depicting geese (Fig. 2.26).³¹⁸ Nonetheless, the handling of the subject in Fu Baoshi's painting seems fairly loose in terms of the use of brush and colour. The level of perspective, the flattening of the painting surface and the tendency towards compact forms, often with spatial ambiguity in a long handscroll format, all reflect the characteristics of Japanese painting.³¹⁹ On the other hand, the result in a watery effect, in which light and heavy touches of the green colour washes intermingling with the ink strokes on the background, appear to show Fu Baoshi's experimentation of watercolour painting technique which he may have learnt in Japan.

V. Conclusion

By investigating Fu Baoshi's explorations of the modern Japanese art world, his art history studies at the academy and his painting practice for his solo exhibition in Japan, it is clear that his Japanese experiences played a pivotal role in stimulating his artistic mission for his country and also strengthened his confidence as an artist and a scholar. During Fu Baoshi's first year in Tokyo, his observation of the promotion of arts and crafts and the protection of the country's artistic heritage motivated him to urge the Chinese government to learn from Japan. Through Fu Baoshi's academic training at the university, he developed his knowledge on Chinese painting through the Japanese scholarship, particularly on Gu Kaizhi, Tang and Song painting, and Shitao, thus broadening his perspective on Chinese painting traditions. His solo exhibition in Tokyo provided him with a chance to practise various styles to find his own painting style as well as to further develop his growing sense of identity as a painter. Fu Baoshi's visual and intellectual experiences in Japan became an inspirational impetus in offering him the resources to develop his artistic vision in painting and academic research after he returned to China in 1935.

³¹⁸ With his given name Beihong 悲鴻 literally meaning 'sad wild goose', Xu Beihong had a close connection with the subject itself and often depicted it in his paintings. As already mentioned in chapter one, when he visited Nanchang in 1932, Fu Baoshi was given a painting of geese by the painter which may have been a reference for this painting.

³¹⁹ For the discussion on Japanese characteristics in painting, see Sadako Ohki, "What Makes Japanese Painting Japanese". *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Japanese Art at Yale (2007), pp. 64-81.

CHAPTER THREE

Confronting National Crisis in China: Fu Baoshi's Artistic and Social Exchange

I. Introduction

This chapter explores Fu Baoshi's rising position and reputation in the art world of Chongqing during the war after his return from Japan. The Chongqing years from 1939 to 1946 saw one of the most creative and productive periods in the development of his art and art historical research. By examining the little understood art world of Chongqing, this chapter investigates the way in which Fu Baoshi became actively involved with the artistic community in the wartime capital. Faced with the possibility of the wartime breakup of the Chinese nation, an intense sense of national responsibility and patriotism was aroused among the artists who gathered in Chongqing. During the war, they used various artistic media to produce propaganda to save the nation and also promoted art exhibitions to boost the patriotic spirit of the Chinese people. In addition, the group of Chongqing artists, which included Fu Baoshi as an active participant, carried out research into traditional national art and culture-building activities. This chapter first discusses the way in which Fu Baoshi adapted his life in China to the crisis of the war from 1935 to 1938 before moving to Chongqing in 1939. It then examines the artistic community of that city and the important role played by Jingangpo where Fu Baoshi and his family stayed in setting the scene for his interactions with academic circles and foreign intellectuals.

II. Return to Life in China (1935-1938)

In June 1935 Fu Baoshi returned to China because of his mother's illness. He was subsequently invited to teach Chinese art history and painting theory as well as calligraphy and seal carving at the Nanjing Central University (Nanjing Zhongyang Daxue 南京中央大學).³²⁰ During this period, he began incorporating what he had learnt in Japan into his academic writing and into his painting. He published an article entitled "Chinese National Character and the Trend of Art — Mr. Kinbara Seigo's Oriental Art Theory" (*Zhongguo guominxing yu yishusichao — jinyuanshenwu shi zhi dongyangmeishulun* 中國國民性與藝術思潮 — 金原省吾氏之東洋美術論) in the journal *Cultural Construction* (*Wenhua jianshe* 文化建設) (1935).³²¹ He also translated and edited a Japanese textbook on design and

³²⁰ Shan Gu 山谷, *Fu Baoshi: Artistic Life—Becoming a Master* (*Fu Baoshi yishurensheng—zhoujindashi* 傅抱石: 藝術人生—走近大師), Xiling Yinshe Chubanshe 西泠印社出版社, 2007, p. 61.

³²¹ This article was a translation of the first chapter of *Eastern [Oriental] Art* (*Tōyō bijutsu ron* 東洋美術

published *The Study of Basic Design* (*Jiben tu'an xue* 基本圖案學) (1936),³²² as well as a translated article “Horyu temple in Japan” (Riben Falongsi 日本法隆寺) in the journal *Literature and Art Monthly* (*Wenyi yuekan* 文藝月刊) (1936). Fu Baoshi kept in touch with Kinbara Seigo by correspondence, informing him about his recent publications and sending him copies of some of them by post.³²³

Fu Baoshi also produced paintings which showed the influence of Japanese painters. For example, he states in the inscription of his painting entitled *Kansetsu's Idea* (*Kansetsu yi* 關雪意) (1936) (Fig. 3.1):

[Fu] Baoshi paints the idea of [Hashimoto] Kansetsu [橋本關雪 (1883-1945)] in the sixth lunar month in the *bingzi* year [1936]³²⁴

In this painting, Fu Baoshi was inspired by Hashimoto Kansetsu's work *The Former and Latter Red Cliff* (*Zengo sekihekizu maki* 前後赤壁圖卷) painted the previous year (Fig. 3.2). The Japanese painting portrays the lyrics of the “Former Red Cliff Rhapsody” and “Latter Red Cliff Rhapsody” by the Chinese poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), a subject which had often been depicted by Chinese painters in the past. Thus Fu Baoshi paid homage to Hashimoto Kansetsu's portrayal of Chinese traditional subjects in his painting.

In this painting, the rendering of shimmering light reflected on the river waves demonstrates Fu Baoshi's adoption of Western visual elements from the Japanese paintings which he encountered in Japan. He painted the subject in a vertical format rather than a horizontal one as in Hashimoto's painting and avoided the conventional setting by omitting the red cliff (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2). The figures on the boat are depicted in an abbreviated manner while the shore and rocks are rendered in dark ink and expressive brushwork.

Fu Baoshi organised his exhibition at Yiqun Society (Yiqunshe 益群社) on the banks of East Lake (*Donghu* 東湖) in Nanchang from 24 to 28 July 1936. One hundred and two works

論) by Kinbara Seigo (1924).

³²² Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 33. *The Study of Basic Design* translated and edited from the original Japanese text by Kaneko seiji 金子清次, the head of the design department at the Kanagawa Prefecture Industrial School. It systemically introduced the theory and technique of design and its aim was to serve as a practical reference material for industrial art [arts and crafts] design as well as a text book for vocational schools.

³²³ Ibid., p. 34.

³²⁴ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.1.

were displayed, most of which were produced in the teaching room in the Central University in Nanjing.³²⁵ He also participated in a series of art activities. For example, in 1937 he helped to prepare and hold the 'Second National Art Exhibition' (*Di erci quanguo meishu zhanlanhui* 第二次全國美術展覽會) and jointly initiated the establishment of the national Chinese Art Association (*Zhonghua meishuhui* 中華美術會) in Nanjing.³²⁶

Following the outbreak of full-scale war marked by the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (also known as the Lugouqiao 盧溝橋 incident) on 7 July 1937,³²⁷ all the teaching staff at the Central University in Nanjing, including Fu Baoshi, were relocated as the university decided to move inland for safety.³²⁸ In August 1937, Fu Baoshi left for Xuancheng 宣城 in Anhui province where he carried out further research on Shitao and other late Ming artists.³²⁹ The Japanese invasion of Mainland China intensified the nationalistic spirit of the Chinese people which had been seething since the Japanese occupied Manchuria in 1931. To mobilise national resistance, the second United Front between the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang* 國民黨) and the Communist Party (*Gongchandang* 共產黨) was established in December 1936. The Nationalists and Communists thus collaborated to produce anti-Japanese slogans in the first half of the war. Under the Nationalist government,³³⁰ Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893-1976) and other Communist leaders were elected to serve on the newly created People's Political Council.³³¹ Leading Communist intellectuals such as Guo Moruo were recruited into the Political Department of the Military Affairs Commission (*Junshi weiyuanhui zhengzhibu* 軍事委員會政治部), which was responsible for coordinating the war effort, and put in charge of crucial propaganda work.³³²

Within a few months of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, major Chinese cities such as Beijing,

³²⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 322 and Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 34. All of the works were sold but there does not seem to be a record of who bought the works by Fu Baoshi at his exhibition in Nanchang in 1936.

³²⁶ Shan Gu, 2007, p. 62.

³²⁷ The Marco Polo Bridge Incident refers to the battle between the Republic of China's National Revolutionary Army and the Imperial Japanese Army near the Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing (now Beijing), which developed into the war between China and Japan.

³²⁸ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 36.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ The Nationalist government was the first to claim to rule all of China since 1916. One of its first acts was to move the capital from Peking to Nanjing, the southern capital. During the war, Chongqing became the nationalist capital, thus the government in Chongqing refers to the Nationalist government in this paper.

³³¹ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p. 6.

³³² Ibid.

Tianjin, Shanghai and Nanjing fell one by one into Japanese hands (Fig. 3.3). Anticipating Nanjing's collapse, the Nationalist government had decided to move the Republican capital to Chongqing in Sichuan. The government decided to first move the key organs of the government to the central city of Wuhan in order to observe the development of the war. Wuhan thus became China's capital from October 1937 to August 1938 and the Third Department (*Di santing* 第三廳) of the Political Department of the Military Affairs Commission was established on 1 April 1938.³³³ The department played the most important role in formulating cultural policy during the war. Guo Moruo became the department head and was in charge of the anti-Japanese propaganda campaign.³³⁴ It was Guo Moruo who asked Fu Baoshi to join the department and work with him on the art propaganda. In Guo Moruo's article "Come and go under bombing" (*Hongzha zhong lai qu* 轟炸中來去) written for the newspaper *Dagongbao* 大公報 in April 1938, he wrote:³³⁵

...and again thought of Fu Baoshi. He is a master who is expert in seal carving and who is able to carve ten thousand tiny characters in a space of 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ X 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ cm; his painting is also quite outstanding. I met him in Japan.... I know that he [Fu Baoshi] is now serving in a teaching position at the Central University and I wanted to order somebody to give him a call and ask but I haven't heard the result.³³⁶

Fu Baoshi immediately answered his call and arrived in Wuhan in April.³³⁷ He worked on anti-war art propaganda with other members of the department such as Li Keran 李可染 (1907-1989), Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970), Wang Shiling 王式廓, Ding Zhengxian 丁正獻 (1914-2000), Zhou Lingzhao 周令釗 (b.1919), and Wang Qi 王琦 (b. 1919).³³⁸ In Wuhan, they all collaborated on a large-scale painting on the wall below the Yellow Crane Tower (*Huanghelou* 黃鶴樓). The wall painting, which was about ten metres high and thirty metres wide, depicted the theme of national mobilisation with a large number of human figures including Chinese civilians and soldiers showing their united national spirit against the war (Fig. 3.4).³³⁹ Fu Baoshi also often travelled through Zhuzhou 株洲, Hengshan 衡山,

³³³ Lu Heng, 2004, p. 54.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 38.

³³⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.2.

³³⁷ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 38 and Lu Heng, 2004, p. 55.

³³⁸ Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之 et al., *A History of the Chinese Woodcut Movement during the Anti-Japanese War* (*Chugoku konichi senso jiki shinko hangashi no kenkyu*, 中国抗日战争时期 新興版画史の研究), Tokyo: Kenbunshuppan 研文出版, 2007, pp. 179-180 and Huang Zhongxian 黃宗賢 et al. *The Art History of the War of Resistance Against Japan* (*Kangri zhanzheng meishu tushi* 抗日戰爭美術圖史), Hunan Meishu Chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 2005, p. 29.

³³⁹ Takimoto Hiroyuki, 2007, p. 181.

Hengyang 衡陽, Dong'an 東安 and Guilin 桂林 with other members of the Third Department and drafted anti-Japanese propaganda and related official documents.³⁴⁰ Although there do not seem to be any surviving examples of art propaganda work solely done by Fu Baoshi, some individual works by other members show the nature and aim of the work they did for the Third Department. For example, two of Li Keran's works - *Those Who Lost Their Family* and *The Blood of Unfortunate Ones* (*wuxingzhe de xue* 無幸者的血), the former being painted on paper and the latter on a wall – denounce the suffering of the Chinese people caused by the brutality of the war (Fig. 3.5).³⁴¹ After Wuhan was invaded, the assistant minister Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898-1976) ordered the members of the Third Department to leave Wuhan; they relocated south to Hengshan and finally moved to Chongqing in the spring of 1939.³⁴²

III. Destination Chongqing: The Artistic Community in Exile

The Nationalist government once again moved the capital to Chongqing when Wuhan, the city that was to have been defended to the death, fell to the Japanese in October in 1938.³⁴³ Located on a narrow promontory at the confluence of the rivers Yangzi and Jialing, Chongqing was chosen as the wartime capital for strategic reasons (Fig. 3.6). The city's inland location and the high mountains that separated Sichuan from the rest of China protected it from land attacks by Japanese armies.³⁴⁴ Often called the 'Mountain City' (Shancheng 山城), Chongqing's hilly geography and rocky foundations made it a natural spot for the construction of air-raid shelters.³⁴⁵ The city authorities developed an efficient system of air raid alarms that gave people time to reach the air shelters dug into the sides of the cliffs and the population learnt how to react.³⁴⁶ Chongqing had a harsh climate that was cold in winter and scorching

³⁴⁰ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 38.

³⁴¹ Moon Junghee trans. *The Master of Painting in Twentieth-Century China: Li Keran (20 segi jung-gughoehwau geojang: Li Kelan, 20세기 중국회화의 거장: 리커란 李可染)* by Wan Qingli 萬青力, Seoul: Sigongsa, 2003, p. 59.

³⁴² In November 1938, with other members of the Third department, Fu Baoshi attended the gathering to commemorate Sun Yat-sen's birth (*Sun Zhongshan danchen jinianhui* 孫中山誕辰紀念會) and listened to Guo Moruo's speech. After the meeting, led by Tian Han, they headed southward on foot and arrived in Xiangtan 湘潭 in Hunan Province. See Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 39.

³⁴³ In the autumn of 1937, the Nationalist government announced that Chongqing would serve as one of its alternate capitals during the War of Resistance. Mclsaac Lee, "The City as Nation Creating a Wartime Capital in Chongqing". In *Remaking the Chinese City, 1900-1950*, edited by Joseph Esherick. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000, p. 174.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176. Chongqing was a river port at the forefront of steam navigation on the Yangzi, behind the massive gorges that protected the provinces of Sichuan from the Japanese invasion. See Diana Lary, *China's Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 124.

³⁴⁵ Mclsaac Lee, 2000, p. 176.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

in summer, and throughout the autumn and winter months the city was frequently enveloped in dense fog which was created by moisture rising from the Sichuan plain.³⁴⁷ Such dense fog sometimes hid the city and disturbed the Japanese bombings which helped to protect the city during the war.³⁴⁸

Despite such a brutal war situation, a series of construction projects undertaken during this time provided Chongqing with an enlarged structure and modernised features. A number of regulations were drawn up and programmes were launched for the purpose of modernising the city's appearance, sanitation and services.³⁴⁹ Streets were widened and given new names, modern buildings were constructed, a regular ferry service was introduced, and efforts were made to establish a modern industrial base.³⁵⁰ The city's population nearly tripled with thousands of refugees from the war areas in central and eastern China and the vast migration of Chinese intellectuals, industrial enterprises, universities and foreign embassies, following the withdrawal of the government to Chongqing.³⁵¹ The city was packed, not only with poor refugees from rural areas in Sichuan who were looking for work in the expanded service, transport and industrial sectors, but also a number of wealthy militarists, merchants, and entrepreneurs, many of whom established commercial and industrial enterprises, as well as foreign communities of missionaries, diplomats and businessmen.³⁵²

Chongqing also became a cultural centre as a large number of institutions moved in along with thousands of students, teachers, writers and artists. While a number of artists accompanied art associations, other artists arrived in Chongqing along with the relocation of art schools. The artists previously belonged to the schools or moved as they were appointed at the newly established faculty of fine arts in Chongqing. The Department of Fine Arts at National Central University in Nanjing, the largest university in Republican China, was the first to make the move.³⁵³ In October 1937, the day before Nanjing fell into Japanese hands, the department moved to Shapingba 沙坪壩 in Chongqing and was followed by its professors

³⁴⁷ Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival*, Penguin Books, 2013, p. 174.

³⁴⁸ Mclsaac Lee, 2000, p. 176. Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937-1945*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 87-88.

³⁴⁹ Mclsaac Lee, 2000, p. 174.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Chang-tai Hung, 1994, pp. 4-5. A city of nearly 474,000 people in 1937, it had expanded to over 700,000 by 1941 and would rise to some 1.05 million by the end of the war. See Rana Mitter, 2013, p. 173.

³⁵² Mclsaac Lee, 2000, p. 180.

³⁵³ Huang Zongxian 黃宗賢, *The Choice of the Great Hardship Period (Da youhuan shidai de jueze 大憂患時代的抉擇)*, Chongqing: Chongqing Chubanshe 重慶出版社, 2000, p. 76.

and artists such as Xu Beihong, Lü Sibai 呂斯百 (1905-1973), Chen Zhifo 陳之佛 (1896-1962), Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997), Huang Junbi 黃君璧 (1889-1991), Fu Baoshi, Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳 (1910-1997) and Fei Chengwu 費成武 (1911-2000).³⁵⁴ The National Art Academy in Hangzhou was relocated to Yuanling in Hunan to join the Beiping Art Academy and the two schools were merged as the National Art Academy (Guoli Yizhuan 國立藝專) in 1938.³⁵⁵ The National Art Academy first moved to Kunming in 1939 and was later relocated to Bishan county (Bishanxian 璧山縣) near Chongqing in 1940, eventually moving to Shapingba in Chongqing after 1942.³⁵⁶ Despite their lack of art supplies and facilities, the universities gradually resettled in Chongqing and made an effort to rebuild a stable campus for their faculties and students. The wartime situation created a sense of community and identity among artists as a social and cultural group and generated an art world that evolved its own artistic and cultural activities in Chongqing.

A number of exhibitions were promoted and held by art associations and artists in Chongqing during the war. The frequency of exhibitions during that time is indicated in one of the viewer's feelings on the art exhibition during the foggy season in Chongqing in early 1943, which reads:³⁵⁷

The mountain city [Chongqing] during the foggy season has become active, especially from the point of the view of art, there is an exhibition today in the east and another one in the west tomorrow, which are dazzling and overwhelming to the eye.³⁵⁸

One of the most representative art associations in Chongqing was the All China Art Association (Zhonghua Quanguo Meishuhui 中華全國美術會) which organised the various exhibitions in Chongqing.³⁵⁹ Fu Baoshi was a member of the board of directors of the association and worked with other well-known artists such as Xu Beihong, Chen Zhifo, Wu Zuoren and Pan Tianshou to promote Chinese art exhibitions and boost the nationalistic spirit

³⁵⁴ Huang Zongxian, 2000, p. 76.

³⁵⁵ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2012, p. 120.

³⁵⁶ Huang Zongxian, 2000, p. 76.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³⁵⁸ For the Chinese text, see Chinese appendix 3.3.

³⁵⁹ Huang Zhongjian, 2000, p. 73. The All China Art Association consisted of 35 members on its board of directors including Xu Beihong, Chen Zifo, Fu Baoshi, Wang Rizhang 汪日章, Lü Sibai, Jin Xuanfu 秦宣夫, Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳, Wu Zuoren 吳作人, Pan Tianshou, nine managing directors including Lin Fengmian 林風眠, a chairman of the board of directors Zhang Daofan and 15 people handling works including Wu Yahui 吳雅暉, Chen Shuren 陳樹人, Jiang Fucong 蔣復聰, Zong Baihua 宗白華 and Gu Shulin 顧樹林.

of Chinese people during the war.³⁶⁰ The aim of the All China Art Association was to “connect and strengthen the sentimental bonds of the artists throughout the country, gather the force of the art world from the whole nation, and research and promote art education.”³⁶¹ The association held a number of large-scale national art exhibitions such as the Women’s Art Work Exhibition in Appreciation of the Army Units (*Funü meishu zuopin laojun zhanlanhui* 婦女美術作品勞軍展覽會) (1941), the Spring Festival Art Work Exhibition (*Chunjie meishu zuopin zhanlanhui* 春節美術作品展覽會) (1942) and the National Art Exhibition for Commemorating the Art World (*Jinian meishujie quanguo meishu zhanlanhui* 紀念美術界全國美術展覽會) (1944).³⁶² Through the frequent exhibitions, artists sought to stimulate the nationalistic spirit of Chinese people to overcome the war situation and make a financial contribution to the war effort.

Along with the promotion of exhibitions through the art associations, Chinese intellectuals also discussed the problem of how to inherit national cultural heritage and protect art historical relics which were at risk during the war. In the early 1940s, they addressed the issue of looting and destruction at major historical sites such as Longmen 龍門 in Henan province and Dunhuang 燉煌 in Gansu province.³⁶³ All the newspapers published articles disclosing the robbing and destruction of Chinese national cultural heritage by the collaboration of officers, merchants and foreigners. The articles included suggestions for and criticisms of the National Government for not being involved in defending China’s national art.³⁶⁴ In response, the Government instructed the Ministry of Education to establish an art heritage inspection team in Chongqing in July 1940. From the winter of 1941 to the spring of 1943, the team stayed at one of the principal Buddhist sites, the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang. The team made drawings and rubbings, copied a large number of mural paintings and used the techniques of casting plaster moulds to record and collect art heritage relics.³⁶⁵ Many of them were selected to be on display at the Dunhuang Art Exhibition in the National Central Library with a series of lectures on Dunhuang held in Chongqing in January 1943. The exhibition attracted a great deal of attention with more than twenty thousand visitors.³⁶⁶ The rediscovery of Dunhuang and its interest was heightened in Chongqing. Several individual artists such as Zhang Daqian and Xie Zhiliu visited the Mogao Buddhist cave temples at Dunhuang and produced many

³⁶⁰ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 41-42.

³⁶¹ Huang Zongxian, 2000, p. 73.

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ Huang Zongxian, 2000, p. 84.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

copies of the mural paintings reminiscent of Tang figure painting (Figs. 3.7 and 3.8).³⁶⁷ They also held their own exhibitions on Dunhuang mural paintings. Those exhibitions reinforced the interest in the remote historical site which had been almost disregarded and stimulated enthusiasm for Dunhuang paintings among the artists in exile including Fu Baoshi.

IV. Fu Baoshi's Artistic and Social Exchanges in Chongqing

This section investigates the vital role played by the location of Jingangpo in developing Fu Baoshi's artistic creativity and his cultural interactions with other Chinese and foreign intellectuals in Chongqing. His involvement with other artists reinforced his passion for his painting and established his reputation as an artist in Chongqing. Jingangpo, the area of the city where he and his family stayed during the war, frequently appeared in the inscriptions on many of his paintings in the 1940s (Fig. 3.9). Jingangpo was located on the old route between Chengdu and Chongqing, about 70 *li* from the centre of Chongqing, with many twisting and winding roads coiling round Mount Gele (Geleshan 歌樂山) which was situated between the two cities.³⁶⁸

Jingangpo was of vital importance in inspiring Fu Baoshi's painting of the surrounding landscape and for the cultural exchanges he had with other artists and intellectuals who lived nearby. Since he took up teaching positions in universities such as the National Central University and the National Art Academy in Chongqing, he was also acquainted with academic circles whose members became close friends. Fu Baoshi's artistic talent was further acknowledged by foreign residents such as French diplomat Hugues Jean de Dianous (1914-2008) and American sinologist William Acker (1907-1974). This section highlights the significant role that these domestic and foreign cultural interactions played in his artistic evolution and the growth of his reputation in art circles in modern China.

1. Jingangpo: The Cultural Assemblages

The natural environment surrounding Jingangpo offered artistic inspiration for Fu Baoshi's

³⁶⁷ Zhang Daqian took a group of people at his own expense from the spring of 1941 to the summer of 1943. He spent more than two years numbering the Mogao Grottoes and copying a large number of mural paintings. For Zhang Daqian's exploration of Dunhuang, see Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991. In the autumn of 1942 Xie Zhiliu travelled from Chongqing to the Dunhuang cave temples to study early Buddhist wall paintings and sculptures. See Thomas Lawton, "Xie Zhiliu May 8, 1910- June 6, 1997". *Artibus Asiae*, vol, 57, no. 3/4 (1997), pp. 367-368.

³⁶⁸ Fu Ershi 傅二石, 2009, p. 347.

painting. The whole length of Jingangpo consisted of undulating hills and thick woodlands (Fig. 3.10).³⁶⁹ In the autobiographical note to the 1942 exhibition, Fu Baoshi mentioned that the creative inspiration evoked by the nature surrounding Jingangpo was a critical factor in the evolution of his paintings during the war. He clarified this as follows:³⁷⁰

There are many brilliant views, with Jingangpo at the centre, in the surrounding area where I take a stroll. Every blade of grass, every tree, every hill and valley, everything is a picture waiting for a painter to depict. Those who are deeply engrossed in southeastern China can hardly imagine such a scene enshrouded by mist and fog in a boundless, imposing and wonderful atmosphere. At this time, most of my landscapes were inspired by this particularly unforgettable scenery which then evolved into paintings.³⁷¹

As stated above, Fu Baoshi was impressed by every aspect of the Sichuan landscape encompassing Jingangpo and its distinctive atmospheric scenes full of mist and fog. Inspired by the landscape, he produced many works depicting the view of Jingangpo (Figs. 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13). These paintings show his personal attachment to the area and the surrounding wooded and hilly Sichuan landscape with its changing scenery. In the painting *Scenery of Jingangpo* (*Jingangpo yijing* 金剛破一景) dated 1939, he used a 'scattered brush technique' (*sanfeng* 散鋒)³⁷² to create rapid and powerful brushstrokes to represent the mountain contours and deliver the dynamic movement of the scenery of Jingangpo (Fig. 3.11). In contrast, another painting dated 1944 is rendered with layers of ink and colours delivering a rather peaceful and calm atmosphere (Fig. 3.12). A further painting *Fog in Early Spring* (*Chuxia zhi wu* 初夏之霧) (1942) also depicts Jingangpo in the distance as mentioned in the inscription (Fig. 3.13):

Fog in early spring. As I was travelling [driving] on the road of [between] Chengdu and Chongqing, Jingangpo came into view. [Fu] Baoshi writes in the *renwu* year [1942]³⁷³

This particular scene with several layers of mountain hills shrouded in fog resembles the actual scenery of Jingangpo seen in the photographs (Figs. 3.13 and 3.14). The painting shows Fu Baoshi's efforts to display a band of thick fog crossing the mountain hills. With regard to the creation of the painting, he states:³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 322-326.

³⁷¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.4.

³⁷² The split or scattered brush technique involves strongly pressing the brush to split and spread the bristles and applying the brush strokes across the paper roughly and quickly.

³⁷³ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.5.

³⁷⁴ Shan Gu 山谷 ed. *Fu Baoshi's Discussion on Chinese Painting* (*Fu Baoshi tan Zhongguohua* 傅抱石談中國畫) Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian Chubanshe 中國青年出版社, 2011, p. 202.

I once painted a small landscape *Fog in Early Summer*, which was originally just a sketch of an ordinary mountain view of Jingangpo in Sichuan province with plain brush and ink. Afterwards I put emphasis on the seasonal and meteorological characteristics, reinforced the contrast between the shading of brush and ink and increased the ink gradation to achieve a boundless, deep and serene artistic result.³⁷⁵

The surrounding scenery of Jingangpo with its specific climatic features inspired Fu Baoshi's experimentation with the depiction of the Sichuan landscape. Jingangpo also motivated him to connect with the seventeenth-century individualist painter Shitao. He wrote:³⁷⁶

However, if standing and looking down from the hillside of Jingangpo, my thatched cottage, which only bears a stack of rice straw [on its roof], is actually rarely seen: on the left, it [the cottage] leans against the Jingangpo, and spring water flows vigorously from the mountain rock crevices. The area in front of the [cottage] door and to the right is entirely encircled by tall bamboos. At the back are a small number of old pine trees mingling with withered ones. The prominent monk Shitao had a poem and it just seemed as if the poem had been written for here. Originally I suspected that this was his own portrayal of himself, but now I no longer suspect this to be the case. The poem reads:

In the last few years, I have lived near the mountain,
Enjoying the sound of surging billows and the bamboo ditch,
Sitting here, I suddenly hear the wind and rain
Hurriedly I call the boy to collect the books.³⁷⁷

Fu Baoshi's cottage and the surrounding area reminded him of where Shitao had lived and this reminiscence of the seventeenth century painter's home was the reason behind Shitao's influence on his paintings and the publications he wrote while he was in Chongqing.³⁷⁸

Apart from Fu Baoshi's personal fondness for the place and the inspiration for his art, Jingangpo's ease of access to the homes of other artists and intellectuals enabled him to get involved in a number of different activities. He met up with other artists who lived nearby to produce collaborative paintings and discuss the latest news on art activities such as the rediscovery of Dunhuang. In particular, the members of the art propaganda section of the Third Department of the Political Department of the Military Affairs Commission, which included artists such as Li Keran, Zhang Wenyan 張文元 (1910-1992),³⁷⁹ Gao Longsheng 高龍生

³⁷⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.6.

³⁷⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, p. 323.

³⁷⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.7.

³⁷⁸ Fu Baoshi's research on Shitao is further discussed under the issue of national identity in chapter four.

³⁷⁹ Zhang Wenyan was a *guohua* painter and cartoonist who was active in anti-Japanese propaganda during the war and later developed his artistic career as a landscape painter.

(1903-1977)³⁸⁰ and Situ Qiao 司徒橋 (1902-1958),³⁸¹ all settled near Laijiaqiao 賴家橋, after moving to Chongqing in 1939, which was reported to be the first stop below Jingangpo.³⁸² Fu Baoshi often went to Laijiaqiao to meet other artists and produce paintings with them.³⁸³ A collaborative painting entitled *The Seven Sages Appearing in the Grove* (*Qixian chulin tu* 七賢出林圖) dated 1943 was one such work which he completed with other artists (Fig. 3.15). The inscription of the painting reads:

The painting of the Seven Sages Appearing in the Grove. The title *Seven Sages Appearing in the Grove* was given by Li Keran. Originally the group was going to collaborate on a painting of a horse being groomed and a tranquil elephant. It [this painting] is to commemorate the outing of Mr. and Mrs. Luo Jimei [羅寄梅]. Since we were very interested, we agreed to paint an image of the seven sages. There were seven of us in all who liked to paint: our host Situ Qiao [司徒橋], his wife Feng Yinmei [馮伊湄], Gao Longsheng [高龍生], Li Keran [李可染], Zhang Wenyuan [張文元], myself, and my wife Luo Shihui [羅時慧]. From afternoon until evening we took turns to paint it. The figure sitting and drinking was painted by Longsheng, the one with his hands in his sleeves at the side was painted by Li Keran, and I myself painted the one playing a *qin* [zither] who resembles Ji Zhongshan [of the Seven Sages, Ji Kang 嵇康 (224-263)]. The figure posing as a person of high morals was done by Wenyuan. Brother Qiao produced the one who is looking down with a unique gesture to view the painting. The five sages were gathered together. Feng Yinmei and Luo Shihui had not yet come. It came to [Li] Keran to add another sage and immediately after that brother Qiao followed, so I could do nothing but accompany brother Wenyuan...All the sages bowed their heads to heaven and earth and none had the look of shame. This should not be forgotten. On the second day of the fourth lunar month in the *guiwei* year [1943], Fu Baoshi was at the Shuangyu Studio.³⁸⁴

The Shuangyu Studio (Shuangyuxuan 雙羽軒), where this collaborative painting was produced, was located in the house of the painter Situ Qiao, which was less than five hundred metres from where Fu Baoshi lived.³⁸⁵ The studio was the place where the artists from the area near Jingangpo often got together. Along with Fu Baoshi and the cartoonists Gao Longsheng and Zhang Wenyuan, the painter Li Keran frequently went there to discuss art and the current political situation.³⁸⁶ Occasionally they produced paintings together and the

³⁸⁰ Gao Longsheng was a cartoonist who edited the art sections of newspapers in Tianjin and produced a large number of anti-Japanese cartoons during the war.

³⁸¹ Situ Qiao was an oil painter and graphic artist. He was a close friend of Lu Xun and studied in Paris and New York between 1928 and 1930. He later became a chief editor for the art section of the newspaper *Dagongbao* 大公報. Zhu Boxiong 朱伯雄 and Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林 ed. *Fifty Years of Western Painting in China 1989-1949* (*Zhongguo xihua wushinian 1898-1949* 中國西畫五十年 1898-1949), Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1989, pp. 375-379.

³⁸² Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 347.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.8.

³⁸⁵ Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 353.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

Shuangyu Studio became a type of salon. One spring afternoon, they gathered at the studio as the renowned journalist and photographer Luo Jimei 羅寄梅 (1902-1987)³⁸⁷ was visiting with his wife Liu Xian 劉先 (Fig. 3.16). Mr. and Mrs. Luo were about to leave for Dunhuang to join the art heritage inspection team, taking photographs and assisting with gathering and recording the cultural relics of Dunhuang.³⁸⁸ Fu Baoshi had previously met Luo Jimei in Xuancheng where he had travelled just after the outbreak of the war in 1937. In Xuancheng, Luo Jimei had accompanied and assisted Fu Baoshi in gathering historical materials relating to the painter Shitao which Fu Baoshi later used in his book *The Chronology of Shitao*.³⁸⁹

The painting *The Seven Sages Appearing in the Grove* was produced in order to commemorate Mr and Mrs Luo's long and difficult journey to the remote sites in western China and to give them a friendly send-off. The painting takes the traditional literary subject 'The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' (*Zhulin qixian* 竹林七賢) to represent the contemporary scene of the gathering of the artists. The historical subject of the Seven Sages was a group of scholars, writers and musicians of the third century CE from the Three Kingdoms period (CE 220-280). The group hoped to escape the intrigues, corruption and oppressive atmosphere of court life during the politically fraught times. Fu Baoshi's representation of the group of artists as the seven sages in the painting would have similarly conveyed their hope of escaping from the wartime reality they had to face.

At the gathering, Fu Baoshi and the other artists produced another collaborative painting entitled *Lin Hejing* 林和靖 (1943) (Fig. 3.17). The subject was the Chinese Northern Song dynasty poet Lin Hejing 林和靖 (967-1028) who has a plum flower as his wife and a crane as his son. After the painting was completed, Fu Baoshi wrote the inscription which reads:

³⁸⁷ Luo Jimei served as a director of the photography department at the Nationalist party central news agency (*Guomindang zhongyangshe sheyingbu* 國民黨中央攝影部) which was established in Wuhan in 1938. In April 1943 Luo Jimei and his wife went to Dunhuang and took photos of the Thousand Buddha Caves. For about ten months in Changsha, Luo Jimei took photographs of nearly 2000 Dunhuang materials. He befriended Zhang Daqian, Xu Beihong, Wu Zuoren, Huang Miaozi, Ye Qianyu and so on. For detailed information on Luo Jimei's trip to Dunhuang and his close acquaintance with other artists, see China Guardian, *Treasures of Yimeian—70 Years' Collection by Mr. and Mrs. Luo* (*Yimeian changwu—Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang* 憶梅庵長物—羅寄梅夫婦70年珍藏), Auction Catalogue, October, 2012, pp. 6-12.

³⁸⁸ Luo Jimei, "Going on a pilgrimage, the stone room of Dunhuang" (*Dunhuang shishi xunli* 敦煌石室巡禮), *The Vanguard of Literature and Art* (*Wenyi xuanfeng* 文藝先鋒), vol. 11, issue no. 5 (1947). pp. 14-16.

³⁸⁹ China Guardian, 2012, p. 7 and Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 62.

On the second day of the fourth lunar month in the thirty-second year of the Republic [1943], our host Situ Qiao [司徒橋] entertained Mr. and Mrs. Luo who had come to visit, and a gathering was held at the Shuangyu Studio on the hillside of Jingangpo in the Western suburbs of Chongqing. Therefore we collaborated once again on some refined artworks and this is the second scroll. Gao Longsheng [高龍生] of Penglai painted Heping, Zhang Wenyuan [張文元] of Taicang painted the crane, and Fu Baoshi of Xinyu painted the prunus blossom, Li Keran [李可染] of Pengcheng and the hostess Feng Yimei [馮伊湄] painted the horizontal branch, and next to those, brother Qiao painted the inclining rock. Fu Baoshi inscribed this under the evening lamp.³⁹⁰

Along with the painting *The Seven Sages Appearing in the Grove*, the painting of Lin Hejing also records the details of how each of the artists participated in the creation of the paintings. Both paintings were produced to express their deep respect for Mr. and Mrs. Luo and to wish them well for their trip to Dunhuang. For this particular event, Fu Baoshi also personally carved a seal with the following two lines: “Sending off Mrs. Luo who will travel to the West, [Fu] Baoshi presents this as a farewell gift” (*ji Luo furen jiang banxixing, baoshi zengbie zhi zuo* 寄羅夫人將伴西行，抱石贈別之作) along with a poem “A Hundred Flowers” (*baihua* 百花), consisting of more than two hundred words, which he gave as a gift to Mrs. Luo (Fig. 3.18).³⁹¹ As mentioned earlier, the concern to protect the national art heritage during the chaos of war resulted in Dunhuang attracting the attention of many artists, and the experience of visiting it widened their artistic vision. The interest in Dunhuang was also reflected in the paintings by Fu Baoshi depicting Buddhist figures dated 1944. One is the painting of *Guanyin* (*Guanshiyin tu* 觀世音圖) and the other is *Heavenly Maiden Scattering Flowers* (*Tiannü sanhua tu* 天女散花圖) (Figs. 3.19 and 3.20). The former shows a large Guanyin holding a willow branch in a small vase which is standing against a blank background, while the latter depicts a heavenly maiden shown with the upper part of her body in flight while scattering flower petals. Both of them show the features of the vivid Buddhist mural paintings at Dunhuang in their use of bright and strong colours.

It was also in Jingangpo that Fu Baoshi had dealings with politicians such as Guo Moruo and Zhou Enlai. Guo Moruo’s house was also located on Mount Gele which was quite near Fu Baoshi’s residence (Fig. 3.21). The courtyard of Guo Moruo’s house became a centre of activities where the members of the Third Department continued engaging with anti-Japanese propaganda after they relocated to Chongqing.³⁹² Fu Baoshi remained close to Guo Moruo and often called on him at his house where he met the influential politician Zhou Enlai in person.

³⁹⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.9.

³⁹¹ China Guardian, 2012, pp. 9-10.

³⁹² Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 353.

On 16 November 1944, which was Guo Moruo's fifty-third birthday, Fu Baoshi, Li Keran and some others went to celebrate the occasion at a gathering in Laijiaqiao where Zhou Enlai also came to see Guo Moruo.³⁹³ On that day, they all looked at several paintings which Fu Baoshi, Li Keran and Gao Longsheng had recently produced and Zhou Enlai especially liked the paintings of Fu Baoshi entitled *Lady Xiang (Xiangfuren 湘夫人)* (1943)³⁹⁴ and *Summer Mountain (Xiashan tu 夏山圖)* (1943) (Fig. 3.22). On the upper right of *Summer Mountain*, Guo Moruo inscribed (Fig. 3.22):

Ten thousand hills are filled with the dense shade of trees, (and) the hazy colours on the hillside change boundlessly. When the clear and crisp autumn climate comes, the autumn leaves turn deep red in the woods. On the tenth day of the tenth lunar month of the *jiashen* year [1944], Zhou Enlai fled from Yan'an to Chongqing, on the sixteenth at a small gathering in Laijiaqiao, he urged me to write an inscription for this painting. Guo Moruo.³⁹⁵

Fu Baoshi gave both *Lady Xiang* and *Summer Mountain* to Zhou Enlai as a gift. Zhou Enlai asked Guo Moruo to write the inscription for him to commemorate the occasion and Zhou Enlai treasured these two paintings and looked after them during the war.³⁹⁶ After 1949, they were kept in Zhongnanhai 中南海, an area located next to the Forbidden city in Beijing, which served as the central headquarters for the Communist Party of China and the State Council of the People's Republic of China. They were later transferred to the Beijing National Palace Museum where they are still in the collection.³⁹⁷ Zhou Enlai recognised Fu Baoshi's talent and his passion for Chinese painting when they met in Chongqing during the war and Zhou later supported Fu Baoshi's influential position in the art world after Zhou became the first premier of the People's Republic of China in 1949.³⁹⁸

2. The Academic Circles

The academic circles in Chongqing also brought Fu Baoshi to a wider circle of acquaintances through which he befriended many artists and scholars who remained close friends for life by sharing artistic activities and supporting each other. While Fu Baoshi established his reputation

³⁹³ Beijing Palace Museum ed. *Collected Works of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (Jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji 近現代書畫名家作品集：傅抱石)* Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 28.

³⁹⁴ The painting *Lady Xiang* is examined in detail in chapter four.

³⁹⁵ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.10.

³⁹⁶ See Beijing Palace Museum, 2006, p. 28, p. 38 and p. 42.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 29.

³⁹⁸ Fu Baoshi's growing position after 1949 with his political connections is discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

as an artist through his paintings, he also developed his professional career with teaching positions at the universities such as the National Art Academy and National Central University in Chongqing, with support from contemporary artists such as Xu Beihong and Chen Zhifo during the war. These teaching experiences stimulated Fu Baoshi's passionate interest in the history of Chinese art and boosted his effort to produce numerous academic publications on Chinese art. Through his involvement in the academic field, he encountered other artists who also taught at the universities and with whom he shared an intellectual and cultural exchange.³⁹⁹

At the invitation of the principal at the National Art Academy Chen Zhifo, Fu Baoshi taught the history of Chinese art and became Chen Zhifo's secretary (Fig. 3. 23).⁴⁰⁰ Apart from teaching, Fu Baoshi and Chen Zhifo cooperated in publishing a series of books on art for young students.⁴⁰¹ Fu Baoshi wrote the third volume entitled *How to Appreciate Art (Zenyang xinshang yishu 怎樣欣賞藝術)*, in the *New Youth Book Series (Xinshaonian wenku 新少年文庫)* (1944) for which the cover was designed by Chen Zhifo.⁴⁰² The aim of the book is set out in the preface written by the director of the Central News Agency, Xiao Tongci 蕭同茲 (1894-1974).⁴⁰³

Since the start of the war of resistance, because China's publishing world has faced limitations in printing conditions, the work of publishing children's books has fallen rather behind, and the children of the new era in this period of turmoil are not only experiencing the horrors of war, but also feel a famine of spiritual nourishment... To meet the requirement of this type of era, the Wenfang Book Company published the *New Youth Book Series*, especially for upper primary and junior high school students. The series of books is divided into four volumes and each volume covers ten topics. The aim of this publication is to inspire wisdom in children, to promote the spirit of learning, to imbue scientific knowledge, to nurture an interest in literature, and to follow individual discipline of body and mind so as to disseminate a national spirit. It is hoped that these can all be germinated within the minds of the young.⁴⁰⁴

As stated above, the purpose of publishing the series was to educate the youth and nurture

³⁹⁹ Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 348. Fu Baoshi always walked down the mountain to go to the universities in order to appreciate the nature full of vitality and vicissitude.

⁴⁰⁰ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 55.

⁴⁰¹ Chen Zhifo also gave financial support when Fu Baoshi held his exhibitions during the war and they collaborated to produce paintings later on in the 1950s. See Beijing Palace Museum, 2006, p. 20.

⁴⁰² Fu Baoshi, "How to Appreciate Art (*Zenyang xinshang yishu 怎樣欣賞藝術*)," in *New Youth Book Series (Xinshaonian wenku 新少年文庫)*, vol. 3, Chongqing: The Wenfeng Book Company (Wenfeng Shuju 文風書局), 1944. The content was divided into the following four parts: "What is art?", "The classification and explanation of art", "How to appreciate art", and "The 'artification' of life".

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.11.

and strengthen their spirit in the time of war. It shows Fu Baoshi's effort to join other intellectuals to fulfil his social responsibility and assist with those who were in need at the time. By writing newspaper articles, he also promoted other contemporary artists with whom he had become acquainted at the National Art Academy.⁴⁰⁵ In one article, he wrote about the painter, cartoonist and writer Feng Zikai who was teaching at the same university.⁴⁰⁶ Fu Baoshi wrote a short article entitled "The Artist of Spring" (*Chuntian de huajia* 春天的畫家) in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* in 1942 when Feng Zikai had his first solo exhibition at the National Art Academy (Fig. 3.24).⁴⁰⁷ Fu Baoshi wrote:⁴⁰⁸

The paintings of Mr [Feng] Zikai are most rich with the spirit of the time. Amiable and warm, when one looks at them one feels as if born into the spring. This is most certainly not an accidental phenomenon. The spring that he has painted on the surface is not spring in its narrowest sense, [It is] the coming of Spring which Chinese painting history needs most urgently. Mr. (Master) Feng Zikai is fond of drinking, thus the heavily scented fragrance of wine floats on the surface of his painting. ...the way he depicts children is [in a manner of] absolute innocence. He is the painter who has always been loved and respected by youth, [His paintings are] lively and novel, vital and thriving, therefore his painting not only lies in the ancient tradition but also has a sprout of novelty which has not been seen before. Spring passes but once a year, [however], I [Fu Baoshi] would like to declare that the Spring of Mr. Feng Zikai will make permanent the four seasons and exist forever. Written [by Fu Baoshi] in 24 November 1942.⁴⁰⁹

Fu Baoshi deeply appreciated the works of Feng Zikai as he believed they delivered a warmth and sense of revitalisation much needed in wartime. As mentioned in his article above, Feng Zikai created a number of cartoons showing children's behaviour. He depicted their character through his careful observation, believing that the innocent and sincere mind of a child is what adults should value and learn from (Fig. 3.25).⁴¹⁰ In Feng Zikai's wartime cartoons, innocent

⁴⁰⁵ Fu Baoshi also wrote an exhibition review article titled "Reading the Flower and Bird Paintings of Xue Weng [Chen Zhifo]" (*Du xue weng huaniao hua* 讀雪翁花鳥畫) in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* on 19 February 1942. Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 48.

⁴⁰⁶ Feng Zikai was invited by Chen Zhifo to teach at the National Art Academy in Chongqing.

⁴⁰⁷ Xiao Chan 小蟬, *Collected Works of Chinese Famous Painter: Feng Zikai (Zhongguo ming huajia quanji: Feng Zikai* 中國名畫家全集：豐子愷). Shijizhuang: Hebei Jiayu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 2002, p. 195. Feng Zikai lived with his family in a small house at Shapingba, a rural spot outside Chongqing, using the proceeds from the works he sold at his solo exhibition at the National Art Academy in November 1942. See Geremie R. Barmé, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002, p. 264.

