

**XUGU (1823-1896) : A STUDY OF THE PARADOXICAL IDENTITIES OF  
LITERATUS AND PROFESSIONAL OF  
A LATE NINETEENTH - CENTURY ARTIST**

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**Abstract**

Literati painting was first and foremost the art of an elite minority as against the paintings of the professionals. However, during the course of its development, economic and social changes gave rise to the fluidity of class identity. Well reflected in art was the blurring of the boundary between literati and professional traditions.

Xugu originally served as a military official. By giving up his official status, he showed his high and noble character. As a literatus, he achieved mastery of the brush and expressed himself through his brushwork. His landscape and "four gentlemen" paintings express his own spiritual worth and represent a detachment from vulgarity. A highly gifted artist, Xugu was also adept in poetry and calligraphy. However, economic realities had forced the literatus become professional. Xugu sold paintings in late nineteenth-century Shanghai where artist-patron transaction was more than ever of a direct commercial nature. As he was conditioned by certain social expectations, he was moving towards a wider scope of subjects, using popular and auspicious motifs as well as bright colours to cater to the tastes of the Shanghai patrons. Such a change does not mean a betrayal of the literati tradition. In fact, it is a response to the socio-economic circumstances at particular place and time. The art of Xugu is therefore rooted in both the refined and the popular culture. Owing to his dual identities, literati and professional painting styles are mingled. Although his creative individuality has brought freshness and vitality to the literati tradition, commercialization has also led to painless reproductions of artistic works. Xugu's art is having a tendency to Mannerism.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Social status as a criterion for judgement of artistic quality is a special feature in the history of Chinese painting. This is the consequence of the profound influence of Confucianism in China and is associated with the tradition of literati painting. Zhang Yanyuan, the ninth-century author of *Lidai Minghua ji* [*Record of Famous Painters of Successive Dynasties*], said that "those who have excelled in painting have all been men robed and capped and of noble descent, rare scholars and lofty-minded men ..." <sup>1</sup> Zhang had revealed in his writing the status distinction of scholar-artist from the professional and anticipated features of the literati theory.<sup>2</sup> In the late eleventh century, Guo Ruoxu, the author of *Tuhua jianwen zhi* [*Experiences in Painting*], elaborated on Zhang's observation:

I have ... observed that the majority of the rare paintings of the past are the works of high officials, talented worthies, superior scholars, or recluses living in cliffs and caves; of persons, that is, who followed the dictates of loving-kindness and sought delight in the arts ... Their elevated and refined feelings were all lodged in their paintings. Since their personal quality was lofty, the spirit consonance [of their paintings] could not but be lofty.<sup>3</sup>

This is typical of the *wenren* statement about painting in the Song dynasty. The formulation of the literati theory as a coherent body of doctrine was accomplished by members of a coterie of artists and scholars, of which Su Dongpo (1037-1101) and Wen Tong (1019-1079) were the central figures. From then on, literati painting continued in an uninterrupted development for centuries. Modern artists viewed this theory as their important heritage.<sup>4</sup>

Su Dongpo and his circle of friends saw painting as an extension of the man, as a leisurely practice for scholar-officials who painted solely for pleasure and not as a means of livelihood. To take "scholarly spirit" as a criterion of judgement and to assess an artistic work in relation to the artist's life, Su was evaluating painting in social terms. His emphasis was on the status of the artist as a scholar-official, distinguished him from the artisan painter.<sup>5</sup> These ideas of the Song literati were carried on by Yuan times. The political takeover by the Mongols had resulted in the seclusion of a number of ethically-minded men of letters who devoted themselves to their favourite scholarly pursuits. Scholar's painting was then defined as the sketching of ideas in inkplays to release emotions. The main concern was more directly related to style. Calmness, blandness, spontaneity, simplicity, awkwardness, all came to be prized in painting. It was during the Ming dynasty that the new idea of the Southern and Northern schools formulated by Dong Qichang (1555-1636) and his circle of friends had synthesized the earlier views and arrived at a definition of the literati painting based on both the status of the artist and his painting style.<sup>6</sup> Neo-Confucian ideas were essential in making up an intellectual setting for Dong's beliefs. A Neo-Confucian stress on the active potential of the cultivated man being manifested in spontaneous artistic creation lay at the core of the literati theory, which Dong regarded as the correct lineage or the orthodoxy in Chinese painting.<sup>7</sup> His clear-cut divisions extended the opposition between literati and professional painters.