⁴⁰⁸ Fu Baoshi, "The Artist of Spring" (*Chuntian de huajia* 春天的畫家) published in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報 27 November, 1942. Above Fu Baoshi's article, there is an article titled "The Introductory Remarks on the Exhibition of Feng Zikai" (*Feng Zikai huazhan xuyuan* 豐子愷畫展序言) written by Chen Zhifo.

⁴⁰⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.12.

⁴¹⁰ Su-Hsing Lin, *Feng Zikai's Art and the Kaiming Book Company: Art for the People in Early Twentieth Century China*, PhD thesis, Ohio State University, 2003, p. 191.

children were depicted showing their patriotic and strong will to defend the country.⁴¹¹

After Fu Baoshi's withdrawal from the Third Department of the Political Department of the Military Affairs Commission in 1940, he began teaching in the Fine Arts Department at the National Central University in Chongqing (Fig. 3.26). While teaching, he became close friends with the artists Fei Chengwu 費成武 (1911-2000) and Zhang Qianying 張蓓英 (1909-2003)⁴¹² who were both students of Xu Beihong and who also taught at the university. Their close friendship is evident in their collection which includes several important paintings by Fu Baoshi.⁴¹³ They met frequently and Fu Baoshi gave them many paintings as a token of his friendship during their stay in Chongqing.⁴¹⁴ In 1946, Fei Chengwu and Zhang Qianying, with the help of Xu Beihong, went to study in Britain and devoted the rest of their lives to promoting Chinese art in the West.

Among the works Fu Baoshi gave Fei Chengwu and Zhang Qianying, two paintings — *Lady Under a Willow Tree* and *Viewing Waterfall in the Pine Pavilion* — represent his personal style of painting figures and landscape which he established in Jingangpo (Figs. 3.27 and 3.28). *Lady Under a Willow Tree* is a figure painting dedicated to Zhang Qianying (Fig. 3.27). The inscription on the left of the painting reads:

Ms. [Zhang] Qianying will leave for London, [I] spent two days making this painting. Returning from Chengdu one day before Chufu [the first fu – the first of the three ten-day periods of the hot season] in the *bingxu* year, [inscribed by] Fu Baoshi in the western suburbs in Chongqing.⁴¹⁵

The painting demonstrates the artist's skillful handling of fine linear brush strokes on the contours and his use of different ink hues to deliver lyrical and atmospheric effect. The fine linear brush work is reminiscent of the style of the Eastern Jin dynasty painter Gu Kaizhi which Fu Baoshi had begun to practise since his studies in Japan.

⁴¹¹ Su-Hsing Lin, 2003, p. 203.

⁴¹² Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006, p. 12.

⁴¹³ Fei Chengwu and Zhang Qianying's Vermilion Pavilion Collection includes the works of Fu Baoshi from the Chongqing period from 1942 to 1946. The major works of the collection are those by two artists, Xu Beihong and Fu Baoshi. The recent information about Fu Baoshi's relationship with Fei and Zhang and their vermilion collection was actually gathered from an informal discussion with C. K. Cheung, the head of the Chinese painting department at Sotheby's Hong Kong, during my field trip to Hong Kong in December 2010.

⁴¹⁴ Sotheby's Hong Kong, 2006, p. 12.

⁴¹⁵ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.13.

Viewing Waterfall in the Pine Pavilion dated 1944 is a landscape painting made for Fei Chengwu. The inscription reads (Fig. 3.28):

In the last ten days of the sixth lunar month in the *jiashen* year [1944], written by [Fu] Baoshi. Brother [Fei] Chengwu will leave for London, England and [I] present this as a memento. On the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month in the *bingxu* year [1946], recorded by [Fu] Baoshi.⁴¹⁶

The painting was completed in 1944 and given to Fei Chengwu as a farewell gift in 1946. It depicts a landscape with two figures in conversation while viewing a waterfall from the pavilion. In terms of the brushwork, Fu Baoshi uses his scattered brush strokes to create dynamic movement on the painting surface while the heavy application of wet dark ink highlights the dense foliage of the landscape.

A further work which Fu Baoshi gave to his friends is a set of ten leaves of *Landscapes and Figures*. Fu's paintings were included in an album of twenty-four leaves which also included Xu Beihong's *Zodiac Animals* and Pang Xunqin's *Dancers*. The album had a title *Album of Zodiac Animals by Xu Beihong* (*Xu Beihong hua shiersheng xiaoce* 徐悲鴻十二生肖冊) written by Zhang Daqian and dated 1946 (Fig. 3.29).⁴¹⁷ This album was made to commemorate Zhang Qianying's departure to study in Britain. Even after Zhang Qianying and Fei Chengwu had left for Britain in 1946, their long-distance friendship continued, as may be seen in the letter Fu Baoshi sent to Zhang Qianying in November 1948. Fu Baoshi wrote (Fig. 3.30):⁴¹⁸

In March this year, I bought a piece of land, estimated at one *mu*.⁴¹⁹ It is to the west of [the house of] Mr. Xu Beihong and to the south of Guo Zijie's house, as illustrated before...He [Mr. Qian] can recommend me to Oxford University and invite me to lecture for a year. At that time, I had also prepared a lecture plan and Mr. Qian's friend translated it into English, so that it can be used during negotiations.⁴²⁰

Fu Baoshi wrote about the recent changes in his life in his correspondence with his friends, reporting how he bought a piece of land for his family after he moved to Nanjing and that he had hoped to apply for a position as visiting scholar at Oxford University. Although he did not

⁴¹⁶ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.13.

⁴¹⁷ Sotheby's Hong Kong, 2006, pp. 74-75.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴¹⁹ Approximately one fifteenth of a hectare.

⁴²⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.14. Perhaps 'during negotiations' means 'in advancing my application' or 'discussing the lecture plan.'

succeed in going to Oxford, his ambition to travel outside China shows his desire to go to Europe and to establish himself as an artist and scholar on an international level.

3. The International Contacts

Apart from the connections Fu Baoshi had made with Chinese artists and intellectuals, he also established a network of foreign contacts in Chongqing. As the wartime capital of China, the city had many foreign embassies and was therefore the base for many influential foreign figures.⁴²¹ In October 1942 Fu Baoshi held his three-day solo exhibition in Chongqing. The exhibition was organised by the Chinese Literary Society (Zhongguo Wenyishe 中國文藝社) and the All China Art Association. One hundred works were displayed, more than half of which were produced in Jingangpo.⁴²² As a result of this exhibition, Fu Baoshi received a positive appraisal and gained recognition in the Chinese art world. The European and American individuals living in Chongqing were also very interested in his painting.⁴²³ A number of Western diplomats acquired his works at the exhibition and invited him to visit their embassies. Fu Baoshi made a number of foreign acquaintances such as the American diplomat Patrick Jay Hurley (1883-1963), the Dutch ambassador and sinologist Robert van Gulik (1910-1967),⁴²⁴ and the British painter Adolphe Clarence Scott (1909-1985) who taught in the Department of Fine Arts at the National Central University.⁴²⁵ These Europeans and Americans appreciated Fu Baoshi's paintings with comments such as "Impressionism in China" and "China's Monet".⁴²⁶ Fu Baoshi's son Fu Ershi recalled:⁴²⁷

Those that impressed me most were the foreign guests we received in Jingangpo. These foreign friends who liked my father's work included people from England, France and the Netherlands and in order to seek out his work they had made the decision to visit the Baoshi Mountain Studio in Jingangpo. One morning, these five or six people, under the guidance of my father's student Shen Zuoyao [沈左堯] drove from Chongqing directly to Lajiaqiao and then following the small road between the fields arrived at our house...the

⁴²¹ For foreign ambassadors and embassies in Chongqing during the war, see the book by Owen Lattimore (1900-1989) who was an American wartime advisor to the leader of the GMD Jiang Jieshi and the American government. Fujiko Isono, ed. *China Memoirs: Chiang Kai-shek and the War against Japan*, Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, 1990.

⁴²² Ye Zhonghao, 2003, p. 60.

⁴²³ Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 355.

⁴²⁴ Robert van Gulik wrote and published a book *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* in 1940. See Gulik, Robert van Gullik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay on the Ideology of the Ch'in*. Bangkok: Orchid, 2011.

⁴²⁵ Another foreign figure, the British Council officer Geoffrey Hedley (d.1958), who had known and met Fu Baoshi and was given some of his paintings, is discussed in Ashmolean Museum and National Art Museum of China ed. *Michael Sullivan and Twentieth Century Chinese Art*. Exhibition Catalogue, National Art Museum of China, 2012, p. 28 and pp. 102-103.

⁴²⁶ Fu Ershi, 2009, p. 355.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

rooms we lived in were small and shabby but the main hall of the landlord's house was comparatively spacious.In the end [the landlord] agreed to our request to make temporary use of the hall to receive the foreign guests. As soon as the foreigners entered the hall they began to appreciate my father's works and used their own language to make comments. Shen Zuoyao was busy translating: "How wonderful!" "How very interesting!" "How did you paint this?" The guests quickly selected their own targets. By the time the discussions were over it was already noon and time to eat, so we hurriedly packed the paintings away, put them back in our own rooms and converted the hall into a dining room.⁴²⁸

Fu Baoshi's growing reputation in the foreign community in Chongqing resulted in many sales of his paintings. A number of diplomats in the foreign community took his paintings back with them to Europe after their tour of duty in Chongqing. The diplomat Hugues Jean de Dianous, whose Chinese name was Tian Youren 田友人, had a particularly intimate friendship with Fu Baoshi, which is also evident in the paintings which he acquired directly from the artist in Chongqing and Nanjing (Fig. 3.31).⁴²⁹ He met Fu Baoshi when he first went to Chongqing in 1945 to serve as a diplomat. Since he himself had a great interest in Chinese culture and spoke fluent Chinese, he and Fu Baoshi got on well together and they shared their interest in culture and art.⁴³⁰ Fu Baoshi painted several paintings for him and his wife. The dates of Fu Baoshi's paintings in the diplomat's possession show that they were painted in Chongqing in 1945 and in Nanjing in 1947 and 1948.⁴³¹ Among them are paintings depicting female figures of the finest quality which represent Fu Baoshi's signature style that emerged after he went to Chongqing (Fig. 3.32). In a painting from this group dated 1945, the female figure is seated on a diagonally arranged mat, her garment depicted with fine thin outlines reminiscent of the style of Gu Kaizhi. Fu Baoshi also painted a portrait of the French diplomat Hugues Jean de Dianous in 1947 which the artist inscribed as follows (Fig. 3.33):⁴³²

For the kind of appraisal of Mr. Tianlou [the transliteration of the French diplomat's surname].
Painted at Nanjing on 31 January in 1947. Fu Baoshi⁴³³

⁴²⁸ For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.15. .

⁴²⁹ Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Painting*, Auction Catalogue, April, 2008, p. 214.

⁴³⁰ His wife's name was Claire Simian Navizet and her Chinese name, given by Fu Baoshi, was Aiming 愛明. She had arrived in China much earlier than her husband in the 1930s. She was fluent in Chinese and might also have helped him to communicate with Fu Baoshi. This information was learnt through an informal discussion with C. K. Cheung, the head of the Chinese painting department at Sotheby's Hong Kong on my field trip to Hong Kong in December 2010. Mr. Cheung actually met the diplomat's family and gathered information on Fu Baoshi and the diplomat.

⁴³¹ The diplomat stayed in China from 1945 to 1950: he first stayed in Chongqing then moved to Nanjing and then Kunming. Sotheby's Hong Kong, 2008, p. 214.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ For the Chinese inscription, see appendix 3.16.

The painting shows the diplomat with short hair and glasses, wearing Chinese robes and standing under the leafy tree branches (Figs. 3.32 and 3.33). The diplomat's name on the inscription clearly shows their friendship and the painting is the only known painting in which Fu Baoshi depicted his foreign contemporaries at that time.

Another of Fu Baoshi's foreign acquaintances significant in his artistic development in wartime Chongqing is the American sinologist William Acker⁴³⁴, who visited Fu Baoshi's exhibition in March 1944 and wrote a review on his art in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報 in 1944 (Fig. 3.34).⁴³⁵ He mentioned the exhibition in his article as follows:

....it is worthy of high praise....nowadays as we are fighting for freedom, every person and every country must realise their strength of the spirit and the soul of the nation and develop their natural merits....the most obvious characteristics of Fu Baoshi's painting are its sense of history...for example, *Su Wu Returns to Han* [*Su Wu guihan* 蘇武歸漢] is one of the symbolic works that expresses the soul of the nation...Fu Baoshi's mission lies in making the Chinese people realise the inherent quality and soul of the nation! Making them remember the honour of their ancestors and inspiring the young people of today. These aspects and the painting of modern objects achieve the same goal by different means. Fu Baoshi's landscapes have a literati flavour but also have the Chan spirit of Shitao. But the scent of the ancient in these [paintings] makes the viewer understand the truth of 'the uniqueness of the way' [*Dadao buer* 大道不二],⁴³⁶ from the point of view of art, this is the major characteristic of Chinese painting method in world art.....⁴³⁷

William Acker praised Fu Baoshi's works in terms of delivering the soul of China by maintaining a historical sense and inspiring the viewers. The painting *Su Wu Returns to Han* that Acker mentioned is likely to refer to a painting Fu Baoshi produced in 1943 (Fig. 3.35). The painting depicts the moment when the Han dynasty general Su Wu 蘇武 (140-60 BCE), a symbol of unyielding loyalty, returned to the Han empire from a long period of captivity in the hands of the nomadic Hun people. Fu Baoshi's work depicting this historical subject would have had an emotional appeal to the Chinese people in the wartime. William Acker's high evaluation of Fu Baoshi's paintings would not only have reinforced Fu's status as an artist within China but also further helped to establish his international reputation beyond the mainland.

⁴³⁴ William Acker was a sinologist who had a profound knowledge of Chinese art and also translated into English one of the standard works on the history of Chinese art, *Record of Famous Paintings of Successive Dynasties* by Zhang Yanyuan. See William R.B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.

⁴³⁵ In March 1944, Fu Baoshi held his third exhibition in Chongqing with one hundred works. Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 76.

⁴³⁶ *Dadao buer* 大道不二 literally means "the way is right there, there is no second and alternative way"

⁴³⁷ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 76-77. For the Chinese text, see appendix 3.17.

V. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the importance of Chongqing as a creative and cultural centre to enhance Fu Baoshi's position in the art world in wartime China. On his return from Japan in 1935, he gradually adapted to his life but soon had to face the national crisis with the outbreak of war in 1937. In the war situation, the United Front that was formed between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party allowed Chinese intellectuals to join forces in producing anti-Japanese propaganda. As a member of the Third Department, Fu Baoshi participated in producing such propaganda with other artists. Despite the difficult situation, the war capital Chongqing became the cultural centre during this period. To strengthen and rebuild the nation, cultural activities were carried out by the artists and other intellectuals living in exile in Chongqing. Fu Baoshi was not only involved with art associations, exhibitions and publications, but also had artistic and social interactions with other intellectuals. These engagements increased his strong sense of social mission and responsibility, establishing him as a leading artist and scholar in the Chongqing artistic community, while his acquaintance with foreign figures further strengthened his international reputation. Thus his interactions with Chinese and foreign intellectuals during the war played a crucial role in the fulfilment of his artistic mission and in the progression of his career to become one of the leading artists in mid-twentieth century China.

CHAPTER FOUR

In the Pursuit of a New Ideal: Selecting Models from the Past

I. Introduction

This chapter investigates Fu Baoshi's use of models from the past in his pursuit of a new ideal of artistic expression in his painting in response to the war while living in Chongqing from 1939 to 1946. With his increased sense of social responsibility as an artist, which was built during his stay in Japan and his subsequent participation in the Chongqing artistic community, he made a continuous effort to find out how he could apply his artistic talent to achieve the salvation of his country. He enthusiastically engaged in promoting what he referred to as the 'national spirit of Chinese painting' (*Zhongguo huihua de minzu jingshen* 中國繪畫的民族精神)⁴³⁸ to fight the war, and discussed these ideas in articles published in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報 in Chongqing. Thus this chapter first examines the way in which he searched for the national spirit in Chinese painting, responding to the Japanese article "The Spirit of Japanese Art" (1938) by the Japanese artist Yokoyama Taikan.⁴³⁹ From the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, 'culture' came to preoccupy most Chinese intellectuals as a fundamental bearer of difference between countries and people.⁴⁴⁰ The idea that each country's art reflects its unique national identity had been prevalent in art circles in China and Japan. In this context, Fu Baoshi promoted the national spirit of Chinese painting to reinforce the national identity of China in the context of the survival of the nation in the time of war. His perspective basically seems to follow the ideas of the National Essence movement in the early twentieth century, which held that the national spirit of China lay in its history while the survival of the nation depended on the preservation of the spirit.⁴⁴¹ In promoting the national spirit in this way, Fu Baoshi carried out a study of Chinese painting history and produced paintings that reasserted Chinese artistic traditions by selecting models from the past. Through a textual examination and visual

⁴³⁸ The English translation of the Chinese term *Minzu jingshen* 民族精神 refers to Jason C. Kuo's translation of the term as 'national spirit.' See Jason C. Kuo, *Transforming Traditions in Modern Chinese Painting: Huang Pin-Hung's late work*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004, p. 54.

⁴³⁹ Yokoyama Taikan 橫山大觀, *The Spirit of Japanese Art (Nihon bijutsu no seishin 日本美術の精神)*, Tokyo: Yokoyama Hidemaro 橫山秀麿, 1939. The article was first published in *Land of Beauty (Bi no kuni 美之國)* in November 1938. See Victoria Weston, *Modernization in Japanese-style painting: Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958) and the 'morotai' style*. PhD thesis. University of Michigan, 1991, p. 53 and p. 67.

⁴⁴⁰ Lydia H. Liu, 1995, p. 239.

⁴⁴¹ In the view of these scholars, the national spirit of China is embodied in her history and the spirit survives as long as her history is preserved. The Chinese National Essence Movement devoted itself largely to the promotion of historical studies. See Jason C. Kuo, 2004, p. 7.

analysis, this chapter examines the way in which Fu Baoshi took inspiration from the past to establish his new artistic ideal through two lines of enquiry: Gu Kaizhi as an icon of Chinese painting tradition, and the promotion of patriotic symbols.

II. Fu Baoshi's Search for the National Spirit in Chinese Painting

This section examines how Fu Baoshi promoted the national spirit in Chinese painting in response to the war through an analysis of two of his articles: "Viewing Victories in War Resistance from the Perspective of the Chinese Art Spirit", which appeared in *Qingguang* 青光, the supplement to the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* published in Chongqing on 10 April 1940⁴⁴²; and "Chinese Painting in an Eventful Age", which was published in *Shishi Xinbao* in 1944.⁴⁴³ Fu Baoshi's passionate involvement with the national spirit in Chinese painting became a driving force behind his reaffirmation of Chinese tradition in his historical research and the production of his own paintings.

Fu Baoshi's discussion of the spirit of Chinese art was stimulated by reading the article "The Spirit of Japanese Art" by Yokoyama Taikan published in 1939. In Fu Baoshi's article "Viewing Victories in War Resistance from the Perspective of the Chinese Art Spirit" (1940), he stated:⁴⁴⁴

Shortly after last year's bombardment of Chongqing [1939], I saw an article entitled "The Spirit of Japanese Art" by Yokoyama Taikan in the June issue of the Japanese periodical *Reform*, which was a transcript of a radio broadcast for a visiting German youth group. Apart from mentioning things with regard to 'holy war' or 'crusade', the entire text is about the development of Japanese painting, ninety percent of which can be said to plunder Chinese painting theory...When the puppet state of Manchukuo was established, I remember that he presented several large painted screens which were highly praised all over the country, therefore, his article has had a huge impact internationally.⁴⁴⁵

The Japanese article which Fu Baoshi mentioned above was the published manuscript of a speech on "The Spirit of Japanese Art" which Yokoyama Taikan had delivered to a visiting party from Hitler Youth in 1938,⁴⁴⁶ and which had been broadcast in Japan and Germany.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴² Fu Baoshi, "Viewing Victories in War Resistance from the Perspective of the Chinese Art Spirit" (*Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshenshang laikan kangzhan bisheng* 從中國美術的精神上來看抗戰必勝) 1940, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 174-175.

⁴⁴³ Fu Baoshi, *Chinese Painting in an Eventful Age* (*Zhongguo huihua zai dashidai* 中國繪畫在大時代), 1944, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 349-350.

⁴⁴⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1940a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 174

⁴⁴⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.1.

⁴⁴⁶ Hitler Youth refers to the youth organisation of the Nazi Party in Germany founded in 1926.

⁴⁴⁷ Barbara McCloskey, *Artists of World War II*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005, p. 117.

In the article, Yokoyama Taikan proclaimed that each country's art is based upon the unique qualities of its nationality, its tradition and its nature.⁴⁴⁸ Believing in Pan-Asianist assumptions, he put emphasis on the spirituality of the East over the materialism and technical facility of the West and stressed the spiritual component of Japanese art.⁴⁴⁹ As a fervent nationalist, Yokoyama Taikan described the war in China as a 'holy war' or 'crusade' for 'Asian peace'.⁴⁵⁰ Fu Baoshi must have felt outraged reading Yokoyama Taikan's description of the war as well as his nationalistic view on Japanese art. In Fu Baoshi's own article, he expressed a strong reaction against Yokoyama Taikan's view:⁴⁵¹

Chinese art is the 'mother of Japanese art'. These words are currently written in the book *History of Chinese Painting (Shina kaigashi 支那繪畫史)* by Nakamura Fusetsu [中村不折 (1866-1943)]. However, Japan's national character already verges on extreme megalomania and Japan often affixes the trademark *Taiyo* ('sun') onto things from China. As if faking her history and posing as the father of China, [Japan] says Chinese things are theirs and adds such absurd phrases as "What does China have?" Such insults and destructive hatred are indeed part of their persistent attitude. However, Chinese national art is still moving forward eternally⁴⁵²

By referring to the statement by the renowned Japanese critic and art historian Nakamura Fusetsu, Fu Baoshi attempted to reclaim the authority of Chinese over Japanese art and criticised Japan's deceitful attitude towards its possession of Chinese things. His strong and emotional reaction must have been stimulated by the Japanese invasion of his motherland. Rivalling the spirit of Japanese art, he believed that the spirits of Chinese art could bring war victory to China.⁴⁵³

I believe that Chinese art has three kinds of great spirits. The first and most important of these is the cultivation of the artist's personal integrity. The second is that as far as the exchange between Chinese art and foreign people and foreign countries is concerned, Chinese art is most able to absorb and at the same time most able to resist. The third is that the expression of Chinese art is 'vigorous and firm' and 'sincere and honest', as powerful and unconstrained as a heavenly horse galloping across the sky, with great confidence in its unique character containing a calm and latent zeal. These three

⁴⁴⁸ Victoria Weston, 1991, p. 53.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 53.

⁴⁵⁰ Victoria Weston, 1991, pp. 53-54. In the late 1930s, the Japanese protagonists described and justified the Pacific War as a 'holy war.' Their aim was to expel Western imperialists from Asia and create a new Asian world order with their own leadership. Toshiya Kaneko, *Cultural Light, Political Shadow: Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913) and the Japanese Crisis of National Identity, 1880-1941*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2002, p. 2.

⁴⁵¹ Fu Baoshi, 1940a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 174.

⁴⁵² For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.2.

⁴⁵³ Fu Baoshi, 1940a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao 2003, pp. 174-175.

characteristics are encompassed in the [Chinese] people's war of resistance against Japan and thus are factors in [China's] victory.⁴⁵⁴

Fu Baoshi described each of the three spirits of Chinese art from a historical point of view. For the first spirit, he explained that a high level of personal integrity had historically been a vital element in order to be a respectful artist in China. For the second spirit, he stressed the ability of China's long tradition in art to absorb and resist external forces as circumstances required. For the third spirit, he further stated that at the time of the launch of its aggression, Japan had neglected the greatest, most intensive and most proactive painting of China. He finished the article with the following statement:⁴⁵⁵

With regard to the spirit of Chinese art, Japan has not the capacity to be its equal. We should maintain our precious self-confidence and strive hard to develop to a higher degree. We should do our utmost to complete a powerful, splendid and great painting surface! Let us welcome the arrival of victory!⁴⁵⁶

Strongly stimulated by his Japanese counterparts, Fu Baoshi advocated that painting should deliver more than an aesthetic value and should also function as an artistic weapon to fight against the war.⁴⁵⁷ In another essay, "Chinese Painting in an Eventful Age" (1940), he promoted the national spirit of Chinese painting:⁴⁵⁸

I believe that, in this great era of the freedom and independence of our country during the long period of the war of resistance, the intensifying and promotion of the spirit of Chinese painting is even more worthwhile, not only for ourselves but also to move people. Because the spirit of Chinese painting is the greatest expression of China's national spirit, this kind of spirit precisely shares its glory and humiliation, its life and death with our nation...We really think that this all-out war of resistance is a war of the spirit between the Chinese and the so-called Yamato people.⁴⁵⁹

Fu Baoshi further emphasised that the spirit of Chinese painting should arouse patriotic feelings in the viewer. He readdressed the importance of the national spirit of Chinese painting by closely relating it with the survival of China. His ultimate goal of promoting the Chinese

⁴⁵⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.3.

⁴⁵⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1940a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao 2003, p. 175.

⁴⁵⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.4

⁴⁵⁷ Fu Baoshi emphasised that Chinese painting expresses the national spirit to the highest level due to its long history and its reflection of Chinese philosophy. See Fu Baoshi, "The Development of Thoughts on Chinese Painting" (*Zhongguo huihua sixiang zhi jinzhan* 中國繪畫思想之進展), 1940, reprinted in Ye Zonghao 2003, p. 176.

⁴⁵⁸ Fu Baoshi, 1944, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 349-350.

⁴⁵⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.5.

painting spirit was to maintain and preserve a national identity against the external threat and to rescue the country. His effort to reinforce the national spirit of Chinese painting was exerted by taking inspiration from the past and contributing to the reconstruction of Chinese painting history as well as in his embodiment of artistic resistance against the war in his paintings during that period.

III. Gu Kaizhi as an Icon of the Chinese Painting Tradition

This section investigates the way in which Fu Baoshi reexamined Chinese painting traditions by rediscovering Gu Kaizhi's historical association with landscape painting which Fu Baoshi questioned in his writings. In addition, this section examines how Fu Baoshi's studies on the fine linear style of Gu Kaizhi profoundly inspired Fu's style of painting female figures during the war.

1. Reworking "Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain"

According to current scholarship on Chinese art history, the text "Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain" was first included in *Records of Celebrated Paintings Through the Past Dynasties* compiled by Zhang Yanyuan and is regarded as postdating Gu Kaizhi.⁴⁶⁰ In this section, Fu Baoshi's engagement with reworking the Cloud Terrace Mountain text is not discussed in terms of his ideas on the attribution of the text to Gu Kaizhi. Instead the section aims to analyse Fu Baoshi's involvement with the text.⁴⁶¹

Fu Baoshi's rediscovery of Gu Kaizhi as a landscape painter was initiated by his reading of the article "History of Chinese Landscape Painting: from Gu Kaizhi to Jing Hao" by Ise Sen'ichirō (1933). As briefly mentioned in chapter two, in response to the points the Japanese scholar made about Gu Kaizhi, Fu Baoshi questioned whether the painter could be considered a founding father of landscape painting. In Fu's article, he refuted this point by claiming that Gu Kaizhi was actually a pioneer of figure painting in China, referring to the Admonitions Scroll.

⁴⁶⁰Kohara Hironobu, *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies Scroll*, translated and edited by Shane McCausland. Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art Occasional Papers 1, The School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000, p. 16. and Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shi, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, Hong Kong University Press, 2012, p. 20.

⁴⁶¹ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 298. Fu Baoshi mentioned that there had been no actual evidence of landscape painting during the Eastern Jin dynasty. However, Fu Baoshi thought that because of the impact of the Cloud Terrace Mountain text, a number of scholars in China and Japan tried to reconsider Gu Kaizhi as a pioneering landscape painter.

Fu Baoshi further supported this viewpoint by saying that before the Tang dynasty, there were still no definite landscape painters and that it was during the Tang dynasty that landscape began to develop relatively independently.⁴⁶² In his article, he also focused on criticising Ise's quotations and interpretation of the Cloud Terrace Mountain text attributed to Gu Kaizhi.⁴⁶³ Nonetheless, Fu Baoshi made several mistakes of his own in disputing Ise's viewpoint. This was possibly due to his failure to examine the text before he had had the benefit of post-graduate study in art history in Japan.

During Fu Baoshi's art history training with Kinbara Seigo, he discussed the Cloud Terrace Mountain text with his Japanese professor. After returning to China, he continued studying the text and further discussed it with the writer Guo Moruo and the art historian Teng Gu 藤固 (1901-1941).⁴⁶⁴ In 1940, he published the outcome of his studies in the article "Research on the Jin Dynasty [painter] Gu Kaizhi's 'Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain'" which was published in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao*.⁴⁶⁵ In this article, he corrected his views with regard to Gu Kaizhi as a landscape painter, and the development of landscape in the history of Chinese painting.⁴⁶⁶

Although [Gu] Kaizhi's "Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain" takes a Daoist story as its theme, from the perspective of painting style and the studies in the development of landscape painting, the compositional arrangements, colours and figures are all applied with meticulous and incisive execution which clearly shows the great transformation in landscape which occurred in the Eastern Jin dynasty... Before ink landscape painting had developed, the production of coloured landscape can only be observed in Gu Kaizhi's "Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace [Mountain]", and it really must be admitted that in the Eastern Jin there was already considerable success [in the production of coloured landscape].⁴⁶⁷

The Cloud Terrace Mountain text describes the story of the Daoist practitioner and magician Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34-156 CE) who performed the seventh test to assess the faith and magic power of his disciple Zhao Sheng 趙昇 at Cloud Terrace Mountain, the legendary site

⁴⁶² Fu Baoshi, 1935d, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 55.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., pp. 59-61.

⁴⁶⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 301-302.

⁴⁶⁵ The article "Research on Jin dynasty [painter] Gu Kaizhi's A Record of Painting of the Cloud Terrace Mountain" (Jin Gu Kaizhi zhi "Hua Yuntaishan ji" zhi yanjiu 晉顧愷之《畫雲臺山記》之研究) published in *Xuedeng* 學燈, the supplement to *Shishi Xinbao* published in Chongqing in 1940. It was included as the second chapter in his book *the Study of the History of Chinese Landscape Painting (Zhongguo gudai shanshuihua de yanjiu 中國古代山水畫的研究)* later published in 1960.

⁴⁶⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 312.

⁴⁶⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.6.

of Daoist activities.⁴⁶⁸ Fu Baoshi was particularly fascinated by the way in which the text conceived the mountain and emphasised the detailed narration of the composition of landscape painting:⁴⁶⁹ “*Record on Painting of the Cloud Terrace Mountain* is one of the most perfect texts of landscape design. Today, if landscape can be visualised according to the text, perhaps it could become a landscape painting which moves the minds of people.”⁴⁷⁰ Inspired by this text, he further decided to visualise how Gu Kaizhi might have set out the landscape described in it. In the epilogue of Fu Baoshi’s article “The Study of the History of Chinese Ancient Landscape Painting” (*Zhongguo gudai shanshuihua shi de yanjiu* 中國古代山水畫史的研究) (1940), he explained why he produced the painting *The Cloud Terrace Mountain*:⁴⁷¹

In February 1940, I completed my research on Gu Kaizhi’s “Record of Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain” published in *Xuedeng*, the supplement to *Shishi Xinbao* which was published in Chongqing. Soon after publication, [I] began to receive many letters from the readers [of my article], either enquiring about certain circumstances or discussing different issues. It was just at this time that the Japanese imperialists were fanatically carrying out their airborne slaughter of peaceful civilians in the interior [of China]. So most of the readers’ letters encouraged me to continue in my efforts to try and establish the outline of the history of ancient Chinese landscape painting. Therefore, using Gu Kaizhi’s “Record of Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain” (chapter two) as a basis, I made slight revisions and progressed with “the design drawings [*sheji tu* 設計圖]” of “Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain”, thus creating the painting *The Cloud Terrace Mountain*.⁴⁷²

This passage reveals that as the Japanese invasion of China intensified, letters from readers of the newspaper motivated Fu Baoshi to conduct his pictorial interpretation of Gu Kaizhi’s text “Record of Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain”. He produced an initial “design [drawing]” following the description in the text, which was then used for his subsequent paintings. He completed three paintings with the same title *A Picture of Cloud Terrace Mountain* between 1941 and 1942. One was painted in ink and colour on paper, while the other two were in ink on paper (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2). For the inscriptions, he wrote the whole Cloud Terrace Mountain text in the right hand corner of the scrolls. In *Record of Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain* which he produced in 1941, he visualised the way in which Gu Kaizhi might have set about painting the mountain, with details such as compositional arrangements, the use of colour,

⁴⁶⁸ For the English translation of the whole of Gu Kaizhi’s text, see Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shi, 2012, pp. 34-36.

⁴⁶⁹ For the detailed description and interpretation of the text *Cloud Terrace Mountain* see, Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁷⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 306.

⁴⁷¹ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 321.

⁴⁷² For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.7.

and the relative proportions of the figures to the mountain (Fig. 4.1). Guo Moruo composed four poems and wrote them as an inscription to commemorate Fu Baoshi's completion of the painting. Guo Moruo stated that "studying this painting and the [landscape] painting history done by Fu Baoshi, I realise that the origin and development of landscape is much more distant [from us]".⁴⁷³

Fu Baoshi's effort to reconstruct the origin of tradition of Chinese landscape painting shows that his historical consciousness intensified in the time of the war. In researching the origin of landscape painting, he examined the early texts on Chinese painting including those written by Xie He, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443), Wang Wei 王微 (415-443) and Zhang Yanyuan.⁴⁷⁴ Fu Baoshi stated:⁴⁷⁵

With regard to the historical perspective of Chinese ancient landscape painting in recent decades, there are three kinds of theories: the first [on the origin of landscape] is the so-called "Two Li's Theory" of the Tang dynasty and is associated with the painters Li Sixun 李思训 (651-716) and Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (ca. 675-741); the second, the "Six Dynasties Theory," is associated with Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) and Wang Wei 王微 (415-443); and the third is the Eastern Jin Theory which is associated with Gu Kaizhi.⁴⁷⁶

Fu Baoshi stated that these were the three main previous theories regarding the date when Chinese landscape painting began. Comparing the available materials from both textual records and extant examples of landscape pictorial elements and landscape painting, he put forward his own opinion on the beginning of Chinese landscape painting, suggesting a date that was several hundred years prior to the earliest suggested date from the Eastern Jin dynasty that had been generally accepted as a canon. To support this, the earliest examples of landscape painting he considered were the mountain images that decorated early tombs, including Han stone reliefs, and wall paintings from the Han and Wei dynasties. From the Eastern Jin dynasty to the Sui dynasty, he listed landscape painters including Gu Kaizhi, Zong Bing, Wang Wei and Zhan Ziqian 展子虔 and took examples of blue and green landscape.⁴⁷⁷ Considering these examples alongside the textual analysis of various painting theories, he

⁴⁷³ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 45-46. In the following year, he produced another painting depicting the Cloud Terrace Mountain and soon after he carved a special seal to express his satisfaction with his studies on Gu Kaizhi, saying that "Gu Kaizhi's ancient text finally started to be interpreted by me".

⁴⁷⁴ The texts on early painting which Fu Baoshi analysed are "Introduction to Painting Landscape" (*Hua shanshui xu* 畫山水序) by Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443), "Comments on Painting" (*Xu hua* 敘畫) by Wang Wei 王微 (415-443), and *Records of Celebrated Paintings Through the Past Dynasties* by Zhang Yanyuan and so on. Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 289-295.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-295.

⁴⁷⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.8.

⁴⁷⁷ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 317-318.

suggested that landscape painting started in the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), established its status during the Eastern Jin dynasty, and developed further during the Tang dynasty.⁴⁷⁸

2. The Admonitions Scroll as a Technical Model in Figure Painting

Fu Baoshi's study of Gu Kaizhi also played a pivotal role in developing his figure painting during the Sino-Japanese War. His figure paintings, particularly those depicting female figures, display the outcome of his textual studies on Gu Kaizhi and his prolonged practice of the fine linear brushwork associated with Gu Kaizhi. As already discussed in chapter two, since his stay in Japan, Fu Baoshi was not only aware of the presence of the Admonitions Scroll at the British Museum but also encountered the reproductions of the scroll that were available in Japan. In his article "The Preface to the Painting Exhibition in Chongqing in 1942, the *renwu* year," he described his attachment to Gu Kaizhi and the Eastern Jin dynasty in the production of his painting:⁴⁷⁹

Regarding the history of Chinese painting, I am most interested in the following two periods: the Eastern Jin and the Six Dynasties, and the transitional period between the Ming and Qing ...Over the past decade, I feel comfortable that I have given meticulous care to these two great artists [Gu Kaizhi and Shitao]. The Eastern Jin dynasty is a pivotal period in the transformation of Chinese painting, and the transitional period between the Ming and Qing dynasties is the period when Chinese painting flourished. These two periods have always been turning around in my head. Therefore, more than half of the topics that I have used in my painting belong to one of these two periods.⁴⁸⁰

Fu Baoshi took Gu Kaizhi as a model in his painting, considering him to be a pioneer in a figure painting, and cited the Admonitions Scroll (Fig. 4.3).⁴⁸¹

I plan to begin by talking about the Admonitions Scroll by Gu Kaizhi of the Eastern Jin. Gu Kaizhi is the founder of Chinese painting theory and at the same time, is an outstanding epoch-making figure painter. Although the Admonitions Scroll is a copy, from the perspective of the famous extant classical paintings, its content and form is rather specific and it is of a relatively early period, therefore it has an extremely high research value. Through this painting, to a large extent, we can see the relationship between it and the paintings of the Han dynasty and can also see the development and advance of Chinese figure painting based on line [drawing]. It is particularly noteworthy that, to some extent, we can see aspects of aristocratic women's lives in the Eastern Jin dynasty fifteen hundred years ago.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁸ Fu Baoshi, 1960a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 318.

⁴⁷⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 328.

⁴⁸⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.9.

⁴⁸¹ Fu Baoshi, "Chinese Figure and Landscape Painting" (*Zhongguo de renwuhua he shanshuihua* 中國的人物畫和山水畫), reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 384.

⁴⁸² For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.10.

Fu Baoshi valued the Admonitions Scroll in its use of fine outline as well as its association with particular subject matter revealing aspects of historical and cultural interest. In addition, referring to Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll, he said:⁴⁸³

Its outstanding outline [line drawing], powerful and vigorous like the so-called "gossamer threads of spring silkworms," and its fine transparent colours; in order to avoid making lines too heavy, the colours are applied very lightly, mostly using gluey and soluble pigments. In this way, the painting surface is enriched with a quiet and gentle atmosphere. The use of the Admonitions Scroll as an example is most suited to this topic. This is one of the basic characteristics of excellent traditional Chinese painting: a high degree of harmony between line and colour.⁴⁸⁴

Fu Baoshi claimed that the Admonitions Scroll was the best example of the characteristics of fine outline and in combination with the use of colours. Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll greatly inspired the portrayal of female figures in Fu Baoshi's paintings. Among his numerous paintings depicting classical subjects from the past, *The Lady of the Xiang River* (*Xiangfuren* 湘夫人), dated 1943, stands out in its inspiration from Gu Kaizhi (Fig. 4.4).⁴⁸⁵ Fu Baoshi inscribed the whole text of the *Nine Songs* (*Jiuge* 九歌), a poem traditionally ascribed to Qu Yuan, at the bottom right of the painting. The lady of the Xiang River was often depicted by Fu Baoshi in the 1940s when he was in Chongqing. This painting is particularly significant since it is not only his first depiction of the subject in 1943, but it also clearly delivers the original intention of its creation in his inscription:

For a long time painters have enjoyed depicting *Nine Songs*, and the works of Longmian Li Gonglin [李公麟 (1049–1106)]⁴⁸⁶ and Zi'ang [Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322)] are the greatest between heaven and earth. I too have wanted to paint *Nine Songs* for a long time but my ability wasn't up to doing it. Today is the fourth week since the birth of my little daughter Yishan. My wife Shihui and I read *The Songs of Chu*, and when we read the line "Gently the wind of autumn whispers and on the waves of the Dongting Lake the leaves are falling" we became speechless. It was just about the time when the strong enemy [the Japanese] extended their aggression between the rivers Yuan and Li. Therefore, I painted this painting and immediately picked up some words for it. The various kinds of clothes and adornments worn by the Lady of the Xiang River bring an element of change and also add to the history of Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll. It is a treasured scroll in China, and nothing comes close to it. On the twenty-first day of the eleventh lunar month of the *guiwei* year [1943], Fu Baoshi writes at the western suburb of Jingangpo. Fu Baoshi of Xinyu.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Fu Baoshi, 1960b, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 387.

⁴⁸⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.11.

⁴⁸⁵ Shane McCausland, 2003, p. 128. McCausland mentioned Fu Baoshi's reference to Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll in his inscription.

⁴⁸⁶ Here in the inscription, Li Gonglin is referred to by his pen names Longmian 龍眠 and Li Boshi 伯時.

⁴⁸⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.12.

By mentioning the masters of the past such as Li Gonglin and Zhao Mengfu in his inscription, Fu Baoshi's painting documents the artist's awareness of the long literati tradition of using the theme of Nine Songs as a subject for the painting. As stated in his inscription, Fu Baoshi was inspired by the lines from the poem *The Songs of Chu* attributed to Qu Yuan and created this painting to express his sorrow and anxiety about the war situation. The subject of this painting reflects the traditional Chinese values of loyalty and sacrifice in the face of hardship. The Lady of the Xiang River is the goddess of the Xiang River, one of the daughters of the sage-ruler Yao. Out of loyalty she drowned herself in the Xiang River upon the death of her husband, the emperor Shun. She has been regarded as the divine spirit of the Xiang River which is one of four rivers feeding into Dongting Lake.

Fu Baoshi's *The Lady of the Xiang River* is associated with the Admonitions Scroll not only through references in its inscription, but also in his use of pose and brushline in the rendering of the figure painting.⁴⁸⁸ The figure in Fu Baoshi's *The Lady of the Xiang River* resembles the lady in the rejection scene of the Admonitions Scroll in her representation in a similar pose with her hands in her sleeves and with the draperies of her gown trailing behind her. In particular, inspired by Gu Kaizhi's brushwork, Fu Baoshi uses a fine brushline to represent the contours of the dress (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4).

Guo Moruo's inscription, which was added to the painting one year after its creation, describes the nationalistic spirit of the lady of the Xiang River against the backdrop of the chaotic wartime conditions. Guo Moruo writes:

[At the rivers Yuan and Xiang, a species of orchid was burnt and this monarch suffered greatly. Independent sorrow is whose word?] The autumn leaves of the Wu Tong tree are falling in profusion. The lady of the Xiang River loses her will, leaves the river Xiang and takes command of the wind and the thunder to express her regret for injustice and justice. Do not say "lovely lady heaves a deep sigh for nothing", she [actually] devotes herself fervently to try to make the meeting happen. On the tenth of November, Zhou Enlai fled from Yan'an to Chongqing. On the sixteenth he came to visit for my fifty-third birthday and many good friends also came to the village to hold a small gathering. Fu Baoshi and Li Keran showed us their recent paintings. Zhou Enlai asked for the painting called *The Lady of the Xiang River* and took it with him on his return to the north of Shaanxi province. I think the territory of the Xiang River has already fallen into enemy [Japanese] hands. The Lady of the Xiang River regards herself as 'being able to participate in the guerrilla warfare fight' for pleasure. The twentieth day of the eleventh lunar month of the thirty-third year of the Republic of China [1944], Guo Moruo.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ Shane McCausland, 2003, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁸⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.13.

By using the analogy of the regret and fighting spirit of the Lady of the Xiang River, the inscription of Guo Moruo calls attention to the cataclysmic and irreversible destruction by the Japanese which was taking place in China. In particular, by stating that the Lady of the Xiang River was willing to participate in the guerrilla warfare for pleasure, the painting with the inscription also seems to convey the heroic spirit and resolve of the goddess. Her image is subtly highlighted by the drifting, falling leaves which are rendered in an expressive calligraphic brushwork with touches of brown colour (Fig. 4.4). An iconic image of the Lady of the Xiang River was associated with the traditional value and Gu Kaizhi could have been immediately recognised by the viewers of this painting.

Fu Baoshi's painting *The Lady Figure for Luo Shihui* (*Wei Luo Shihui zuo shinütu* 為羅時慧作仕女圖) dated 1945 is another work that shows his stylistic borrowing from the Admonitions Scroll (Fig. 4.5). This painting was created to commemorate the birthday of his wife Luo Shihui and in the inscription he states:

Today is the thirty-fifth birthday of [my wife] Shihui. It's been over six years since [we] moved to Sichuan, and [I] actually have not yet counted on [her birthday]. [I] recall the fifteen years of my marriage to Shihui. Our first son Yidiao is fourteen years old, our second son Yiju is ten years old, our eldest daughter is six years old and our second daughter is just nine months, two years old [according to Chinese custom].⁴⁹⁰ arduously took refuge in Dongchuan [Eastern Sichuan] and my mother-in-law Madame Li also came. During the entire wartime period we have all been extremely agitated, however, we still have not abandoned painting. The dwelling is only sufficient for avoiding the wind and rain and we could only rely on what we already had before the *dingchou* year [1937], in a similar way to when Huang Gongwang [the Yuan painter] found himself in dire straits. Fortunately, Shihui is able to bear what others cannot bear. Before [my daughter] Yishan, [a] baby girl was born at the place where we spent a night in Dong'an, Hunan province. During our journey in the autumn of the *wuyin* year [1938] as we entered Sichuan province she suddenly died in Qijiang suburban county, Sichuan, this was the day after the Japanese madly bombarded Chongqing. Afterwards, we had two daughters, Yishan and Yixuan, in succession. [My wife] Shihui took it upon herself to raise them and I am deeply grateful to her. In the past, my late mother Madame Xu always instructed me and said that once one has children, one will then understand the great virtue of one's parents. However, I was stupid and listened as if I haven't heard [I didn't take it in] and now I am already a father of many. Encountering such troubled times, everything is unbearable, and to some extent it will be passed on to the future and this is not at all what I had made for myself [had hoped for]. On the seventeenth day of the fifth lunar month in the *yiyou* year [1945], residing at Jingangpo in the western suburb of Chongqing, [I] record the respect [for my wife]. Shihui appreciates this. Fu Baoshi.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ Traditionally in China, a child is considered one year old at birth.

⁴⁹¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.14.