When official position and amateurism were the major overtones in the literati theory, a literati painter by status was certainly distinguished from a professional painter. The question raised by the status distinction of an artist is, whether the artists' professional or literati positions necessarily predetermine some basic characteristics of

their artistic styles. The literati believed that painting was a means by which they expressed their own feelings. Attractive colours, meticulous details and excessive descriptions were only techniques adopted by the professionals. To avoid vulgarity, literati painting emphasized the beauty of pure brushwork almost for its own sake. However, in the course of development of the literati tradition, scholars' art and theory gained in prominence and were paradoxically spread to all levels of society. Despite its elitist origin, economic affluence and democratisation of education in the Lower Yangzi Valley in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had led to the increasing popularity of the scholarly style of painting.<sup>8</sup> Professional painters began to adopt the scholars' style, resulting in the professionals' interpretation of the literati tradition.<sup>9</sup> In the meantime, the character of literati painting changed when artists like Shen Zhou (1427-1509) and Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) employed colours in their works. It led to an intermingling of literati and professional traditions. Obviously, there was no one-to-one correspondence between the artist's status and his style, although Dong Qichang attempted to use both status and style to classify artists in the history of Chinese painting.

To assess an artistic work in relation to the artist's social position may seem misguided to some art historians. It has been asserted that "a history of art built upon the professional or amateur status of the artist ... [uses] for its building blocks consideration which are fundamentally irrelevant to an art history which turns upon stylistic feature and change."<sup>10</sup> However, artists occupying certain positions in Chinese society were subject to corresponding social expectations.<sup>11</sup> Professional painters had the uninitiated masses to please. They employed refined details, bright colours for the purpose of impressing their audience. Literati artists, on the other hand, pursued artistic qualities which were manifestations of the refined tastes of cultivated men. Although the



correlation of status and style did not hold throughout, the use of social status as a criterion for judgement was a reflection of the Confucian culture which produced the literati artists of the Chinese type.

When the definition of the literati painter is examined, it seemed that scholarship, amateurism and official position were not the sufficient conditions for an artist to become a true literatus. The personal qualities of the man are factors principally determining the quality of expression in a painting. For instance, Dong Qichang had claimed that "if one has read ten thousand books and travelled for ten thousand miles, in one's breast one can cast off all impurities and spontaneously form hills and valleys within."<sup>12</sup> In Chen Hengke's (1876-1923) "The Value of Literati Painting", a modern treatise on the literati painter, four essential elements of a literatus are listed. They are his character, his learning, his feeling, his ideas and thoughts.<sup>13</sup> Once these factors are taken into consideration, the definition of a literatus becomes broad and comprehensive.

Xugu lived in a period of unrest in which foreign invasion and domestic revolt had made thoughtful and sensitive people pay their attention to the actualities of life. His extensive travels, political and social attitudes, experiences of the natural scenery, all constituted as parts of the artist's inner life. Xugu created paintings that are revelations of his lofty nature. The artistic quality of his work is high. In this sense, he was a literatus. Paradoxically, he had the dual identities of a professional and a literati painter.

The study of Xugu, therefore, reveals the changing nature of the literati painting tradition. In its beginning, it was the art of a social class, but gradually evolved to become an artistic tradition. During the course of its development, new environments gave rise to the fluidity of class identity. Well reflected in art was the blurring of the boundary between the literati and professional traditions. In addition, when the criterion

of the personal disposition of a man is also concerned, even the artist's status as a literatus becomes ambiguous. This thesis attempts to analyze the paradoxical identities of Xugu and to bring out the complexity in defining literati painting either on the basis of artistic style or on the status of the artist. To what degree has Xugu's painting reflected his paradoxical identities? Was there any personal struggle in choosing between the life of a literatus and a professional? And how did political and social environments help to shape the paradoxical identities of the artist?

Indeed, the paradox was already evident in some Ming artists, such as Tang Yin (1470-1524) and Qiu Ying (1494/5-1552). Xugu of the nineteenth century is chosen for study because the social and economic environments during his time enable us to gain insights into the pattern of patronage in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. The economic affluence of Suzhou during the middle Ming period had opened a new market for works of art, however, some constraints normally prevented the free mention of the sale of painting. Transaction might appear as social exchange rather than direct monetary payment.<sup>14</sup> A long amateur painting tradition in which there presumably were no commercial patrons help to account for this phenomenon. Yangzhou artists of the eighteenth century had loosened the taboo against mentioning the commodity character of painting.<sup>15</sup> Yet, the process of commercialization of painting was only transitional. Artists such as Jin Nong (1678-1764) expressed his feeling of guilt in his poems because of his sale of paintings to support himself. A cynical tone was revealed in his writings.<sup>16</sup> Commercialization of Chinese painting did not reach its full vitality until the nineteenth century, when the urban bourgeoisie formed a base for patronage in Shanghai.<sup>17</sup> Artist-patron relationship was more than ever of a straightforward commercial nature.<sup>18</sup> It is in this context that the issue of professional-literati distinctions is examined in this

thesis. As a professional artist in Shanghai, how did Xugu response to the demands of his patrons? How did this differ from the effect that noncommercial recipients (eg. friends) had on literati artist and his painting? Did patrons aspire to the scholarly taste of Xugu for the sake of identifying themselves with the scholarly class?

At present, studies on Xugu are mainly conducted by Chinese art historians, such as Fu Hua, Cai Geng and Ding Xiyuan. Insufficient information, especially concerning the life of the artist, is a difficult problem during the course of research. In fact, most Shanghai masters had their names, if ever recorded, only casually mentioned in the art histories written in the early half of this century.<sup>19</sup> In the West, art historians have their focus mainly on Ren Bonian (1840-1895), the most scintillating artistic personality at that time.<sup>20</sup> Among the host of Shanghai masters, only a few could claim distinction for their originality. The rest were following the prevalent trend developed by Ren Bonian, who was the chief exponent of the Shanghai School of Painting. Xugu, on the contrary, showed in his works the creative individuality which awarded him a distinguished and unique position in the history of Chinese painting.<sup>21</sup> In art history, we concern ourselves with the relationship between the artist's work and his time and circumstances. Since Xugu was contemporary with other Shanghai painters and faced the same social and artistic environments, we may expect to observe some common characteristics in artistic creation which associate him with other Shanghai artists to form a group. This comes to a question of how we define the Shanghai School. Should Xugu be included in the particular group of painters that was labelled *Haipai* or "Sea School" ?

*Haipai*, the earliest term used to designate the Shanghai School of Painting, was coined by the Beijing traditionalists as a term of contempt in the early decades of the twentieth century. This derogatory term was originally used to criticize the Shanghai

opera performances as opposed to the Beijing school, but was borrowed to criticize the works of the Shanghai painters.<sup>22</sup> It was particularly to Ren Bonian that they applied the term to ridicule his lack of a literati background, his unabashed selling of large quantities of painting, as well as his styles and subject matters. The fact that Ren was singled out for the abuse was also due to his ability to impress his style on a group of painters during his time. They too were labelled *Haipai*. Other terms as *Shanghai huapai* [Shanghai School of Painting], *Haishang pai* [Shanghai School] are in their meanings and usages inclusive of a number of artists who were heirs to that Shanghai tradition.<sup>23</sup>

Whether a painter working in late nineteenth-century Shanghai was automatically a member of *Haipai* is controversial. In an essay entitled "Yangzhou baguai yu Haipai di huihua yishu [Paintings of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou and the Sea School]", the author Xue Yongnian said that a sojourner who sold paintings in Shanghai was not necessarily a member of the school but he could be a famous master in Shanghai or *Haishang mingjia*. Gu Yun (1835-1896), for example was painting in the Orthodox style and was not a member of *Haipai*. Xue therefore considered *Haipai* as a term relative to the Orthodox school. Artists like Zhao Zhiqian (1829-1884), Ren Bonian and Xugu, who were active in nineteenth-century Shanghai and were not following the Orthodox tradition were all included in the Shanghai school.<sup>24</sup> Other contemporary art historians defined the Shanghai school in a similar manner and considered Xugu as one of its members. The usage of the name of the school, nowadays, does not imply any attitude of contempt. It becomes a neutral and general heading for listing artists in place and time.<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, the term is applied in its broadest way to include a number of contemporary artists in other regions as well. This further reflects the lack of precision