The inscription provides details about the physical and psychological difficulties Fu Baoshi encountered with his family during the eight years of the war. In the inscription he also expresses his gratitude towards his wife. It is likely that the model of the female figure in *The Lady Figure for Luo Shihui* was his wife Luo Shihui to whom he was grateful for her steadfast devotion during the war years. In the painting, the lady figure is shown gracefully walking on the mountain path. It is likely that Fu Baoshi took the Admonitions Scroll as a technical model for the painting in terms of the posture of the figure and the depiction of the drapery. The female figure in Fu's painting recalls the image of the court lady in the ninth scene of the Admonitions Scroll, who appears to be in conversation with another lady (Fig. 4.5 and 4.6). The female figure in Fu Baoshi's painting and the court lady on the right of the instructress in scene nine of the Admonitions Scroll are both turning their heads while their hands are spread open. Fu Baoshi successfully applies the smooth fine outlines he observed in the Admonitions Scroll to depict the dress of the female figure. He further incorporates the naturalistic treatment of the shading and bright tonal colour washes with a clearer sense of space into the painting which he seemed to have learnt from the nihonga paintings he encountered in Japan.

IV. Promotion of Patriotic Symbols

This section explores why and how Fu Baoshi came to choose the Chinese poet Qu Yuan and the individualist painter Shitao as models from the past to reassert the national spirit in Chinese painting in response to the threat from Japan.⁴⁹² Considering the social function of painting, Fu Baoshi focused his attention on the subject reflecting Chinese symbols of patriotism which could arouse such feelings among the viewers at the time of war. Having taken inspiration from modern Japanese painters and scholarship, the promotion of Qu Yuan and Shitao as patriotic symbols is discussed in light of the connection to Japan. As already mentioned in chapter one, Fu Baoshi's personal interest and respect for both figures is reflected in his self-adopted artistic pen name Baoshi 抱石 which was inspired by them. His idea and inspiration for the revival of Qu Yuan and Shitao in the context of the Sino-Japanese War seem to have been generated, in part, by having a connection with Japan. Fu Baoshi's painting of Qu Yuan was inspired by Japanese-style (*nihonga*) historical paintings including themes from Chinese history and legends that had been in fashion since the early Meiji (1868-1912) and early Taisho (1912-1926) periods.⁴⁹³ His inspiration from Shitao was drawn from

⁴⁹² I have already briefly dealt with the section "Promotion of Patriotic Symbols", particularly on Shitao, in my MA thesis *The Revival of Shitao (1642-1707) as an Icon of Modernity in Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*, 2007 and have expanded it here in further detail.

⁴⁹³ In Japan, there was a revival of traditional Japanese styles as a reaction against the Westernisation that followed the Meiji period. Historical paintings emerged as an exploration of

his viewing of Shitao's paintings in Japanese collections and from Japanese scholarly interest in the artist. By analysing paintings along with a textual examination of his related writings, this section explores how Fu Baoshi's revival project of Qu Yuan and Shitao worked, and how it took on meaning in the context of the war. It also touches on the uses of art works as a spiritual and artistic weapon against the war.

1. The Rhetoric of Chinese Loyalism: Qu Yuan

Fu Baoshi depicted a number of portraits of scholarly figures to represent the suffering of Chinese intellectuals in the paintings which he produced simultaneously with the growth of nationalism during the war. Among them, he was particularly drawn to the moral rectitude and loyalty of Qu Yuan, an ancient Chinese poet and minister who faced political oppression from the Southern Chu 楚 during the Warring States period (481-221 BCE). As an advocate of 'benevolent government', Qu Yuan was slandered and exiled to southern China by those who opposed his policies. During his exile, he worried about state affairs and wrote many poems. Witnessing the state of Chu's decline, he fell into despair and eventually committed suicide in the Miluo River to show his loyalty to the King Huai of Chu. Qu Yuan was thus traditionally regarded as a patriot, an embodiment of loyalty. In the context of the war in the 1940s, Fu Baoshi began to produce paintings that portrayed Qu Yuan and related subjects (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8). The source of these portraits seems to be five lines of the poem *The Fisherman (Yufu 漁夫)* attributed to Qu Yuan:⁴⁹⁴

After Qu Yuan was banished, he wandered, sometimes along the river's banks, sometimes along the marsh's edge, singing as he went. His expression was dejected and his features emaciated.

Echoing the lines of the poem, in Fu Baoshi's portrait *Qu Yuan* (1942), the figure is depicted as worn out, with dishevelled hair and his chest partly exposed as he walks along the river (Fig. 4.7). Such a portrayal of Qu Yuan is unusual, since the poet was often shown as a well-dressed and dignified scholarly figure in earlier paintings by painters such as Zhang Wo 張渥 (active ca. 1336-ca 1364) and Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599-1652)⁴⁹⁵ (Figs. 4.9 and 4.10).⁴⁹⁶

national identity by showing the country's cultural, artistic and spiritual legacy represented by Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. See Victoria Weston, 2004, p. 175.

⁴⁹⁴ Quoted from David Hawkes trans. *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, Penguin Classics, 2012, p. 206.

⁴⁹⁵ Siu Fun Kee, 2004, p. 88.

⁴⁹⁶ The early twentieth century Chinese painters including Zhang Daqian seem to have depicted Qu

In the choice of subject matter and style, it is likely that Fu Baoshi's portrait was modelled after the works of the *nihonga* painters, particularly Yokoyama Taikan (Fig. 4.11).⁴⁹⁷ As mentioned in chapter two, Fu Baoshi had met Yokoyama Taikan who visited his solo exhibition in Tokyo in 1935. Yokoyama's painting *Qu Yuan* (1898) shows the figure next to the flowing waters of the Miluo river, close to the moment when he is about to drown himself, which is similar to Fu Baoshi's portrait of Qu Yuan (1942). Fu Baoshi would have seen the painting by Yokoyama Taikan in exhibitions or printed catalogues since this work was highly regarded in Japan while he was there. His depiction of Qu Yuan in such a desperate setting seems to have been inspired by Yokoyama's painting depicting the mood and appearance of the poet just before his suicide (Figs. 4.7 and 4.11). The similarities in both paintings can be found in the rendering of the well-modelled and dark-complexioned figure, as well as in the overall dramatic atmosphere of the landscape setting. Nonetheless, Fu Baoshi seems to have paid more attention to the details of Qu Yuan's powerless and hopeless look, with his pale face, long, dishevelled hair and untidy robes. Alluding to the desperate minds of the Chinese people at the time of the war, Fu Baoshi may have intended this depiction to transmit Qu Yuan's desperate emotions just before he drowned himself in the river.

Despite the Japanese reference, Fu Baoshi's portraits of Qu Yuan were produced in the context of the resistance against Japan during the war and were prompted by his cooperation with Guo Moruo. In 1942 Guo Moruo wrote the play "Qu Yuan" which was performed in April at the Guotai Theatre (Guotai xiyuan 國泰戲院), in the centre of Chongqing, organised by the Chinese Opera and Art Association (Zhonghua Juyishe 中華劇藝社) (Fig. 4.12).⁴⁹⁸ His large-scale historical play consisted of five acts. Guo Moruo described the creation of his play as follows:⁴⁹⁹

All progressive people of China are feeling angry, therefore we should use the anger of our times and bring it back to life in the time of Qu Yuan. In other words, I borrow the time of Qu

Yuan, however I was unable to locate any reliable images of the paintings.

⁴⁹⁷ The connection between Yokoyama Taikan's *Qu Yuan* and Fu Baoshi's *Qu Yuan* has been discussed. See Wen Feng, 2001, pp. 111-112; Aida Yuen Wong, 2006, pp. 30-34; Anita Chung, 2011, pp. 86-87; Ralph Crozier, "Qu Yuan and the Artists: Ancient Symbols and Modern Politics in the Post-Mao Era," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No. 24, (Jul., 1990), pp. 25-50.

⁴⁹⁸ Xiao Fenqi 蕭芬琪. "Fu Baoshi and Qu Yuan" (*Fu Baoshi yu Qu Yuan* 傅抱石與屈原). In *The Collection of Essays on the Research of Fu Baoshi* (*Fu Baoshi yanjiu lunwenji* 傅抱石研究論文集), edited by Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009, p. 131.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. Guo Moruo wrote an article about his 1942 play "Qu Yuan" and published it in the newspaper *People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao* 人民日報) in May 1952.

Yuan to symbolise the present era.⁵⁰⁰

In his play, Guo Moruo not only indirectly lamented the destructive wartime period but also criticised the corruption of the Nationalist government in Chongqing. Guo Moruo regarded the loyalism and patriotism of Qu Yuan as necessary in time of war. Fu Baoshi supported Guo Moruo's play as well as his view and painted the portrait of the poet along with a set of paintings based on his poems. In creating his painting of Qu Yuan, Fu Baoshi used Guo Moruo's *The Modern Translation of Encountering Sorrow* (*Lisao jin yuan yi* 離騷今言譯), and other writings as a reference for his image. In particular, Fu Baoshi considered Guo Moruo's textual research. Guo Moruo wrote:⁵⁰¹

In the mind of the average person Qu Yuan is thought to be very young. In fact, he was not that young at all, but it was his spirit that was young. It is not going too far for us to conclude that he was sixty-two years of age.... the cause of his death was not, as thought by the average petty person, that he felt that his talents had not been recognised, but it was because he was angry about all that was reasonable in the world and could not bear to see the loss of the motherland and the people homeless with nowhere to turn...⁵⁰²

Inspired by Guo Moruo's interpretation of Qu Yuan in his play and research, Fu Baoshi's paintings of Qu Yuan completed during the war replace the calm and dignified scholar of the Yuan and Ming portraits with a passionate patriot and upright loyalist who could inspire Chinese people in their country's crisis. During the war, this portrayal of Qu Yuan was also found in other art media. For example, the printmaker Yang Nawei 楊訥維 (1912-1982) produced a woodblock print showing Qu Yuan exhausted, holding a stick and walking alongside the river bank (Fig. 4.13). It was completed in the same year as Guo Moruo directed a play about Qu Yuan, and Fu Baoshi produced his portrait. Whether Yang Nawei was aware of the play or not is unknown, but it is clear that the image of Qu Yuan had a great appeal to artists and intellectuals especially during the devastations of the war.

Among the subjects relating to Qu Yuan, Fu Baoshi's painting *The Fisherman*, produced in the early 1940s, is closely related to the portrait of Qu Yuan (Figs. 4.7 and 4.14). If *The Fisherman* and *Qu Yuan* (1942) are put together, the two paintings appear to show a conversation between Qu Yuan and a fisherman on the riverbank, as described in the poem *The Fisherman* attributed to Qu Yuan. When Qu Yuan speaks of his grief about the corrupted world, the

⁵⁰⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.15.

⁵⁰¹ Xiao Fenqi, 2009, p. 131.

⁵⁰² For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.16.

fisherman responds with a song of *Canglang* 滄浪, stating that one should serve in an official position in the good times and retire gracefully in troubled times. In *The Fisherman*, the figure is shown in bluish purple robes holding a fishing rod and standing on a small boat floating by the riverbank. Like the painting of Qu Yuan, *The Fisherman* shows Fu Baoshi's use of visual elements such as chiaroscuro and bright colours (Fig. 4.14). In relation to the use of colour washes in his paintings, in his text "Observations on the History of National [Chinese] Painting since the Republic" (1937), Fu Baoshi once stated, in nationalistic tones:⁵⁰³

Although Japanese artists do not paint in a pure Chinese style, in terms of their methods and materials, many of are still ancient Chinese methods, in particular colour wash, which is most certainly a method used by the Song dynasty painters. This is perhaps still not quite understood by many Chinese artists because as a method it has long been forgotten in China. For example, painting on silk, hemp paper and the blue and green pigments used for landscape, Japanese examples of these are all extremely fine but some are not even produced in China...⁵⁰⁴

Fu Baoshi claimed that the Chinese adoption of Japanese painting methods could not be called 'Japanisation' (*Ribenhua*, 日本化), but should be considered a process of China learning from herself. He stated that since the methods of applying colour wash were not popular, or had already become lost or unavailable in China, Chinese painters had turned to Japan to take them back. The war must have caused Fu Baoshi to experience complex psychological reactions toward Japan, as he suddenly had to face the crisis of the war after coming back from the same country where he had enjoyed himself as a student and an artist. With the continuing devastation of the war, he became defensive of Chinese tradition, wanting to reclaim it against the Japanese invasion of his motherland.

2. The Revival of a Nationalist Idol: Shitao

This section explores how Fu Baoshi promoted Shitao, modifying the Japanese interest in the painter as an individualist into a Chinese nationalistic ideal in the context of the war. As mentioned in chapter two, Fu Baoshi's first article on the painter entitled "The Chronology of the Bitter Gourd Monk" was published in Japan in March 1935, and he continued to produce several publications on Shitao after he returned to China, researching his life and producing his paintings based on his historical research into the seventeenth-century artist. In May 1936

⁵⁰³ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 142.

⁵⁰⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.17.

he completed *Draft of the Chronology of Shitao* (*Shitao nianpu qiao* 石濤年譜橋).⁵⁰⁵ Two months later, he received three volumes of the Japanese art journal *Nanga Kanshō* (1935) sent by Kinbara Seigo from Tokyo.⁵⁰⁶ One of these was the October issue devoted entirely to Shitao⁵⁰⁷ with a list of twenty-four illustrated catalogues of his paintings from both Japanese and Chinese collections (Fig. 4.15). The other two volumes were the November and December issues which included several scholarly articles on Shitao. These Japanese articles inspired Fu Baoshi to continue researching Shitao and to produce more writings on the subject: *Study on Shitao* (*Shitao congkao* 石濤叢考) (1936), *Restudy of Shitao* (*Shitao zaikao* 石濤再考) (1937), *Collected and Annotated Inscriptions on Paintings by Shitao* (*Dadizi tihua shiba jiaobu* 大滌子題畫時跋郊補) (1937), *Research on Shitao's Painting Theory* (*Shitao hualun zhi yanjiu* 石濤畫論之研究) (1937), and *A Study of Shitao's Birth and Death Dates* (*Shitao shengzu kao* 石濤生卒考) (1937).

After the outbreak of the war, Fu Baoshi promoted the nationalistic aspects of Shitao. In 1937 he began to work on the book *Biographies of Nationalistic Artists of the Late Ming Period* (*Zhongguo Mingmo minzu yishuchuan* 中國明末民族藝人傳) which was published in 1939 (Fig. 4.16).⁵⁰⁸ In this book, he assembled and edited the Japanese texts from the book *Detailed Biographies of Famous Painters and Calligraphers of the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties* (*Sō Gen Min Shin shoga meiken shoden* 宋元明清書畫名賢詳伝) (1927) by Yamamoto Teijirō 山本悌二郎 (1870-1937) and Kinari Toraichi 紀成虎一. In the preface of the book, he explained why he chose these Japanese texts to translate.⁵⁰⁹

Last year [1937] on 13 August, following orders to move from Nanjing to Xuancheng, in my haste I only took with me the Japanese-language *Detailed Biographies of Famous Painters and Calligraphers of the Song, Ming and Qing*

⁵⁰⁵ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 34.

⁵⁰⁶ Fu Baoshi, *Study on Shitao* (*Shitao congkao* 石濤叢考), 1936, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 120.

⁵⁰⁷ *Nanga Kanshō* 南画鑑賞, Special Issue on Shitao (*Sekitō tokushu ko* 石濤特輯號), October, 1935.

⁵⁰⁸ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 40. The book included a preface by Guo Moruo. In the book title, the English translation of *Minzu yiren* 民族藝人 which is 'Nationalistic Artist' refers to Wen Feng's translation of this term in Wen Feng, 2002, p. 109. Here 'nationalistic' generally means "being very proud of his or her nation with strong patriotic feelings and specially a belief in the superiority of one's own country over others."

⁵⁰⁹ Fu Baoshi, *Preface to Biographies of Nationalistic Artists of the Late Ming Period* (*Mingmo minzu yiren chuan zixu* 明末民族藝人傳自序), 1938, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 144. Fu Baoshi, ed. and trans. *Biographies of Nationalistic Artists of the Late Ming Period* (*Mingmo minzu yiren chuan* 明末民族藝人傳), Changsha: Commercial Press, 1939. Reprinted by Liwen Chubanshe 利文出版社, 1971, p. 1.

Dynasties, jointly compiled by Yamamoto Teijirō [山本悌二郎] and Kinari Toraichi [紀成虎一]. Because I had been doing research on Shitao for the last few years, I was planning to compile a specialist book so I only kept this [Japanese volume]. After I arrived, on casually reading through the final pages of the book, I felt deeply the great national spirit of all those famous worthies; the primary factor that our country has depended on and maintained for several thousand years. That is why I selected this and made a translation of it...As for this compilation, its quality has slightly changed. I hope to deal with art by placing the highest importance on 'national character' [*minzuxing* 民族性].⁵¹⁰

In the context of the war, Fu Baoshi focused on the biographical details of late Ming painters including Shitao, who had experienced the turmoil of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition. In his book *Biographies of Nationalistic Artists of the Late Ming Period*, he included a group of painters who were 'leftover subjects' (*yimin* 遺民), spending most of their lives in an itinerant existence under foreign rule in the early decades of the Qing dynasty. Through editing and translating this publication from the Japanese reference work, Fu Baoshi stressed the nationalistic spirit of those painters, which Chinese people needed during the war.

One of Fu Baoshi's major publications was *A Chronology of Monk Shitao* (*Shitao shangren nianpu* 石濤上人年譜), completed in 1941 and published in 1948, which was the first biographical chronicle of Shitao in China (Fig. 4.17).⁵¹¹ Fu Baoshi began this publication with a statement of how passionate he was about Shitao: "With regard to master Shitao's wonderful truth, one could say that I have a deep addiction which cannot be controlled."⁵¹² In the preface, he described the way in which *A Chronology of Shitao* was produced:

This book was drafted to be compiled together with my [previous] unworthy writings *A Study of Shitao's Birth and Death Dates*, *Study on Shitao*, *Restudy of Shitao* and *Third Study of Shitao*. The master's dates of birth and death, his genealogy, the trace of his movements in life and his travels with friends have all been carefully researched. They will be edited together into another volume.⁵¹³

In *A Chronology of Shitao*, Fu Baoshi compiled all the available materials from his previous studies on Shitao. He made use of some Chinese⁵¹⁴ and Japanese references including

⁵¹⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.18.

⁵¹¹ Fu Baoshi, "A Chronology of Shitao" (*Shitao shangren nianpu* 石濤上人年譜), 1948, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 248-285.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁵¹³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.19.

⁵¹⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1948, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 249. The Chinese references related to Shitao which Fu Baoshi cited included *Shitao's Records on Painting* (*Shitao huayulu* 石濤畫語錄) compiled by Cheng Linsheng and *Inscriptions by Qingxiang laoren [Shitao]* (*Qingxiang laoren tiji* 清湘老人題記) compiled by Wang Yun.

Hashimoto Kansetsu's *Shitao*, Yamamoto Teijirō and Kinari Toraichi's *A Detailed Biography of the Painters and Calligraphers of the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, A General Discussion of Literati Painting (Bunjinga gairon 文人畫概論)* by Taki Seiichi 瀧精一 (1873-1945), and the art journal *Nanga Kanshō*. In particular, these Japanese references were cited in discussing the inscriptions and dates of Shitao's paintings. *A Chronology of Shitao* not only narrated the entire life of Shitao and his artistic activities, including a discussion of his paintings and related inscriptions, but also explained the social and cultural context of the late Ming and early Qing which was relevant to Shitao. This book subsequently became one of the most important and influential early resources for the study of Shitao in China. Despite his indebtedness to Japanese resources, Fu Baoshi's deep involvement with his book was strongly stimulated by his nationalistic feeling against Japan. Joining the resistance against the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese war, he continued to gather materials wherever he went, and all through the war years in Chongqing he worked on this book.

Fu Baoshi also produced paintings relating to Shitao which formed a visual balance to his textual studies. He often painted following the text of Shitao's poems and essays or directly depicted Shitao's image and behaviour as he understood them. For example, the nationalistic figure of Shitao was further represented in a portrait Fu Baoshi painted which was dated 1942 (Fig. 4.18). In the inscription, Fu Baoshi wrote:

A Portrait of the Monk Shitao. Three hundred and thirty years after [the birth of Shitao], in the fifth day of the fifth lunar month in the *renwu* year of the Republic of China [1942], respectfully painted by Fu Baoshi.⁵¹⁵

The portrait paid homage to an admired figure and the ideals Shitao stood for. In this painting, Shitao is shown seated on a flat rock under a huge pine tree. The long inscription in the middle of the painting is written by the critic and calligrapher Shen Yinmo 沈尹默 (1883-1971).⁵¹⁶ In the first part, Shen Yinmo wrote short biographical notes on Shitao while describing his appraisal of the painting by Fu Baoshi in the second part. In this part, he wrote:

This painting by [Fu] Baoshi refers to the painting *The Monk of the Bitter Melon* [Shitao] depicted by the Ming dynasty *yimin* [leftover] painter Ding Yuangong [丁元功 (active 1630-1686)] in the *dingyou* year during the reign of the Shunzhi emperor [1657], which no longer exists [Fu Baoshi's painting] has pine and plum blossoms all around and the artistic composition is profoundly serene

⁵¹⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.20.

⁵¹⁶ Shen Yinmo was the founding member and first director of the Institute of Chinese Studies of Beijing University in 1921. He was an early contributor to the leading revolutionary magazine *New Youth (Xin Qingnian 新青年)*.

[profound seclusion]. [Fu] Baoshi carried out extremely diligent research on the Bitter Gourd Monk [Shitao]. [Fu Baoshi] not only examined and fixed his genealogy and his entire life [of Shitao] but also produced the publications *The Chronology [of Shitao]* and *The Amended Poetic Inscriptions [by Shitao]*. Therefore Fu Baoshi can be as familiar with [Shitao] as this. [I] record and edit this brief biography here. Inscribed by Shen Yinmo.⁵¹⁷

Since the Ding Yuangong's portrait of Shitao was not extant, it is likely that Fu Baoshi considered the letter with a reproduction of Ding Yuangong's portrait of Shitao from Kawai Senro's article "Two Uncertain Points about Shitao" from the journal *Nanga Kanshō* (1935) (Fig. 4.19).⁵¹⁸ In Fu Baoshi's article "Study on Shitao" (*Shitao congkao* 石濤叢考) (1936), he discussed the letter that had a portrait of Shitao reproduced on it. Fu Baoshi wrote:⁵¹⁹

Kawai Senro discovered a letter with a portrait of Shitao, this should be noted. He [Kawai Senro] says: One of the most interesting things is that several years ago the book *Looking at the Hall of the Posthumous Works* (*Guantang yimo* 觀堂遺墨) was published in Shanghai. This is a book compiling the surviving manuscripts and letters of Wang Guowei 王國維 [1877-1927]. The paper on which the letter was written has the portrait of Shitao, and the painter is Ding Yuangong who is a *yimin* [leftover subject] of the Ming dynasty. He became a monk in his later years and is probably a friend of Shitao. This portrait of Shitao is a young man who is completely bald. From this point, Shitao seems to be a monk who shaved his head and I consider this is not wrong [or mistake].⁵²⁰

In his article, Kawai Senro examined the image of the portrait of Shitao which was reproduced in one of the letters of the Chinese historian, literary critic and poet, Wang Guowei (1877-1927). Fu Baoshi paid attention to the image and described it in detail (Fig. 4.19).⁵²¹

This letter with a portrait is a birthday couplet that Wang Guowei 王國維 had someone write on his behalf to celebrate the double birthday of Hatong 哈同 [Silas Aaron Hardoon, 1851–1931] and his wife.⁵²² The half-length portrait of Shitao painted on the letter is with two hands in his sleeves and smiling but also looks as though he has experienced much suffering. On the top left corner, there is [an inscription]:

On the spring day in the *dingchou* year [1657], Ding Yuangong painted for the Bitter

⁵¹⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.21.

⁵¹⁸ Kawai Senro 河井荃廬, "Two Uncertain Points about Shitao" (*Sekitō ni tsuite giten ni dai* 石濤に就て・疑點二題). *Nanga Kanshō* 南畫鑑賞, (October, 1935), p. 15.

⁵¹⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1936, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 127.

⁵²⁰ Fu Baoshi cited and translated the Japanese texts written by Kawai Senro from the article "Two Uncertain Points about Shitao". For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.22.

⁵²¹ Fu Baoshi, 1936, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 127.

⁵²² Silas Aaron Hardoon was a wealthy Jewish businessman who was active in Shanghai in the early twentieth century. During his sojourn in Shanghai, he interacted with other Chinese intellectuals such as Wang Guowei and Luo Zhenyu. For further details on Haroon's stay in Shanghai, see Chiara Betta, *Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851-1931): Marginality and Adaptation in Shanghai*, PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997.

Gourd Monk Shitao.⁵²³

Along with the inscription, Fu Baoshi further discussed the two seals on the letter. One seal with characters 'Yuangong' 原躬 indicated the style name of Ding Yuangong, and on the corner of the left ankle in the portrait, another one with three characters 'Xue Weng fu' 雪翁抚 is the seal of the politician, antiquarian and art dealer Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940).⁵²⁴ Fu Baoshi then came to the conclusion that the original painting was probably the one which Luo Zhenyu acquired for his collection and Luo Zhenyu claimed that the *dingchou* year was the fourteenth year of the Shunzhi reign (1657) when Shitao was twenty-eight years old.⁵²⁵

Fu Baoshi made a careful examination of the image of Shitao by Ding Yuangong in the letter by making use of Japanese references. Through an analysis of the related materials, he produced his portrait of Shitao. The image of Shitao in the letter and the one in Fu Baoshi's painting have similarities in that the figure is depicted as a monk wearing a heavily robed costume with his hands in his sleeves (Figs. 4.18 and 4.19). Unlike the image of Ding Yuangong's portrait of the smiling figure of Shitao in the letter, Shitao's posture and facial expression in Fu Baoshi's painting make Shitao appear melancholic and regretful as if aware of the difficult political and cultural climate. This echoes Shen Yinmo's description of Shitao in his inscription on Fu Baoshi's painting:

The master's nature is upright and true; sad that the country has fallen, and unwilling to be at the beck and call of others. Honesty and openness, repression and melancholy are remarkably expressed through brush and ink, therefore [his paintings can be said to be] so-called poetic paintings, vigorous, forceful and self-assured, overflowing with vital energy. He is a great artist of our nation.⁵²⁶

Fu Baoshi created the image of Shitao as a dignified figure by infusing chiaroscuro techniques with heavy blue pigment. The landscape is rendered in calligraphic expressive brushwork with various tonalities of ink. In the foreground, there are red and white plum blossoms in bloom which have been painted in order to enhance the respectful spirit and sublime personality of

⁵²³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.23.

⁵²⁴ For a further understanding of Luo Zhenyu, see Yang Chia-Ling and Roderick Whitfield ed. *Lost Generation: Luo Zhenyu, Qing Loyalists and the Formation of Modern Chinese Culture*, Saffron, 2012.

⁵²⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1936, reprinted in Ye Zonghao 2003, p. 127. After examining the date of the portrait of Shitao, in his later publication *A Chronology of Shitao*, Fu Baoshi recorded the event related to Shitao in 1657 thus: "in spring, Ding Yuangong painted a portrait for Shitao. [Shitao] wears a monk's robes. He has a bald head and poses as a person of high morals."

⁵²⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.24.

the figure. Fu Baoshi tried to express Shitao's strong sense of dignity and this portrait was regarded as a successful work.

Fu Baoshi produced another painting of a portrait of Shitao entitled *A Bewildering Pine Tree in the Deep Mountain* (*Shenshan you guaisong* 深山有怪鬆) (Fig. 4.20). It was painted while he was living in Jingangpo and the painting was displayed as work number 86 at his exhibition in Chongqing in 1942.⁵²⁷ In his inscription, Fu Baoshi quoted the poem by Shitao which was originally inscribed on Shitao's painting *Pine tree, Water Fall and Humming Qin* (*Songpu wuqintu* 松瀑鳴琴圖) (1676).⁵²⁸ Fu Baoshi's painting echoes the four lines from Shitao's poem:

Deep in the mountains is a strange tree,
Men of this world have rarely seen it...

Growing amid ten thousand trees
Tall and erect it stands alone ...

The calm evening attracts a constant wind,
Dazzled by this region of tidal rivers,
I stroll and cheerfully appreciate the remarkable
I sigh and am moved by its colours...⁵²⁹

As if referring to the existence of the bewildering tree mentioned in the poem, Fu Baoshi depicted a huge towering pine tree with its needle-like branches and its coiled snake-like roots which appears to be exposed on rough boulders in the bottom left corner. The branches of the tree seem to be swaying in the wind and moving diagonally towards the monk Shitao who is walking underneath. The monk turns his head towards the tree as if he is attracted to and puzzled by the wild natural scenery in the mountains. In this landscape painting, using bold and powerful strokes with touches of bright green colour washes, Fu Baoshi recaptured Shitao's artistic spirit and further developed his own expressive painting style. Apart from the portrait of Shitao, Fu Baoshi also produced paintings tracing the life of the painter. As well as travelling to many of the places where Shitao stayed or lived, Fu Baoshi also aimed to commemorate the painter by painting every kind of incident that was relevant to him. In his article "Preface to the 1942 Exhibition", he stated:⁵³⁰

Regarding the subjects from the transitional period of the Ming and Qing dynasties, many of the works in this exhibition relate to the monk Shitao. This is certainly the influence of the

⁵²⁷ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 55.

⁵²⁸ For the whole text of Shitao's poem, see Fu Baoshi, 1948, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 257.

⁵²⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix. 4.25.

⁵³⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 329.

research on Shitao which I have never left over the past years. There are many poems by Shitao which have come and gone in my mind as well as the many things with which he [Shitao] was involved which I have encountered and cannot forget. When I raise the brush and stretch [it] on the paper, I often accidentally make contact with him [Shitao]. In the third month [March], I have attempted to depict Shitao's life⁵³¹... thus making a historical painting to commemorate such a sad but open and upright artist [Shitao]. With regard to all this, this attempt hasn't yet been achieved, however, successively I have still painted quite a lot [about Shitao]...⁵³²

Among the works, *Visiting Shitao* (*Fangshitu* 訪石圖) dated 1941 depicts the scene when the forty-one-year-old Shitao went to Xuancheng in Anhui province. The scene depicts the story when he travelled to Yellow Mountain and stayed at Jinxia'an 金霞庵 where he made many friends, most of whom were *yimin* painters, famous scholars and poets (Fig. 4.21).⁵³³ This painting is based on the event of when the famous poet and painters Mei Qing 梅清 (1623-1697), Sun Jingan 孫靜庵, Caiyu 蔡玉 and Dan Gong 澹公 went to Jinxia'an and visited Shitao for the first time. In addition, the painting *Seeing off the Bitter Gourd Monk to the South* (*Song kugua heshang nanfan* 送苦瓜和尚南返) dated 1942 shows another story in Shitao's life with the inscription citing the poem by the Manchu art collector Bordu 博爾都 (1649-1708) (Fig. 4.22). Next to the poem, Fu Baoshi wrote:

...[When] the Bitter Melon Monk returned to the south from Yan [Beijing] during the *guiyou* year of the Kangxi reign [1693], Bo Wenting [Bordu] had a poem to present to him. Wenting was a Manchu and his understanding of Bitter Gourd was quite profound.⁵³⁴

Bordu became an important patron and a close friend to Shitao during Shitao's sojourn in Beijing from 1690 to 1692.⁵³⁵ Through Bordu's friendship and patronage, Shitao was introduced to high-ranking court officials and to some of the prominent court painters including Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715).⁵³⁶ The painting depicts the scene when Bordu saw off Shitao who was returning to the south from his trip to Beijing in his later years. Fu Baoshi once

⁵³¹ Ibid. The subjects related to Shitao which Fu Baoshi attempted to paint included '[His] origin from Xiang [Hunan province]', 'climbing Mount Lu', 'wandering around Changgan', 'Mount Jingting and Tiandu [the peak of Mount Huang]', 'choosing a dwelling place in Yangzhou and travelling to the north,' 'Yanjing [Beijing] and sweeping the grave of Shitao by Gao Xitang [Gao Xiang 1688-1753] after his death.'

⁵³² For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.26.

⁵³³ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 44.

⁵³⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.27.

⁵³⁵ During the three years he spent in Beijing, Shitao was able to see several important collections of paintings of Bordu. Jonathan Hay, 2001, p. 328.

⁵³⁶ Shitao and Bordu also collaborated to produce paintings together. For a detailed discussion on Shitao's relationship and interactions with Bordu, see Zhu Liangzhi 朱良志, *Study of Shitao* (*Shitao yanjiu* 石濤研究) Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 2005, pp. 271-277.

explained how he produced this painting and what his main aim was:⁵³⁷

I do not know how many times I have painted this subject but I have not been satisfied with any single outcome. Recently, I found it difficult to be indifferent to a tragic and joyful story. [I] depicted the host Bordu wearing Manchurian clothes whereas Shitao appeared in a monk's guise. [They are] walking upward from the lower angle, while on the left I painted an old pine tree unyielding in the wind, and there are no trees scattered in between. My aim is to strengthen [reinforce] the sombre and desolate flavour of the painting surface [image] and also to let viewers easily realise the instant uneasiness of Shitao.⁵³⁸

This passage reveals that Fu Baoshi put much effort into depicting the events related to Shitao and his Manchu patron-friend in the painting. He paid attention to details such as the compositional arrangements, the construction of the atmosphere and the figure's clothes. These were all made to highlight the scene in which Shitao was involved and capture his spirit.

V. Conclusion

This chapter has examined how Fu Baoshi revived and reexamined three specific models — the Eastern Jin dynasty painter Gu Kaizhi, the Chu kingdom poet Qu Yuan, and the late Ming and early Qing painter Shitao — as a new artistic ideal in his art historical research and the paintings which he produced in Chongqing during the war. His promotion of the national spirit of Chinese painting played a pivotal role in reaffirming China's long artistic tradition as well as reinforcing the function of painting as an artistic resistance against the war. By reinterpreting the Japanese references, he reasserted Chinese painting traditions through the reconstruction of Chinese painting history which resulted in his scholarly writings. In his figure paintings, he drew upon traditional symbolism with patriotic and nationalistic overtones in response to the war.

Both Fu Baoshi's textual and visual studies of the Cloud Terrace Mountain text and his endeavours to reexamine the origin of Chinese landscape painting show the artist's multifaceted pursuit of academic research as well as his participation in rewriting Chinese art history to build a national identity.⁵³⁹ Taking Gu Kaizhi's Admonitions Scroll as a technical model, he established his personal style of figure painting depicting female figures. These

⁵³⁷ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 331.

⁵³⁸ For the Chinese text, see appendix 4.28.

⁵³⁹ For a further discussion on the role of art history in promoting national identity, see the chapter "In the Name of the Nation: Imagining Art History in Early Republican China under Japanese influence" in Hui Gao, 2010, pp. 14-40.

figure paintings reveal his consummate use of Gu Kaizhi's archaic thin brushwork, transforming it into a naturalistic and atmospheric treatment in his depiction of the figure. On the other hand, Fu Baoshi's wartime revival of Qu Yuan was used as a patriotic symbol to arouse the fighting spirit of the masses and to rescue the country from its national crisis in collaboration with Guo Moruo. In his writing, Fu Baoshi reevaluated the interest in Shitao who was seen as an individualist by the Japanese and emphasised his role as a nationalistic painter in response to the war. His revival of Qu Yuan and Shitao as patriotic symbols with nationalistic tones shows his endeavour to fulfill the function of painting he advocated in making an appeal and moving viewers' minds in the destructive wartime period. In addition, his research on "Record on Painting the Cloud Terrace Mountain" and his book *A Chronology of Shitao* became significant and essential references for later scholars in their studies on Gu Kaizhi and Shitao.⁵⁴⁰

⁵⁴⁰ Fu Baoshi's studies on Gu Kaizhi were highly regarded by Chinese painter and art critic Liu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1895-1979) and Wu Lifu 伍蠡甫 (1900-1992). Wu Lifu 伍蠡甫, *A Study of Chinese Painting Theory* (*Zhongguo hualun yanjiu* 中國畫論研究), Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 1983, pp. 176-182 and Liu Jianhua et al. *Resources on the Studies of Gu Kaizhi* (*Gu Kaizhi yanjiu ziliao* 顧愷之研究資料), Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1961, p. 71.

CHAPTER FIVE

Representing the Sichuan Landscape: A New Visualization of Modernity in Chinese Painting

I. Introduction

This chapter examines the way in which Fu Baoshi visualised modernity in the landscape paintings he produced in Chongqing during the war. As already briefly discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the calls for reform and modernisation led Chinese intellectuals to question the viability of China's traditional culture and address the pressing question of modernity in the country. In the art world, the diverse discourses on modernity in Chinese painting took place by questioning the problems of traditional painting in the early twentieth century. Being mindful and self-aware of the discourse, Fu Baoshi also addressed the necessity to reform Chinese painting, claiming that it should be given a new vitality and visual expression to make it more suitable to all in any given era. This chapter analyses how Fu Baoshi presented his ideas on reforming Chinese painting and examines the means of visualising modernity that he identified through a textual study of his articles such as "Observations on the History of National [Chinese] Painting since the Republic" (1937)⁵⁴¹ and "Preface to the 1942 Painting Exhibition in Chongqing" (1942).⁵⁴² Fu Baoshi's paintings depicting the characteristics of the Sichuan landscape during the war epitomises his endeavours to apply his artistic vision to a modern visual expression. Therefore, this chapter also carries out a visual analysis of his landscape painting by discussing two core issues: experimenting with the direct depiction of wet weather, and constructing innovative brushwork '*Baoshi cun* 抱石皴.'

II. Reform of Chinese Painting: 'Change', 'Progress', 'Movement'⁵⁴³

This section examines the way in which Fu Baoshi addressed his thoughts on the reform of Chinese painting by questioning modernity in his writings. In his article "Observations on the History of National [Chinese] Painting since the Republic" (1937), he continued to defend

⁵⁴¹ Fu Baoshi, 1937, Ye Zhonghao, 2003, pp. 138-43.

⁵⁴² Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zhonghao, 2003, pp. 322-334

⁵⁴³ Anita Chung has briefly discussed Fu Baoshi's artistic modernity, dealing with the key words 'progress' and 'move' in her recent exhibition catalogue on Fu Baoshi. Anita Chung, 2011, pp. 24-25. My analysis on Fu Baoshi's reform of painting and his visualisation of modernity is carried out through a detailed examination of his writings in relation to other contemporary artists' views, as well as a visual analysis of paintings.

and promote Chinese literati painting since first addressing it in his earlier 1931 article.⁵⁴⁴

The revitalisation of Chinese literati painting by breaking through the constraints of traditional painting techniques was one of the key aims in his reform. His idea of reform in Chinese painting was partly inspired by his contemporaries who had already tried to engage in reforming art and art education in China. He singled out five contemporary artists who might show the way in revolutionizing Chinese painting and stated:⁵⁴⁵

When it comes to Chinese art – in particular Chinese painting – there is willingness to reform and [people] have actually been engaged in doing this for many years. Chen Shuren [陳樹人 (1884-1948)], Gao Jianfu [高劍父 (1879-1951)], Gao Qifeng [高奇峰 (1889-1933)], Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu - each with their long experience - have quite a few admirers. The Gao brothers have for a long time been promoting a new national painting [*guohua*] in Lingnan while Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu have been engaged in art education in Beijing and Shanghai.⁵⁴⁶

In the early twentieth century, the Western-style trained painters Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu promoted and established modern art education by applying what they had learnt from their studies in Paris. Gao Jianfu, Gao Qifeng and Chen Shuren were the leading painters of the Lingnan school, all having studied in Japan, and they tried to modernise Chinese painting through the synthesis of East and West. Fu Baoshi regarded the Lingnan school as a pioneer in reforming Chinese painting and claimed that the innovation of Chinese painting could find its hope in the Pearl River Basin where the Lingnan school painters were based:⁵⁴⁷

Gao Qifeng passed away, and in recent years [Gao] Jianfu has developed the Lingnan painting style from the Pearl River Basin to the Yangzi River. This movement is not accidental, nor is it without meaning, as it represents a sense of its time. The exhibition of the 'Spring Slumber Studio' which Gao Jianfu organised was held in Nanjing and Shanghai last year, and despite the short period of just a few days, the exhibition achieved the expected results. Among the hundreds of exhibits, there were works rendered in colour wash and shading. A group of ignorant people thought that they were close to the Japanese style...In the Spring Slumber Studio exhibition, there are a few paintings which I admire most of all. These are the figure painting of Fang Rending [方人定 (1901-1975)] and the landscape drawn from nature by Li Xiongcai [黎雄才 (1910-2001)] and Rong Dakuai [容大塊 (1900-1963)]. These three painters, at the very least, can be said to have broken through the constraints of 'traditional' and 'sectarianised' [*liupai hua* 流派化] painting. At the same time, the path they have taken has already been quite successful and is worthy of being wondered at.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 138.

⁵⁴⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 141.

⁵⁴⁶ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.1.

⁵⁴⁷ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p.141.

⁵⁴⁸ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.2.

It might have been the Japanese experiences they had in common that drew Fu Baoshi to the Lingnan school painters' artistic activities and their painting style. His high praise of the school shows the profound impression that the Lingnan paintings exhibited in Shanghai and Nanjing in 1935 had on him.⁵⁴⁹ He particularly praised the Lingnan painters Fang Rending, Li Xiongcai and Rong Dakuai whose works were rendered in bold colours and chiaroscuro with atmospheric effects, a technique they were likely to have learnt from their studies in Japan (Fig. 5.1).⁵⁵⁰ Fu Baoshi believed that their technique overcame the constraints of traditional Chinese painting as well as the 'sectarianisation' (*liupai hua* 流派化) of literati painting in the sense that painters only identified with the school of painting to which they belonged.⁵⁵¹

Having observed the reform movement in Chinese painting, Fu Baoshi also brought the term 'modernity' into his writing, which has already been quoted and discussed briefly in the introduction of this thesis.⁵⁵² Emphasising the necessity of 'change', he raised the question of whether Chinese painting had anything to do with modernity.⁵⁵³ Although his definition of the term 'modernity' was not clearly expressed, it does show that he was well aware of the issue of 'modernity' in Chinese painting at the time, and that he tried to articulate and tackle it in his own way. He began by bringing up the problems of the extreme formalisation of Chinese painting techniques.⁵⁵⁴

In terms of Chinese painting itself, there are too many defects. However, the so-called defects here are not concerned with whether it is good or bad but that the painting itself has already become so rigid and formalised. The implementation of techniques such as the arrangement of the composition, the wielding of the brush, the application of colour and so on have become an unbreakable fixed pattern. It is clear that if the mind of the artist does not cling stubbornly to traditional methods, all will be extremely perplexed and all will have to consider the idea of reform. However, the results seem all too tragic. Although for the past thousand years, traditional forces have completely enveloped the minds of painters and bound them so that they cannot move even if they want to, the lack of progress in Chinese painting

⁵⁴⁹ Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese School of Painting, 1906-1951)*. The University of California, 1988, p. 114. The works of the school were highly praised for the revolutionary spirit and painting techniques by other renowned intellectuals such as Luo Jialun 羅家倫 (1897-1969) and Xu Beihong.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137. Fang Rending studied at Kawabata Art Academy in Tokyo from 1929 to 1935; Li Xiongcai studied at Tokyo School of Fine Arts from 1932 to 1935. See Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists: Bibliographical Dictionary*, University of California Press, 2006, p. 33 and p. 86.

⁵⁵¹ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 142. With regard to some criticisms on the Japanese visual elements in the Lingnan School, Fu Baoshi defended the school's adoption of Japanese visual elements, claiming that it was not a form of Japanisation but rather learning from themselves, as it was his view that Japanese painting had earlier adopted Chinese painting techniques.

⁵⁵² See the quote (Chinese appendix 0.2) and the brief discussion of it in the introduction of this thesis p. 17

⁵⁵³ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 139.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

shows there is nothing strange in this.⁵⁵⁵

Fu Baoshi claimed that by clinging to the traditional methods, the painting techniques had become too formalised with fixed patterns that inhibited their 'progress'. In addition to the problem of the painting method, he described the traditional attitude of literati painting.⁵⁵⁶

From the perspective of choosing materials, literati painting is 'negative,' 'decadent,' 'old,' 'without substance,' 'remote' and 'pessimistic.' It represents the narrow outlook on life of Chinese scholar-officials. For instance, having had enough of the games of political life, the stimulation from these types of things, such as looking at or executing a painting, allowed the scholar-officials to gain fame in literati pursuits. Let us think about it, the China of today is in which era, in which environment? If we look at art from the 'ethical' or 'moral' point of view, is there a need to continue developing this type of 'art making'? Moreover, since no one has broken this marble-like formula for many years, even 'development' seems like an empty word after all. Come what may, there is an urgent need to improve Chinese painting.⁵⁵⁷

The aspect of self-indulgent literati values and the attitudes of literati painting were strongly attacked by the reformists.⁵⁵⁸ Following their criticism, Fu Baoshi also claimed that the traditional attitude of literati painting laid the foundations for its stagnation. He also addressed the issue of 'sectarianisation' in Chinese painting.⁵⁵⁹

....Japanese painters are also extremely admiring of China's natural environment and often come to China to draw from nature. For instance, the landscape paintings of Jiangsu province depicted by Takeuchi Seihō [竹内栖鳳 (1864-1942)] of Kyoto and Hashimoto Kansetsu [橋本關雪 (1883-1945)] have already become masterworks. There are also many painters in Jiangsu, [so] why are there no works that represent the nature of place and time of [this province]? This is also due to the problem of 'sectarianisation' in Chinese painting.⁵⁶⁰

Fu Baoshi argued that the sectarianisation of Chinese painting resulted from a lack of real landscape painting that captured the characteristics of local nature and time in China. He criticised the fact that most of the Chinese literati painters had merely copied the style of ancient masters following the lineage of their schools without creating new methods of their own.⁵⁶¹ Fu Baoshi brought examples of Japanese painters who showed their pronounced

⁵⁵⁵ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.3.

⁵⁵⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 139.

⁵⁵⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.4.

⁵⁵⁸ Julia F. Andrews and Kuyi Shen, 2012, pp. 43-45. Chen Duxiu particularly criticised the orthodox painters of the Qing period as he argued that the painters imitated or copied ancient painting without creating their own style of painting.

⁵⁵⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 140.

⁵⁶⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.5.

⁵⁶¹ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 139.

interest in China as a living culture and presented China as a land of poetic landscapes and unspoiled nature.⁵⁶² For instance, the painting by the Kyoto master Takeuchi Seiho entitled *Scenery of Suzhou* shows the artist's fascination with the landscape of Suzhou, a major city located in the southeast of Jiangsu province in eastern China, where he travelled in 1921 (Fig. 5.2).⁵⁶³ Such a recreated image of Chinese landscape by the Japanese painter must have reinforced Fu Baoshi's urge to bring new life and appearance to Chinese landscape painting.