in the definition of the Shanghai School. For instances, Liu Haisu (b.1896), a twentieth-century painter, was identified as a typical artist of the Shanghai School because of his undisciplined approach to life and art. His paintings are often crude in technique and unpolished in style.<sup>26</sup> Chen Hengke was considered as the Beijing successor of the Shanghai School since he painted with wild, energetic brushstrokes and bright colours.<sup>27</sup> Obviously, chronological and geographical considerations have been abandoned in such broad definition, leaving the artistic style as the major element to suggest the continuation of the Shanghai School. It is even more interesting to note that Chinese art historians nowadays use some abstract conceptions to indicate the surviving of the Shanghai school. Vitality, innovative spirit in artistic creation and readiness to accept the new are regarded as characteristics of the Shanghai school today.<sup>28</sup> They give the name *Xinhaipai* or "New Sea School" to contemporary Shanghai masters even though the new artistic styles maybe entirely different from those in the late nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Chronologically, the name of the school becomes a reference to the past, the present and the future.

On the contrary, James Soong defined the Shanghai school in a narrow sense. His definition has taken into consideration the place, the time as well as the relationship between artists who formed a coherent group as either friends, relatives or fellow students. Their shared stylistic characteristics mainly based on the styles of Ren Bonian.<sup>30</sup>

Xugu was a close friend of Ren Bonian but he did not follow the prevalent trend in painting. By developing an original style, he revealed his creative individuality in his works. His residence in Shanghai was not a permanent one for he wandered in areas between Yangzhou, Suzhou, and Shanghai.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, this research follows the

definition by James Soong and identifies Xugu as a famous painter in Shanghai rather a member of the Shanghai school. That Xugu was separated from the Shanghai school is mainly due to his originality in artistic creation. Although his professional status has implied a responsive attitude towards the social expectations, Xugu, unlike the other Shanghai masters, could always maintain the beauty of quietude and coolness in his works. Once again, it reveals the paradoxical identities of the artist.

Although the focus of this study is Xugu's dual identities as a literatus and a professional, we should not neglect his position as a Buddhist monk as well. To what extent had Xugu's religious beliefs directed his work, its style and content? Except for "Buddha of Infinite Life", none of Xugu's paintings have an iconographical connexion with Buddhist art. Yet, the simplification and reduction of pictorial images as well as the use of empty space in his painting make scholars believe that his art was strongly influenced by the Chan sect of Buddhism.<sup>32</sup> Chan painting is characterised by a radical reduction of subject matters and an unrestrained rendition in broad brushstrokes. Its simplicity evokes an experience of understanding reality in a direct and sudden act of perception. In fact, the close parallel between the paintings of literati and Chan Buddhism is noteworthy. There is the common idea of revealing the character and the spirit of the artist by non-descriptive painting. Skill and technique are not emphasized. Perhaps the difference between literati and Chan paintings is that the Confucian stress on loftiness and nobility of the artist is unlike the intuitive approach of Chan painting.<sup>33</sup>

As a professional painter, Xugu sometimes painted in a decorative and descriptive manner. His employment of colours violates the Chan approach of reducing the colours of the phenomenal world to values of gray and black.<sup>34</sup> But a proper consideration of the impact of Chan Buddhism on Xugu's art requires, in addition, an

understanding of his religious life and thought. Since there is no evidence revealing the religious and philosophical ideas of the artist, the question of how his status as a Buddhist monk influenced his artistic creation is not answered. The foremost interest of this research lies not in this aspect, but it is hoped that an answer will be obtained in future studies.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. Xugu's life and career are outlined in Chapter Two. His resignation from the military officer to become a Buddhist monk changed his destiny and showed his eccentric and revolutionary dispositions. His early dramatic life led to the awakening of his interest in art. As a creative artist, Xugu practised calligraphy, painting and poetry writing. Living a carefree life, he travelled frequently and was exposed to the natural scenery of the Jiangsu region. These journeys provided him with fresh inspirations for the enrichment of his art as well as opportunities to make friends with men of letters and famous painters. Plainness and simplicity were qualities he pursued in his life as a monk-painter. Although he possessed the literati dispositions, economic realities lured the literatus into commercialism. The opening of Shanghai to foreign trade after the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 had created a prosperous and concentrated urban bourgeoisie as a base for patronage. A study of the artistic patronage in Shanghai will be presented in this chapter as well. When paintings were sold openly on the market, they did not only serve as the means of expression for literati, they were also products which possessed economic values.