In reforming Chinese literati painting, Fu Baoshi stressed the painter's effort to break through the constraints of traditional Chinese painting methods as well as separate from their identification with a school of painting. In doing so, he claimed that adopting foreign painting techniques would enable Chinese painting to progress and keep up with the changing times:⁵⁶⁴

The era is moving forward, so how about Chinese painting? Westernisation is fine and Japanisation is fine, when seeking for a way out, there is no harm in a multi-faceted approach, but only to be obedient and compliant [to the traditional forces] would mean to fall behind.⁵⁶⁵

This passage reveals Fu Baoshi's urge for Chinese painters to engage with various painting techniques from the East and West to make Chinese painting move forward. In addition to revitalising the painting surface, he focused on applying 'movement' (*dong* 動) in his article "Preface to the 1942 Painting Exhibition in Chongqing" (1942):⁵⁶⁶

I think Chinese painting urgently needs to inject warmth in order to make a rigid thing gradually recover its consciousness and then everything about the picture will be transformed. In other words, Chinese painting must give itself 'movement,' because only when it has 'movement' will it be acceptable... 'Spirit Resonance' is the highest and first principle of Chinese painting theory. Only due to 'movement' does it become valuable, does it become a work of art. When Wang Xizhi wrote calligraphy, why did he not look at the stones of Taihu but observe a gaggle of geese in the courtyard? And again when Wu Daozi painted the *The Transformation of the Images of the Souls in Hell* [*Diyubi an* 地獄變] why did he invite the general [Pei Min 裴旻] to perform a sword dance? These cases prove that the true element of art lies only within it having life, and furthermore enriches its voice. If it has life, time and space cannot restrict it. Today when I look at the stone reliefs of the Han dynasty, I still feel there is movement and that they have life...the Americans who were invited to look at them feel the

⁵⁶² For the representation of China as a subject in Japanese painting, see John Clark, "Artists and the State: The Image of China," In *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, edited by Elise, K. Tipton. Routledge, 1997, pp. 73-77.

⁵⁶³ John Clark, 1997, p. 78.

⁵⁶⁴ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 143.

⁵⁶⁵ For Chinese text, see appendix 5.6.

⁵⁶⁶ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 324.

same way.⁵⁶⁷

Fu Baoshi derived the idea of ‘movement’ from ‘Spirit Resonance’ (*qiyun shengdong* 氣韻生動), the first of Xie He’s Six Principles that defines a painting. By mentioning the way in which the calligrapher Wang Xizhi and the Tang painter Wu Daozi had been inspired by the things in motion he placed importance on capturing the ‘movement’ of the objects in depicting a painting. He reinforced his perspective on ‘movement’ by referring to American art historians who saw the vitality of the movement in pictorial elements on Han stone reliefs. One of the Americans he mentioned is likely to have been the art historian Wilma Fairbank (1909-2002), who was involved with the excavation of Han period tomb murals, particularly the Wu Laing Shrine in Shandong province in 1941. Fairbank produced her article “The Offering Shrines of “Wu Liang Tz’u” (1941) in which she reconstructed the three Wu offering shrines with detailed descriptions of the pictorial elements.⁵⁶⁸ Fu Baoshi may have come across the translated text of her article or related texts in periodicals or newspapers in China.

The way in which Fu Baoshi arranged his ideas on the reform of Chinese painting in his articles clearly demonstrates that he was constantly aware and concerned about the problems, expressing his opinion on how to improve Chinese painting and make it progress at a time when everything seemed to be changing. He further put his ideas into practice to form a new visual modern expression in the Sichuan landscape paintings he produced during the war. These paintings show his experimentation with painting techniques through the adoption of foreign visual elements from Japan and the West. In these paintings, he painted the unique features of the Sichuan local landscape by showing an impressionistic visual effect with his innovative brushwork.

III. Looking for a Modern Visual Expression in the Sichuan Landscape

1. Experimenting with Direct Depiction of Wet Weather

In visualising a new form of modern expression, Fu Baoshi captured the distinctive meteorological features of Sichuan province in his landscape painting. He was particularly fascinated by the natural landscape of Sichuan which distinguished it from other regions. In his article “Preface to the 1942 Painting Exhibition in Chongqing” (1942), he said that a

⁵⁶⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.7.

⁵⁶⁸ Wilma Fairbank, “The Offering Shrines of “Wu Liang Tz’u” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. vol. 6, no. 1 (Mar., 1941), pp. 1-36.

landscape painter who is not touched by the scenery of Sichuan was unworthy of its landscape.⁵⁶⁹ The rainy and foggy climate of the region served as a catalyst in his frequent painting of rainy landscapes. He painted the momentum of rain, producing a work saturated with wetness and a vivid visual impact on the painting screen. He claimed that the changes in weather patterns could often visually enhance a natural scene and increase the visual appeal of the painting.⁵⁷⁰ He further applied specific compounds and pigments and brushwork in his direct representation of weather such as rain and snow. This section analyses Fu Baoshi's artistic perception of the features of the Sichuan climate and explores the possible inspiration which he drew from both traditional and foreign sources such as Japan and the West. It also discusses how he experimented with the direct depiction of wet weather through a visual analysis of his landscape paintings and a textual examination of his writings.

Taking rain as a central subject, the possible visual sources for Fu Baoshi's rain paintings can be found in the context of Chinese painting history.⁵⁷¹ Fu Baoshi once commented on the depiction of rain by the Qing painter Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1794) from the perspective of past Chinese painters:⁵⁷²

Many painters in the past depicted rain, and painters such as Mi Fu [米黻 (1051-1107)] and Gao Kegong [高克恭 (1248-1310)] produced wonderful rain scenery in their works. [However] they do not directly depict rain but rather let people feel the rain falling. This is because they had researched the regular principles for painting rainy scenes...it was not until the Qing painter Jin Nong that a method for direct depiction of rain was sought.⁵⁷³

As Fu Baoshi stated, *Rainy Mountain* by the Song painter Gao Kegong does not appear to display a direct representation of rain but rather indirectly delivers a wet mood rendered in loose pools of washes in degraded tonalities of ink (Fig. 5.3). He credited Jin Nong as one of the first Chinese painters to attempt a direct depiction of rain and admitted being inspired by that artist in his own treatment of the subject. For instance, in the inscription of *Boat Returning in the Wind and Rain* (*Fengyu guizhou tu* 風雨歸舟圖) dated 1944 (Fig. 5.4), he wrote:

At the end of the fourth month of the *jiashen* year [1944], at the Central University in Shapingba, [I] viewed Jin Nong's massive scroll painting *Fengyu Guizhou* [boat returning

⁵⁶⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 325.

⁵⁷⁰ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 202.

⁵⁷¹ David Clark has discussed the possible visual sources for Fu Baoshi's rain painting in his article "Raining, Drowning and Swimming: Fu Baoshi and Water" (2006), pp. 119-121. The examination of the visual sources is expanded here for further clarification by adding material, analysing different examples and dealing with the relevant texts such as inscriptions and writings by Fu Baoshi.

⁵⁷² Fu Ershi, 1990, p. 66.

⁵⁷³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.8.

in the wind and rain], rendered in the style of Ma Hezhi [馬和之 (fl. mid-twelfth century)], and I felt my mind and spirit break free. Returning to the country, every time I thought of copying it but I was unable to. Lately, I would like to raise my brush briefly for this, oh shame! oh shame! I can't attain the ancients' level. On a day of heavy rain, the ninth day of the beginning of the fifth lunar month of the *jiashen* year [1944]. Written [by] Fu Baoshi of Xinyu.⁵⁷⁴

The Jin Nong painting which Fu Baoshi viewed and aspired to was one of the paintings in the collection of the painter Xu Beihong who helped him to take up a teaching position at the Central University in Chongqing (Fig. 5.5). This painting, titled *Boat Returning in the Wind and Rain* and dated 1760, was one of Xu Beihong's favourite landscapes.⁵⁷⁵ In his 1950 colophon on Jin Nong's painting, Xu Beihong describes the work as "[one of] the four great extant Chinese landscape paintings."⁵⁷⁶ Fu's painting appears to share a relatively similar composition to the painting by Jin Nong but in a more close-up version. Although he acknowledged the inspiration of Jin Nong in his representation of rain, the depiction of the pouring rain in Fu Baoshi's painting is more visually prominent with diluted ink wash that brushes over the landscape than in Jin Nong's painting (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5). Nonetheless, the most likely precedent for Fu's rain imagery is Shitao.⁵⁷⁷ This may be seen in Shitao's painting from an album *Landscape Inspired by Du Fu Poems* which represents the dramatic visual effect of falling rain rendered diagonally in colour washes, and this appears to have a closer visual link with Fu's depiction of rain (Figs. 5.4 and 5.6). Fu Baoshi must have seen the reproduction of this painting in Hashimoto Kansetsu's book *Shitao* which he studied in Japan.⁵⁷⁸

Apart from the traditional references, Fu Baoshi would have encountered some Japanese visual images which treated rain as a key subject, such as *Bridge in the Rain* by the Ukiyo-e print master Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858) (Fig. 5.7).⁵⁷⁹ The visual aesthetic effects of this painting – such as its simplicity and directness – had already impressed the Dutch impressionist Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) who had copied Hiroshige's print (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8). The *nihonga* paintings depicting Chinese-related themes would have proved to be of more immediate relevance to Fu's artistic creation. His attention would have been drawn to the various ways of representing rain with traces of visible brush work applied over the

⁵⁷⁴ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.9.

⁵⁷⁵ Wen Feng, 2001, p. 93.

⁵⁷⁶ Quoted from *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ David Clark, 2006, p. 119.

⁵⁷⁸ Hashimoto Kansetsu, 1926, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁹ David Clark, 2006, p. 120.

landscape in *Night Rain over the Xiao and Xiang River* (1912) and *Rain at Bamboo Grove* (1915) painted by Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868-1958) (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10). Fu Baoshi knew the Japanese artist whom he had met at his own solo exhibition in Tokyo in 1935 and whose paintings were occasionally exhibited and widely reproduced in publications in China in the early twentieth century.⁵⁸⁰ The paintings of Yokoyama Taikan, one of the leading *nihonga* artists, represent the so-called 'hazy-form style' (*morotai* 朦胧体) of *nihonga*. This was composed of subtle gradations of hue, tone and shade, rendered in the East Asian traditions of brush and ink in which Western realistic elements such as *chiaroscuro* and linear perspective were already embedded.⁵⁸¹ Fu Baoshi would have found the resulting visual effects of *nihonga* suitable to represent the dramatic atmospheric features of the Sichuan mountain climate in his landscape painting.

Other direct sources of inspiration were provided by Western watercolour paintings. Fu Baoshi stated that "as well as being inspired by Jin Nong, I also absorbed Western watercolour painting techniques".⁵⁸² More precisely, he told one of his students, Cao Wen 曹汶 (b. 1926), that he had learnt a great deal from British watercolour paintings and advised his student to conscientiously observe and emulate those that were exhibited in Nanjing in the mid-1940s.⁵⁸³ Although Cao Wen does not name the exhibition in Nanjing, it is recorded that a number of good reproductions of British watercolour paintings were available for exhibitions arranged by the British Council in China during the 1940s.⁵⁸⁴ Fu Baoshi would no doubt have been impressed by the paintings depicting the often unpredictable character of the English weather. It seems difficult to know precisely which Western watercolour paintings he saw in the original, or in reproduction in publications in China or Japan.⁵⁸⁵ Nonetheless, it is likely that he was attracted to the reproduction of works such as those by J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) and John

⁵⁸⁰ Fu Baoshi, 1937, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 141, and John Clark, 1997, p. 75.

⁵⁸¹ For an understanding of *morotai* style and Japanese painting, see Victoria Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and his Circle*, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004. pp. 173-181.

⁵⁸² Fu Ershi, 1990, p. 66.

⁵⁸³ Cao Wen, 1985, p. 44.

⁵⁸⁴ For further information on correspondence relating to the exhibition of watercolours and the reproduction of British watercolour paintings available in China in the late 1940s, see archives held at the Tate Gallery, London: TCA 9712/5/2 China, Fine Arts, General Exhibitions (General Correspondence).

⁵⁸⁵ As for the possible printed materials on watercolour painting in Japan, Fu Baoshi might have seen the Japanese magazine *Watercolour (Mizu-e みずえ)* which disseminated the 'Western-style' watercolour painting and promoted the popularity of its amateur painting in the early twentieth century. See John Clark, 1997, p. 64. For references relating to the popularity of watercolour art in Japan when Chinese painter Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942) studied there in the early twentieth century, see Lin Su-Hsing, 2003, p. 66.

Constable (1776-1837), who were noted for their ability to capture the effects of wind and weather.⁵⁸⁶ For example, Constable's watercolour *London from Hampstead, with a Double Rainbow* dated 1831 depicts a purple sky in which the light breaks through in diagonal streaks along with a double rainbow (Fig. 5.11). The landscape is rendered in watercolours which are loose and textured. It is possible that Fu Baoshi found a similar expressive capacity between the medium of watercolour and Chinese ink and colour and that he was also inspired by the focus on light, atmosphere and weather in the British watercolour paintings.

Among all the sources of his artistic inspiration, Fu Baoshi stated that "the most important teacher was nature itself, which taught him much more than the past Chinese masters and Western painters."⁵⁸⁷ The Sichuan landscape was indeed the most inspirational motive and intuitive factor in his artistic creation of paintings depicting rain. He stated:⁵⁸⁸

I lived on Jingang slope, at Gele Mountain in Chongqing [Sichuan], surrounded by mountains and thick verdant forests of banana bamboos. At that time I was teaching at the Department of Fine Arts at the Central University in Shapingba and twice a week I had to walk back and forth along the mountain path to get to the school, which was more than a mile away. Although the mountains were rugged and the paths were rough, the scenery throughout the journey was beautiful. I have visited all the nearby mountain forests and made a careful observation...Mountain scenery varies according to the time, the season and the weather. On a clear and sunny day, the mountain is green, the water is clear, the trees are verdant, and the clouds are light with vivid layers all at one glance. When it rains, it is different, and all the scenes became hazy; when it drizzles, the colour of the mountain and the shadow of the trees come and go, and these extremely subtle changes can be seen with ambiguity, which makes such a wonderful ink painting.⁵⁸⁹

Fu Baoshi was particularly impressed by the distinctive features of the Sichuan landscape created by the changing weather patterns. He emphasised his great attention to meteorological features in creating landscape painting, stating:⁵⁹⁰

Apart from the characteristics of season and time, meteorological conditions must also be a factor to be considered [when it comes to landscape painting]. Changes in weather patterns such as fine weather, rain, snow and fog can often beautify a natural scene and increase the expressive interest of the painting. A clear sky can make natural objects seem hazy and ethereal...As for rainy scenes, at that time I

⁵⁸⁶ The colour print reproductions of British painters such as J.M.W. Turner and John Constable were exhibited in the First International Art Exhibition in Shanghai in 1949, sponsored by the International Culture Committee at the Alliance Française. See archives held at the Tate Gallery, London: TCA 9712/5/2.

⁵⁸⁷ Fu Ershi, 1990, p. 68.

⁵⁸⁸ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 211.

⁵⁸⁹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.10.

⁵⁹⁰ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 202.

often liked to paint them.⁵⁹¹

Being extremely fond of painting rainy scenes, Fu Baoshi was eager to capture the moment of falling rain with his brush and he imbued the depiction of rainy scenery with his artistic intuition. One of the most popular subjects depicting rain scenery, for both Fu Baoshi and the viewers of his paintings, was *Bamboo Grove in Misty Rain* (*Wangan yanyu* 萬竿煙雨) (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13). He explained how he created the subject in his landscape painting:⁵⁹²

When I lived in Sichuan, I had a special feeling toward rainy scenery. On the mountain road between my dwelling in Jingangpo and Shapingba, there was a large bamboo forest which was ordinarily quite boring to pass through, so I didn't feel like painting it. However, once I encountered rain en route, and I caught sight of a large bamboo grove on the mountain footpath which was really beautiful. I couldn't help letting myself get soaked in the rain and stood next to the forest observing it for a long, long time. My heart was so full of creative impulse that I picked up a brush to paint it as soon as I got home. The painting is actually the one called *Bamboo Grove in Misty Rain* which many people have praised.⁵⁹³

Fu Baoshi considered such an 'occasional gain' as capturing a bamboo grove in the rain to be the incidental trigger of the painter's feeling, and that this 'gain' was the reward acquired from the innumerable 'tours' which the artist had undertaken.⁵⁹⁴ Such an experience of nature has been expressed by Chinese painters throughout history. Nonetheless, Fu Baoshi can be considered one of the most artistic practitioners, able to secure an immediate visual response on the painting surface with his strong base in painting technique and artistic intuition. In depicting rain, he was particularly bold in his quest for an immediate visual effect. The two paintings titled *Bamboo Grove in Misty Rain*, both of which are dated 1944, show the two different techniques which he applied in representing rainy scenery (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13). In one painting, he used a brush dipped in diluted ink washes to sweep over the paper and represent rain, paying particular attention to the direction and speed of the brush when he began to paint (Fig. 5.12). In the other painting, to reconstruct the momentum of rain, he sprinkled alum water — which inhibits the absorbency of the surface — onto the paper and then brushed the paper with ink washes, creating traces of linear marks and drops to suggest the movement of a downpour (Fig. 5.13).⁵⁹⁵ In both paintings, Fu Baoshi's construction of atmosphere and light is apparent and this is partly credited to the style of *nihonga* painting (Figs. 5.12 and 5.9). Nevertheless, compared with Taikan's painting, the traces of individual brush strokes and texturing to the mountain are clearly visible in Fu's paintings, whereas

⁵⁹¹ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.11.

⁵⁹² Shan Gu, 2011, p. 203.

⁵⁹³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.12.

⁵⁹⁴ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 211.

⁵⁹⁵ Fu Ershi, 1990, p. 68.

Taikan almost avoided texture and formed the scene mainly by the use of graded ink and shading. Taikan's painting shows a decorative quality in the rendering of trees, each of which is almost identical to the others and appears to be repetitive (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10). In Fu Baoshi's painting, rainstorm, misty mountains and dark bamboo convey dynamic forces of nature by applying an impressionistic manner using light colour washes with bold, varied wet brush strokes (Fig. 5.13).

The other two paintings depicting rainy scenery are titled *Night Rain at Sichuan Mountain* (*Bashan yeyu* 巴山夜雨) (Figs. 5.14 and 5.15). One was painted in 1943 and the other in 1944, and Fu Baoshi applied noticeably diluted ink wash as the main means of representing falling rain to both. The artistic motivation for creating *Night Rain at Sichuan Mountain* is expressed in Fu Baoshi's inscription (Fig. 5.14):

Night Rain at Sichuan Mountain. In the past, Gao Kegong produced a painting *Night Rain* and Zhao Zi'ang [Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫], Xian Yushu [鮮于樞 (1246-1302)] and others all wrote about the painting. Depicting all the mountains of Shanyin along the Qiantang River [present-day Hangzhou area in Zhejiang province] served as an excellent achievement in painting history. I was in Sichuan for five years and lived in the western suburbs of Jingangpo. Recently it has been raining for twenty days, and the house with low ceiling is filled with the sound of light rain which increases the sense of being a traveller. Last night, [I] chatted with [my wife] Shihui about the destitute remnants of the war and wanted to commemorate it with this painting. Fu Baoshi records [this] on the fifteenth day of the ninth lunar month in the *guiwei* year [1943].⁵⁹⁶

By referring to the painters of the past such as Li Gonglin and Zhao Mengfu, Fu Baoshi located his painting in an art historical context. He further expressed his personal experience and feelings toward the rain and the war in his inscription. He often listened to the patter of the rain and felt the wonder of being a traveller. In his painting, several pockets of small houses scattered across the mountain reflect the dislocation and hardship of the wartime period (Fig. 5.14). The pouring rain sweeping over the landscape rendered in vigorous brushstrokes reinforces the desolate mood of the era. In the other painting, a spectacular view of the nature of the Sichuan mountain range is shown in a zigzag composition while a thick band of white cloud or fog appears to cut across the mountain horizontally (Fig. 5.15). The off-vertical linear traces of rain are not only harmoniously interlaced through the composition but also deliver a dynamic movement by pushing the brush downward. The landscape incorporated a tangible reality into Chinese brush and ink, which creates a sense of three-dimensional forms and the illusion of depth and space by applying Western elements such as a linear perspective and chiaroscuro through the shading and light.

⁵⁹⁶ For Chinese inscription, see appendix 5.13.

Another compelling image of rain is expressed in *Whistling and Pattering Rain at Dusk* (*Xiaoxiao muyu* 瀟瀟暮雨) dated 1945 (Fig. 5.16). The whole scene is bathed in an atmosphere in which the mountain is drenched under a steady downpour. By applying rapid powerful brushstrokes with ink washes, the speed and power of the raindrops is successfully executed, creating a dynamic atmosphere. In the bottom left corner, a solitary traveller highlighted by the colour red and climbing up against the forces of nature was added later by Fu Baoshi's careful application after finishing the rain scenery.⁵⁹⁷ The layers of texture strokes rendering the mountain and trees as well as the light and space are all effective in constructing a dramatic and atmospheric effect.

Fu Baoshi's landscape combining striking evocation of the rain scenery with powerful emotional appeal attracted audiences beyond the national borders. For instance, *Storm* (1944) proved that his impressionistic visual representation of rain had a convincing appeal to Western viewers (Fig. 5.17). This painting was included in the 1946 exhibition of modern Chinese art arranged by the British Council and held in Portland Place in London. In a review of the exhibition by Maurice Collis in the art journal *The Studio*, *Storm* was described as "a transition picture between the older and the modern styles"; it was considered one of the "most admired" works at the exhibition and "particularly liked" by (Western) viewers.⁵⁹⁸ In the inscription of the painting, Fu Baoshi stated (Fig. 5.17):

On the twenty sixth-day in the *jiashen* year [1944], my fortieth birthday and my second daughter was born just two days earlier. Recorded in the western suburb of Chongqing. Fu Baoshi of Xinyu.⁵⁹⁹

With his personal attachment to his new-born daughter, this painting shows the artist's strong emotion and artistic intuition in the language of disquiet and restless landscape. The two techniques of using diluted ink wash and alum water coexist to represent the torrential rain storm. He covers the entirety of the composition with broad, diagonal strokes to depict rain and charge the whole surface with a moist atmosphere. The ships sailing against the

⁵⁹⁷ Dong Qingsheng 董慶生, "Remembrance of My Teacher Fu Baoshi" (*Huainian baoshi shi* 懷念抱石師). In *Collected Writings in Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death* (*Fu Baoshi xiansheng shishi ershi zhounian jinian ji* 傅抱石先生逝世二十周年紀念集), edited by the Preparatory Committee Commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death 紀念傅抱石先生逝世二十周年籌備委員會. The Preparatory Committee Commemorating the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi's Death, 1985, p. 71.

⁵⁹⁸ Maurice Collis, "Prospects for Chinese Painting." *Studio*, vol. 132 (July-December 1946), pp. 73-77, and Anita Chung, 2011, p. 17.

⁵⁹⁹ For Chinese inscription, see appendix 5.14.

torrential storm in the bottom left corner are rendered in minute detail. Fu Baoshi recognised that viewers could experience the overall impact of his work from a distance, but could also see the details of his work when they moved closer. The dramatic visual effect constructed by Chinese brushstrokes and ink tones would have probably provoked a strong emotional response in the Western viewer.

Along with the direct representation of rain, Fu Baoshi's snowscape painting shows his visual experimentation with the features of snow scenery by adding visual impact and lively movement to the whole picture. For instance, *Returning Home in the Wind and Snow* (*Xuefeng guiren tu* 風雪歸人圖), dated 1945, depicts a traveller returning home amid a snowy and windy scene (Fig. 5.18). The snow-covered mountain is sparsely painted in diluted ink wash, creating a hazy background. The mountain contrasts with the trees and boulders in the foreground which are applied with varied gradation of darker ink. Such detailed contrast demonstrates a spatial relationship between the distant mountain and the mountain path in the foreground. The swaying withered trees are depicted by applying the dispersed hairs of brush with ink, which intensifies the dramatic scenery of the desolate and cold winter. Below the trees there is a bridge which the traveller appears to be hurriedly crossing to find shelter from the blizzard. To capture the effect of falling snow, Fu Baoshi sprinkled white powder or splashed white opaque paint with a brush over the painting surface evoking the liveliness and movement of nature.⁶⁰⁰ This painting represents the nature of both the time and place in which Fu had to face hardship and fatigue during the wartime period.

One of Fu Baoshi's snowscapes that represents his technique as a form of expression at its most extreme is *Snow Heaped on the Blue Gate* (*Xueyong languan tu* 雪擁藍關圖) dated 1945 (Fig. 5.19). The lines of verse in the inscription are taken from the poem *Demoted to Blue Gate* [poem to great-nephew] (*Zuoqian zhi languan shi zhisun* 左遷至藍關示姪孫) by the Tang poet Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824). The inscription reads:

Snow heaped on the Blue Gate.
In the morning, I handed a memorandum to the Nine Layers of Heavens,
In the evening, I was exiled to Cao Yang eight thousand miles away.
I wished to do my duty to his Enlightened Majesty to avoid any evil results:
Should I care about my own misfortune in the last years of my life?
Clouds hide the Qin Mountains, so where is my home?

⁶⁰⁰ The information regarding Fu Baoshi's depiction of the effects of snow was provided by a couple of Chinese painters known to the author.

There is snow heaped on the Blue Gate and my horse refuses to go forward.
I know, you come from far away: you must have good reasons.
Well, you may collect my bones around the poisonous foggy riverside!⁶⁰¹
Fu Baoshi records [this] five days before Slight Snow [20th solar term] in the *yiyou* year [1945].⁶⁰²

Alluding to the poem, the painting evokes a wistful mood of snow heaped on the mountain where the Blue Gate, the place of the poet's exile, seems to be located. By sharing the despair of the Tang poet who was forced into exile, the theme of the painting can also be identified with the war period when Fu Baoshi was forced to flee together with his entire family to the west, settling in Chongqing. The lightest tones render the distant mountain in the background while the dark ink washes and scattered brush lines shape the flickering withered trees. Snowflakes created by sprinkling or splashing opaque white paint drops are wafting in the air. In the lower left corner a group of people struggle to pass through the mountains against the force of the blizzard. In this painting, the immense mountain in the background is identified by its light and abstract form and its relation to the trees. This monumental abstraction is reinforced by omitting the peak and minimising the space for the sky. The whole picture filled with diluted ink, colour and layering of expressive brushstrokes, shows a marked departure from the compositional pattern of most traditional landscape paintings in which the top area is left unpainted to represent the sky and the bottom area left unpainted to represent earth or water (Figs. 5. 19 and 5. 20).

2. Constructing Innovative Brushwork *Baoshi cun*

Fu Baoshi constructed his innovative brushwork to break through the constraints of the traditional painting techniques which he identified as an obstacle in the progress of Chinese painting during the war, particularly in the 1940s. His brushwork technique was so distinctive that his name has been applied to it and the technique is thus called *Baoshi cun* 抱石皴.⁶⁰³ This section examines the way in which Fu Baoshi reformulated traditional Chinese texture methods (*cunfa* 皴法) in a modern context by developing a scientific association with geology based on his reading of Japanese scientific textbooks. Through his frequent outdoor sketching during the war, he devoted much effort to practising and developing his own texture method to represent the geological features of Sichuan Mountain. This section also investigates the

⁶⁰¹ The English translation of the poem is from Tang Zichang 唐子長 trans. *Poems of Tang (600 Poems written in Tang style by Tang poets)*, California: T.C. Press, 1969, p. 352.

⁶⁰² For Chinese inscription, see appendix 5.15.

⁶⁰³ Anita Chung 2011, p. 16. The term *Baoshi cun* was coined by later critics and art historians, however it seems to be unclear by whom and exactly when it was coined.

possible inspirations he took from Japan and the painting of Shitao, as well as his extensive use of scattered brush technique (*sanfeng* 散鋒) in developing his personal brushwork.

While he lived in Chongqing during the war, Fu Baoshi frequently sketched from nature, known as *xiesheng* 寫生, which is derived from the traditional concept of ‘studying life.’ *Xiesheng* emphasised a balance between objective observation and subjective response in his landscape painting.⁶⁰⁴ He described the importance of outdoor sketching in landscape painting (Fig. 5.21):⁶⁰⁵

Landscape painting by outdoor sketching is executed on the spot facing the scenery, and [the painter] can make a rough sketch [of landscape] at the scene, working further to complete the painting after returning home. In order to carry out an outdoor sketch conveniently, the rough sketch should not be too large and generally a sheet of four *chi*⁶⁰⁶ xuan paper divided into six pieces would be the right size. The most important thing is to have a clear impression and when a painter encounters his deepest feelings, he should immediately start to draw a rough sketch. He should not only use a pen just to outline a small sketch but should amass a large pile of rough sketches before returning home to work on them. At first we use our feelings to do a painting, because we cannot produce a good painting once we lose the original rich feeling towards the scenery. This point is particularly noteworthy for the painters who begin landscape painting by outdoor sketching.⁶⁰⁷

Fu Baoshi embraced outdoor sketching which provided a direct encounter between the painter and his subject. He stressed the importance of drawing a sketch to capture the visual impression of landscape which the painter had at the scene. Based on direct observation in the process of his outdoor sketching, he created many different kinds of the texture methods⁶⁰⁸ — the formula of brushstrokes that add texture to painted mountains or rocks — in order to cope with the different textures of the Sichuan landscape.

Fu Baoshi’s exploration of various texture methods in outdoor sketching seem to have been stimulated by the Japanese book *The Principles of Landscape Painting* (*Shasan yōketsu* 写山要訣) (1903) by Japanese silvicultor, geologist and painter Takashima Hokkai 高島北海 (1850-1931) (Fig. 5.22).⁶⁰⁹ Fu Baoshi encountered excerpts from Takashima’s book in other

⁶⁰⁴ For a further understanding of the engagement of traditional-style painters in outdoor sketching during the Republican period, see Yi Gu, *Scientizing China: Photography, Outdoor Sketching and the Reinvention of Landscape Perception 1912-1919*. PhD Thesis, Brown University, 2009, pp. 58-63.

⁶⁰⁵ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 223.

⁶⁰⁶ *Chi*: a unit of length (=1/3 metre).

⁶⁰⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.16.

⁶⁰⁸ Wen Fong’s English term “[traditional Chinese] texture methods” for *cunfa* 皴法 is used in this text. Wen Fong, 2001, p. 106.

⁶⁰⁹ Takashima Hokkai 高島北海, *The Principles of Landscape Painting* (*Shasan yōketsu* 写山要訣), Tōyōdō 東陽堂, 1903.

Japanese publications when he was studying in Japan.⁶¹⁰ He tried to locate a book by Takashima which was out of print at the time, and eventually obtained a copy of it, translating it into Chinese in the spring of 1936.⁶¹¹ In the preface of the translated book *The Principles of Landscape Painting* (*Xieshan yaofa* 寫山要法), Fu Baoshi addressed the issue of applying the texture method [*cunfa* 皴法]:⁶¹²

As far as Chinese landscape painting technique is concerned, regardless of whether in the practice of drawing from nature or the study of the painting technique, the problem of texture method [*cunfa* 皴法] has always been an important issue [although it is not the only one]. In the past, it was ever thus. Since the Song dynasty and especially after the Ming, the issue of texture method [*cunfa* 皴法] was one of the most difficult problems that was being addressed, with many different opinions by landscape painters to do with the creation of their work. And even today, I believe it is still a common and crucial issue which needs to be solved as a matter of urgency.⁶¹³

The main problem with the texture method mentioned by Fu Baoshi lay in the formalisation of the texture stroke method, particularly after the Ming dynasty and for several centuries thereafter. He claimed that the texture strokes which were originally based on real landscape became too formalised while a certain type of texture stroke stood out as a mark of a painter's stylistic lineage.⁶¹⁴ In order to cope with the issue of the texture method in landscape painting, Fu Baoshi suggested that the book by Takashima Hokkai was a useful reference to those who engaged in drawing from nature as well as doing research on the technique of landscape painting.⁶¹⁵

Apart from the important task of nine years' geological investigation in Japan and five years' in Europe, for the portrayal of fine landscapes as a basis, this book uses a new way of observation using an additional analytical method that follows the Chinese *cun* method of brushwork. This [the book] proves that the *cun* method of Chinese landscape painting has its basis in science and it also broadens the applications of the *cun* method. I believe that if [this book] is made popular in China, then with the infinite amount of new material with which painters will have to work and with the transport systems of today being so convenient, what difficulty could there be in scenic views of China simply jumping out onto the painting?⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁰ Fu Baoshi trans. *The Principles of Landscape Painting* (*Xieshan yaofa* 寫山要法), Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1957, p. 1.

⁶¹¹ Ibid. Fu Baoshi stated that the book had drawn much attention from art circles in Japan. He asked a bookstore in Ichikawa city to look for the book for him.

⁶¹² Fu Baoshi, 1957, p. 2.

⁶¹³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.17.

⁶¹⁴ Fu Baoshi, *The Painting Technique of Landscape and Figure* (*Shanshui renwu jifa* 山水人物技法), Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社, 2007, p. 42. Fu Baoshi completed the draft of this book in February in 1955.

⁶¹⁵ Fu Baoshi, 1957, p. 2.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1. For Chinese text, see appendix 5.18.

Takashima Hokkai's investigation of the geology of Japan and Europe was carried out as a project to promote modern science which had been introduced from the West since the Meiji Restoration in Japan.⁶¹⁷ The making of a series of maps illustrative of the geology of the Japanese archipelago was promoted and supported by the Japanese government in the late nineteenth century.⁶¹⁸ Takashima's approach, which related different geological features of mountain shapes to the traditional texture method of Chinese landscape painting, had a strong appeal to Fu Baoshi who believed it would improve the landscape painter's abilities in outdoor sketching.

Agreeing with Takashima's geological interpretation of texture methods, Fu Baoshi further expressed his perspective on the use of the texture methods in landscape painting:⁶¹⁹

Texture methods used to depict mountains should aim to display the characteristics of the contours and structure [of the mountain]. They need not be confined to lotus leaf or hemp-fibre texture stroke methods but should be understood more in terms of how the outward appearance and character of the mountain should be expressed by the use of brush and ink. . . Texture methods are applied to show the structure of a mountain range and the changes in the pattern of the rocks, and are closely related to the geological structure of the mountains and rocks.⁶²⁰

Fu Baoshi explained that the texture method should not be limited in the way that painters historically used to refer to the modelling strokes themselves, each of which had a descriptive name such as 'hemp-fibre texture strokes' or 'lotus leaf texture strokes,' to show their stylistic alignment with the past masters.⁶²¹ He emphasised that the painter should understand the accurate contours of the mountain and the characteristics of its structure in order to use the traditional texture methods effectively to represent the landscape. Since the

⁶¹⁷ James R. Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989, pp. 3-4, and Masao Watanabe, *The Japanese and Western Science Philadelphia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, pp. 2-3. In Japan, science was imported from Europe at the instigation of the government as a commodity, mostly in the period after the Meiji Restoration. This involved recruiting men to science, building institutions for teaching and research, and putting in place the bureaucratic structures to manage the science establishment in modernising the nation.

⁶¹⁸ "The Geology of Japan", in *Science*, vol. 6, no. 126, Jul. 3, 1885, p. 13. The Japanese geological bureau had prepared a series of maps illustrative of the geology of the Japanese archipelago, to be presented at the Geological Congress in Berlin in 1885.

⁶¹⁹ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 222.

⁶²⁰ For Chinese text, see appendix 5.19.

⁶²¹ The notion that the *cun* model became distinguished as an unmistakable mark of a painter's stylistic lineage consolidated by the Ming painter and critic Dong Qichang (1555-1636). Painters themselves began to use selectively *cun* models not based on the specific needs of subject matter but as a conscious demonstration of stylistic lineage. See Wai-kam Ho and Dawn Ho Delbanco, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Transcendence of History and Art" in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555-1636*, edited by Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith. vol.1, Seattle and London: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in association with The University of Washington Press, 1992, p. 16.

texture method is the technique of Chinese traditional brushwork used to represent the structure of mountains and hills and the change in the pattern of rocks, it is closely related to the geological features of the landscape.

In putting his ideas into practice, Fu Baoshi experimented with various texture methods, not only to represent the geological features of the Sichuan landscape but also to convey the artistic transformation of the texture method.⁶²²

The texture method which I use in my painting has been gradually formed through years of sketching in the mountainous landscapes of Sichuan. I have laid emphasis on the expression of the many changes in appearances of the lofty mountains and the luxuriant woods and trees so that the geological characteristics of the rugged mountainous structure can be seenOnly once the texture method brushstrokes have been suitably combined with the 'ink dots' and 'colour wash' can the perfect painting surface be achieved.⁶²³

Throughout his outdoor sketching practice, Fu Baoshi developed his own distinctive texture methods in his landscape painting. Unfortunately there do not seem to be any extant examples of his sketch drawings from the 1940s. However, some of his rough landscape sketches from 1960, when he led a group of painters to do outdoor sketching at Mount. Hua and Mount. Emei, show his efforts in using various brush strokes to capture the contours and structure of the rugged mountains (Figs. 5.23 and 5.24). What he called 'the perfect painting surface' mentioned above seems to be achieved in the rendering of mountain in *Whistling and Pattering Rain at Dusk* (1945), epitomising his personal texture stroke method combined with the use of ink dots and diluted colour washes (Fig. 5.25). Here his personal texture strokes are executed with his distinctive use of stiff scattered bristle brush strokes.⁶²⁴

In terms of the use of brush, Fu Baoshi expanded the traditional common methods of either holding the brush relatively vertical to draw lines (*zhongfeng* 中鋒) or tilting the brush to use the side of it (*cefeng* 側鋒) (Fig. 5.26).⁶²⁵ In addition to these, Fu extensively applied the use of split or scattered brush technique (*sanfeng* 散鋒) by pressing the brush strongly to split and spread the bristles, and he applied the brush strokes across the paper roughly and quickly

⁶²² Fu Yiyao, *My Father – Fu Baoshi (Wo de fuqin – Fu Baoshi 我的父親 - 傅抱石)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe 上海辭書出版社, 2006, p. 107.

⁶²³ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.20.

⁶²⁴ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2012, p.124.

⁶²⁵ For a further discussion on Fu Baoshi's use of brush, see Xu Shan 徐善, *Analysis of Fu Baoshi's Landscape Painting Technique (Fu Baoshi shanshuihua jifa jixi 傅抱石山水畫技法解析)*, Jiangsu Meishu Chubanshe 江蘇美術出版社, 1996, pp. 15-19.

(Fig. 5.27). He mastered the use of the stiff-haired brush in pushing the bristles of the hard brush to make them spread out in every direction, which is evident in the photograph of the brushes he used (Figs. 5.28 and 5.29). He also often used the broken or chipped brush dipped into ink to punch or poke the paper to create a complex texture of mountains or rocks with atmospheric effect (Fig. 5.30). The resulting effect of personal texture strokes is rough, jumbled and sometimes rather intense and complicated, which delivers effectively the complex structure of the rugged contours of the Sichuan landscape but also the pointed leaves of lush pine trees and the swaying withered trees (Figs. 5.31 and 5.32). Thus, later critics and art historians found the effect of his innovative brush technique so characteristic that they called it *Baoshi cun*. The use of *Baoshi cun* in his paintings cannot be described as a single appearance but rather various appearances with regard to the movement, speed, pressure, and direction of the brushstrokes and the distinctive use of the brush.

Possible influences of Japanese literati painters such as Kosugi Hōan 小杉放菴 (1881-1964) and Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄齋 (1837-1924) on Fu Baoshi's brushwork have been suggested by James Cahill.⁶²⁶ For instance, there are apparent visual similarities in the depiction of the tree foliage between Kosugi Hōan's *Night Rain in Xiao Xiang River* (undated) and Fu Baoshi's *Bamboo Grove in Misty Rain* (1944) (Figs. 5.13 and 5.33). Both of them show the soft and atmospheric effects created by the brush with the various tonalities of ink. It is not known whether Fu Baoshi had met Kosugi Hōan while he was in Japan but it is likely that he knew his works and painting theory as he once cited Kosugi's view on the use of ink and brush in his publication *The Theory of Chinese Painting* published in 1934.⁶²⁷ However, it seems that Kosugi's influence is more obvious in the tree foliage and the construction of atmosphere than in Fu Baoshi's rough and jumbled signature brushwork. Fu Baoshi's *Baoshi cun* appears to have more visual connections with another Japanese *nanga* painter, Tomioka Tessai, in terms of their use of rough and bold strokes (Figs. 5.34 and 5.35). As Tamaki Maeda suggested, their similarities might have been due to their shared admiration of Shitao whose brushwork has an almost abstract and organic quality.⁶²⁸

Often using his distinctive *Baoshi cun*, Fu Baoshi would change direction and paint in another

⁶²⁶ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 2012, p. 124, and Michael Sullivan, 1996, p. 22. Tamaki Maeda further discussed the visual connection between Japanese *nanga* painter Tomioka Tessai and Fu Baoshi. See Tamaki Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting" in *Writing Modern Chinese Art: Historiographic Explorations*, edited by Josh Yiu. Seattle Art Museum, 2009, p. 78

⁶²⁷ Fu Baoshi, 1935f. reprinted by Jiangsu Jiayu Chubanshe 江蘇教育出版社 in 2005, p. 107.

⁶²⁸ See Tamaki Maeda, 2009, p. 78 and her PhD thesis 'Tomioka Tessai's Narrative Landscape: Rethinking Sino-Japanese Traditions', PhD thesis, University of Washington, 2004.

way. For instance, another of his characteristic representations of mountains in two landscape paintings is brought to attention (Figs. 5.36 and 5.37). In both paintings, the rugged mountain contours are rendered in angular brushwork. The dry brush is applied in the rather close-up view of the mountain in *Searching for Beautiful Scenery with Qin* (*Xieqian tanyou* 携琴探幽) (1943), while the wet brushwork creates a whirling effect on the distant mountain in *Jingangpo* (painted between 1939 and 1946). Fu Baoshi's angular whirling brushwork appears to share a visual link with the unrestrained and individualistic brushwork of Shitao, depicting the mountain peaks vibrating in an angular lace-like veil of brushwork (Figs. 5.37 and 5.38). Inspired by Shitao, Fu Baoshi executed a creative transformation in paintings, each of which had its own different pictorial configuration. He stated:⁶²⁹

During this process of transformation, changes are made to meet the needs of the painting surface and chance discoveries. The completed transformation might be totally different from the original conception. Many of my friends have mentioned that no more than two of my paintings have an identical composition. This is actually the favour that creative transformation has granted me. Additionally, it [creative transformation] allows me to change certain painting habits and techniques in order to suit all kinds of pictorial needs, for instance, the painting methods such as depicting trees, applying ink and colour washes to mountains and adding texture strokes to rocks. An individual success or failure is one problem but my experience suggests to me that the foremost method is to break away from the constraints of brush and ink.⁶³⁰

Fu Baoshi's passage echoes Shitao's statement that "painting is the greatest method for representing the world in the process of transformation and interaction, for capturing the essential beauty of landscape's dynamic forms, the eternal activity of creation, the succession of day and night and of the seasons."⁶³¹ Embracing the spirit of his idol, Fu Baoshi experimented with various texture methods to express the many changes in appearance of the landscape scenery and finally established his own personal brushwork *Baoshi cun* during the war.⁶³² By applying his *Baoshi cun* in the direct depiction of wet weather, he was able to achieve a new visualisation of modernity in his Sichuan landscape painting at the time of the war.

⁶²⁹ Fu Baoshi, 1942a, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, p. 326.

⁶³⁰ For the Chinese text, see appendix 5.21.

⁶³¹ Quoted from Richard E. Strassberg, trans., *Enlightening Remarks on Painting by Shitao*, Pasadena: Pacific Asia Museum, 1989, p. 42.

⁶³² Afterwards, Fu Baoshi continued to preserve his personal brush work in his paintings but particularly after 1949, his brushwork tended to be freer and more expressive but more contained with the use of darker ink washes.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has examined how Fu Baoshi created Sichuan landscape painting showing his effort to visualise a modern form of expression. Sharing his ideas for the reform of Chinese painting, he also enthusiastically questioned the problems of Chinese painting, particularly literati painting, at the turn of the twentieth century. He emphasised words such as ‘change’ and ‘progress’ in the context of Chinese painting development and urged painters to go beyond the fetters of traditional painting techniques and the sectarianisation of Chinese painting. He further addressed the importance of adopting foreign painting techniques as well as applying ‘movement’ to the painting surface to revitalise literati painting. He also suggested that painters should produce paintings reflecting the nature of the place they were depicting and a sense of the time when the painting was executed. In putting these ideas into practice, Fu Baoshi did not confine himself to any established rules but experimented with visual elements from both traditional and foreign influences. To capture the nature of time and place, he applied an atmospheric approach to explore the effects of light, atmosphere and colour to create impressionistic landscapes depicting rainy and snowy scenery that echoed the real experiences of nature. Through his structural approach to landscape, he applied his individual brush technique *Baoshi cun* to display the features of the Sichuan landscape.

Fu Baoshi’s successful combination of the ‘atmospheric’ approach associated with the representation of rain and snow and his ‘structural’ approach with texture methods created the unique and individual style of his Sichuan landscape paintings. His landscape paintings earned him high praise from renowned painters and critics such as Xu Beihong, Zhang Anzhi 張安治 (1911-1990) and Zong Baihua 宗白華 (1897-1986). Xu highly regarded Fu’s artistic talent by saying that “another big star has emerged alongside Zhang Daqian and Huang Junbi, so could this be a sign of the coming of a flourishing age?”⁶³³ The renowned expert on aesthetics, Zong Baihua, commented that Fu Baoshi’s painting delivers poetic artistic sensibilities on the painting surface.⁶³⁴ Zhang Anzhi paralleled Fu Baoshi’s extremely bold and impressionistic manner with the Western post-impressionistic style and commented that Fu Baoshi was the artist who was most sincere and faithful to his own artistic feelings and intuition, an artist who created works full of individual and creative spirit which were pleasing on the eye.⁶³⁵ These comments reaffirm that Fu Baoshi was a prominent practitioner with

⁶³³ The review on Fu Baoshi by Xu Beihong was published in the newspaper *Central Daily (Zhongyang Ribao 中央日報)* in Chongqing on 11 November 1942.

⁶³⁴ Shan Gu, 2011, p. 202.

⁶³⁵ The article *Introducing the Exhibition of Fu Baoshi (Jieshao Fu Baoshi huazhan 介紹傅抱石畫展)*

profound technical skills in painting through his masterly use of brush work and ink in harmony with the colour washes, and a painter who firmly placed his unique stamp on the development of modern Chinese painting.

by Zhang Anzhi was published in the newspaper *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報) on 12 November 1945.

CONCLUSION

My thesis has articulated Fu Baoshi's artistic achievement during the Sino-Japanese war by uncovering in detail the factors which led to the evolution of his painting and the formation of his artistic vision during that period. In the first two chapters, a biography of Fu Baoshi's early life growing up in his hometown Nanchang and studying in Japan, both of which had a formative influence on his artistic and intellectual development in wartime Chongqing, has helped to place his artistic evolution in context. The investigation of his early life in Nanchang has shown that his diverse experiences – his exposure to the local porcelain industry and the mounting and seal carving shops, his education at the newly established modern school and his teaching roles, his identity as an artist and his political activities, and his overseas study which was made possible through meeting Xu Beihong - all played a catalytic role in developing his individual artistic pursuit and his deep sense of responsibility for his country.

Through an analysis of Fu Baoshi's studies in Japan which sought to unravel and locate a wide variety of materials, this thesis has filled in the areas that had not been thoroughly investigated, resulting in a more complete picture of Fu Baoshi's Japanese experience. During the first year of his stay in Japan, through his research on Japanese arts and crafts and his encounters with the modern aspects of that country, he increased his sense of national mission as an artist for his own country. His art history studies at the university deepened his intellectual knowledge on Chinese art and the paintings he completed for his solo exhibition strengthened his confidence as an artist. These visual and intellectual experiences in Japan became useful references for him in developing both his academic research and his painting practice after returning to China.

It was during his years in the war capital Chongqing that Fu Baoshi had the most productive and creative period of his artistic life. Focusing on the wartime context, chapter three has investigated his active participation in the revitalised artistic community in Chongqing, which was one of the significant factors in his artistic evolution and the growth of his reputation in the career during that time. Bringing together various sources including Fu Baoshi's paintings, inscriptions, newspaper articles and letters, this thesis has uncovered his cultural and social connections with Chinese artists and foreign figures in Chongqing, a topic that has rarely been discussed. His engagement in cultural and artistic activities with other intellectuals involved in the nation building strengthened his social mission and provided him with an opportunity to become a leading artist and scholar, while his acquaintances and interactions with foreign diplomats and intellectuals reinforced his reputation as an artist beyond the mainland.

While chapter three has positioned Fu Baoshi in a larger social and professional context in the time of war, the final two chapters - four and five - have as a pair analysed his specific views on achieving national identity and visual modernity as the major driving forces in his artistic talent which he developed in the works he produced in Chongqing. In closely tracing Fu Baoshi's personal viewpoints, these two chapters have conducted extensive empirical translations of key passages from the voluminous writings which have received less attention. These translations played a focal role in proving that at a time when China was facing crisis, Fu Baoshi self-consciously formulated his artistic vision not only to rescue his country but also to face the issues affecting Chinese painting at the time. In chapter four, Fu Baoshi's exploration of national identity in his work has been interpreted as his reaffirmation of the Chinese artistic tradition in response to the war. Believing that art reflects the distinct national identity of the country, he promoted 'the national spirit of Chinese painting' in order to preserve China's painting traditions and embody artistic resistance in his painting during the war. He put his ideas into practice by taking figure painting models from the past to illustrate the social function of the painting and to reflect the patriotic and nationalistic spirit of wartime China.

In chapter five, Fu Baoshi's search for 'visual modernity' in painting has been analysed in terms of the execution of his ideas on the reform of Chinese painting, one of the core issues debated in art circles in the early twentieth century. In addressing his thoughts on these reforms, he used key words like 'change' (*bianhua*), 'progress' (*jinbu*) and 'movement' (*dong*). He emphasised the necessity of 'change' to Chinese literati painting of which he claimed the technique had become too formalised with fixed patterns. He regarded such constraints of traditional painting techniques and the sectarianisation of Chinese painting as preventing it from being able to 'progress'. In order to overcome these issues, he addressed the importance of incorporating foreign painting techniques and applied what he called a sense of 'movement' to the painting surface through his direct experiences with nature in his landscape painting. His effort to put such ideas into practice was visually realised in his Sichuan landscape painting by experimenting with techniques to capture the wet climate and constructing his innovative brushwork.

In the increasingly anti-Japanese atmosphere of the war era, together with the rise of nationalistic sentiments, Fu Baoshi's new painting style which incorporated a special construction of the atmosphere and reflected Japanese elements was not always entirely welcomed. Facing those who criticised his paintings as not Chinese but 'Japanese paintings'

or watercolour paintings, Fu responded:⁶³⁶

My painting has apparently absorbed some of the techniques of Japanese painting and watercolour painting, whether it looks like Chinese painting or not is for the next generations to decide! Chinese painting cannot always remain unchanged, and should absorb the merits [good points] of Japanese and Western painting. After digesting [them], I use [them]!⁶³⁷

Fu Baoshi had a strong voice which he used to express his belief in the artistic self and continued to pursue his artistic vision throughout his life. Given the difficulties he and other painters faced in the years during the war, the vigour and effectiveness with which he was able to create works that expressed China's unique cultural attributes through successful appropriation of foreign artistic inspirations occupy a unique place in Chinese painting of the mid-twentieth century.

When positioning Fu Baoshi's art and life in the political and cultural context of China after 1945, except for the short relatively liberal period enjoyed by the art world from 1945 to 1949,⁶³⁸ it is noticeable that like all other artists, Fu Baoshi and his works inevitably came under the heavy influence of politics in the early years of the People's Republic which was established on 1 October 1949.⁶³⁹ Under the control of the Communist government, *guohua* artists including Fu Baoshi were ordered to produce paintings which could "serve the people and politics." For instance, they were required to depict explicit political content in order to celebrate the heroic and ideological themes implemented by the Communist Party's policies, and often took inspiration from the revolutionary and founding figure of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong.

Under the Communist Party's stylistic guidelines to promote the Soviet style of socialist realism in Western oils, Fu Baoshi's painting style in Chinese brush and ink tradition appeared to be completely unsuitable, while the classes he taught on Chinese painting theory, calligraphy, seal carving and art history were actually cancelled following the university's curricular reforms which took place in 1950 in response to the new art policy.⁶⁴⁰ As a result of the Three-Anti

⁶³⁶ Dong Qingsheng, 1985, p. 72.

⁶³⁷ For the Chinese text, see appendix 6.1

⁶³⁸ In October 1946 Fu Baoshi moved from Chongqing to Nanjing where he would continue teaching in the art department of National Central University, an establishment he had taught at before the war broke out in Nanjing. Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 117.

⁶³⁹ The overview of Fu Baoshi's life and art from 1949 to 1965 in this conclusion largely refers to Julia F. Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*, Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1994. pp. 251-265 and Julia F. Andrews, "The Art of Revolutionary Romanticism, 1949-65" in Anita Chung, 2011, pp. 43-56.

⁶⁴⁰ Ye Zonghao, 2004, pp. 137-138.

campaign from the end of 1951 to 1952, Fu Baoshi, along with other non-Communist colleagues, underwent some political and personal scrutiny intended to generate a confession of all past errors and acceptance of the Marxist and Leninist principles of communism.⁶⁴¹ In his article *First Discussion on the Issue of Chinese Painting* (*Chulun zhongguo huihua wenti* 初論中國繪畫問題) written in 1951,⁶⁴² he called for the defence of Chinese painting while supporting the new political ideologies, citing the speech “The Route to Firmly Implement Mao Zedong’s [policy] on Art and Literature” (*jianjue guanche Mao Zedong wenyi luxuan* 堅決貫徹毛澤東文藝路線) which was delivered by the Vice Minister of Culture Zhou Yang 周揚 (1908-1989) at the Institute of Central Culture (*Zhongyang wenhua yanjiushu* 中央文化研究所). Fu strongly supported Zhou’s statement that China’s own historical and cultural tradition should be respected and painters should inherit and develop the correct tradition of Chinese painting, while emphasising that the art and literature of Socialist realism formed the most beneficial spiritual and nutritional material for a large number of intellectual young people.⁶⁴³

After the second Congress of the Federation of Literary and Art Workers, when the newly established Chinese art bureaucracy was recognised in the autumn of 1953, the government’s attitude toward Chinese painting changed, becoming more conciliatory through its emphasis on developing the national heritage.⁶⁴⁴ Under such circumstances, Fu actively adopted political themes such as Mao Zedong’s poems and his related political propaganda while preserving his own painting style. For instance, he produced the works *Crossing the Dadu River* (1951) and *The Far Snows of Minshan Only Make Us Happy* (1953), both of which illustrated the political events of the Long March (1934-36) which consolidated Mao’s role as the Communist Party’s paramount leader (Fig. 6.1). These works were exhibited in the First National Guohua Exhibition held in Beijing from 16 September to 10 October 1953. In these paintings Fu tended to incorporate a more Western realistic rendering while the personal and expressive brushwork he had become known for in the 1940s was less visible.

In terms of enriching his artistic and visual vocabulary to serve the political demands, an official trip to Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia and Romania in which Fu Baoshi led a group of Chinese artists from May to August 1957 offered him an opportunity to broaden his artistic vision through cultural exchange. As part of an artistic exchange with these

⁶⁴¹ Ye Zonghao, 2004, p. 141. Julia F. Andrews, 2011, p. 47.

⁶⁴² Fu Baoshi, “First Discussion on the Issue of Chinese Painting” (*Chulun zhongguo huihua wenti* 初論中國繪畫問題), 1951, reprinted in Ye Zonghao, 2003, pp. 361-367.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁶⁴⁴ Julia F. Andrews and Kuyi Shen, 2012, p. 162.

countries, the delegation painted natural landscapes and famous landmarks from various cities with the aim of exhibiting their work in each country they visited. Apart from painting the foreign scenery, Fu Baoshi also explored some new subject matter relating to socialist reconstruction and industrial development in those countries. On his return to Beijing in late August 1957, he learnt Mao's newly composed poem through the introduction of the Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi 陳毅 (1901-1972). In the following year, he visualised this poem in his painting *To Li Shuyi: Poem of Mao Zedong* (1958) which was chosen for the "Art Exhibition from Socialist Countries" held in Moscow between 1958 and 1959 (Fig. 6.2). Fu Baoshi's success in interpreting Mao's poem in his work enabled him to receive one of the most distinguished commissions for producing a collaborative painting with Guan Shanyue - *Such is the Beauty of Our Rivers and Mountains* (1959) - depicting Mao Zedong's poetic lines to decorate the Great Hall of the People (Fig. 6.3).⁶⁴⁵ Fu Baoshi's rising position in the Communist art world was also possible due to his political connections with Guo Moruo and Zhou Enlai. His name appeared in a list of committee members for many of the new bureaucratic structures and he took up positions in the regional Chinese Artists' Associations in East China and Jiangsu Province in the early and mid-1950s. From the late 1950s to the early 1960s, he was appointed as a director of the Chinese Painting Institute of Jiangsu Province (*Jiangsusheng guohua yuan* 江蘇省國畫院) where he could institutionalise his constant effort and belief to preserve traditional Chinese painting.

In the early 1960s, as a director of the institute, Fu Baoshi enthusiastically made an effort to establish a theoretical defence to preserve and revitalise traditional Chinese painting. The institute played a crucial role in strengthening the cooperation of Nanjing, thus producing a new regional style of Chinese painting. Fu Baoshi led a group of Nanjing artists on drawing tours to the different Chinese regions of Henan, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Hubei, Hunan and Guangdong provinces. Through these tours, they applied their political consciousness to depict revolutionary sites and capture the rapid transformation of the cities as well as the grand nature of the Yellow and the Yangzi rivers, Mount Hua, and Mount Emei. Their paintings were displayed at the exhibition "The New Look of Rivers and Mountains" in Beijing in May 1961 and were praised by Guo Moruo and Zhou Enlai, among others, confirming the importance of the Jiangsu regional landscape painting style and Fu's leading role in establishing the regional style.

⁶⁴⁵ Anita Chung, 2011, p. 22.

Fu Baoshi died suddenly of a stroke in 1965, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution which brought traumatic chaos and disturbance to China between 1966 and 1976. During the Cultural Revolution, those who practised and taught traditional forms of art were harshly condemned as they were seen to belong to the “four olds.”⁶⁴⁶ As with so many other intellectuals, Fu Baoshi’s grave was vandalised by the Red Guards and his family were thrown out of their house in Nanjing. If he had survived, he would certainly have been heavily criticised for his brief work in the Nationalist government during the war and for many of his views on art which he addressed in his published writings. Nonetheless, Fu Baoshi’s painting legacy and artistic vision were followed by a group of Nanjing artists including Qian Songyan 錢鬆岩 (1898-1985), Song Wenzhi 宋文治 (1919-1999), Wei Zixi 魏紫熙 (1915-2003) and Ya Ming 亞明 (1924-2002). Their works in the new Jiangsu painting style were even welcomed during the Cultural Revolution, with their paintings depicting industrial constructions such as dams and bridges being commissioned for exhibitions at a time when most of the painters in the traditional style were being condemned (Fig. 6.4).⁶⁴⁷

At the time of the more liberal and changing atmosphere under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997), Fu Baoshi’s artistic contribution in China was recognised. For instance, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of his death, his students and scholars in mainland China, Taiwan and Japan produced articles about his life and art which were published collectively in a book called *Collected Writings in Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of Fu Baoshi’s Death* in 1985. Furthermore, in the same year, the government offered support to maintain the house in Nanjing where he and his family lived in the early 1960s and announced plans to transform it into a memorial museum. The Fu Baoshi Memorial Museum, which opened to the public in 1987, houses a painting room displaying Fu Baoshi’s small collection of antiques, his old books and his painting tools, as well as a number of his published art historical writings and paintings including reproductions. In the 1990s, several featured exhibitions on Fu Baoshi were held in East Asian countries such as China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan, attracting interest in the painter from Western scholars.

In the twenty-first century, Fu Baoshi’s works are also drawing attention in art markets. Along with China’s rise as a global economic power, the market for Chinese art became the world’s fastest growing from around 2005, with modern Chinese paintings often going for the highest

⁶⁴⁶ The Four Olds or the Four Old Things (*si jiu* 四舊) referred to ‘Old Customs’, ‘Old Culture’, ‘Old Habits’, and ‘Old Ideas.’ One of the aims of the Cultural Revolution was to bring an end to the Four Olds in order to bring the field of education, art and literature in line with Communist ideology.

⁶⁴⁷ Julia F. Andrews, 2011, p. 55.

bids at art auctions where the customers are not only Chinese but also foreign buyers and collectors. Along with the modern painters Qi Baishi, Zhang Daqian and Xu Beihong, Fu Baoshi has been considered as one of the top ranking painters in terms of the market value of his works. The popularity of his work in the art market has also contributed to reaffirming both the value of his paintings and his artistic ability, as well as attracting more scholarly and public interest in the painter both in mainland China and around the world. At the time when the interest in Fu Baoshi was growing, a monographic exhibition on the painter was held at the Cleveland Museum of Art in the USA in 2011. In the first retrospective show of the artist in the Western world, his lifetime works were displayed to introduce his artistic achievement to a wider audience and promote the scholarship of both the painter and modern Chinese art in the West.

The artistic and insightful endeavours of Fu Baoshi and other modern Chinese artists to reinvent tradition by creating a new style in Chinese ink and brush are still being applied by Chinese contemporary artists of the twenty-first century. There has been a steady rise in interest in contemporary Chinese ink painting as evidenced in the increasing number of exhibitions being held worldwide. For instance, the very recent show titled 'Ink Art: Past as Present in Contemporary China' (2014) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which featured seventy works by Chinese contemporary artists, demonstrates the ways in which Chinese contemporary artists are once again using the traditional medium of ink and brush in their work, reinterpreting the language of ink tradition in a new artistic vocabulary to represent their ideas and observations about the contemporary world around them. Firmly grounded in their tradition and culture, the use of ink in their work inevitably reflects the crucial elements of their identity in the global art world, which were previously addressed in Fu Baoshi's work and reflected in his views on art. Thus contemporary ink paintings could be understood as a way for Chinese artists to continue to experiment as they have done throughout history and break through new boundaries in the practice of traditional ink and brush. These recent trends in Chinese ink painting further reaffirm the different aspects and the potential of Chinese ink painting, both at present and in the future.

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Appendix :Selected Texts in Chinese and Japanese

Introduction

0.1

我已說過，我對畫是一個正在虔誠探求的人，又說過，我比較富於史的癖嗜。因了前者，所以我在題材技法諸方面都想試行新的道途；因了后者，又使我不敢十分距離傳統太遠。我承認中國畫應該變，我更認為中國畫應該動。

0.2

現在的一切，隻要將五十年前的一切來比較，任何部門，都起了急劇的變動。處在今日，耳目所接，當非從前那種形相，甚至因了生活方式的轉易，每一個的感受，也自不同。根據文化的歷史，中國在這時候，需要一種適合現實的新藝術，自無問題。然而我們放眼看看，現在的中國繪畫和“現代性”有關係嗎……？。

Chapter One

1.1

開始跟一位老師學刻印和書法，而初學畫是因為在修雨傘的鋪子旁邊有個裱畫店，自己經常到那裡去看畫，裱畫師傅見我喜歡畫，時常把沒有來得及托裱的畫作借給我拿回家去臨摹，這樣時間長了，也學到一些傳統的繪畫技巧。

1.2

倪迂曰：樸之所謂畫者，不過隨筆草草，不求形似，聊寫胸中之逸氣耳。品畫者恒以神、妙、能、逸衡之。朱景玄有獨見乎？乙丑中元，振清先生晦政，伏希正謬。抱石齋主人。

1.3

學米者惟高克恭堪稱後勁，董思白以天縱之明崛起雲間，曰：世之宗米僅以墨點堆成，渾無分合，末為得也。抱石。

1.4

去年江西省立第一中學校要我擔任高中藝術科國畫，我總是叫他們多多看些關於國畫理論的書。他們不是說無從看起，就是說看不懂，要我編些講義，我答應下來了。

1.5

現在已出版的陳氏《中國繪畫史》、潘氏《中國繪畫史》、鄭氏《中國畫學全史》、朱氏《國畫ABC》不是都比我更豐富完善麼？

1.6

畫面有“我”，“我”有畫面了……畫面與“我”合而為一。然欲希冀畫面境界之高超，畫面價值之增進，畫面精神之緊張，畫面生命之永續；非先辦訖“我”的高超、增進、緊張、永續不可。“我”之重要可想!“我”是先決問題。

1.7

英國人Bushell 說：中國人於明代畫工最推崇仇英。

1.8

中國繪畫實是中國的繪畫，中國有幾千年悠長的史蹟，民族性是更不可離開。
。。。。所以中國的繪畫。也有特殊的民族性。較別的國族的繪畫，是迥不相同！

1.9

我們都是中華民國的老大哥，低頭去問隔壁的老二是丟丑!是自殺!我們應當平心靜氣地去檢查自己的物件，和照顧自己的物件。。。。試看關於中國繪畫的書籍有多少? 研究者又有多少? 在中國的地位怎樣? 中國人對於研究者的態度又怎樣? 這一切都是使人哭的材料! 至少:。。。。隻要不糟踏自己的天才，努力學問品格的修研，死心塌地去鑽之研之，其結果，最低限度也要比隔壁老二強一點。

1.10

辛未初夏，薄游南昌，承抱石先生夜治銅印見貽，至深感荷。茲以拙制奉贈，即希哂納留念。自愧不相抵也。悲鴻。

1.11

壬申大暑，薄遊金陵，長夏無事，寫此遣興。抱石。

Chapter Two

2.1

政府關於工藝之設施，除學校教育，“帝展”第四部，及竭力援助團體或個人外，尚在皇室技藝銓衡會，…專門“技藝員”。此項技藝員，由皇室詔命，為日本工藝界至高領袖…“工商省”則不時派遣工藝專家、赴國外考察各地人民對於用品形式意匠及色彩之愛憎，據其報告，為出品之標準。國內工藝界，既不斷研究，復得國外各地報告，供工作之依傍，是以日本貨不脛而走盡天下。各國盡管用種種方式交涉或排斥，但日本每年出口率，均猛烈增加。

2.2

本年二月四日，有一驚人發明，即“陶瓷器曲面印刷機”宣告完成。預計此后拍寫法將見絕跡，間接實吾國陶瓷器銷行上一絕大致命打擊。此機用十三匹馬力發電機自動，隻須職工二三人處理之，一小時，有完成一千個曲面印刷之能力，文字花紋，可自由描寫，任何復雜圖樣，均得為不差毫發之再現，並可印多種顏色。發明者，積木一郎氏…。

2.3

政府當局，亦不妨仿日本之例，嚴行監督，勵行獎進。有能於某種工藝上獲具優越成績，足為改進之資者，不問專家工人，重表彰之。或定期舉行展覽會講演會，增加觀摩切磋之機會。我國工藝美術庶幾能復興也！

2.4

古美術，是民族的無上至寶，不但是過去光榮的證明，並且是將來建設的基礎，我們后人，應該不惜性命的去維護。可惜我們歷代重要的東西，大部分是已經不在中國了！如果閻立本的《歷代帝王像》再守不住的話，那麼我們在繪畫史上可以得到實物佐証的，隻能從第七世紀開始。現在略舉流往國外的宋代以前的重要作品，我們看了這幾十分之一的目錄，胸中會有一種如何的感想？

2.5

我對於日本公私所藏的中國古美術品，是相當的清楚，而且看過很多。若問我，中國有些什麼，倒一點也不明白。這樣使研究者無法去看他研究上應看的作品還是小事，這大批寶物實應當使后人瞻仰，使后人不知不覺中，發生對於民族崇敬的念頭。

2.6

三月二十五日(日)

進級成績発表。

傅抱石君(支那、江西省高等科芸術科主任なり)著書、三冊。江西省留学、二年間、彫刻と東洋画論やりた由、人物もよき故、研究科入学許可にせんと話あふ。

2.7

三月二十六日(月) 曇

傅抱石君といふ支那の省留學生が来た。それは中川(紀元)君から洋画を、私から画論を習いたいといふのである。あちらで教師をしてゐる。留学期間は二年で、その間にそれをやりたいし、研究科に入りたいといふ。話は出来ないが、こちらの文章はよみ得るといふことである。私のものを愛読してゐて、それで来たのだといふことである。

2.8

三月三十日(金) 晴

「前在敝国对干先生極尽敬仰」と紙にかいた。……私の弟子の第一は支那人だといふのは、妙な縁だ。しかし支那にかついふ思想の伝るのもよいことだ。……

2.9

藏在英國大英博物館櫥內的東晉顧愷之之《女史箴圖》，那畫上的人物，姿態優美而庄重，線條道勁，布置爛雅…

2.10

生回日本后，擬再譯大作《線之研究》，蓋此書可以補助中華畫家也。生在上海、南京各處、對於先生高深之學理，無不詳細申說，故中華友人皆望生能長期向先生研究，此亦生之願望也。。后學傅抱石頓首 七月廿四日。

2.11

日人金原省吾曰：“藝術之基礎，不在點，不在面，而在線也。東洋畫既以線構成，因有線，始有畫面。故線為東洋畫最初亦最終之要素。”

2.12

我原先不能畫人物薄弱的線條，還是十年前在東京為研究中國畫上“線”的變化史時開始短時期練習的。因為中國畫的“線”要以人物的衣紋上種類最多，自銅器之紋樣，直至清代的勾勒花卉，“速度”、“壓力”、“面積”都是不同的，而且都有其特殊的背景與意義。我為研究這些事情而常畫人物。

2.13

先生此書，不在梳剔唐宋繪畫之痕跡，而在研究唐宋代表作家之基因及發生。價值在此，重要亦在此。我國言唐宋者不少，然皆從某作家某集團之畫類院出發，分佈於時代之外廓。先生則以「色」「線」「墨」三事，論其流變，詳其蘊蓄，析其作品，道其影響，吾人一讀唐宋代之畫壇及作家之所以形成，不難籀出一最明確之系統而資元明清三代探索之大助。

2.14

讀傅先生這些畫稿，不禁使人想起南宋僧玉潤、牧溪的作品，他們的畫風與傅先生這些煙雲變幻，揮酒自如的畫稿有某些相近之處。有一次，傅先生談到這兩位畫僧在我國畫史上不被重視，而且有些貶詞時，頗有感慨，說玉潤和牧溪在日本影響很大，至今仍保存著極為珍貴的畫跡。二僧的畫不無可取之處。

2.15

現晚擬在此休息中，研究“石濤”，先將其“評傳”寫成…橋本關雪氏(編有《石濤》一書)曾雲：“欲寫石濤之評傳為不可能”。晚今勉為之，未知有望否。

2.16

苦瓜和尚石濤は「晩年多在廣陵」の記事があり、その作品を澤山見るがその全部が眞蹟ではないと考へるるのであります。是に因て、資料の搜獲は甚だ困難であります。近頃橋本關雪先生の著の「石濤」を読む機縁が有りました。その「はしかき」に：私は石濤について興趣を特つて居たので、引きうけるともなく手をつけてみると、困つたことは材料の乏しいことである。

2.17

六月十九日 (火) 晴 1934

……これで日本で展覧会が出来ると、将来にも資助をうけうる由。それを美術雑誌にのせてやらうと思ふ。1可求批評 2可決作風之途徑。が目的だといふ。秋是非やることにしたい。松坂やいけぬ場合には、資生堂にてもよいと思ふ。

2.18

傅抱石君の個展を銀座松坂坡やにみる。大觀氏や、佐藤春夫氏や、神北氏などもかってくれた有がたいことだ。今日一日で三百円位うれた由。抱石君よろこんでゐる。二人で写真をとる。これで久しくほしがってゐた展覧会が出来てよかつた。

2.19

五月十三日

午前十一時松坂屋に行きて傅抱石の書画篆石の個展を見る 書は古文篆隸皆妙 画は梅道人 黄鶴山樵をねらひたるものによい着物あり又海派のうと疎獷なる畫を陳列したり。

2.20

秋壑鳴泉。癸酉秋九月撫黃鶴山樵本。傅抱石。

2.21

抱石寫于日本江戸。時乙亥仲春三月。

2.22

談中國畫的動態，影響最大的，要推吳昌碩。他的花果山水之類，甚至於他的字，不知影響了多少學畫的人。他本身的藝術，當然是他幾十年寫獵碣的功夫所得來，所以他每一筆都有淵源，並不是專從間架布置上取巧的。

2.23

他的畫近幾年來，頗為北方部分人所推重，並不減於民國十年左右之對於吳昌碩。……吳昌碩不同，膽大多了。齊氏更不同，有些構圖，確令人神往。不過自吳昌碩，到齊白石，正是中國大動亂的時候，文化方向已受巨大搖動而漸趨轉變。人心的不安定，產生這種作風，自是必然的結果。

2.24

穀充汝飢，籠供汝宿，何以為報？連皮帶肉。抱石呵凍作并記。

2.25

籠中一天地，天地一雞籠。
飲啄隨吾分，和調賴此躬。
高飛何足羨？巧語徒興戎。
默默還默默，心期與道通。
抱石作此畫索題，賦此以應，沫若

2.26

近兩年來、飢寒怕人、心境最劣，刻鑿雖多，鮮有佳制。

2.27

山口蓬春先生、川崎小虎先生、小林巢居先生等に就いて日本画を学ぶ。又清水多嘉示先生に就いて彫塑を習う。就中金原省吾博士に師事して東洋画論及び東洋美術史、東洋美学等を学ぶ。

2.28

可恨今無王羲之！甲戌仲冬十三日。抱石漫塗。

Chapter Three

3.1

丙子六月，抱石寫關雪意。

3.2

又想到傅抱石。這是一位擅長篆刻的名手，他能刻細字，於方寸之內刻列萬言；國畫也相當出色。我是在日本認識的。……我知道他在中央大學藝術科擔任教職，便叫人打電話去問，但卻沒有問出一個結果。

3.3

霧季的山城，一切都活躍起來了，尤其是美術方面，今天動一個展覽會，明天西一個展覽會，簡直弄得人眼花繚亂，應接不暇。

3.4

以金剛坡為中心周圍數十裡我常跑的地方，確是好景說不盡。一草一木、一丘一壑，隨處都是畫人的粉本。煙籠霧鎖，蒼茫雄奇，這境界是沉湎於東南的人胸中所沒有所不敢有的。這次我的山水的制作中，大半是先有了某一特別不能忘的自然境界而后演成一幅畫。

3.5

初夏之霧。車行成渝道上，得而望金剛坡。壬午，抱石寫

3.6

我曾畫過一幅《初夏之霧》山水小品，原來只是一幅四川金剛坡普通山景寫生，筆墨

平淡，后來我從強調季節氣象特點著眼，加強筆墨濃淡對比，增加墨色層次，取得了蒼茫幽深的藝術效果。

3.7

但若站在金剛坡山腰俯瞰，則我這間僅堪堆稻草的茅廬，倒是不可多得：左倚金剛坡，泉水自山隙奔放，當門和右邊，全是修竹圍著，背后稀稀的數株老鬆，雜以枯干。石濤上人有一首詩，好似正為這裡而寫，本來我曾懷疑這就是他自己的寫照，現在我卻不便懷疑了。詩雲：

年來我得傍山居，消受濤聲與竹渠。
坐處忽聞風雨到，忙呼童子亂收書。

3.8

七賢出林圖。七賢出林圖者李可染所賦名也，先是同人合作洗馬圖和靖象。為寄梅夫婦蒞游紀念。乃興復不淺，約寫七賢之圖，蓋主人司徒喬、馮伊湄伉儷，高龍生、李可染、張文元，余與內子羅時慧共七人皆喜畫者也，自午至晚相率以成。坐而飲者龍生之筆，袖手一旁為可染所寫，余作彈琴之人欲似嵇中散。道貌岸然[者]則文元經營。喬兄出其獨特之姿，俯而觀畫。五賢集矣。馮與羅未及。至可染補一賢，立喬兄后，余不得不陪文元兄，然若不相識也。諸賢頽仰天地，其無愧色，寧非可記。癸未四月二日抱石於雙羽軒。

3.9

民國三十二年四月二日，集重慶西郊金剛坡麓雙羽軒，主人司徒喬為娛寄梅賢夫婦來游，乃有合作雅事，此第二幀也。寫和靖者蓬萊高龍生，寫鶴者太倉張文元，寫梅花者新喻傅抱石，彭城李可染，而女主人馮伊梅亦作橫枝，傍喬兄坡石。迨晚燈下屬抱石題之。”

3.10

萬山磅礴綠陰濃，嵐色蒼茫變化中。待到秋高雲氣爽，行看霜葉滿天紅。甲申十一月十日恩來兄由延飛渝，十六日來賴家橋小聚，求得此畫囑題。郭沫若

3.11

抗戰以來，我國出版界因受印刷條件的限制，對於編印兒童讀物的工作，是比較的落後了，新時代的兒童，當此動亂時期，不僅時刻在經歷着戰爭的恐怖，同時亦已感受到精神食糧的飢荒……文風書局為適應這種時代的要求，特以高小及初中學生為對象，印行《新少年文庫》；全書共分四集，每集十種。其編印之主旨，在啟發兒童智慧，組長學習精神，灌輸科學知識，培養文學興趣、從個人身心的鍛煉，以至民族精神的宣揚，均望於幼小者的心靈上使其萌芽。

3.12

春天的畫家

子愷先生的畫，最富於時代精神。親切，融和，讀之令人如生春風。這決非偶然的一現，他畫面的‘春天’，並不是狹義的‘春天’，中國畫史上是很急切的需要春的來臨。

子愷先生善飲，所以畫面上飄著馥郁的酒香。他兒女成畫，所以一片天真，他是中國少年們一致愛戴的畫家，活潑新鮮，生意勃發，所以他的畫能在古老的傳統之外，長未曾有過的鮮芽。

春天是會一年一度的逝去，我想說子愷先生的春天，將恆四時而永存。

三十一年十一月二十四日沙坪壩

3.13

蒨英先生將赴英倫，為進兩日製此，丙午初伏早一日成都歸來，傅抱石重慶西郊。

甲申六月下浣。抱石寫。

成武兄將有英倫之行，奉此為念。丙戌四月望。抱石並記。

3.14

今年三月，我買了一塊地，計一畝。即在悲鴻先生的西邊。郭子杰的南邊。如下圖……。他可以向牛津大學推薦我，請我講學一年，事情便可成功。那時，我並且擬了一份講學的計劃，請錢先生託友譯成英文，以便交涉時之用。

3.15

讓我印象最深的，是我們在金剛坡接待“洋客人”。那些喜歡我父親作品的外國朋友，有英國人、法國人、荷蘭人，為了求我父親的作品，決定深入“金剛坡下抱石山齋”。一天上午，他們一行五六人，在我父親的學生沈左堯的帶領下，從重慶驅車直奔賴家橋，再順著田間小路來到我們家。我們住的房子既狹小又簡陋，而房東家的“堂屋”比較寬大。……他終於同意了我們的要求，臨時把“堂屋”借給我們接待外賓。……洋人進了“堂屋”后立即開始觀賞父親的作品，並用他們的語言發表評論。沈左堯便忙著翻譯：“太精彩了！”“太有趣了！”“你是怎樣畫出來的？”

客人很快就選定了自己的目標。一切談妥之後，時間已是中午，該吃飯了，便急急忙忙地把畫收起來放到我們自己的房間裡，而“堂屋”變成了餐廳。

3.16

天廡先生惠正。一九四七年、一、卅一、南京寫。傅抱石。

3.17

……值得驚贊……在今日為自由戰鬥的時候，每一個人，每一個國家，必須自覺其國魂與本身的底力，發揚其本性的優點。……傅先生的畫裡面，自顯然的特性就是富於歷史性……，例如《蘇武歸漢》便是顯出國魂的代表作。……傅先生的使命，在於使中國人自覺其國魂與本性！使回憶其祖先的光榮，以鼓舞現代的青年。這點和畫現代事物是異曲同工的。傅先生的山水，或說是有士大夫的氣息。可是還有石濤的神韻。但這些古香古色，使觀者悟得‘大道不二’的真理，就藝術的觀點而論，這就是中國畫法在世界藝術中特有的品性。……”

Chapter Four

4.1

去年重慶大轟炸后的不久，我在日本《改造》雜誌六月號上（即昭和十四年六月號）看到橫山大觀的《日本美術的精神》，他這篇文章是對“德國青年訪問團”的廣播稿，全篇除了說什麼“聖戰”“聖戰”之類以外，大部分是就日本繪畫加以發揮，也可以說十分之九是掠奪中國繪畫的理論…我記得偽“滿洲國”成立的時候，他以進呈了幾幅大畫屏，博得全國的稱贊，所以他這篇文章在國際上是有其巨大的影響的。

4.2

中國美術是“日本美術的母親”，這話，現在的中村不折也在他的《支那繪畫史》上寫下過。但日本的國民性，早已陷入極度的夸大狂，往往把中國的東西，貼上“太陽”商標，像偽造歷史，假充大陸元老一樣，說是自己的，還要加上一句“中國有什麼呢？”的廢話。這種糟蹋，毀薄，固是他們一貫的作風，而中華民族的美術，仍然是永恆的前進。

4.3

我以為中國的美術，有三種最偉大的精神：第一，中國美術最重作者人格的修養；第二，中國美術在與外族、外國的交接上，最能吸收，同時又最能抵抗；第三，中國美術的表現，是“雄渾”“朴茂”，如天馬行空，夭矯不群，含有沉著的、潛行的積極性。這三種特性，擴展到全面的民族抗戰上，便是勝利的因素。

4.4

中國美術的精神，日本是不足為敵的，我們應該有珍貴的自信，努力去發揚光大！殫精竭慮，來完成雄輝而偉大的畫面！迎接勝利的到來。

4.5

我以為在這長期抗戰以求民族國家的自由獨立的大時代，更值得加緊發揚中國繪畫的精神，不惟自感，而且感人。因為，中國畫的精神，既是中國民族精神的最大表白。而這種精神又正是和民族國家同其榮枯共其死生的…這次的全面抗戰，我們很覺得是中華民族和所謂“大和民族”的精神戰。

4.6

愷之《畫雲台山記》雖以道家的故事為題材，而就山水的畫體、畫學發展論，像那樣把構圖設色人物點綴都加以細致而透徹的經營，實在說明了中國山水畫到了東晉時代的一個大轉變…在水墨山水發展以前，著色山水的制作，即單據顧愷之的《畫雲台山記》窺察，也不能不承認東晉時代已有相當的成功。

4.7

一九四〇年二月我完成了《晉顧愷之畫雲台山記之研究》，發表在《時事新報》重慶版副刊(學燈)。發表以後，很快的便得到不少的讀者來信，或詢問某些情況，或商量一些問題。那時正是日本帝國主義者向我大后方和平居民瘋狂地進行空中屠殺的時候，所以大部分讀者的來信是鼓勵我繼續努力把中國古代山水畫史的輪廓建立起來。於是我即以(晉顧愷之畫雲台山記之研究)為中心(第二章)，稍加厘訂，進一步經營了(畫雲

台山記)的“設計圖”和創作了《雲台山圖》。在這個基礎之上，又先后完成了《唐張彥遠以來之中國古代山水畫史觀》。

4.8

關於千余年來的中國古代的山水畫史觀，實不外上述的“二李說”(唐)、“六朝說”(宗炳、王微)和“東晉說”(顧愷之)三種。

4.9

我對於中國畫史上的兩個時期最感興趣，一是東晉與六朝，一是明清之際…十年來，我對這兩位大藝人所費的心血在
個
人是頗堪慰藉。東晉是中國繪畫大轉變的樞紐，而明清之際則是中國繪畫花好月圓的時代。這兩個時代在我的腦子裏迴旋，所以拙作的題材多半可以隸屬於這兩個時代之一。

4.10

我準備從東晉顧愷之的《女史箴圖卷》談起。顧愷之是中國繪畫理論的建設者，同時是一位劃時代的杰出的人物畫家。《女史箴圖卷》雖是摹本，而就現存的古典繪畫名作看來，它的內容和形式卻比較具體而時代又比較早，是極富於研究的價值的。我們從這幅作品中，很大程度上可以看到它和漢畫的關係，可以看到中國繪畫以線為主的人物畫的發展和提高，特別值得提出的是某程度的看到了一千五百年前東晉時代貴族女性生活的面影。

4.11

它突出的遒勁有力所謂如“春蠶吐絲”般的線和薄而透明的色彩，為了不致使線的負擔過重，色彩被處理得很淡而大部分採用膠性水解的顏料。這樣，畫面便富於恬靜柔和的氣氛，以《女史箴圖卷》為例是更適宜於主題的。這是中國繪畫優秀傳統基本的特征之一：線和色的高度調和。

4.12

屈原九歌自古為畫家所樂寫，龍眠李白時，子昂趙孟頫其妙跡尤光輝天壤間。子久欲從事，愧未能也。今日小女益珊四周生日，忽與內人時慧出楚辭讀之，‘嫋嫋兮秋風洞庭波兮木葉下’，不禁彼此無言。蓋此時強敵正張焰於沅澧之間。因相量寫此，即擷首數語為圖。至夫人服飾種種，則損益顧愷之女箴史。中土墨寶，固莫於是雲。時民國癸未十一月二十一日，重慶西郊金剛坡下山齋記。新喻傅抱石。

4.13

沅湘今日惠蘭焚，別有奇憂罹此君。獨立愴然誰可語？梧桐秋葉落紛紛。夫人矢志離湘水，叱咤風雷感屈平。莫道嬋娟空太息，獻身慷慨赴幽並。恩來兄以十一月十日，由延安飛渝。十六日適為余五十三初度之辰，好友多來鄉居小集。抱石，可染諸兄出展其近制。恩來兄征得此《湘夫人圖》，將攜回陝北。余思湘境已淪陷，湘夫人自必以能參加游吉戰為慶辛矣。三十三年十一月十日，郭沫若。

4.14

今日為時慧三十晉五生日，入蜀六載餘，實未嘗重視之也。憶與時慧結褵十有五年，大兒益鈞十四歲，二兒益鉅十歲，長女益珊六歲，次女益璇方九月，從俗稱亦兩歲。余以艱苦之身，避地東川，岳母李太夫人俱來，戰時一切，均極激盪，而我輩仍不廢筆墨丹青，所居僅足蔽風雨，所依皆丁丑前之遺，真如大痴家無擔石之儲也。幸時慧忍受向所不能忍者。益珊之前，戊寅秋於湖南東安旅次生一女，卒以入蜀途中殤于四川綦江，時正重慶遭敵狂炸之翌日。嗣後連得珊、璇二女，哺育之苦，時慧任之，余之感紉為荷也。昔先慈徐太夫人常訓示，汝生兒育女後，方知父母之大德。顧余冥頑，聽若無聞，今數人之父矣。際滋濁世，一切不堪，倘將來得有所傳，皆非余所應有，蓋莫非余母之所訓，暨時慧之所助成也。丁酉五月十七日，重慶西郊金剛坡下寄寓，并記敬意。時慧賞之，傳抱石。

4.15

全中國進步人民都感受著憤怒，因而我把這時代的憤怒復活到屈原的時代裡去了。換句話說，我是借了屈原的時代來象征我們當前的時代。

4.16

在一般人的腦海中，覺得屈原很年輕，其實他的年齡並不年輕，而是因為他的精神年輕。我們斷定他的年齡六十二歲並不過分……他的死因，並不是像一般輕薄者的懷才不遇，而是憂世憤俗，不忍看到祖國淪亡，人民流離無告。

4.17

日本的畫家，雖然不作純中國風的畫，而他們的方法材料，則還多是中國的古法子，尤其是渲染，更全是宋人方法了，這也許中國的畫家們還不十分懂得，因這方法我國久已失傳。比如畫絹、麻紙、山水上用的青綠顏色，日本的都非常精緻，有的中國並無製造。

4.18

余以去歲八月十三日奉命自京移居宣城倉卒中僅攜日文山本悌二郎紀成虎一合撰宋元明清書畫明賢詳傳。因年來研究石濤，正擬輯為專書，故獨留此。抵後，不時閱讀問之末葉數冊，深感諸名賢偉大之民族精神，寶我國數千年來所賴以維繫之原素。因選擇之。……至茲編之作，其質稍變，欲以行事先藝術，完全以民族性為主。

4.19

是篇原擬與拙著《石濤生卒考》，《石濤叢考》，《石濤再考》，《石濤三考》合行，以上人之生卒世系行蹤交游，諸篇均曾詳研。茲諸篇將另成一書。

4.20

石濤上人像。后三百十三年，民國壬午五月五日，傳抱石敬造。

4.21

抱石此幀，蓋本明遺民丁元功順治丁酉所寫苦瓜和尚，無發，鬆梅蔽繞，構境甚幽。抱石今年研究苦瓜極勤，不惟於其世系生平有所考定，且有《年譜》及《校補詩跋》之作，宜其能親切如此也。即錄所撰小傳歸之。沈尹默並記。

4.22

他發現一張畫箋上，有石濤的畫像，這是應該注意的。他說：一件最有趣的事，數年前上海出版過一部《觀堂遺墨》，這是將王國維的遺稿信札等輯合的書。信札的用箋，有畫石濤的像的，作者是丁元公，他是明之遺民，晚年為僧，大約是石濤的朋友吧！這石濤像，正是完全沒有頭髮的后生。自這點看起來，石濤乃剃髮的和尚，以為並沒有錯誤。

4.23

這張畫像箋 是王國維為祝哈同的雙壽請人代寫壽聯的信，箋上畫石濤的半身像，兩手合袖，作微笑而現飽經憂患的神氣，左上角有：
丁酉春日丁元公為苦瓜大和尚屬繪口？

4.24

上人性耿介，悲宗社淪亡，不肯俯仰事人。磊落抑鬱，寄之筆墨，故所為詩畫，排募縱恣，真氣充沛，蓋我中華偉大藝人也。

4.25

深山有怪鬆，舉世人罕識。生植萬木間，挺出亦孤特…。靜夕引長風，恍惚潮江滅。我行愜奇賞，嘆息動顏色…

4.26

至關於明清之際的題材，在這次展品中，以屬於石濤上人的居多。這自是我多年來不離研究石濤的影響，石濤有許多詩往來我的腦際，有許多行事、遭遇使我不能忘記。當我擎毫伸紙的時候，往往不經意又觸著了他。三月間，本企圖把石濤的一生…寫成一部史畫，來紀念這傷心磊落的藝人。為了種種，這企圖並未實現，但陸續地仍寫了不少…。

4.27

苦瓜上人於康熙癸酉自燕南返，博問亭有詩送之。問亭旗人，而知苦瓜頗深。

4.28

我不知畫過多少次，結果無一次滿意。最近，我為難忘情於這一幕亦悲亦喜的故事，把主人的博爾都畫上了他的滿洲服，石濤則作僧狀，從下角向上走去，左方畫有被風而不甚屈的老鬆，不間雜樹，目的在加強畫面的肅殺氣息，亦即使人容易體認石濤那一剎那的不自在。這幅畫，我覺得技法上還應有所考慮，就是人物服裝的變更，危險

性相當大，偶不注意，畫面便被打破了。

Chapter Five

5.1

至於對於中國藝術——某一點上趨重中國畫，抱有改革的大願，並且實際從事多年，各有其千秋的陳樹人、高劍父、高奇峰、徐悲鴻、劉海粟諸位，彼此都擁有相當的崇拜者。高氏兄弟在嶺南長時期的提倡新國畫，徐、劉兩位分在京滬從事藝術的教育。

5.2

高奇峰氏逝世了，劍父年來將滋長於嶺南的畫風由珠江流域展到了長江。這種運動，不是偶然，也不是毫無意義，是有其時代性的。高氏主持的“春睡畫院”畫展，去年在南京、上海舉行，雖然隻幾天短短的期間，卻也掀動起預期的效果。展品數百中間，有渲染陰影畫法之作，無識者流，以為近於日本畫風……我對於春睡畫院畫展裡，有幾位的畫我最佩服，一是方人定的人物，一是黎雄才、容大塊的寫生山水。這三位，最低限度，可以說是某部分上打破了“傳統的”“流派化的”束縛，同時所走的途徑，已有相當的成功，是值得驚異的。

5.3

就中國畫的本身而論，它的缺陷實在太多。不過這裡所謂缺陷，不是好與不好的問題，是說畫的本身早已僵化了。布局、運筆、設色……等技法的動作，也成了牢不可破的定式。我們很明了，若是畫家的腦子沒有死守著傳統的方法的話，恐怕誰都有極度的煩惱，誰都有想改革的念頭。然而結果似乎太慘，雖千年來的潛勢力，還整個籠罩了畫家的心，束縛得使你動也不能動，中國畫的不進步，說明了又沒有多大稀奇。

5.4

就取材上說，文人畫是“消極”的“頹廢”的，“老”的，“無”的，“隱逸”的，“悲觀”的。它是中國士大夫狹義的人生觀，比如在政治上玩得膩了，看看——或者畫畫——這種東西刺激刺激，博一個風雅的名兒。我們想想，今日的中國，是什麼時代？是什麼環境？如把藝術從“倫理”道德“上看，這種制作，是否有繼續發揚的必要？況且這種大理石似的公式，許多年來沒有人打得破，發揚也終究是一句似的而非的空話。中國繪畫，無論如何是有改進的急迫需要。

5.5

日本畫家，又非常羨慕中國的自然，常常到中國來寫生，像京都的竹內棲鳳氏和橋本關雪氏，他們畫的蘇州景物，已成名作。蘇州也不少畫家，為何沒有地方性和時代性的作品？這又牽到中國畫流派化的題上去了。

5.6

時代是前進的，中國畫呢？西洋化也好，印度化也好，日本化也好，在尋求出路的時候，不妨多方走走，隻有服從順應的，才是落伍。

5.7

我認為中國畫需要快快地輸入溫暖，使僵硬的東西先漸漸恢復它的知覺，再圖變更它

的一切。換句話說，中國畫必須先使它“動”，能“動”才會有辦法。…中國畫學上最高的原則以“氣韻生動”為第一，因為“動”，所以才有價值，才是一件美術品。王羲之寫字，為什麼不觀太湖石頭而觀庭間的群鵝？吳道子畫《地獄變》又為什麼要請將軍舞劍？這些都證明一種藝術的真正要素乃在有生命，且豐富其聲。有了生命，時間空間都不能限制它，今日我看漢代的畫像石仍覺是動的，有生命的，請美國人看也一樣。

5.8

古代有很多個畫家畫過雨，如米元章、高房山等人都有很精彩的雨景作品。他們不直接畫雨，而能使人產生下雨的感覺。這是因為他們研究了畫雨景的規律…，到了清代的金冬心，開始摸索直接畫雨的方法。

5.9

甲申又四月杪，于沙坪壩中央大學獲觀金冬心用馬和之筆法所寫風雨歸舟巨幀，心神為之一盪。返鄉來，每思寫撫，未能也。今日略拾墜飭，涉筆為此，愧甚愧甚，古人之不可及也。甲申五月初九日，終日淋雨。新喻傅抱石并記。

5.10

我住在重慶歌樂山金剛坡下，那裡四面環山，林木蕉竹，蔥蔥籠籠。當時我在沙坪壩中央大學藝術系任教，前山下坡去學校的山路，每星期要步行往返兩趟，來回十余裡。雖是山間崎嶇小道，但沿途景色美麗多姿。附近的山林也都游遍，作過細致的觀察。。。山景隨著時間、季節、晴、雨等各種變化而變化，有著不同的韻味。特別值得注意的是晴天和下雨的變化。晴天是山青、水明、樹重、雲輕、一覽無余，層次清晰；而下雨則不同，所有景象朦朧籠朧，雨絲中山色樹影時隱時顯，在模糊中見到極微妙的變化，本身就是絕妙的水墨畫。

5.11

除了季節、時間特征以外，氣象條件也是考慮的因素。天氣的變化，晴雨雪霧往往可以美化自然景物，增加畫面的情趣。晴天可以使自然物朦朧空靈…至於雨景，那是我常喜歡畫的。

5.12

在四川生活時，雨景使我有特別的感受。從我住處金剛坡去沙坪壩的山路上，有一處大竹林，平時走路經過覺得平淡無趣，並不入畫，可是有一次途中遇雨，在山徑上看一大片竹林，真是美極了。我顧不得雨淋濕身，站在林旁觀察了很久很久，滿懷創作的邀請，回到家中立即動筆畫了出來。這就是很為大家贊成的《萬竿煙雨》。

5.13

巴山夜雨。昔高房山作夜雨圖，趙子昂、鮮于樞等皆有題（咏）。乃自錢唐（塘）写山阴诸山，为画史嘉绩。予旅蜀将五载、寄居西郊金剛坡下，迩来兼旬淋雨，矮屋浙沥，益增旅人之感。昨夜于时慧纵谭（谈）抗战后流徙之迹，因商量营此图为纪念。癸未九月望日，傅抱石并记。

5.14

甲申八月廿六日，余四十生辰次女益璇甫墜地二日也。重慶西郊記，新喻傅抱石。

5.15

雪擁藍關圖。

一封朝奏九重天，夕貶潮陽路八千。

本（欲）為聖朝除弊政（事），敢將衰朽惜殘年。

雲橫秦嶺家何在，雪擁藍關馬不前。

知汝遠來應有意，好收吾骨瘴江邊。

乙酉小雪前五日，傅抱石並記。

5.16

作為山水寫生畫，可以當場對景寫生，也可以在現場勾稿子，回到住處加工完成。為了外出寫生方便，畫稿不宜太大，一般四尺宣紙六開更行了。最重要的是必須在印象清晰、感受最深時立即將畫稿落墨寫成，不要隻用鋼筆勾小稿子，收集厚厚一本回到家裡再加工。我們首先是用感情畫畫，因為失去了當初在景色中豐富的感情是畫不出好畫來的。這一點對於初事山水寫生的人來說，是特別值得重視的。

5.17

就中國繪畫的山水技法而論，無論是寫生實踐或是技法研究，皴法問題始終是一個主要的（雖然不是唯一的）問題，在過去固然是、自宋代尤其是明代以後山水畫家們在創作上困難最大意見最多的一個嚴重的問題，即在今天，我認為也依然是一個普遍存在的急待解決的關鍵性的問題。

5.18

此書以在日本九載之地質調查與在歐洲五載之考察主要任務外佳山水之模寫為骨干，以新視角，從中國皴法加以解剖。是役也，中國山水之皴法，在科學上有其根據，在應用上擴其途徑；竊以若能普及中國，則豈畫者增無窮新資料，以今日交通便利，神州景物，又何難一一躍上畫本？此執筆遙譯，惟因事，僅數頁而止。

5.19

畫山用皴法，必須針對你所畫的外形和結構特征，不要拘泥於是用荷葉皴抑是披麻皴，而應從如何用筆墨去充分表現山的勢和質上面多作考慮。。。皴法是用以表現山巒結構，石紋變化的，它與山石的地質結構周密相關。

5.20

我作畫所用皴法，是多年在四川山岳寫生過程中逐漸形成的。我著重表現山岳的變化多姿、林木繁茂而又可見山骨嶙峋的地質特征。。。皴法應與“點”、“染”結合起來，才能取得畫面完美的效果。

5.21

在這演變的過程中，當然為著畫面的需要而隨緣遇景有所變化，或者竟變的和原來所計劃的截然不同。許多朋友批評說，拙作的面目多，幾乎沒有兩張以上布置相同的作品，實際這是造化給我的恩惠。並且，附帶的使我為適應畫面的某種需要而不得不修改變更一貫的習慣和技法，如畫樹，染山，皴石之類。個人的成敗是一問題，但我的經驗使我深深相信這是打破筆墨約束的第一法門。

Conclusion

6.1

我的畫確是吸收了日本畫和水彩畫的某些技法，至於象不象中國畫，后人自有定論！中國畫總不能一成不變，應該吸收東洋和西洋的優點，消化之后，為我所用啊！

FIGURES



Fig. 1.1 Map showing Nanchang
From: <http://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanchang>



Fig. 1.2 Fu Baoshi and his Family. Photograph.