Chapter Three presents an in-depth analysis of Xugu's art. While he was aware of the distant past, he was also free to select from it. Beside inheriting the artistic tradition of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou, he owed a great deal to the Anhui masters, like Hongren (1610-1664) and Cheng Sui (1606-1692). By dividing the stylistic

development of Xugu's art into the early and late periods, the discussion emphasizes how literati and professional paintings frequently crossed the line between these two opposing traditions. Since a professional status had implied a responsive attitude towards the tastes of patrons, auspicious motifs, attractive colours and meticulous details were sometimes adopted by Xugu. Yet, he was able to utilize his brushwork as the chief means of expression. After assimilating and internalizing the styles of ancient masters, he created his highly individual styles. Traditional aesthetic concepts were manifested under a new light, proving that "originality was somehow reconciled with continuity" in the history of Chinese painting.<sup>35</sup>

Chapter Four, the last chapter, will discuss the legacy of Xugu left for the generation that followed. Fame and success came to him in the art circle of Shanghai but he was not as influential as his friend Ren Bonian. Eventually, his painting styles were followed by artists in the twentieth century. They succeeded to find a way to create their personal styles after taking over the legacy of Xugu. In this way, Xugu bridged the transition between the traditional and modern arts with his paintings. Traditional aesthetic values, such as calmness, blandness and simplicity, continue to be operative in the art of the present day. Concerning the social position of an artist, there is no modern attempt to distinguish the literati or professional status because this would only mean the perpetuation of traditional class discrimination.<sup>36</sup>



## Notes to Chapter One

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15. Hsu Cheng-chi, "Patronage and the Economic Life of the Artists in Eighteenth Century Yangzhou Painting" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1987), p.1.
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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE LIFE OF XUGU

Literary sources concerning the life of Xugu are limited. Yang Yi's *Haishang molin* [*The Ink Forest of Shanghai*] and Zhang Mingke's *Hansongge tanyi suolu* [*A Record of Conversations on Art in Hansong Pavilion*] have supplied us with relatively detailed accounts of the life of the artist.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the authors made no references to certain important facts about Xugu, such as his relation with the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), and the time when he converted to Buddhism. While the literature forms an important basis for our study, inscriptions on extant works provide us with first hand and more reliable information for constructing the biography of Xugu.

#### The Early Life As A Military Official

Xugu was born in 1823.<sup>2</sup> His secular family name was Zhu,<sup>3</sup> and his personal name Xubai.<sup>4</sup> A native of Shexian, Huizhou prefecture, in modern Anhui province, he lived in Yangzhou. Xugu served as a military official known as *canjiang* or Assistant Regional Commander under the ruling Manchus. But during the Taiping Rebellion, he abandoned government service to become a Buddhist monk.<sup>5</sup> He then adopted the literary name (*zi*) Xugu and style names (*hao*) Ziyang shanmin [Resident of Mt. Ziyang] and Juanhe [Tired Crane]. The studio names, which he used at different times, were *Sanshiqi feng caotang* [Thirty-seven Peaks Thatched Hut] and *Juefei'an* [Fault-awareness Studio].<sup>6</sup>

Although Shexian, Huizhou was the ancestral home of Xugu, his family had settled in Yangzhou. There is no literary source to shed light on this matter. Yet, the

people of Huizhou were known to leave their hometown to live in Yangzhou or other areas in China since the sixteenth century when Huizhou merchants began to play a major role in the economy of China.<sup>7</sup> This was because the scarcity of agricultural land in Huizhou had forced its people to concentrate on commerce and trade, resulting in the active participation of the majority of the Huizhou population in various mercantile activities.<sup>8</sup> Salt, paper, tea and wood were the main commodities that were traded, among which the salt trade was the foremost. Eventually, Huizhou merchants began to dominate the economy of the whole country, and there was the saying that "a city would not be a city without the presence of a Huizhou merchant."<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the Huizhou people were a mobile group, whose presence was found in the provinces of Yunnan, Shaanxi, Hebei, Henan, Guangdong and the Lianghuai region. Although we cannot ascertain the underlying reason for Xugu's residence in Yangzhou in his early years, the tradition of Huizhou people to move to other areas to engage in trade may help to explain the situation.