Published: Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會 ed. *The Mandate from Heaven is New: The Life of Fu Baoshi* (*Qiming weixin: Fu Baoshi de yisheng* 其命惟新：傅抱石的一生), Shanghai : Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, p. 49.



Fig. 1.3 Map showing Nanchang and Jingdezhen
 From: <http://www.weather-forecast.com/locations/Nanchang>



Fig. 1.4 Liu Xiren (1906-1967), *Scholar and Attendant*, 1930-1940. Pair of vases painted in fengcai enamels. Height 34.5 cm.
Published: Urban Council, *Brush and Clay: Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1990, fig. 112, p. 363.



Fig. 1.5 Chinese Garden Setting, ca. 1933-34. Photograph. Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-34
From CARLI digital collection, University of Illinois at Chicago
http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/uic_cop&CISOPTR=1341&CISOBOX=1&REC=12

THE SECOND MODERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1912

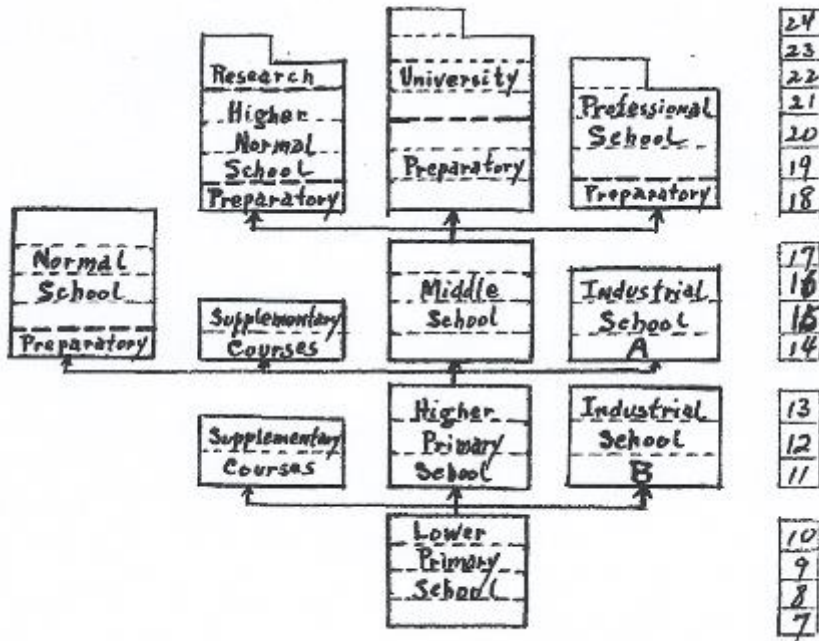


Fig 1.6. Diagram of the Second Modern Educational System
 Published: Theobore Encheng Hsiao, *A History of Modern Education in China*. PhD thesis. New York University, 1925, p. 6.



Fig. 1.7 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Drinking Together at the Pine Cliff*, dated 1925. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 133.6 X 32 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 5.



Fig. 1.8 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Riding a Donkey under Bamboo*, dated 1925. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 133.6 X 32. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed., *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 3.



Fig. 1.9 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Walking with a Stick and Carrying a Qin*, dated 1925. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper. 133.6 X 32 cm. Nanjing Museum.
Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 6.



Fig. 1.10 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Water Pavilion in Autumn Forest*, dated 1925. Hanging scroll; ink and colours on paper, 133.6 X 32 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed., *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongb aozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 4.



Fig. 1.11 Wang Dacang (1901-1953), *Landscape*, 1930-1940. Vase painted in *qianjiang* enamels. Height: 19.7 cm. Published: Urban Council, *Brush and Clay: Chinese Porcelain of the Early Twentieth Century*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1990, fig. 107, p. 353.



Fig. 1.12 Qiu Ying (c. 1494-c.1552), detail from *Springtime in the Imperial Palace of Han dynasty*, 16th century. Handscroll; colour on silk. 459. 74 X 31 cm. British Museum. Published: Stephen W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. 2, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914, fig. 131.



Fig. 1.13 Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), detail from *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, painted between 1347-1350. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 33 X 636. 9 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Published: Fong, Wen C. and James C. Y. Watt ed. *Possessing the Past*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1996, p. 300, pl. 151.



Fig. 1.14 Xu Beihong, Fu Baoshi and others in Nanchang, Jiangxi province (Xu Beihong is first from left with a lotus stem and Fu Baoshi is second from left leaning against the tree trunk), 1931. Photograph. Published: Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會 ed. *The Mandate from Heaven is New: The Life of Fu Baoshi (Qiming weixin: Fu Baoshi de yisheng 其命惟新：傅抱石的一生)*, Shanghai : Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社 , 2009, p. 16.



Fig. 1.15 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Dwelling in Purified Place with Water and Trees*, dated 1932. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 135.5 X 54 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Shōtō Museum of Art, *The Great Master of Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting Fu Baoshi: The Bridge of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石：中國美術交流のかけ橋)* Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 33.



Fig. 1.16 Shitao (1642-1707), *Landscape*. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 102.5 X 42.4cm. Shanghai Museum. Published: Liu Jianping 劉建平, *The Collection of the Calligraphy and Painting of Shitao* (*Shitaoshuhua quanji* 石濤書畫全集), vol. 2, Tianjin Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 天津人民美術出版社, 2005, fig. 312.



Fig. 2.1. Hakogi Ichirō 箱木一郎 (b. 1896) at his studio, 1930s. Photograph.
From: <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/boxtree/hakogi/profile2.html>

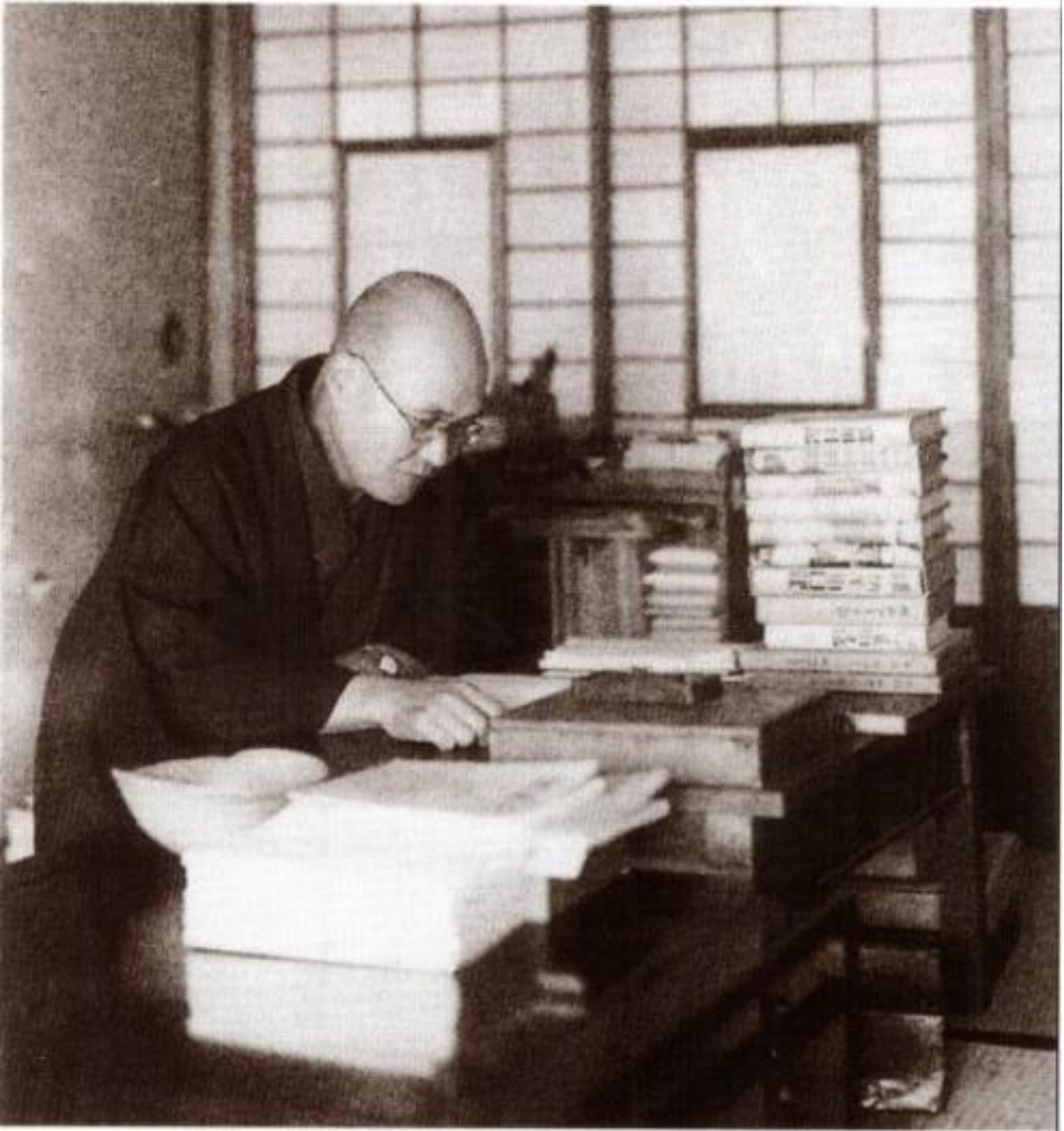


Fig. 2.2 Kinbara Seigo (1888-1958). Photograph. Published: Lu Heng 陆衡 ed. *A Canon of Fu Baoshi* (*Fu Baoshi dadian* 傅抱石大典), Guwuxuan Chubanshe 古吴轩出版社, 2004, p. 28.



Fig. 2.3 Diary of Kinbara Seigo, 1934. Photograph. Published: Musashino Art University ed., *Musashino Art University: Collection of Historical Materials of University History: Diary of Kinbara Seigo*, (*Musashi bijutsu daigaku: Daigaku-shi shiryō-shū daigoshū: Kinbara Seigo nikki*: 武蔵美術大学: 大学史史料集 第五集: 金原省吾日記), vol. 5, 1934, Musashino Art University, 2007.



Fig. 2.4 Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (c. 345- c. 406), 'Adorning Oneself' from *Admonitions of the Court Instructress to Palace Ladies*. Tang Dynasty copy of a 4th or 5th century painting. Detail of a handscroll; ink and colours on silk, 24.8 X 348.2 cm. The British Museum. Published: Barnhart, Richard M. et al. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, Yale University Press, 1997, p. 51, fig. 39.

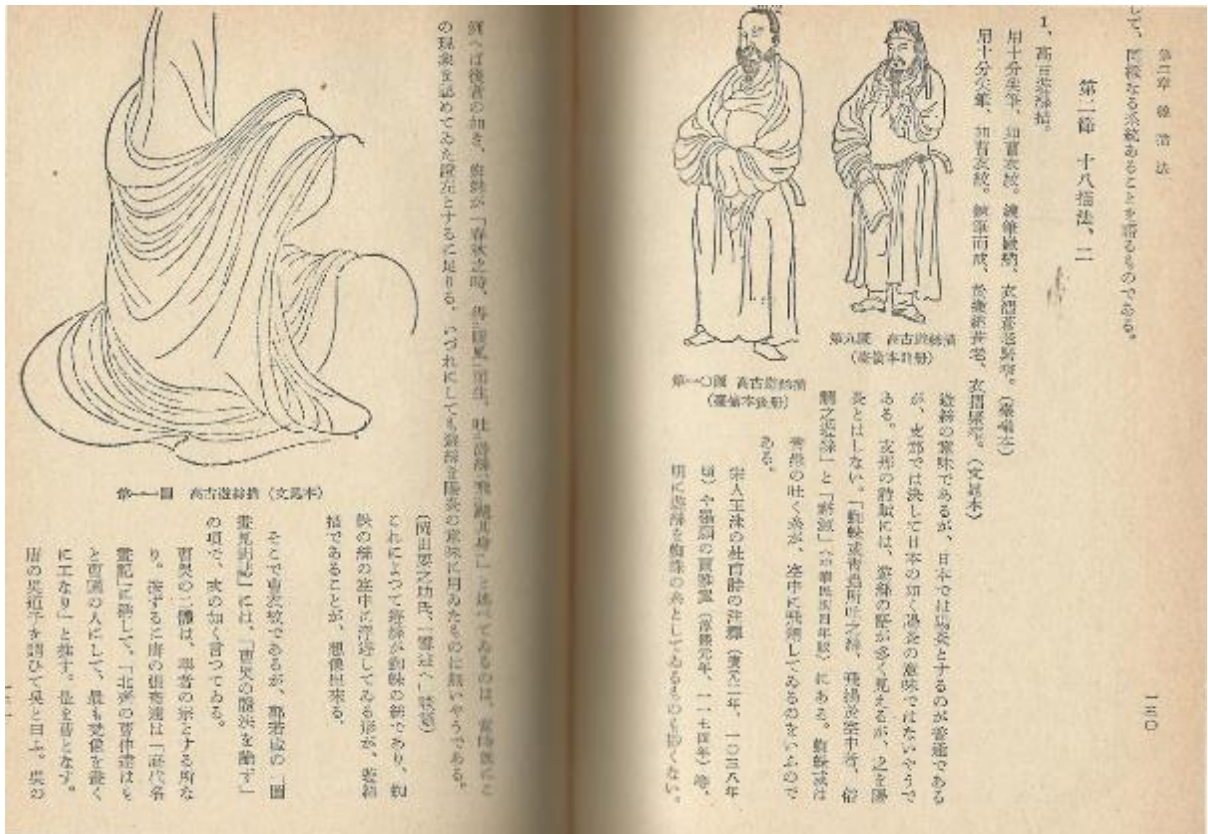


Fig. 2.5 Pages showing examples of illustrations of lines called the “lofty archaic gossamer thread” method (*kōko yūshi byō* 高古遊絲描). Photograph. Published: Kinbara Seigo, *Studies of Lines in Painting (Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyū 繪画に於ける線の研究)*, Tōkyō : Kokin Shoin 古今書院, 1953, pp. 130-131.



Fig. 2.6 Attributed to Muqi (early 13th century - after 1279), detail from *Fishing Village in Twilight Glow*. One of the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang, Southern Song period. Handscroll; ink on paper. Nezu Museum, Tokyo. Published: Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming The Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*, E.J. Brill, 1999, fig. 45.



Fig. 2.7 Yujian (fl. C. mid-13th century), detail from *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist*. One of the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang, Southern Song period. Handscroll; ink on paper. Idemitsu Art Museum, Tokyo
Published: Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming The Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*, E.J. Brill, 1999, fig. 46.



Fig. 2.8 Shitao (1642–1707), *Returning Home*, ca. 1695. Album leaf; ink and colour on paper. Painting leaf: 16.5 x 10.5 cm; album leaf: 21.1 x 13.5 cm; Width of double page: 27 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1976.280>

年	月	日	事	時	地
二十五年甲午	二月	二十五日	出生	時	蘇州
二十四年丁酉	二月	二十八日	出家	時	蘇州
七年戊申	二月	二十九日	受戒	時	蘇州
九年庚戌	二月	十一日	受戒	時	蘇州
十一年壬子	二月	十三日	受戒	時	蘇州
十二年癸丑	二月	十四日	受戒	時	蘇州
十五年丙辰	二月	十七日	受戒	時	蘇州
十六年丁巳	二月	十八日	受戒	時	蘇州
十七年戊午	二月	十九日	受戒	時	蘇州
十八年己未	二月	二十日	受戒	時	蘇州
十九年庚申	二月	二十一日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十年辛酉	二月	二十二日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十一年壬戌	二月	二十三日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十二年癸亥	二月	二十四日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十三年甲子	二月	二十五日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十四年乙丑	二月	二十六日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十五年丙寅	二月	二十七日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十六年丁卯	二月	二十八日	受戒	時	蘇州
二十七年戊辰	二月	二十九日	受戒	時	蘇州

Fig. 2.9 Table outlining a short and concise chronology of Shitao's life. Published: Fu Baoshi, "A Chronology of the Bitter-Melon Monk" (*Kuka oshō nenpu* 苦瓜和尚年譜), *Land of Beauty* (*Bi no kuni* 美の国), vol. 11, no. 3, 1935, pp. 40-41.



Fig. 2.10 Fu Baoshi at his solo exhibition from 10th to 14th May, 1935, Tokyo. Photograph Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed. *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)*, Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, p. 9.

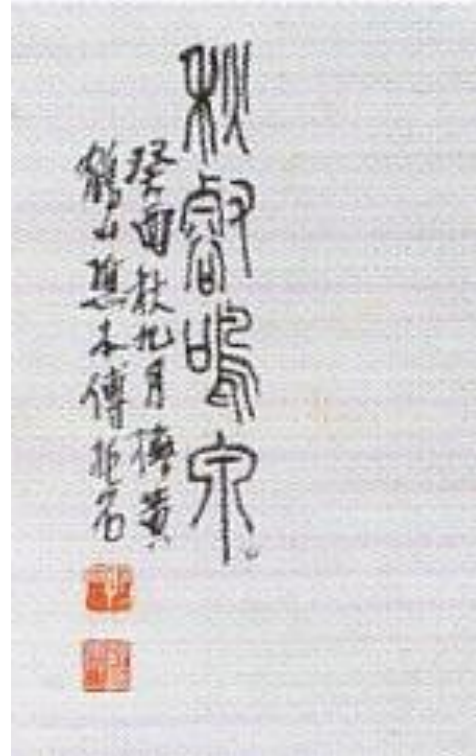


Fig. 2.11 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Autumn Valleys and Singing Springs*, dated 1933. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 184.2 X 63. 5 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhi-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)* Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 3.



Fig. 2.12 Wang Meng (ca. 1308-1385), *Autumn Valleys and Singing Springs*. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. Previously in the Private Collection of Di Baoxian
Published: *Collection of Famous Chinese Paintings Tang Song Yuan and Ming Dynasties (Tang Song Yuan Ming hua daguan 唐宋元明畫大觀)*, Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe Youxian Gongsi 成文出版社有限公司, 1976, fig. 1



Fig. 2.13 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Loquat Tree*, dated 1935. Ink and colour on paper, 32.4 X 45.3 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed. *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School* (Fu Hoseki ten: Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhin-ten kinen 傅抱石展: 中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念) Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 1.



Fig. 2.14 Wu Changshuo (1844-1927), *Wild Roses and Loquats*, dated 1920. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 154.1 X 82.8 cm. Shanghai Museum. Published: Andrews, Julia F. and Kuyi Shen, *Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China*. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998, fig. 24.



Fig. 2.15 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Bird*, dated 1934. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 96.8 X 46.3 cm
 Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhin-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)* Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 11.

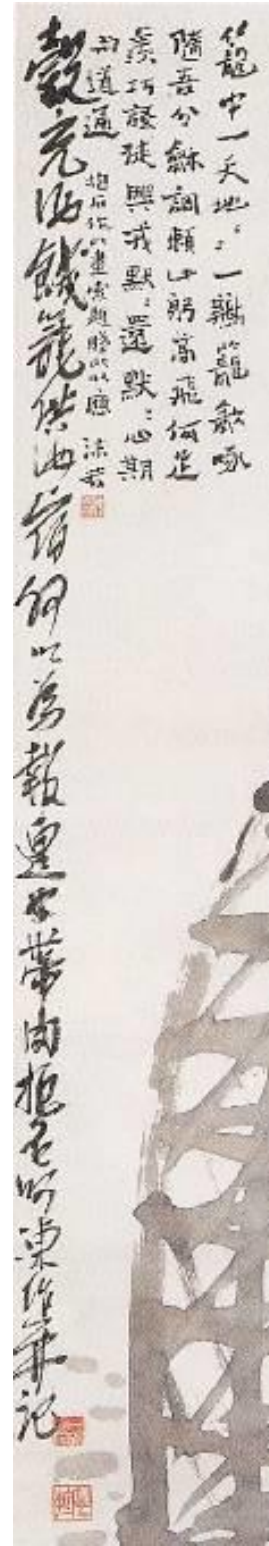
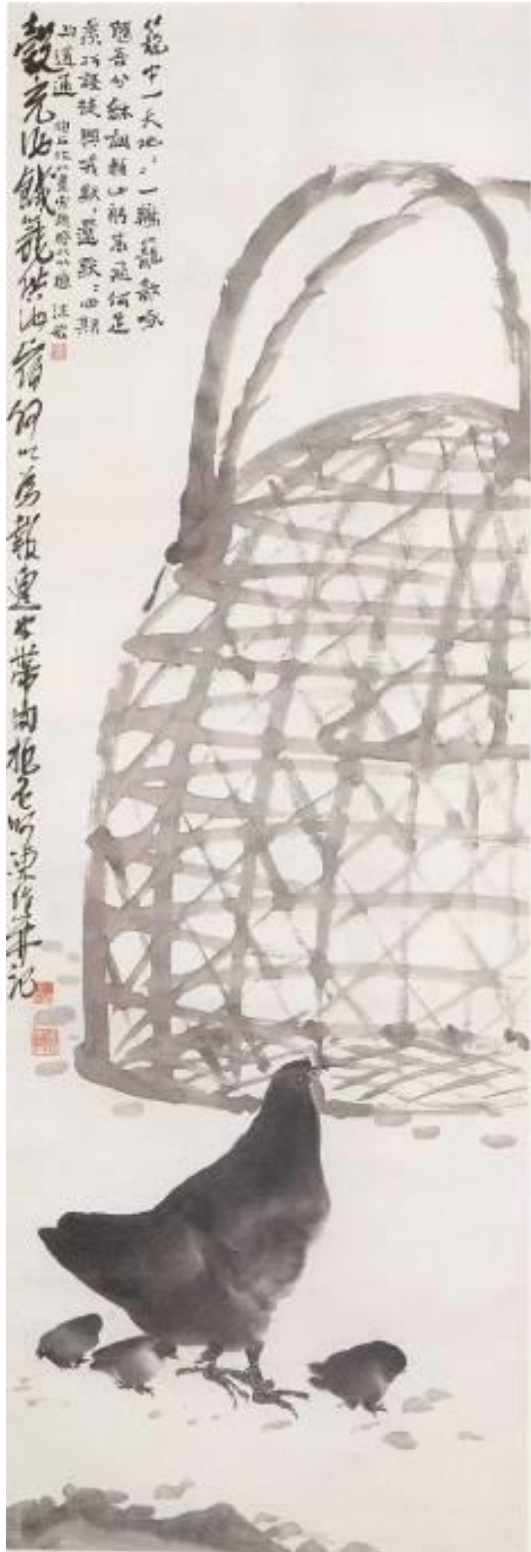


Fig. 2.16 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Cage and Birds*, dated 1934. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 136.6 X 46.6 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuin-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)* Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 11.

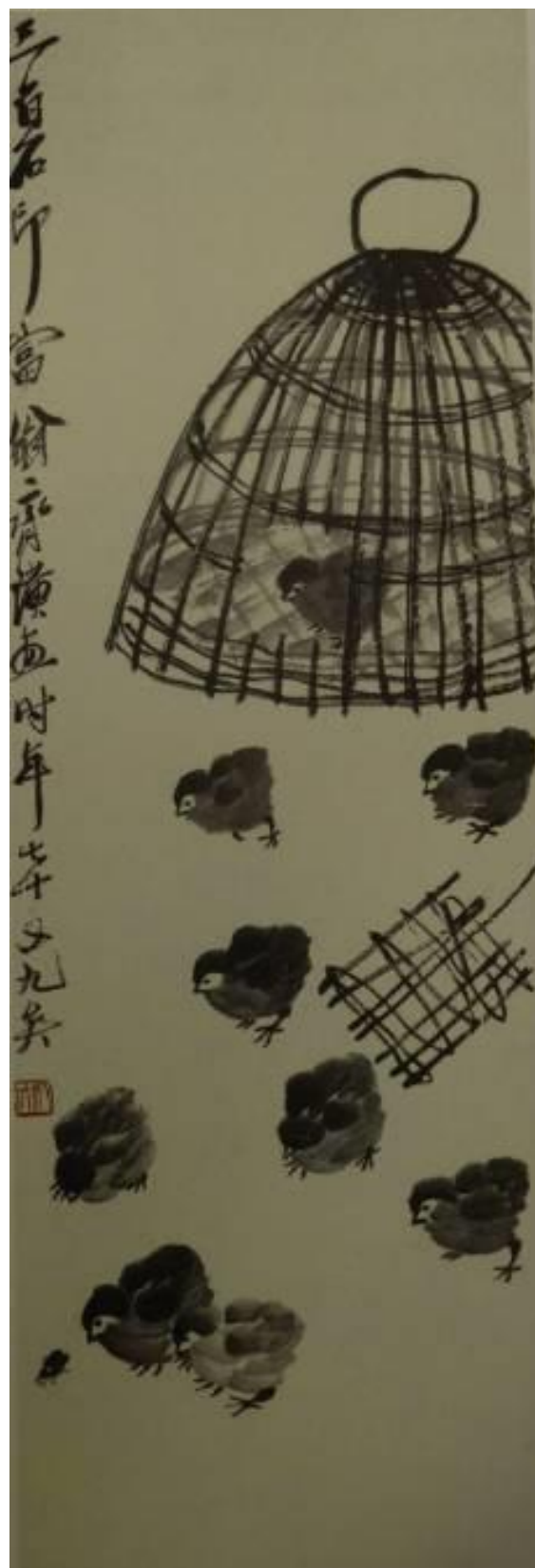


Fig. 2.17 Qi Baishi (1864-1957), *Chickens Coming out of a Cage*, dated 1939. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 104 X 34 cm. Beijing Cultural Relic Company (Beijingshi wenwu gongsi 北京市文物公司)
Published: Lang Shaojun 郎邵君 et al., *Complete Works of Qi Baishi (Qi Baishi quanji 齐白石全集)*, vol. 4, Hunan Meishu Chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1996, p. 296, fig. 266.

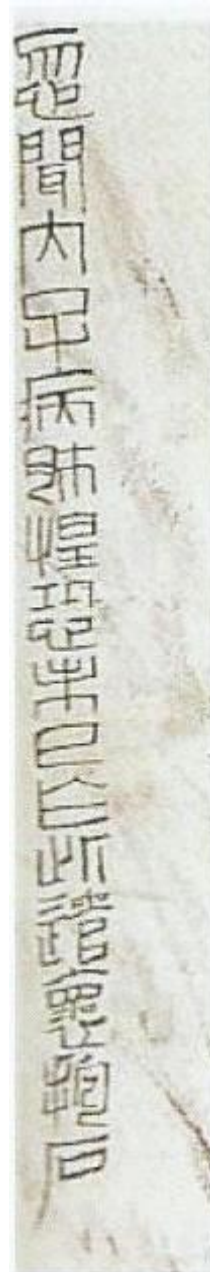


Fig. 2.18 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Living in Seclusion in a Bamboo Grove*, ca. 1933. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 135.7 X 29.3 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhin-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)* Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 5.



Fig. 2.19 Ikeno Taiga (1723-1776), *Landscape*, ca. 1760. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 124.5 X 27.6 cm. From: <http://www.asianart.com/BachmannEckenstein/d15357.html>

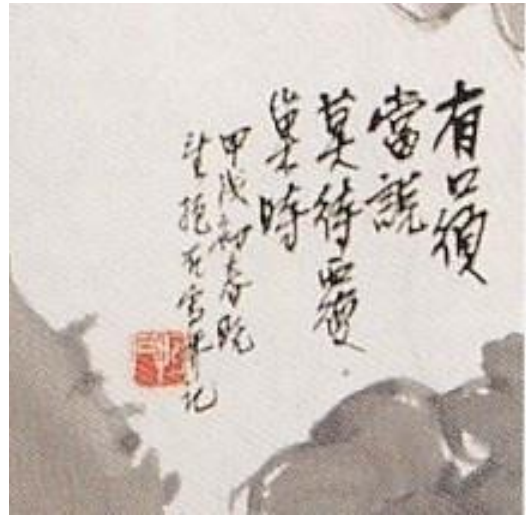


Fig. 2.20 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Bird Singing on the Branches*, dated 1934. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 133.5 X 43.4 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library. Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhin-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)* Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 7 .



Fig. 2.21 Wang Yuan (ca. 1280-d. after 1349), *Pheasant and Small Bird with Peach and Bamboo*, dated 1349. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 111.9 X 55.7 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. Published: Barnhart, Richard M. et al. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, Yale University Press, 1997, fig. 171, p. 186.



Fig. 2.22 Sano Kōsui (1896–1960), *A Cat in a Melon Patch*, ca. 1925. 216 X 65.8 cm. Cernuschi Museum, Paris. From: <http://www.cernuschi.paris.fr/fr/collections/chat-dans-un-champ-de-melons>



Fig. 2.23 Tawaraya Sotatsu (fl. ca. 1600-1643), *Peonies and Lilies*, Momoyama or Edo period. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper. 107.3 X 44.1 cm. Freer Sackler, The Smithsonian's Museum of Art. From: <http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/singleObject.cfm?ObjectNumber=F1898.56>



Fig. 2.24 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *A Pair of Geese*, dated 1934. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 33.2 X 133.2 cm. Musashino Art University, Museum and Library.
Published: Musashino Art University Library ed., *Fu Baoshi Exhibition: Commemorative Exhibition of Outstanding Works by a Student of the Chinese Art School (Fu Hoseki ten: Chūgoku bijutsu gakuin gakusei yūshū sakuhin-ten kinen 傅抱石展：中国美术学院学生优秀作品展記念)*, Exhibition Catalogue. Kodaira: Musashino Art University Library, p. 8.



Fig. 2.25 Qian Xuan (ca. 1235-1307), *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, ca. 1295. Handscroll; ink, colour, and gold on paper, 23.2 X 92.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Published: Hear, Maxwell K. *How to Read Chinese paintings*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008, p. 74.



Fig. 2.26 Xu Beihong (1895-1953), *Geese*, dated 1935. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 82.7 X 52.2 cm. Kyoto National Museum. Published: Kyoto National Museum ed., *Modern Chinese Painting and Japan (Chūgoku kindai kaiga to Nihon 中国近代絵画と日本)*. Exhibition Catalogue. Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2012, p. 204, fig. 166.



Fig. 3.1 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Kansetsu's Idea*, dated 1936. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 110 X 34. 5cm. The Private Collection of Cai Chennan.
Published: Lu Heng 陆衡 ed. *A Canon of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi dadian 傅抱石大典)*, Guwuxuan Chubanshe 古吴轩出版社, 2004, p. 50.



Fig. 3.2 Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883-1945), detail from *The Former and Latter Red Cliff*, Handscroll; ink on paper, 29.1 X 403.3 cm. Published: Asahi Shinbunsha ed., *The Exhibition of Hashimoto Kansetsu: 100th anniversary of his birth* (*Hashimoto Kansetsu ten: seitan 100-nen* 橋本関雪展: 生誕 100年), Exhibition Catalogue, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1984, p. 55, fig. 40.

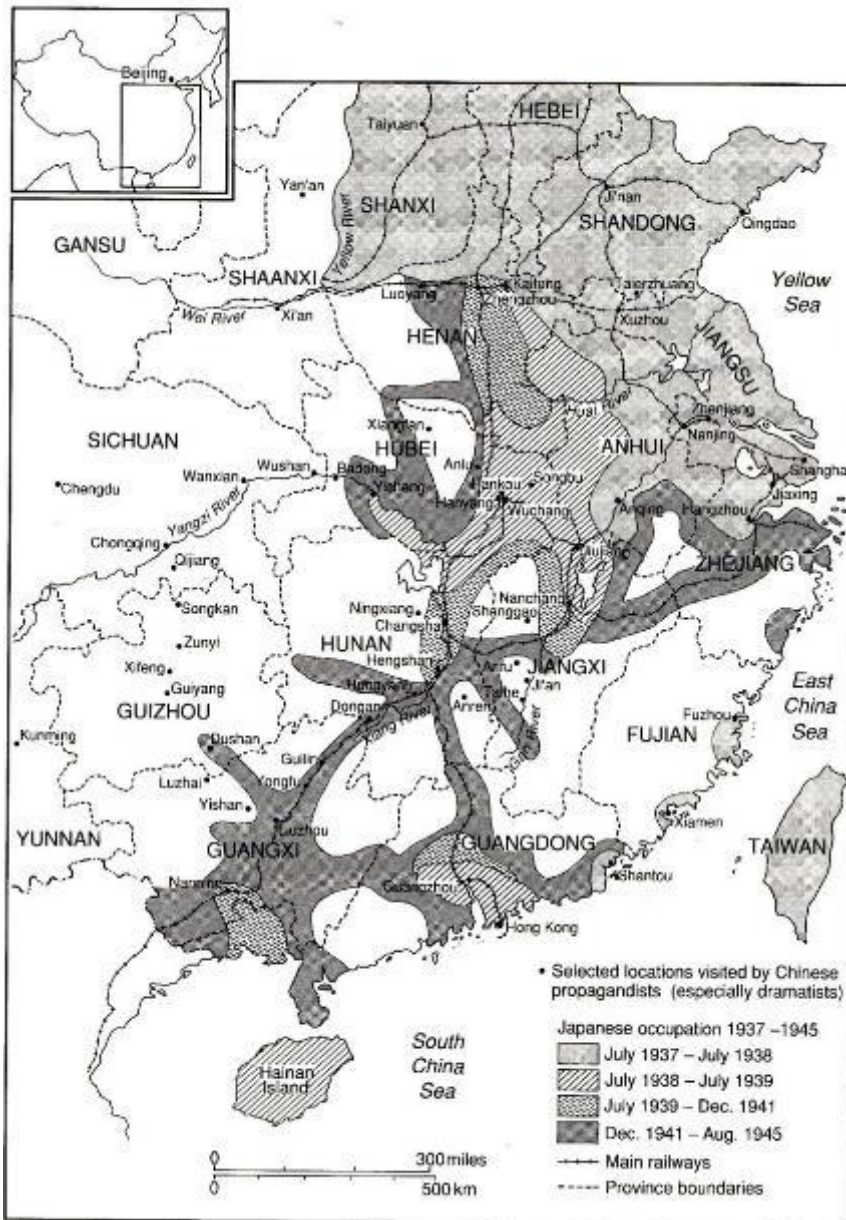


Fig. 3.3 Map of the Japanese Occupation of China during the Sino-Japanese War 1937-1945
 Published: Hung, Chang-tai *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*,
 University of California, 1994, fig. 1.

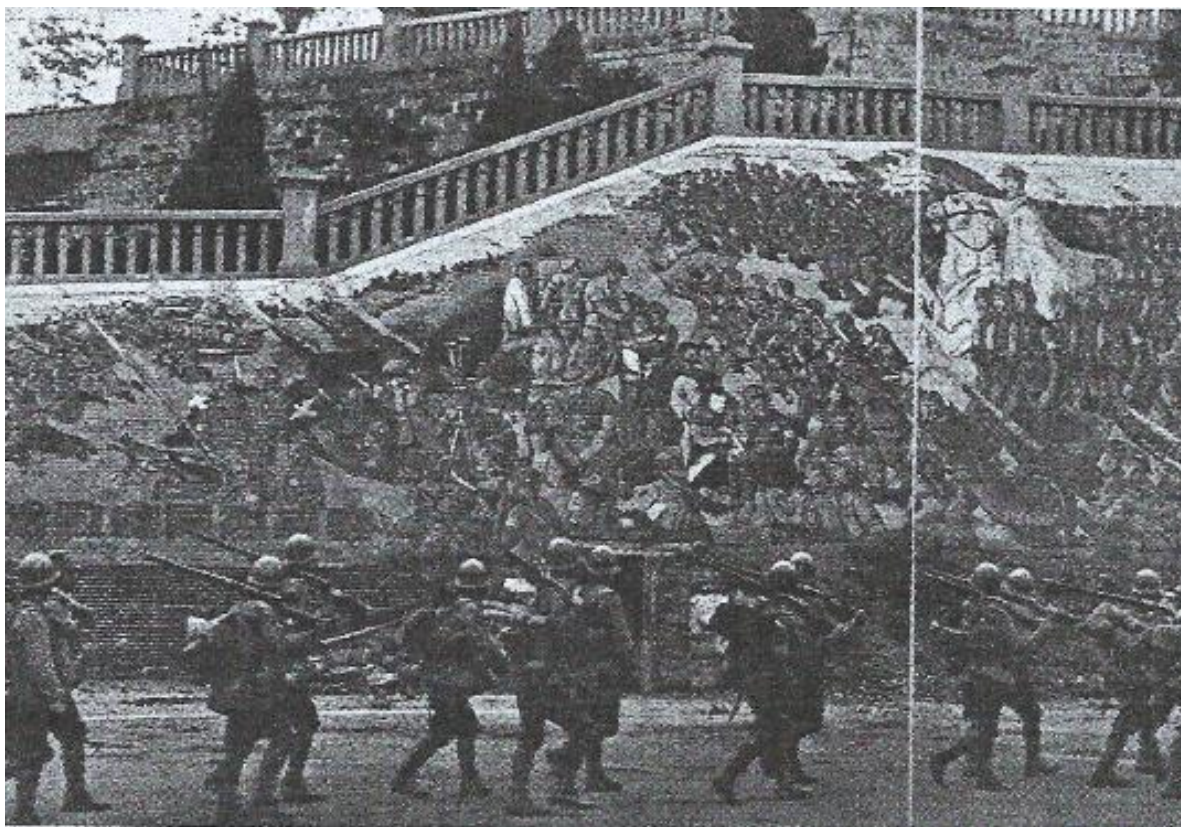


Fig. 3.4 A large scale painting on the wall below the Yellow Crane Tower (*Huanghelou* 黄鹤楼), 10 X 30 m. Photograph. Published: Cai Tao 蔡濤, *Between the Nation and the Artist: The Anti-Japanese Propaganda Mural in Huanghelou (1938) and the Turning Point of Modern Chinese Art, (1938 nian: guojia yu yishujia: Huanghelou dabihua yu kangzhan chuqi zhongguo xiandai meishud e zhuanxing* 1938年：國家與藝術家：黃鶴樓大壁畫與抗戰初期中國現代美術的轉型), PhD thesis, China Academy of Art, 2013, p. 171.

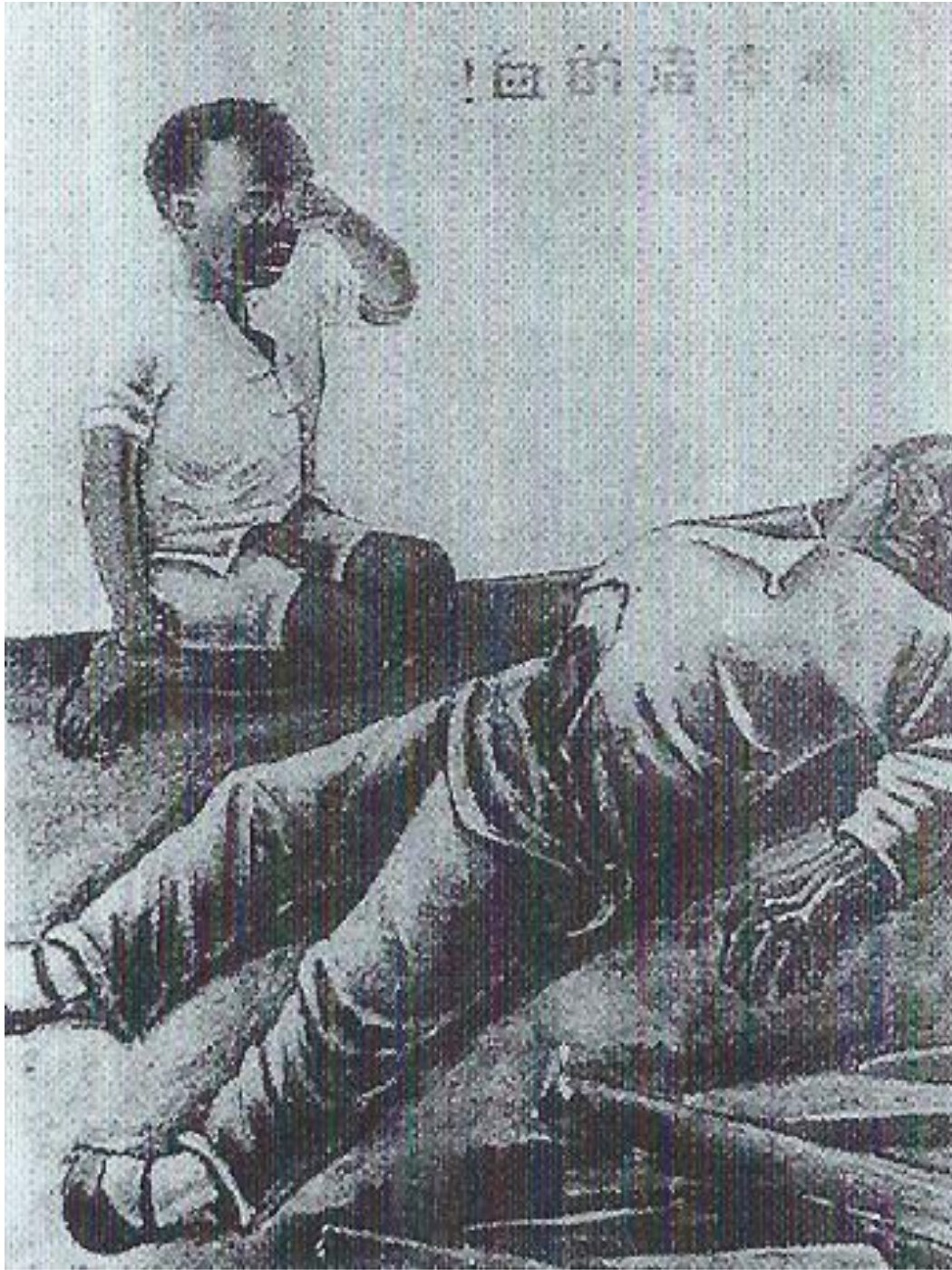


Fig. 3.5 Li Keran (1907-1989), *The Blood of Unfortunate Ones* (*wuxingzhe de xue* 無幸者血), dated 1938. Published: Moon Junghee trans. *The Master of Painting in Twentieth-Century China: Li Keran* (20 segi jung-gughoehwau geojang: Li Keran, 20세기 중국회화의 거장: 리커란 李可染) by Wan Qingli 萬青力, Seoul: Sigongsa, 2003, p. 59.

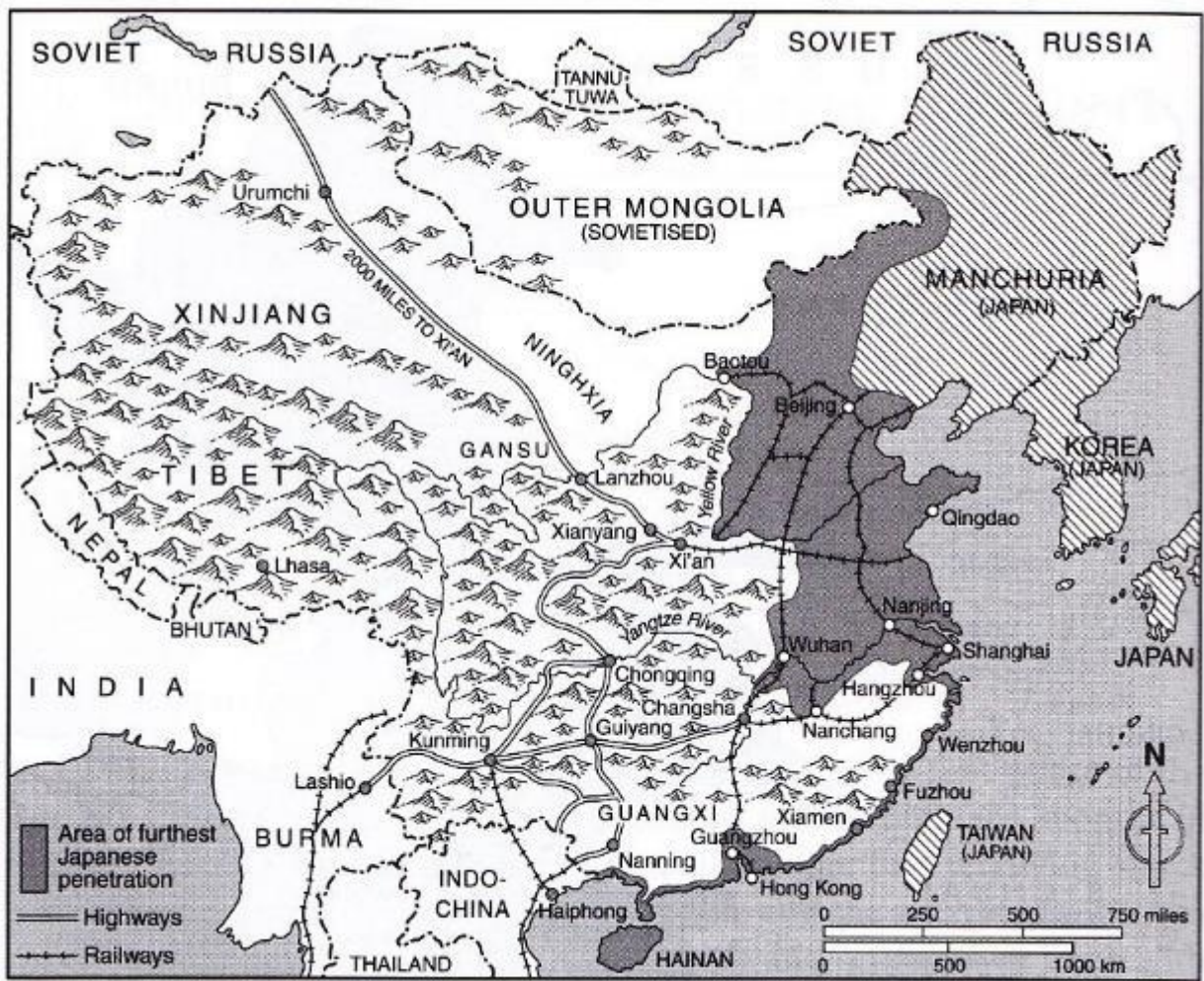


Fig. 3. 6 A Map of China with Chongqing at the centre. Published: Lary, Diana, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937-1945*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 80, Map. 3.



Fig. 3.7 Zhang Daqian (1899-1983), *Guanyin of the Water Moon*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; Ink, colour and gold on cotton, 156 X 86 cm. Collection of Ying Tsao Jung, San Fransico. Published: Fu Shen C. Y and Jan Stuart, *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*, Washington D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery; 1991. p. 139



Fig. 3. 8 Xie Zhiliu (1910-1997), *Flying Celestial (Apsara)*, 1942-1943. Ink on transparent paper, drawing, 25.4 X 39.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
From: <http://metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/72937>



Fig. 3. 8 *A Celestial Musician*, 6th century (523-539). Wall painting. Cave 285 Dunhuang.
From: <http://idp.bl.uk/4DCGI/education/gansu/pages/image59.html>



Fig. 3.9 Fu Baoshi with his family at his cottage in Jingangpo, Chongqing. Photograph. Published: Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會 ed., *The Mandate from Heaven is New: The Life of Fu Baoshi* (*Qiming weixin: Fu Baoshi de yisheng* 其命惟新：傅抱石的一生), Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009, p. 28.



Fig. 3.10 Jingangpo and its surrounding area. Photograph by Hee Jung Lee. November 2010





Fig. 3.11 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Scenery of Jingangpo*, dated 1939. Ink and colour on paper.
Published: Lu Heng 陆衡 ed. *A Canon of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi dadian 傅抱石大典)*, Guwuxuan Chubanshe 古吴轩出版社, 2004, p. 60.



Fig. 3.12 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Jingangpo*, dated 194. Handscroll; Ink and colour on paper, 61 X 101 cm. Published: Lu Heng 陆衡 ed. *A Canon of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi dadian 傅抱石大典)*, Guwuxuan Chubanshe 古吴轩出版社, 2004, p.111.



Fig. 3.13 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Fog of Early Summer*, dated 1942. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 48.6 X 55.4 cm. Fu Baoshi family collection.

Published: Shōtō Museum of Art, *The Great Master of Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting Fu Baoshi: The Bridge of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi*, 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石：中國美術交流のかけ橋), Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 45, fig. 15.



Fig. 3.14 Jingangpo and its Surrounding Area. Photograph by Hee Jung Lee. November 2010



Fig. 3.15 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965) and Li Keran (1907-1989), *The Seven Sages' Grove Outing*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; Ink on paper. Published: Chen Lüsheng 陳履生 ed., *The Complete Works of Fu Baoshi* (*Fu Baoshi quanji* 傅抱石全集). Catalogue. vol. 1 (1925-1945), Nanning: Guangxi Meishu Chubanshe 廣西美術出版社, 2008, p. 159.



Fig. 3.16 Luo Jimei 羅寄梅 (1902-1987) and His Wife Liu Xian 劉先, dated 1943. Photograph.

Published: China Guardian, *Recalling the Surplus of Meian: The Seventy Years Collection of Mr and Mrs. Luo* (*Yi Meian changwu — Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang* 忆梅庵长物 — 罗寄梅夫妇70年珍藏), Auction Catalogue, Tuesday, October 30, 2012, p.14.



Fig. 3. 17 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Lin Hejing*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 57.9 X 78 cm. Published: China Guardian, *Recalling the Surplus of Meian: The Seventy Years Collection of Mr and Mrs. Luo (Yi Meian changwu — Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang 忆梅庵长物 — 罗寄梅夫妇70年珍藏)*, Auction Catalogue, Tuesday, October 30, 2012, p. 23.



Fig. 3. 18 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), Seal, dated 1943. 0.7X0.7x4 cm. Published: China Guardian, *Recalling the Surplus of Meian: The Seventy Years Collection of Mr and Mrs. Luo (Yi Meian changwu — Luo Jimei fufu 70 nian zhencang 忆梅庵长物 — 罗寄梅夫妇70年珍藏)*, Auction Catalogue, Tuesday, October 30, 2012, p. 51.



Fig. 3. 19 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Guanyin*, 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 110.1 X 34.5 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed., *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxindai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)* Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 51.



Fig. 3.20 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Heavenly Maiden Scattering Flowers*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed. *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)*, Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 53.



Fig. 3.21 Guo Moruo's Former Residence in Chongqing. Photography by Hee Jung Lee. November 2010.



Fig. 3.22 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Summer Mountain*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 111 x 62.5 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed. *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)*. Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 39.



Fig. 3.23 Feng Zikai, Fu Baoshi, Chen Zifo (from left to right) and others, 1940s. Photograph.
From: http://art.china.cn/huihua/2012-10/11/content_5395262.htm

學海

豐子愷畫展序言

謝冰瑩

子愷先生之畫，定於十一月二十八日開始在國畫會展覽。這是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。

畫展自序

豐子愷

畫展自序。這是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。

子愷先生的畫

蔣用宏

子愷先生的畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。

春末的畫家

傅地石

春末的畫家。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。

子愷的畫境

鏡歌川

子愷的畫境。這是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。子愷先生之畫，不僅是我國畫壇的一件大事，也是我國畫壇的一件大事。

民國三十一年十一月二十七日 中央日報 申分仍支 所工登

Fig. 3.24 Fu Baoshi's article about the artist Feng Zikai. Scanned image of the article. Published: newspaper Shishi Xinbao 時事新報 27 November, 1942.



Fig. 3.25 Feng Zikai (1898-1975), *A Child Enjoying Drawing*, 1940s. Ink and colour on paper
Published: Xiao Chan 小蟬, *Collected Works of Chinese Famous Painter: Feng Zikai (Zhongguo minghuaajia quanji: Feng Zikai 中國名畫家全集：豐子愷)*. Hebei Jiayou Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 2001, p. 46.



Fig. 3.26 Teachers and Students of the Fine Arts Department, National Central University in Chongqing. Front row from left to right: Fu Baoshi, Xu Beihong, Chen Zhifo (fourth), and Fei Chengwu (sixth); second row on the right: Zhang Qianying, 1940s. Photograph. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006, p. 13.



Fig. 3.27 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Lady under a Willow Tree*, dated 1946. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 82 X 54 cm. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006, p. 52.



Fig. 3.28 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Viewing Waterfall in the Pavilion*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 60 X 36 cm. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006, p. 72.

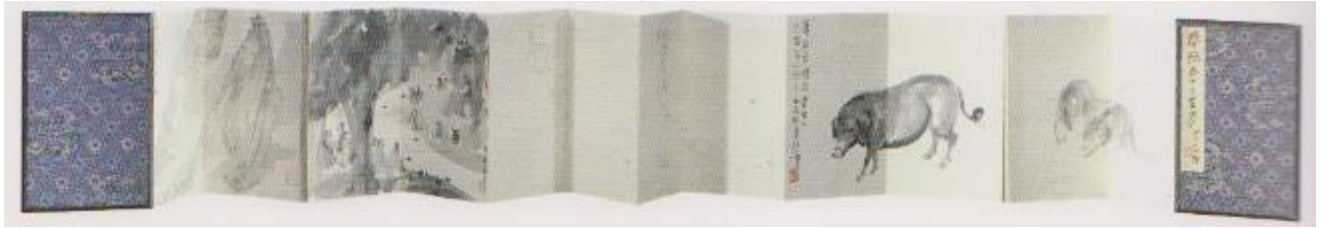


Fig. 3.29 The original album which contained Xu Beihong's Zodiac Animals as the prelude, Pang Xungin's as the interim and Fu Baoshi's Landscape and Figures (Nine leaves) as the finale (above) and one leaf of Fu Baoshi's painting from the album (below), dated 1946. Album leaf; ink and colour on paper, each leaf: 28 X 36.5. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *A Tribute to the Lives of Fei Cheng-Wu & Chang Chien-ying*, Auction Catalogue, October, 2006, p. 74 and p. 83.



Fig. 3.31 Hugues Jean de Dianous (1914-2008), Photograph. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Painting*, Auction Catalogue, April, 2008, p. 215.



Fig. 3.32 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Another Lonely Night*, dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 69.7 X 34.4 cm. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Painting*, Auction Catalogue, April, 2008, p. 216.



Fig. 3.33 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Portrait of Hugues Jean de Dianous*, dated 1947. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 66.9 X 33.9 cm. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, Fine Chinese Painting, Auction Catalogue, April, 2008, p. 214.

傅抱石畫展觀感

美國艾惟廉博士

我在一日中，已經兩回

起……。

去看過傅抱石先生在中蘇文化協會的個人畫展。在戰時的重慶裏，不斷有如此旺盛的美術活動。一想起值得讚賞！就像我這一個不速之客的事情，一再陶醉，也是最自然的事。在今日寫自存自由戰鬥的時候，每一個人，每一國國家，必須自覺其國魂與本身的底力。發揚其本性的優點。譬如當荷蘭國，從前對西班牙作革命戰的時候，曾有荷蘭著名國畫派的興

傅先生的畫裏面，最顯然的特性就是富於歷史性！其人物都是穿着古代衣冠。其畫題中，也多是中國歷史，或者文學中的故事。例如「蘇武歸漢」一幅，便顯出國魂的代表作。或許有些批評家說：「描戰的今日，不應談畫歷史的畫。我則以為不然！畫家中，各有各的所長；各有各的使命。傅抱石先生的使命，在於使中國人自覺其國魂與本性！使回憶其

祖先的光榮，以鼓舞現代的青年。這點，和畫現代事物是異曲同工的。

傅先生的山水，或說是有士大夫畫的氣味；可是還有石濤的禪韻。但這些古香古色，使觀者悟得「大道不二」的真理。就藝術的觀點而論。這就是中國畫法，在世界美術中特有的「德性」。聽說傅先生在中央大學任國畫教授，是很幸福的事情。我希望他，日益能導引他的門人，努力使中國前藝術復興。在推動新時代的巨輪上，還兼揚並保存他們祖先悠揚靜穆的美態！這樣能使我們西方的季札，歎絕止矣。

註：艾博士長於中國文藝，本稿即其自寫中文。

正門出入，已由政院通過。

求賢育思

改變，而教育宗旨可以改變，國民教育一章之宗旨，當注意此點：教育乃國民之權

助私立學校之發展為政府之義務，我也贊成張知本氏意見：「私立之學校凡適合教

荷轉此登報聲明此啟

Fig. 3.34 American sinologist William Acker's review article about Fu Baoshi's 1944 exhibition. Scanned image of the article. Published: The newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* 時事新報, 15th March 1944.



Fig. 3.35 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Su Wu Returns to Han*, dated 1943. Handscroll; Ink and colour on paper, 62 X 84.8 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed. *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxindai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)*, Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 45.



Fig. 4.1 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *A Picture of Cloud Terrace Mountain*, dated 1941. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 112 X 31 cm. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 9, fig. 7.



Fig. 4.2 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *A Picture of Cloud Terrace Mountain*, dated 1940. Handscroll; ink on paper. Published: Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, *Fu Baoshi* 傅抱石, Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe 河北教育出版社, 2000, pp. 54-55.



Fig. 4.3 Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (c. 345-406), Scene 7 from *Admonitions of the Court Instructress to Palace Ladies*. Handscroll; ink and colour on silk, Tang Dynasty copy of a 4th or 5th century painting, 24.8 X 348.2 cm. British Museum, London. Published: Rawson, Jessica ed., *Chinese Art*, The British Museum Press, 1992, fig. 65, p. 104.



Fig. 4.4 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Lady Xiang*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; Ink and colour on paper, 105.2 X 60.8 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed., *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxindai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)*, Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006, p. 42.



Fig 4.5 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Lady Figure for Luo Shihui* (*Wei Luo Shihui zuo shinütu* 為羅時慧作仕女圖), dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 73.7 X 42 cm. Fu Baoshi Family Collection. Published: Ye Zonghao ed., *The World of Fu Baoshi* (*Fu Baoshi de shijie* 傅抱石的世界). Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Chubanye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004, p. 268.

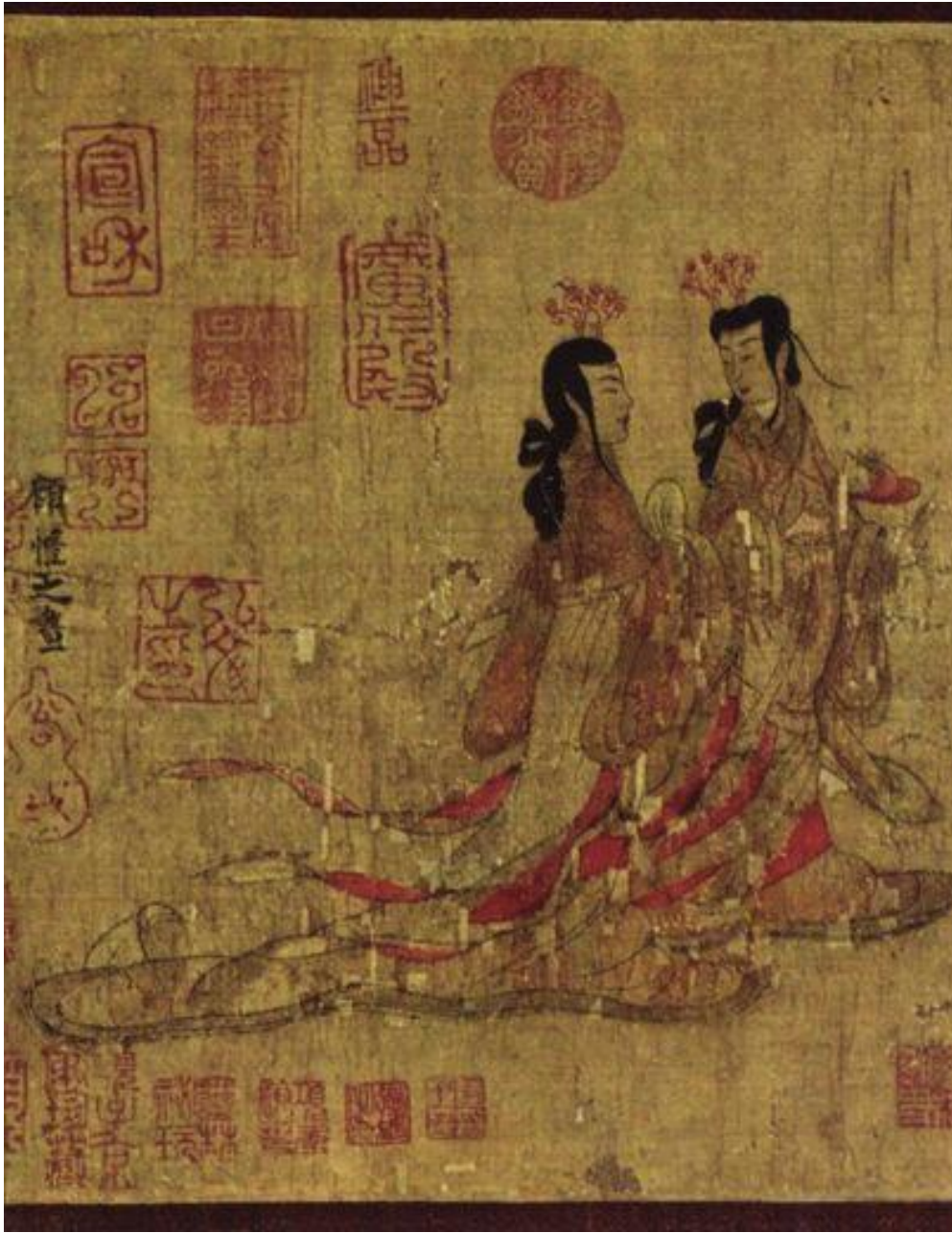


Fig. 4.6 Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (c. 345-406), A detail of scene 9 from *Admonitions of the Court Instructress to Palace Ladies*, Tang Dynasty copy of a 4th or 5th century painting. Handscroll; ink and colour on silk, 24.8 X 348.2 cm. The British Museum. Published: Shane McCausland, *First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting: The Admonitions scroll*. The British Museum Press, 2003. p. 79.



Fig. 4.7 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Strolling Poet Qu Yuan*, dated 1942. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 58.2 X 83.7 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Chinese painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 11, fig. 9



Fig 4.8 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Strolling Poet Qu Yuan*, dated 1942. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 83.5 X 57 cm. Private Collection in Taiwan. Published: Ye Zonghao ed. *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shijie 傅抱石的世界)*, Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004, p. 176.



Fig. 4.9 Zhang Wo (act. ca. 1340-1365), *Portrait of Qu Yuan*, One of ten album leaves in 'Nine Songs' album, Yuan Dynasty. Album leaf; ink on paper. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Published: Yang Xin, *Chinese Traditional Figure Painting in Line Drawing (Zhongguo chuantong xianmiao renwuhua 中國傳統線描人物畫)*, Hunan Meishu Chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1982. p. 51



Fig. 4.10 Chen Hongshou (1598-1652), *Qu Yuan*, c. 1680. Woodcut print. Published: Cahill, James, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644*, Weatherhill, 1982, p. 247.



Fig. 4. 11 Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), *Qu Yuan*, dated 1898. Handscroll; ink and colour on silk, 132.7 X 289.7 cm. Itsukushima Shrine, Hiroshima. Published: Weston, Victoria, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 2004, pl.10.



Fig. 4.12 Performance of Qu Yuan, Act V: Zhang Juan drinks the poisoned wine by mistake and dies in Qu Yuan's arms. Photograph. Performance by the Chinese Youth Art Theatre. Courtesy of the Chinese Youth Art Theatre. Published: Feng Fumin and Bonnie McDougall trans. *Selected Works of Guo Moruo: Five Historical Plays by Guo Moruo*, Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1984, p. 88.

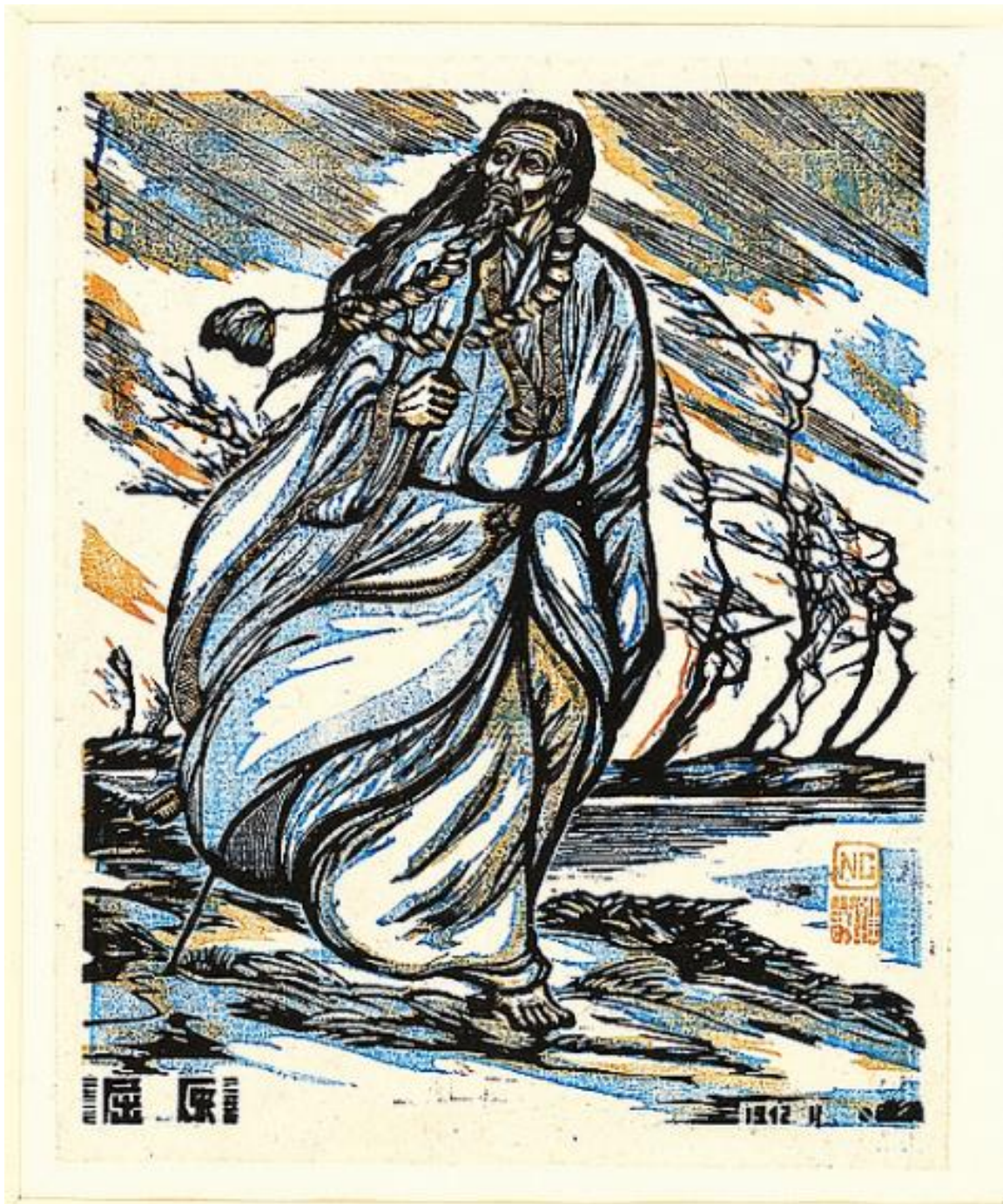


Fig. 4.13 Yang Nawei (1912–1982), *Portrait of Qu Yuan*, dated 1942. Woodblock print; ink and colour on paper. 6.4 X 13 cm. The British Museum.
From: <http://metmuseum.org/exhibitions/view?exhibitionId=%7Bd341c7da-c89f-43e7-9ced-fdca982f4cd%7D&oid=77095>



Fig. 4.14 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Fisherman*, 1940s. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 62 X 220 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed., *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi (jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji, 近現代書畫名家作品集)* (Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2006), p. 94.

複製—石濤諸畫冊

大濤子黃山畫冊(仕女氏所藏のもの)

苦瓜妙諦山水畫冊(眞似子所藏のもの)

巧藝社發行——本誌前號廣告参照 十五頁

苦瓜妙諦山水畫冊(右と同じ原畫)

大濤巧藝社發行、精巧なる原色版 二十五頁

石濤寫東坡時序詩意山水畫冊(眞似子所藏のもの)

石濤妙蹟

石濤通景屏十二幅神品

永原氏に據ればこの集は石濤中にても特に異色ある逸品であると。

石濤山水冊

編輯者の註に關れたもの左の二種——

一、上海有正書局發行、銅版

二、上海西泠印社發行、鉛版

苦瓜和尚神品山水畫冊

石濤山水花卉畫冊

大濤子山水精冊

石濤上人山水冊(絹日製、九十八錢)

大濤子蘭竹畫冊(玻璃版、一圓四十錢)

清湘畫冊稿手卷

永原氏に據れば之は石濤が自己の藝術を集めて後世に傳へんとしたもので、以上の藝術としての彼の自然の習も察せられざるを遺憾とす。従つて之を「石濤の藝術」

書體を茲に見本的に採つてゐる由。

石濤山水畫卷

梅花圖卷

山水卷

石濤上人畫冊

石濤山水精冊

清湘遺墨

石濤駿馬圖

「現代支那畫」の畫家陳年が評議してゐるもの、馬の絶妙なる動感と其の實態をなす自然との關係が實にリズムで劇的である。石濤のうまさをつくづく感じさせられる。故郷田舎生氏はこれを寫眞で見た時、「こんど日本へ持つてくるのは正に之だ」と叫んだ。——永原氏談。

石濤山水冊

石濤紀遊圖卷

大濤子畫宗元吟韻

清湘老人畫冊

石濤和尚花果冊

釋石濤花卉冊

釋石濤山水卷

石濤和尚山水冊

泰山殘石樓藏畫第一冊 紙入

A、石濤山水花卉卷 B、石濤山水冊

C、石濤上人山水冊 D、石濤上人山水冊

五、石濤和尚山水卷

以上永原氏の目錄(昭和八年)に據る。定價は芝原孝平町二丁目の特製館に據つた。獨外に編輯者の手許にあるもの及び建築軒花車品(定價を別したるもの)から左を追加す。何れも支那版である。

清湘老人畫冊稿

有正書局發行、一圓四十錢(銅版畫想ふに、永原氏目錄に於ける「清湘畫冊稿手卷」と同一原本に據れるものか)

石濤通景屏十二幅神品

湖工製版發行、一圓六十八錢

石濤山水冊(玻璃版十二幅)

西泠印社發行、二圓十錢

泰山殘石樓藏畫第四集(紙入) 拾六圓

西泠印社發行、此の第四集全十冊は「石濤上人山水册」三冊を含む。他七冊は八大山人、新羅山人、石濤上人其他の畫を收む。

(第一集は前記永原氏目錄中にあり。)

石濤和尚山水冊

上海美術工藝製版社、三圓二十六錢。

神州國光集第一輯 一圓九十六錢

神州國光集第四輯 一圓六十八錢

右の二冊は多く石濤作品を收む

以上以外、石濤畫冊として注目すべきものとして採録したるものがある。従つて、執筆者の採録を試みたいと思ふ。

Fig. 4.15 List of twenty-four illustrated catalogues of Shitao's paintings from both Japanese and Chinese collections. Published: *Appreciation of Nanga (Nanga Kanshō 南画鑑賞)*, Special issue on Shitao (*Sekitō tokushu gō 石濤特輯號*), October, 1935, p.40.

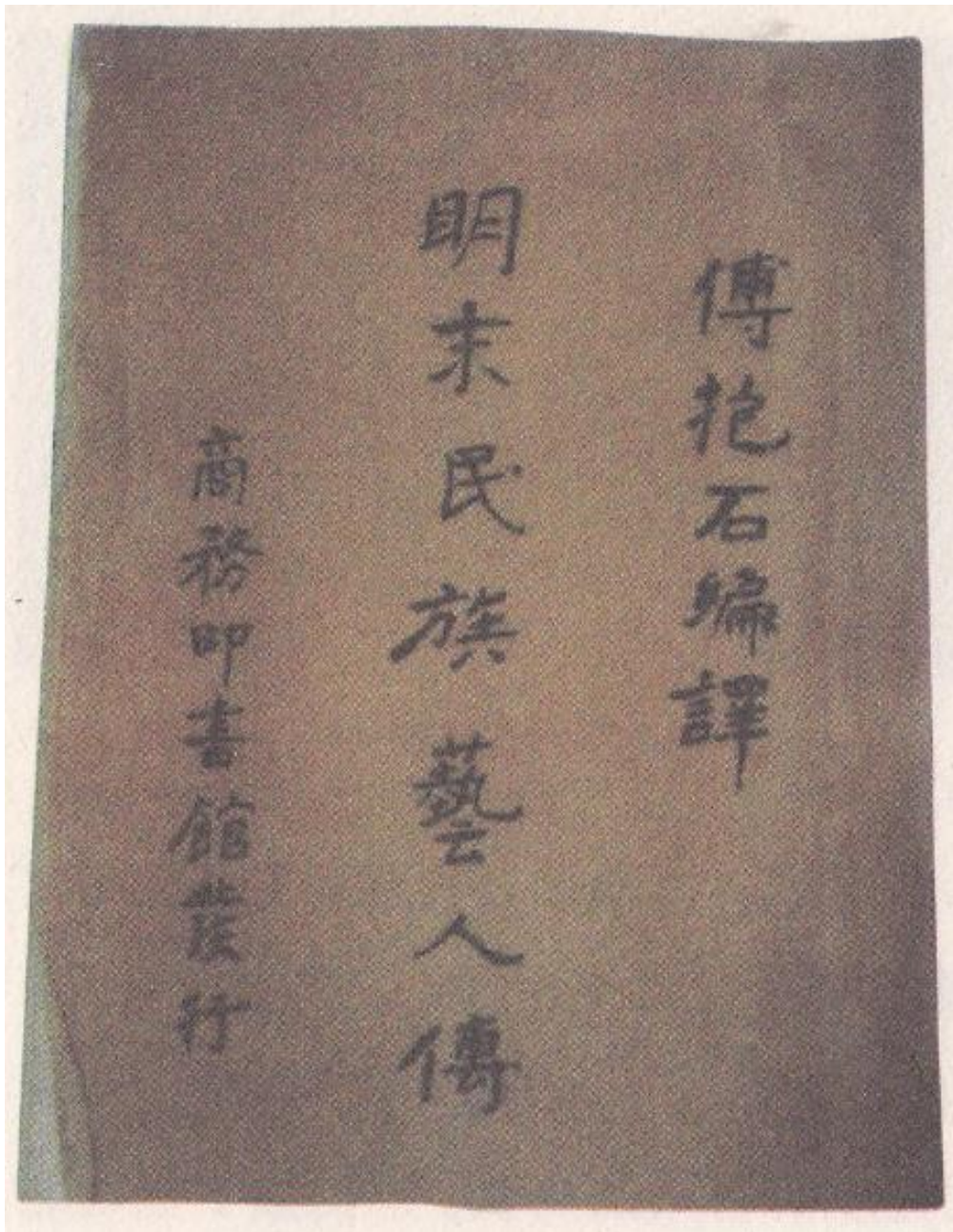


Fig. 4.16 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Biographies of Nationalistic Artists of the Late Ming Period* (*Zhongguo Mingmo minzu yishuchuan* 中國明末民族藝術傳), 1939. Photograph. Published: Shan Gu 山谷, *Fu Baoshi (yishu rensheng- zoujin dashi-Fu Baoshi, 藝術人生-走近大師 傅抱石)*, Hangzhou: Xiling Yinshe Chubanshe 西泠印社出版社, 2007, p. 62.

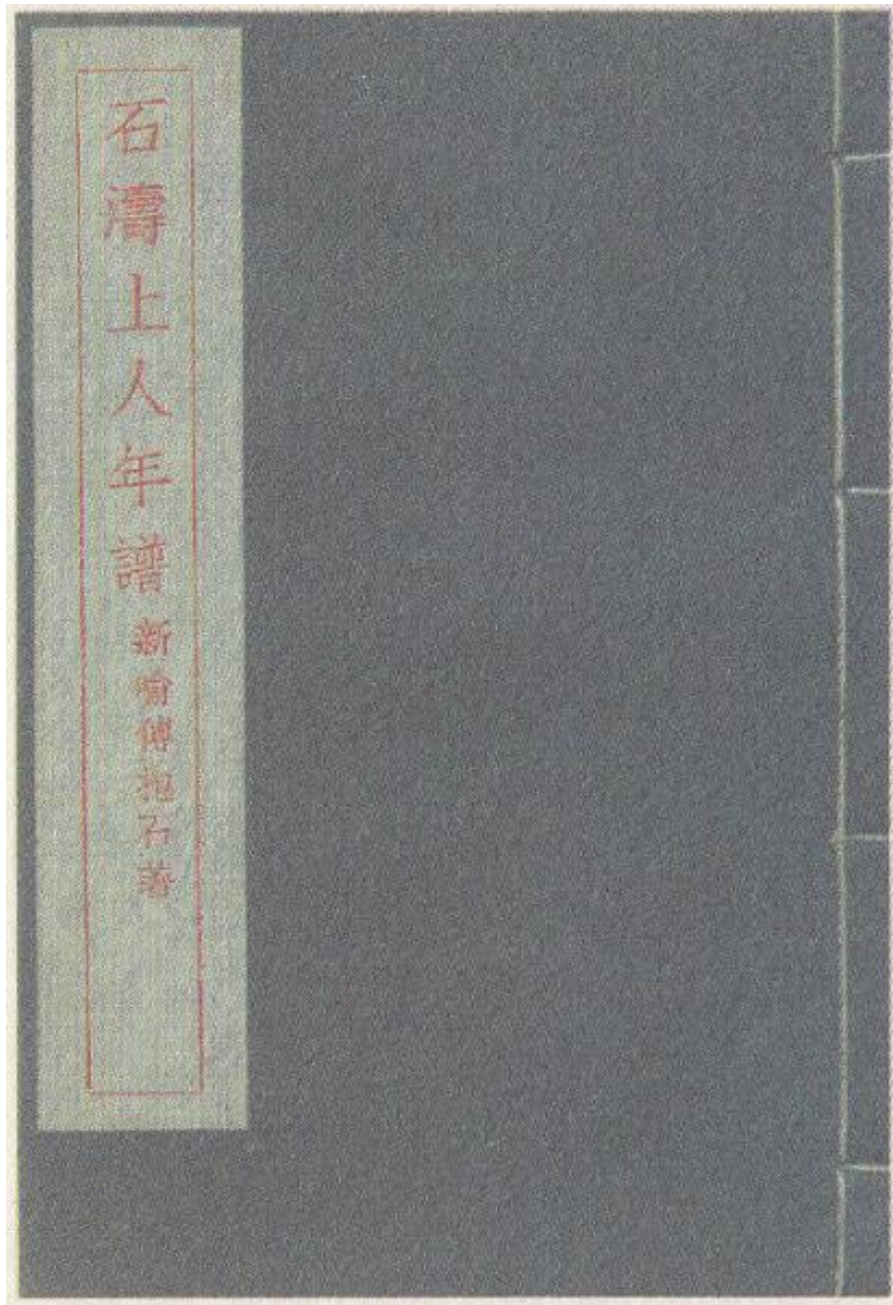


Fig. 4.17 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Chronology of Shitao* (*Shitao shangren nianpu* 石濤上人年譜), 1948. Photograph. Published: Shan Gu 山谷, *Fu Baoshi (yishu rensheng- zoujin dashi-Fu Baoshi, 藝術人生-走近大師 傅抱石)* Hangzhou: Xiling Yinshe Chubanshe 西泠印社出版社, 2007, p. 46.



(Detail)

Fig. 4.18 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *The Portrait of Shitao (Shitao Shangrenxiang, 石濤上人像)*, dated 1942. Hanging scroll; Ink and colour on paper. 132. 5 X 58. 3 cm. Private Collection, USA
Published: Shoto Museum of Art Sibuyakuritsu Syōtō Bijutsukan 渋谷区立松涛美術館 (ed.), *The Great Master of Twentieth Century Chinese Painting 'Fu Baoshi': The Bridge of the Artistic Exchange between China and Japan, (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi, 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石: 中國美術交流のかけ橋)*, Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 47, fig. 17.

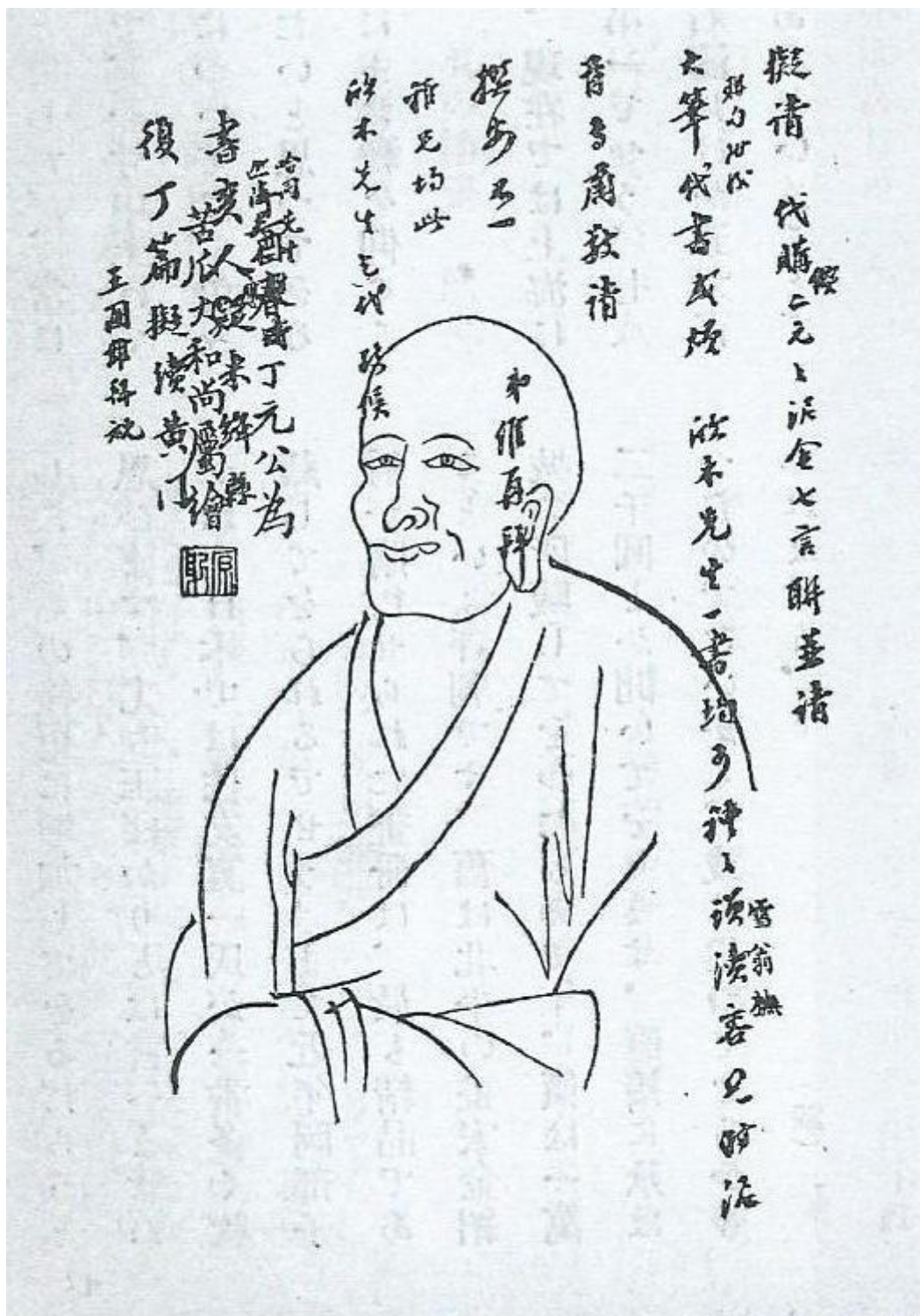


Fig. 4.19 Letter with a portrait of Shitao. Published: Kawai Senro "Two Uncertain Points about Shitao" (*Sekitō ni suite Gitennidai* 石濤に就て・疑點二題) in *Nanga Kanshō* 南畫鑑賞, October, 1935, p. 15



Fig. 4.20 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Monk Walking Beneath a Pine Tree*, 1940s. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper. Published: Sotheby's Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Paintings*, Auction Catalogue, Monday 30 April 2001, p. 86, lot. 86

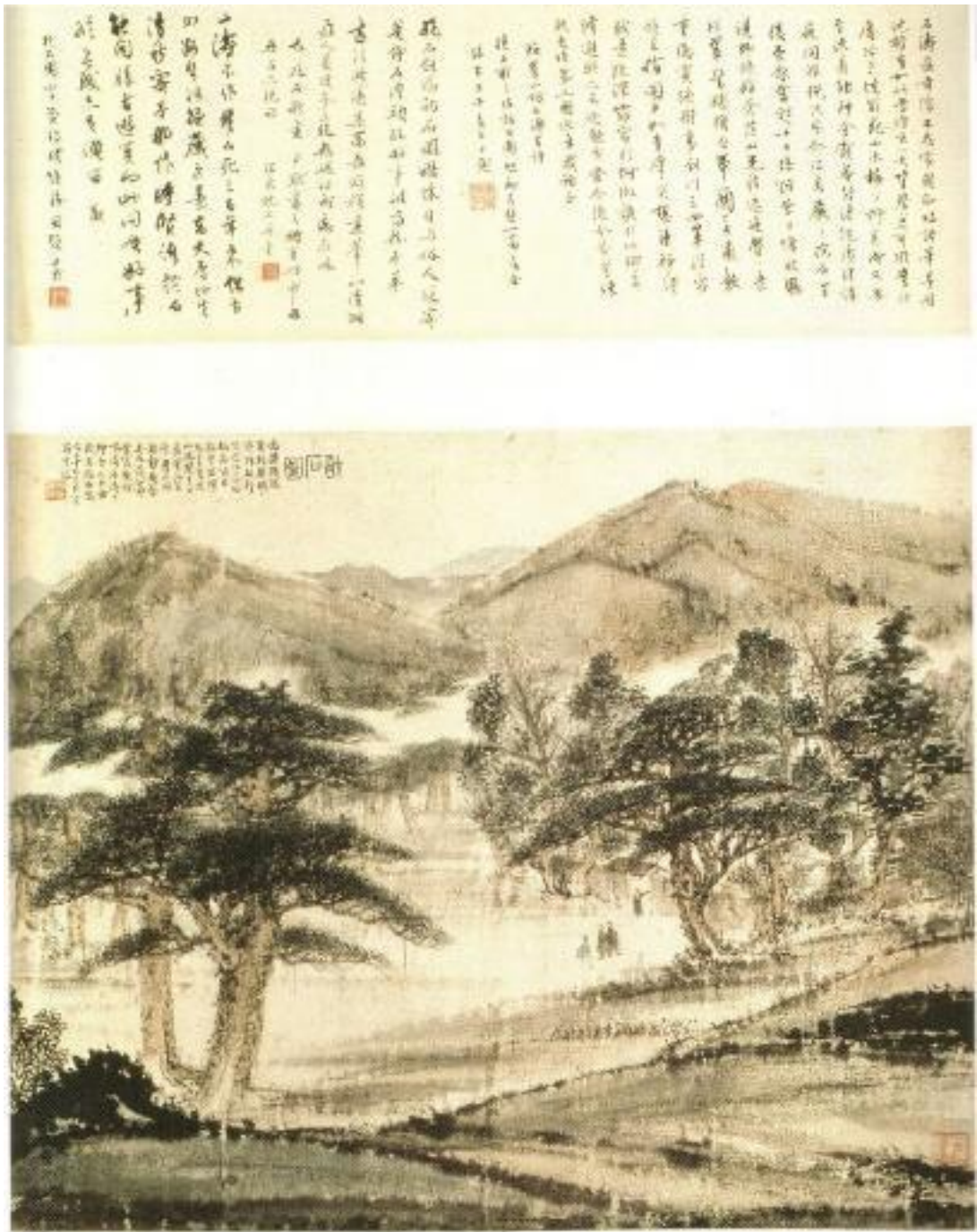


Fig. 4.21 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Visiting Shitao*, dated 1941. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 46 X 56 cm. Fu Baoshi Family Collection, Nanjing. Published: Shōtō Museum of Art, *The Great Master of Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting Fu Baoshi: The Bridge of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi, 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石: 中國美術交流のかけ橋)*, Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 43, fig. 13.