Contemporary scholars have made studies on the Huizhou merchants, who supported their children to enter government service after attaining their wealth in order to enhance their social status.<sup>10</sup> We do not know if Xugu was born in a merchant family or not. Doubtlessly, his entrance to the government service was a means to gain access to political power and to achieve upward social mobility.

The Qing government used a system of gradation called the Nine Ranks (*jiupin*), which divided the government personnel into rank categories, from one down to nine, each divided into two grades, namely, upper (*zheng*) and lower (*cong*). Xugu was appointed to *canjiang*, a military officer of Rank Three, Upper Class in the hierarchy of

the Green Standards (*Luying*). It was responsible for controlling the troops in a segment of the Regional Commander's jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup>

### The Era Of Political Turmoil

Xugu lived in an era which witnessed the decline of the Manchu power. He spent his life under the reigns of Daoguang (1821-50), Xianfeng (1851-61), Tongzhi (1862-74), and Guangxu (1875-1908) when the government was plagued with serious administrative and military problems. Widespread corruption, financial stringency, debasement of military, as well as the pressures of the rising population were serious problems facing the Qing court.

The Opium War broke out in 1840 when Xugu was only eighteen years old. The defeat of China in the Opium War and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 had opened Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Guangzhou to foreign trade. Although new ideas and commercial opportunities were introduced to these cities, the influx of abundant foreign goods reduced the competitive power of domestic handicrafts industries. Large number of peasants and workers became unemployed. China's old socio-economic order was destroyed, causing social unrest and rebellions.<sup>12</sup> Of the vast numbers of domestic uprisings during nineteenth-century China, it was the Taiping Rebellion that altered the life of Xugu.

The Taiping Rebellion broke out in 1850 when Hong Xiuquan (1814-1864) and his followers formed *Bai shangdi hui* [God Worshippers Society] and started an uprising at the village of Jintian in Guangxi. According to the account given by Yang Yi, Xugu served as a *canjiang* during the period of the Taiping Rebellion. However, the author did not specify the relationship between Xugu and the Taiping rebels, resulting in different

interpretations given by contemporary art historians. It is said that Xugu was reluctant to act under the imperial order of fighting against the Taipings, hence leaving the army to become a Buddhist monk.<sup>13</sup> In addition, some sources have said that he had secretly helped the Taipings in their rebellion.<sup>14</sup> While no evidence is available to confirm the truth of these versions, the early life of Xugu remains mysterious.

When Xugu resigned and entered the monastic order during the Taiping Rebellion, he had composed three poems about the experience. Later, these three poems were inscribed by his friend Gao Yong (1850-1921) on a fan in 1897, one year after the death of Xugu. The inscriptions states that "Three poems by a deceased friend, Monk Xugu. His conversion to Buddhism at the age of thirty ..." <sup>15</sup> Accordingly, Xugu was thirty years old when he became a Buddhist monk, implying that the event took place in 1852. This source of information is particularly important for writing the biography of Xugu.

Since Xugu fought in the government army during the Taiping Rebellion, the military organisation at that time deserves our attention. In order to check the early victorious advance of the Taipings, the imperial forces set up two large camps in the Jiangsu region, one in the outskirts of Yangzhou called *Jiangbei daying* [The Great Camp on the North of the Yangzi] on April 16, 1853 and the other in the eastern suburb of Nanjing called the *Jiangnan daying* [The Great Camp on the South of the Yangzi] on March 31, 1853. <sup>16</sup> As Xugu had resigned in 1852, he should not have participated in one of these camps to fight against the rebels.