Fig. 4.22 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Seeing off the Bitter Gourd Monk to the South*, dated 1942. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper. Published: Chen Lüsheng 陳履生 ed. *The Complete Works of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi quanji 傅抱石全集)*. Catalogue. vol. 1 (1925-1945), Nanning: Guangxi Meishu Chubanshe 廣西美術出版社, 2008, p. 135.



Fig. 5.1 Fang Rending (1901-1975), *Wind and Rain*, dated 1932. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 75 X 91 cm. Published: Croizer, Ralph, *Art and Revolution in Modern China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1988, p. 138, fig. 62.



Fig. 5.2 Takeuchi Seiho (1864-1942), *Scenery of Suzhou*, 1930. Colour on silk. Yamatane Museum of Art 山種美術館



Fig. 5.3 Gao Kegong (1248-1310), *Rainy Mountain*. Hanging Scroll; ink on paper. Taipei, National Palace Museum. Published: Valerie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*. Leiden: Brill, 1999, fig. 59

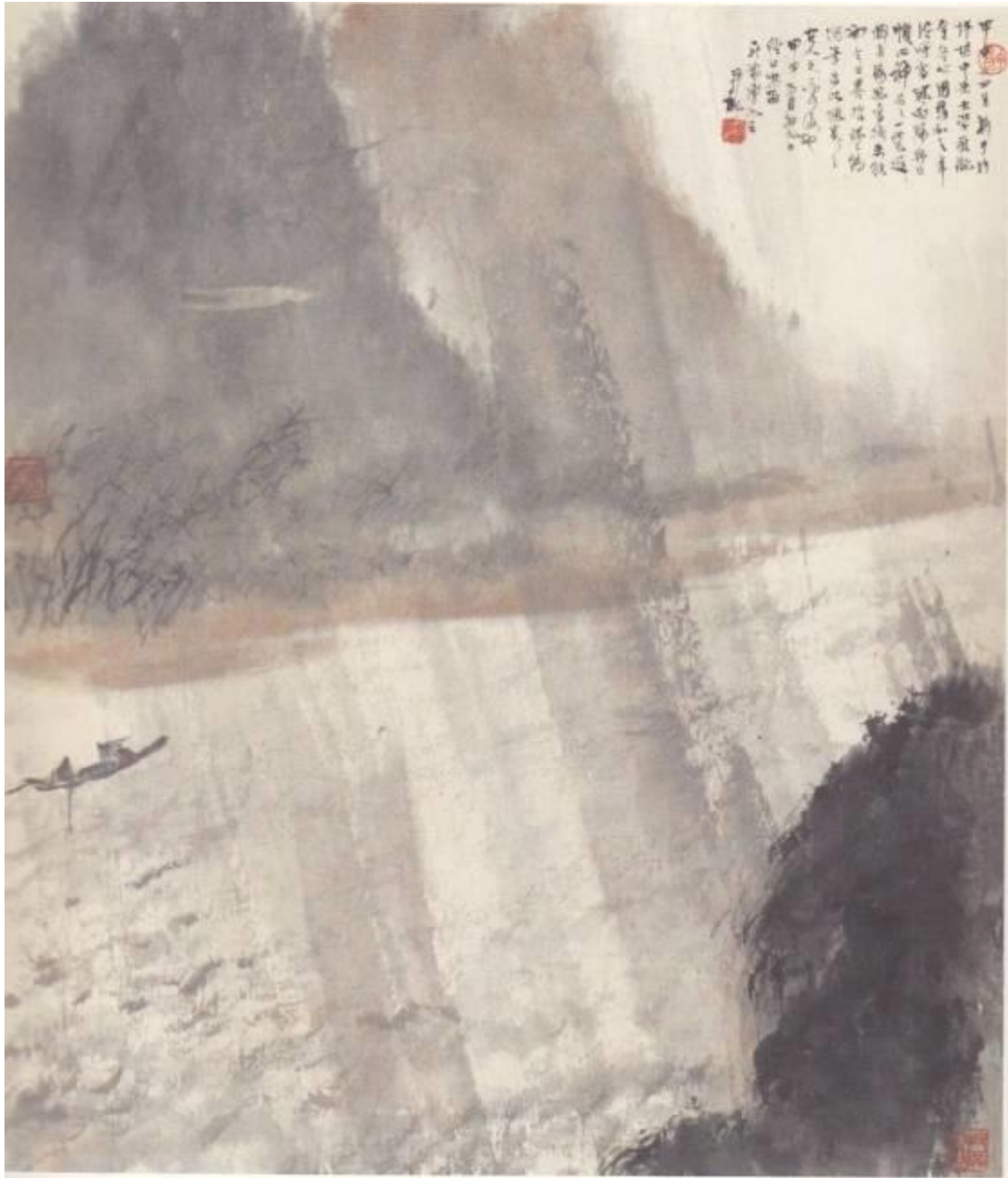


Fig. 5.4 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Boat Returning in the Wind and Rain*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; Ink and colour on paper. 60.8 X 52.8 cm. Beijing Palace Museum. Published: Beijing Palace Museum 故宫博物院 ed. *Collection of Famous Chinese Modern and Contemporary Artists: Fu Baoshi* (*Jinxiandai shuhua mingjia zuopin ji* 近現代書畫名家作品集), Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe 紫禁城出版社, p. 49.



Fig. 5.5 Jin Nong (1687-1794), *Boat Returning in the Wind and Rain*. Hanging Scroll; Ink and colour on paper. Xu Beihong Memorial Museum, Beijing. Published: Wen Fong, *Between Two Cultures*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001. Fig. 51 p. 92.

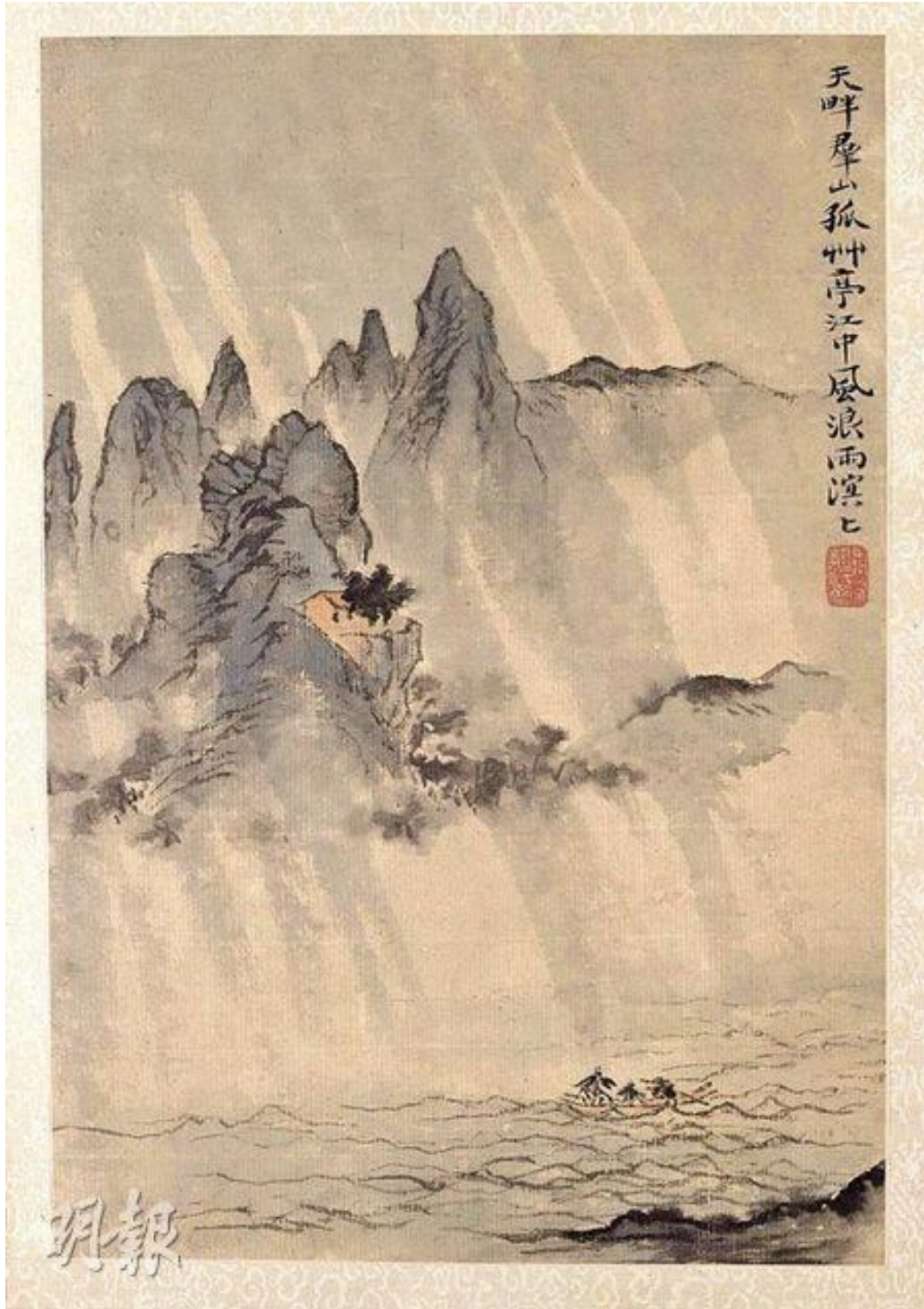


Fig. 5.6 Shitao (1642-1707), *Landscape Inspired by Du Fu's Poem*. Album leaf; ink and colour on paper, 8.6 X 26.7 cm. Published: Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本矣雪, *Shitao* (Sekito 石濤), Tokyo: Chuo Bijtsushi 中央美術史, 1926. p. 1



Fig. 5.7 Hiroshige Utagawa (1797-1898), *Bridge in the Rain*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views in Edo*. Woodblock, 36. 5 X 24.4cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu
Published: Matthi Forrer, *Hiroshige: Prints and Drawings*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1997, Fig. 94



Fig. 5.8 Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), *Bridge in the Rain* (after Hiroshige), September-October 1887. Oil on canvas, 73.0 X 54.0 cm. Van Gogh Museum, Netherlands.
From: <http://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/vgm/index.jsp?lang=nl>



Fig. 5.9 Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), *Night Rain over the Xiao and Xiang River*, dated 1912. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on silk, 113.6 X 60.6 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Published: Goto Shigeki 後藤茂樹 ed. *Complete Collection of Contemporary Japanese Art 2: Yokoyama Taikan* (*Gendainihon bijutsu zenshū 2: Yokoyama Taikan* 現代日本美術全集 2: 黄山大権). vol. 2, Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 1972. Fig. 20.



Fig. 5.10 Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), *Rain at Bamboo Grove*, dated 1915. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 168.1 X 77.5 cm. Yokoyama Taikan Memorial Museum. Published: Idemitsu Museum of Art, *The Romantic Story of Modern Nihonga (Japanese Style Painting): Kosugi Hoan and Taikan: The Reverberation of Spirit and Technique (Kindainihonga no roman: Kosugi Hōan to Taikan - hibikiau wazatokokoro* 近代日本画のロマン：小杉放菴と大観- 響きあう技とところ), 便利堂 Benri-dō, 2009, fig. 36, p. 54.



Fig. 5.11 John Constable (1776 – 1837), *London from Hampstead, with a Double Rainbow*, dated 1831. Watercolour with scraping out on grey paper, 19.7 X 32.0 cm. British Museum
From: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_image.aspx?image=ps202864.jpg&retpage=21585



Fig. 5.12 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Bamboo Groves in Misty Rain*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colours on paper, 105 X 59.8 cm. The collection of Hua Shilou 懷石樓
Published: Ye Zonghao ed., *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shijie 傅抱石的世界)*.
Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanshiye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版
事業有限公司, 2004, p. 232



Fig. 5.13 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Bamboo Grove in Misty Rain*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 110.2 X 62.7 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, p. 19, fig. 12.



Fig. 5.14 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Night Rain at Sichuan Mountain*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; ink and colours on paper, 105 X 60 cm. Fu Baoshi family collection

Published: Ye Zonghao ed., *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shijie 傅抱石的世界)*.

Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanshiye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004, p. 208.



Fig. 5.15 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Night Rain at Sichuan Mountain*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 92 X 60cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 21, fig 19.



Fig. 5.16 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Whistling and Pattering Rain at Dusk*, dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 103.5 X 59.4 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum, *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)*, Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, 2006, p. 26, fig. 24.



Fig. 5.17 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Storm*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 116 X 79.3 cm. Cernuschi Museum, Paris. From: <http://www.cernuschi.paris.fr/fr/collections/tempete>



Fig. 5.18 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Returning Home in the Wind and Snow*, dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 137 X 40.3 cm. Private collection in Taiwan. Published: Shoto Museum of Art, *The Great Master of Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting Fu Baoshi: The Bridge of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi*, 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石 中國畫美術交流 のかけ橋), Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 67, fig. 38.



Fig. 5.19 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Snow Heaped on the Blue Gate*, dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 89 X 56 cm. Collection of Mei Jielou 梅潔樓, Hong Kong. Published: Ye Zonghao ed. *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shijie 傅抱石的世界)*. Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanshiye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004, p. 289.

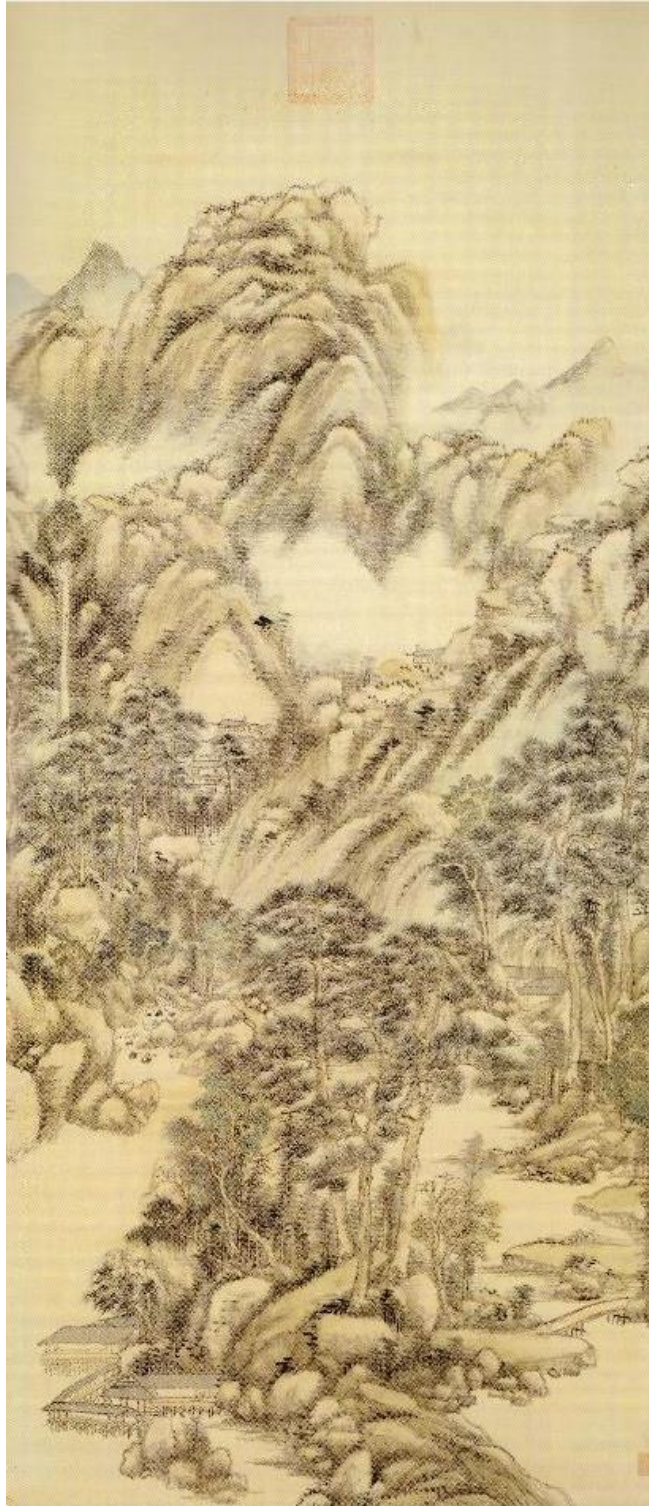


Fig. 5. 20 Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), *Layers of Verdant Hills*, Qing dynasty. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 139.5 X 61 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. Published: Barnhart, Richard M. et al. *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, Yale University Press, 1997, p. 265, fig. 242



Fig. 5.21 Fu Baoshi doing outdoor sketching. Photograph. Published: Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會 ed. *The Mandate from Heaven is New: The Life of Fu Baoshi (Qiming weixin: Fu Baoshi de yisheng 其名惟新：傅抱石的一生)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009, p. 136.

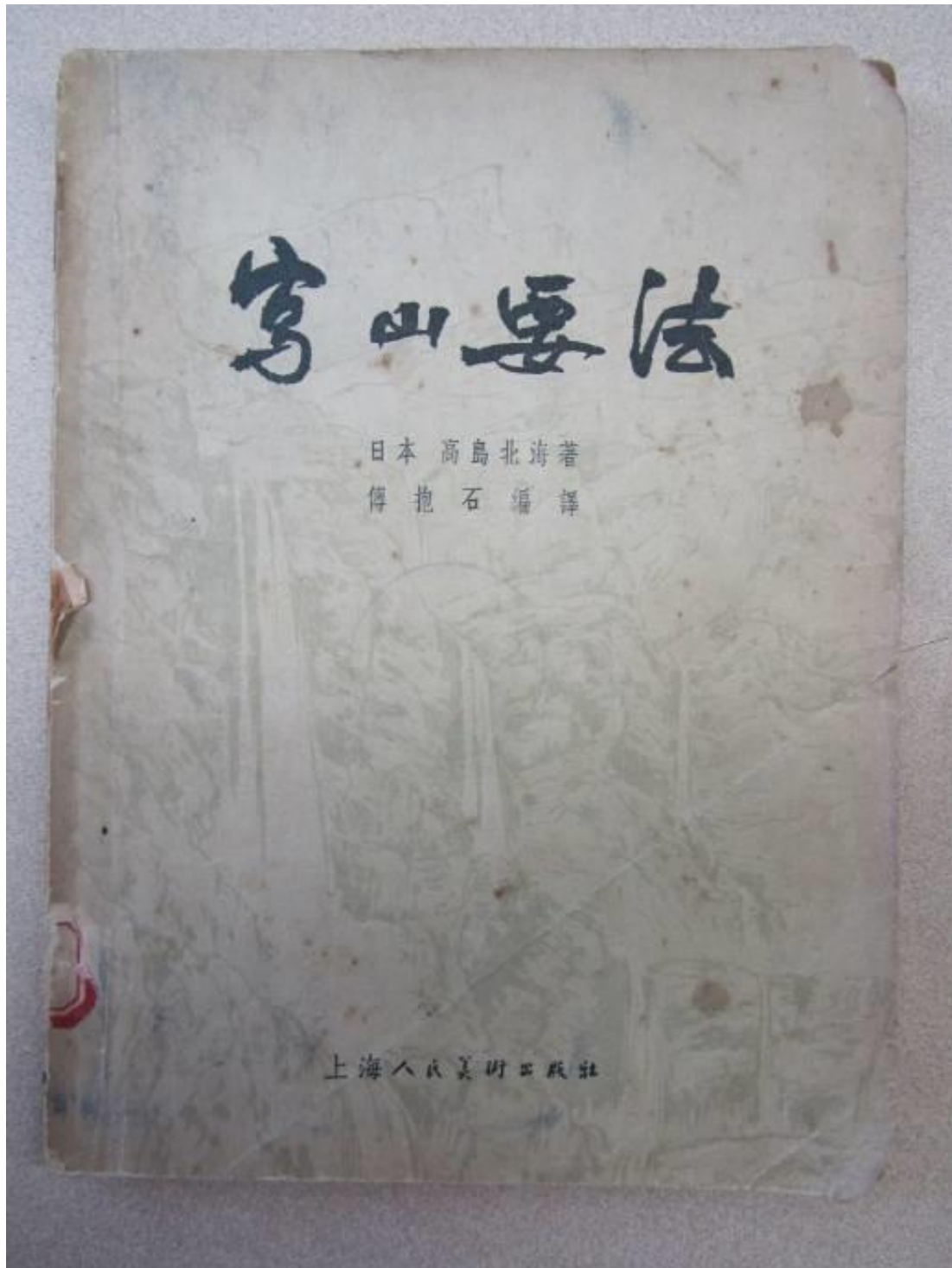


Fig. 5.22 Fu Baoshi trans. *The Principles of Landscape Painting* (*xieshan yaofa* 寫山要法) by Takashima Hokkai 高島北海. Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1957. Photograph by Hee Jung Lee. March 2012.

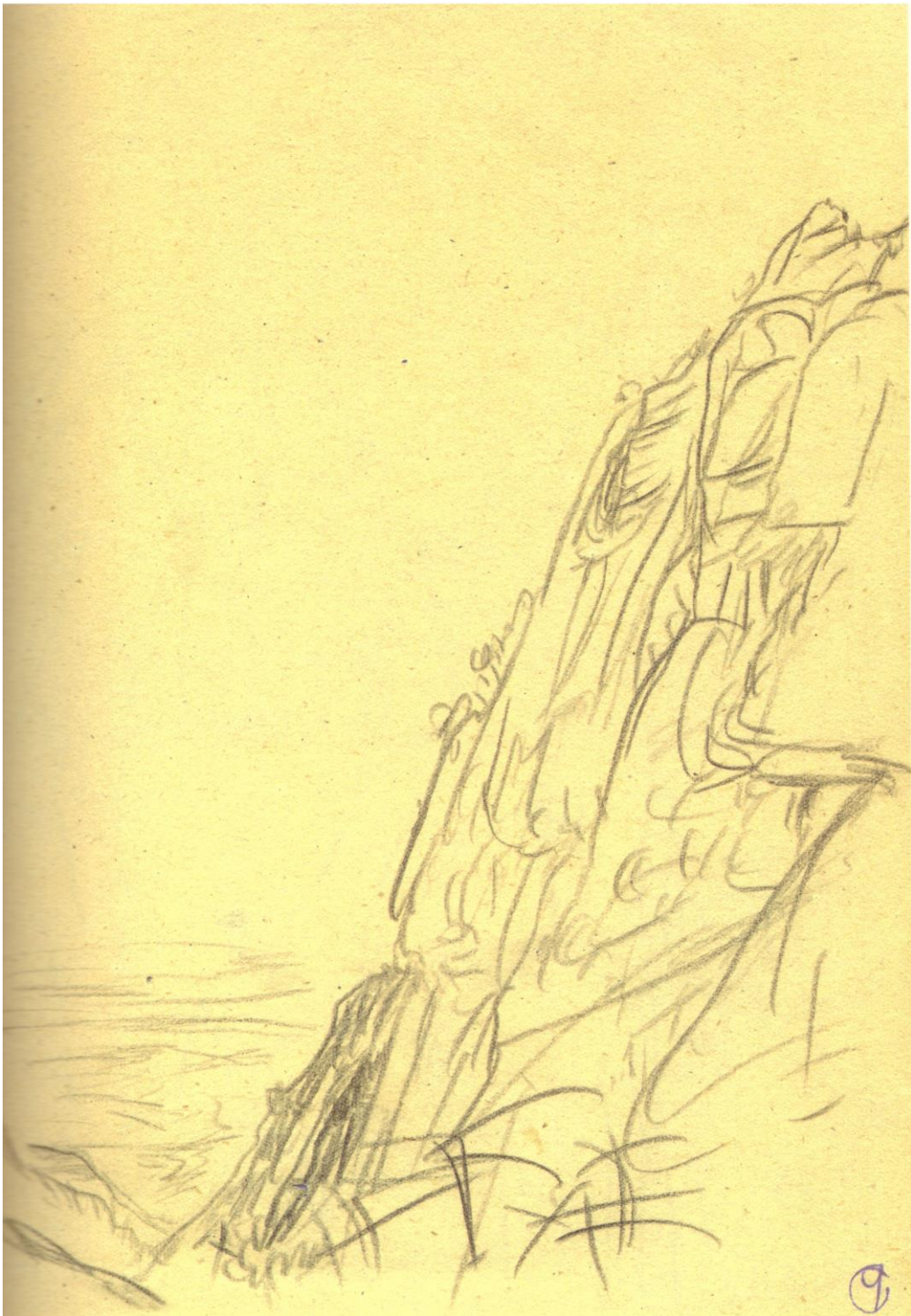


Fig. 5.23 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Mount. Hua*, 1960. Pencil on transparent paper, drawing, 23.9 X 17.1 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Manuscript of Fu Baoshi's Sketch (Fu Baoshi xieshenghua gao 傅抱石寫生畫稿)*. Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe, 2007, p. 245.

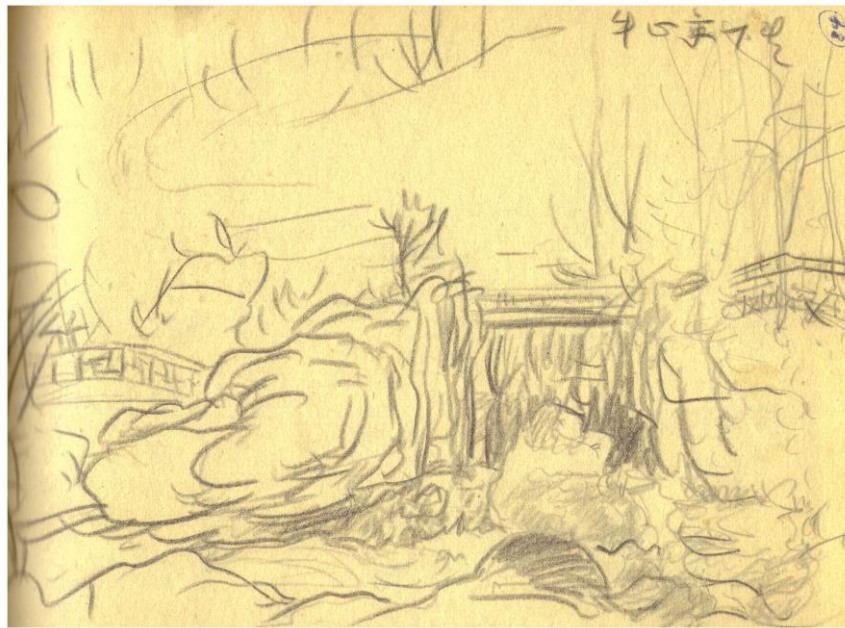


Fig. 5. 24 (above) Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Mount. Emei*, 1960. Pencil on paper, drawing, 17.1 X 24 cm. (below) Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Mount. Emei*, 1960. Pencil on paper, drawing, 23.9 X 17 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum 南京博物院 ed. *The Manuscript of Fu Baoshi's Sketch* (*Fu Baoshi xieshenghua gao* 傅抱石寫生畫稿). Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe, 2007, p. 263 and p. 265.



Fig. 5.25 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), detail from *Whistling and Pattering Rain at Dusk*, dated 1945. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 103.5 X 59. 4 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Nanjing Museum, *The Chinese Painting of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi Zhongguohua 傅抱石中國畫)* Beijing: Rongbaozhai Chubanshe 榮寶齋出版社, p. 26, fig. 24.



Fig. 5.26 The Brush Method “Zhongfeng 中鋒” (above) and “Cefeng 側鋒” (below).
From: <http://www.sems.cc/jx/sm/2011/0902/2478.html>



Fig. 5.27 The Brush Method “Sanfeng 散鋒” (above) and Split brush (*pobi* 破筆) (below)
From: <http://www.sems.cc/jx/sm/2011/0902/2478.html>
and http://dannyartnotes.blogspot.co.uk/2008_01_01_archive.html



Fig. 5.28 Fu Baoshi applying his brush technique. Photograph. Published: Fu Baoshi Yanjiuhui 傅抱石研究會 ed. *The Mandate from Heaven is New: The Life of Fu Baoshi (Qiming weixin: Fu Baoshi de yisheng 其名惟新：傅抱石的一生)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2009, p. 104.



Fig. 5.29 Fu Baoshi's painting studio at the Fu Baoshi Memorial Museum in Nanjing (above), China and some of Fu's brushes (right). Photographs by Hee Jung Lee. March 2012.

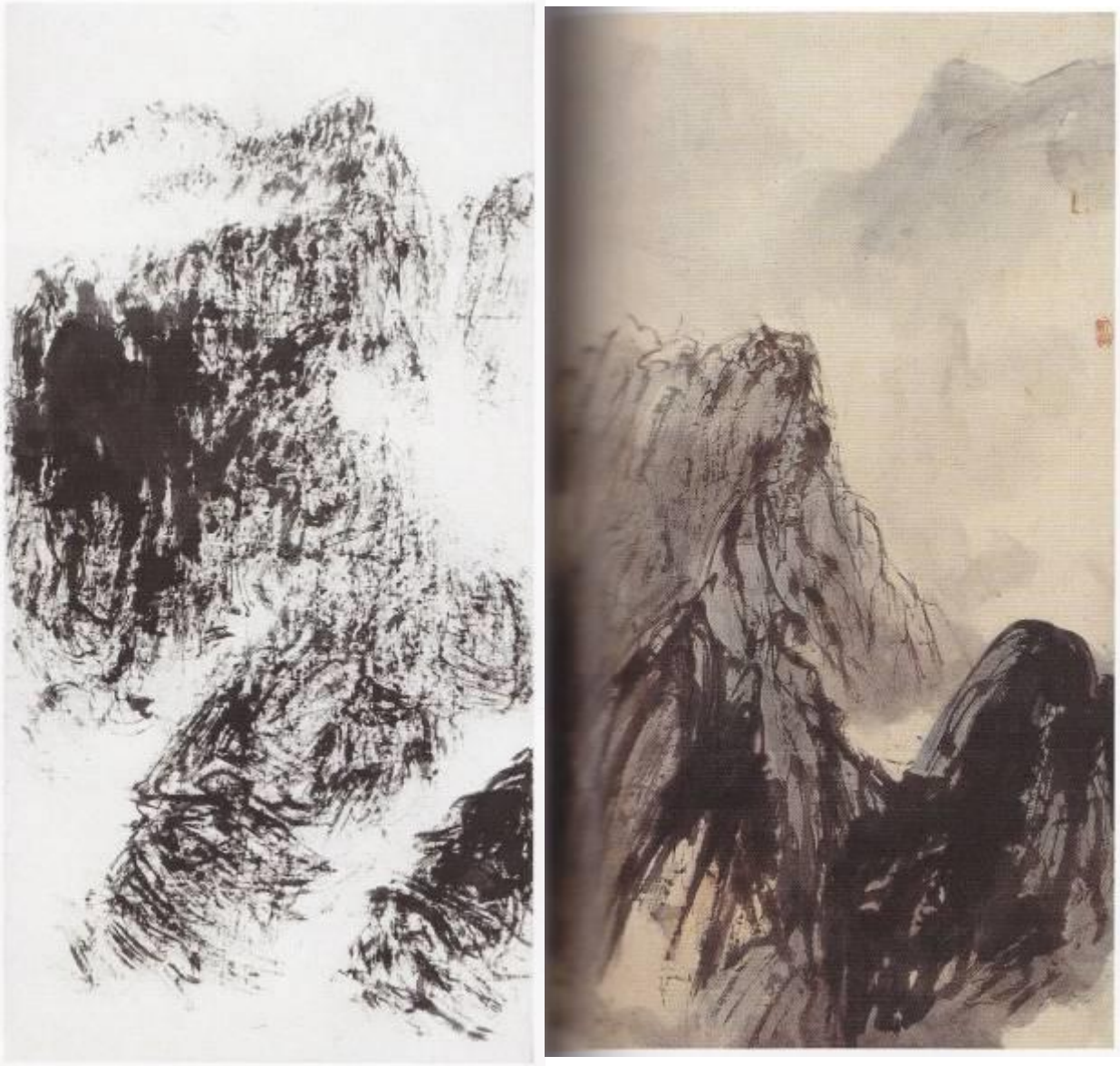


Fig. 5.30 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), Landscape sketches. Ink on paper. Published: Fu Baoshi, *Landscape and Figure Painting Methods (Shanshui renwu jifa 山水人物技法)*. Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社, 2007, p. 61.



Fig. 5.31 Mountain landscape in Hailuoguo, Sichuan province, China. Photograph.
From:http://www.123rf.com/photo_8297549_mountain-landscape-in-hailuoguo-sichuan-province-china.html



Fig. 5.32 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Climbing up Mountain with Qin*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 105 X 65 cm. Published: 陳履生 Chen Lusheng ed. *Complete Collection of Fu Baoshi* (*Fu Baoshi quanji* 傅抱石全集), Guangxi Meishu Chubanshe 廣西美術出版社, 2008, vol. 1, p. 192.

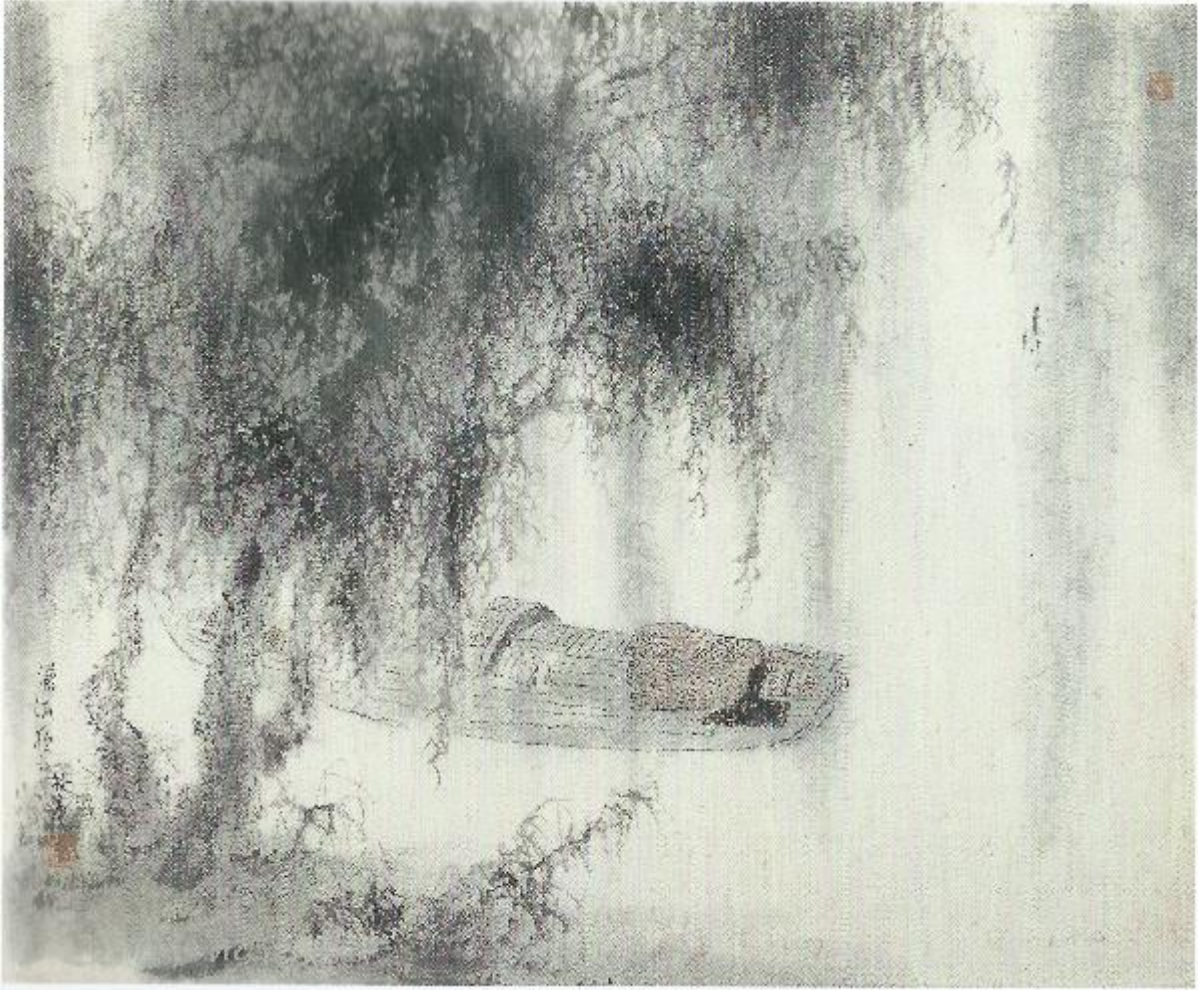


Fig 5.33 Kosugi Hōan (1881-1964), *The Rain at Night on the Xiaoxiang River*, Showa Period (1926-1928). Ink and colour on paper, 48.3 X 59.4 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Art. Published: Idemitsu Museum of Art, *The Romantic Story of Modern Nihonga (Japanese Style Painting): Kosugi Hoan and Taikan: The Reverberation of Spirit and Technique (Kindainihonga no roman: Kosugi Hōan to Taikan - hibikiau wazatokokoro 近代日本画のロマン：小杉放菴と大観 - 響きあう技とところ)*, Benri-dō 便利堂, 2009. p. 106, fig. 73.



Fig 5.34 Fu Baoshi, *Landscape*, dated 1944. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 117 X 36.5 cm. Private Collection in Tawian. Published: Ye Zonghao ed. *The World of Fu Baoshi (Fu Baoshi de shi jie 傅抱石的世界)*. Exhibition Catalogue. Taipei: Xizhitang Wenhua Cubanshiye Youxian Gongsi 羲之堂文化出版事業有限公司, 2004, p. 249.



Fig 5.35 Tomioka Tessai, *Earthly Paradise and Sacred Mountain*, dated 1924. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper. From: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tomioka_Tessai_001.jpg

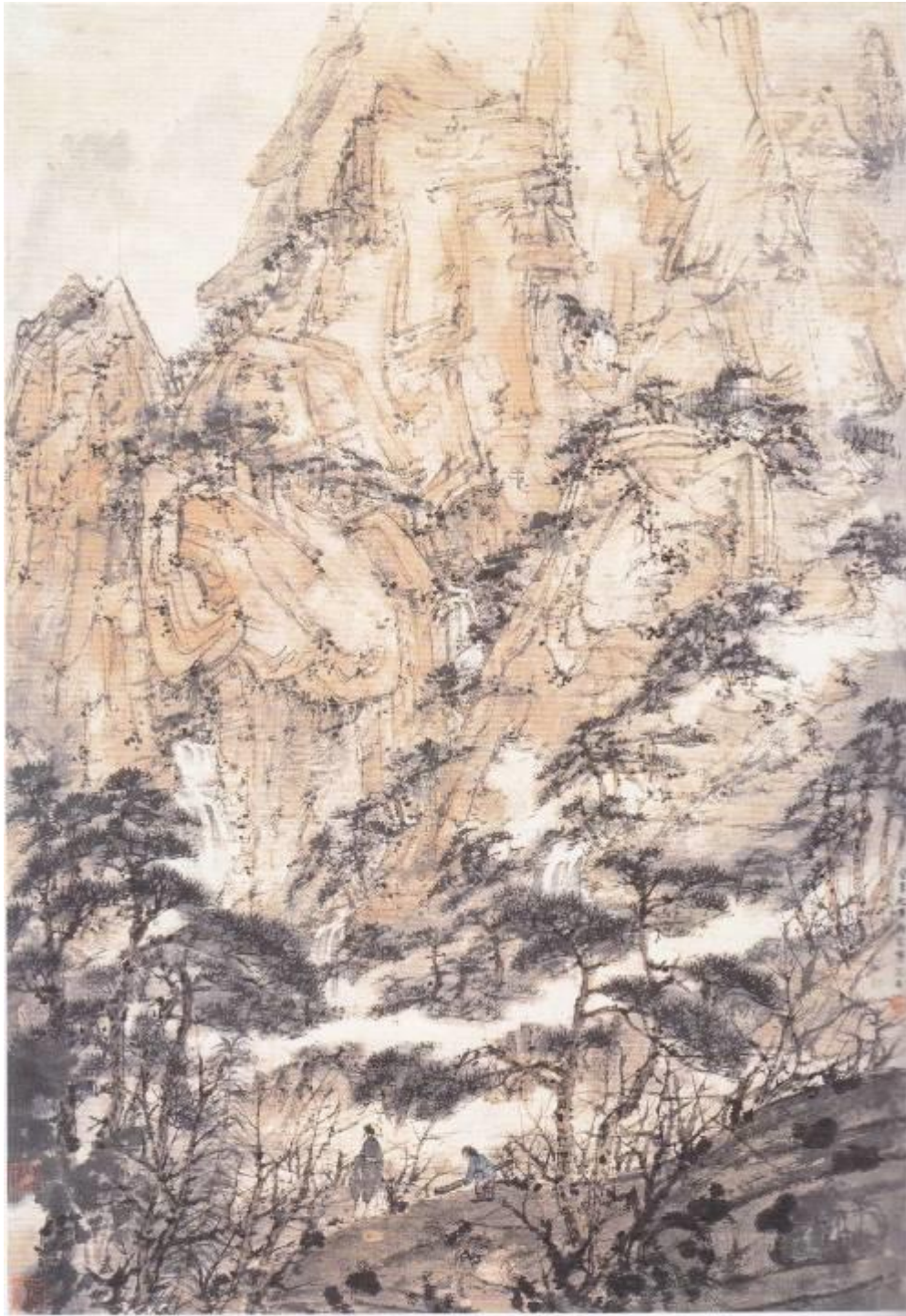


Fig. 5.36 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Searching for Beautiful Scenery with Qin*, dated 1943. Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 87 X 60 cm. Hongxi Meishuguan, Taipei. Published: Shoto Museum of Art, *The Great Master of Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting Fu Baoshi: The Bridge of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan (Niju sekii Chūgoku gadan no kyosō Fu Houseki: Chūgoku bijutsu kōryū no kakehashi, 20世紀中國畫壇の巨匠 傅抱石 中國畫美術交流 のかけ橋)*, Yomiuri Shinbunsha 読売新聞社, 1999, p. 51, fig. 21.



Fig. 5.37 Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), *Jingangpo*, 1939-1946. Hanging scroll; ink and colours on paper 117 X 79cm. British Museum. Published: Clarissa von Spee, *Modern Chinese Ink Painting*, Exhibition Catalogue, The British Museum Press, 2012, p. 46.



Fig. 5.38 Shitao (1642-1707), *Landscape*. Ink and colour on paper, 239.6 X 102.3 cm. Shanghai Museum. Published: Appraisal Organization of Chinese Ancient Calligraphy and Painting 中國古代書畫鑑定組 ed. *Complete Collection of Chinese Painting 26 Qing dynasty*, (*Zhongguo huihua quanji 26 Qingdai, di 8 juan* 中國繪畫全集 26 清代), vol. 8. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 2001, fig. 87



Fig. 6.1 Fu Baoshi, *Crossing the Dadu River*, dated 1951. Handscroll; ink on paper, 62 x 109.3 cm, Nanjing Museum. Published: Chung, Anita. *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)*. Exhibition Catalogue. The Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2011, p. 109, fig. 24.



Fig. 6.2 Fu Baoshi, *To Li Shuyi: Poem of Mao Zedong*, dated 1958, Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 137.8 x 69 cm. Nanjing Museum. Published: Chung, Anita. *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)*. Exhibition Catalogue. The Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2011, p. 129, fig. 33.

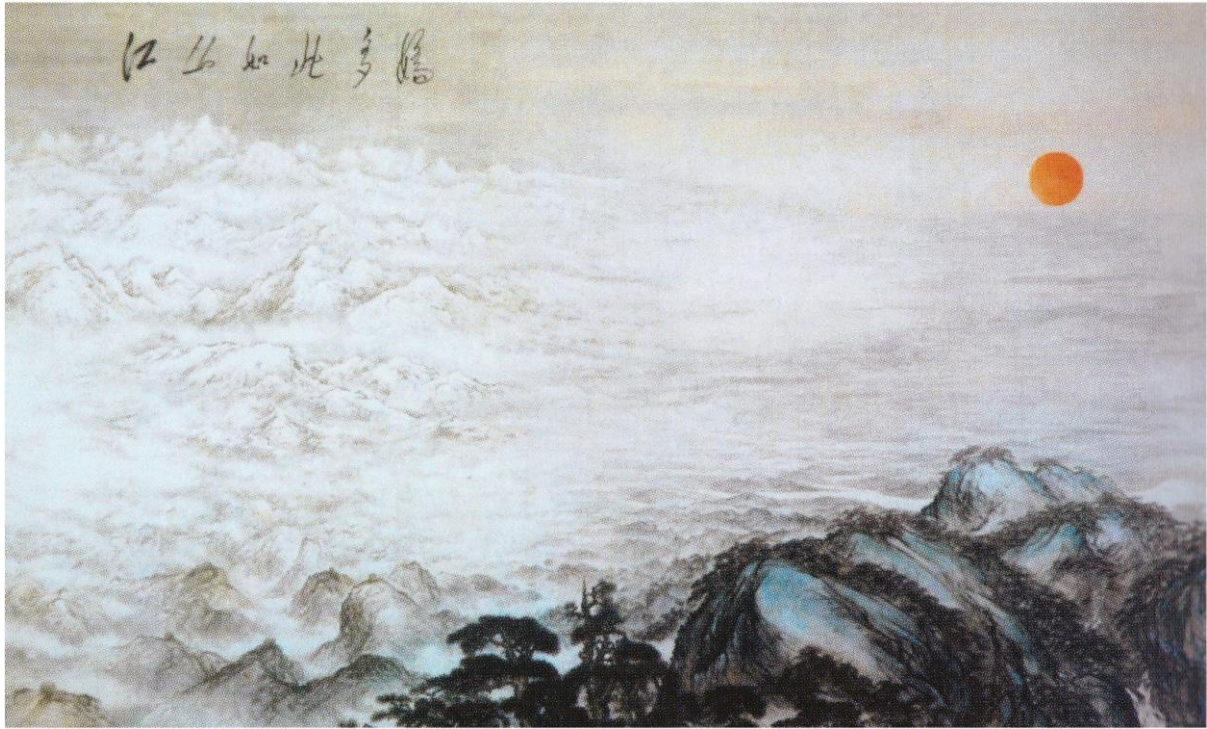


Fig 6.3 Fu Baoshi and Guan Shanyue, *Such is the Beauty of Our Rivers and Mountains*, dated 1959. Ink and colour on paper, painted for the Great Hall of the People, Beijing. Published: Chung, Anita. *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)*. Exhibition Catalogue. The Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2011, p. 144. Fig. 47.



Fig. 6.4 Qian Songyan (1899-1985), *Fields in Changshu*, dated 1963, ink and colour on paper, 53 X 36 cm, National Art Museum of China, Beijing. Published: Julia F. Andrews and Kuyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China*, University of California Press, 2012. p. 171, fig. 8.8.