In view of the political crisis, the central government relied not only on its regular troops but also on local corps to suppress the rebellion. When the Taipings swept into Hunan and besieged Changsha in mid-1852, the much harassed court ordered the

scholar-official Zeng Guofan (1811-1872) to organise a military force to fight against the Taipings. Zeng formed a regional militia and had his officers and soldiers all come from the province of Hunan.<sup>17</sup> Xugu was a native of Shexian in Huizhou and resided in Yangzhou, it was unlikely that he had served in the Xiang Army or the Hunan Army. Therefore, it is necessary to clear up the misunderstanding that Xugu had participated in the Xiang Army to fight against the Taiping rebels.<sup>18</sup>

The reason for Xugu's resignation had been described briefly as "feeling that he himself was wrong, he wore a black robe and withdrew into the mountain".<sup>19</sup> Why did Xugu feel that he was wrong and set off on his way to the mountain? There is no ready answer because of the lack of documentation. However, it is said that he was roused by the propaganda of the Taipings, who had allegedly come to him and persuaded him not to fight against them. According to an oral account given by Qian Jingtang, a contemporary connoisseur who was the son of Qian Hongyu (1865-1917), the Taipings sent representatives to meet Xugu and asked him:

"What was the surname of the Ming royal family?"

"Zhu."

"Who took away the state power of the Ming dynasty?"

"The Qing Dynasty."

"Your surname is Zhu, then why do you assist the Qing court to fight against the people on your own side?"

Xugu gave no answer.<sup>20</sup>

It is true that one of the strategies of the Taipings was massive propaganda work to spread their revolutionary ideas in different regions in order to recruit more people for the rebellion.<sup>21</sup> In disgust and desperation, the poverty-stricken masses were easily swayed to join the uprising. The Taipings occupied Nanjing and established the



Heavenly Capital on March 19 and March 29, 1853 respectively. Afterwards, they advanced to Yangzhou and other regions in the Yangzi area. If Xugu's resignation really happened after his encounter with the Taipings, as suggested by Qian Jingtang, it would have to be well after March, 1853 when the Taipings reached Yangzhou after their conquest of Nanjing. Obviously, the oral account is contradictory to the fact that Xugu became a monk at the age of thirty.

Doubtlessly, the period of unrest in nineteenth-century China made the entire strata of people think about the national and social problems. Such revolutionary conditions were instrumental in rendering full expression of the artist's personality, both moral and philosophical. Therefore, it is not surprising that Xugu felt that he was morally wrong to serve under the Qing court and decided to enter the sanctuary of the Buddhist monastery. His decision was certainly governed by some psychological and temperamental factors. This can be seen in his adoption of *Juefei'an* [Fault-Awareness Studio] to be the name of his studio. The two Chinese characters *juefei* were quoted from a *ci* poem by Tao Yuanming (365-427), *Quiqu lai ci*. There are two lines which reads:

I am not going far on the path leading me astray,

Now I realise the right of the present and the wrong of the past.

In addition, Xugu had one of his seals that was carved as *genggeng qixin*, which means being just and upright. It clearly reflects the noble character of the artist. Since there is no literary evidence showing the relationship between Xugu's resignation and the Taipings, his decision was most likely governed by his own feelings in response to the chaotic political situation.

### The Dramatic Turn: Conversion to Buddhism

Although Xugu became a Buddhist monk, he did not follow all the monastic rules. He was not a vegetarian and did not follow any Buddhist doctrine.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, his retreat into the religious world was in fact a convenient refuge from the political upheavals of the period. The three poems that he composed revealed his complex psychological mind in face of such political crises. One of his poems reads:

The dream appears in the dream,  
 The self is preserved beyond the body.  
 There's the new fresco at Cangzhou,  
 But the stains on the old robe from the Purple Wall remain.

Footprints of wild geese on the snow  
 Become a thing of the past,  
 Longquan, the precious sword, has not yet paid the debt of gratitude.  
 Plucking flowers followed by a smile,  
 Don't comment on past events again.<sup>23</sup>

By juxtaposing "the new fresco at Cangzhou" with "the strains on the old robe from the Purple Wall", Xugu was contrasting the present and the past. The "old robe from the Purple Wall" referred to the armour of a soldier. Cangzhou was the retreat for recluses. Obviously, the present escapism had not freed him from the memory of his previous military life. He said that "Longquan, the precious sword, has not yet paid the debt of gratitude". This was a kind of unfulfilled dream. Then in another poem, he wrote:

A cobweb hanging on the eastern wall,  
 Distant wild geese flying in the vista of western mountains.  
 When profound philosophical ideas come,

They bring the present enlightenment from within -  
 Sound and taste but are emptiness.

The dull mind cannot produce sophisticated plans,  
 A deprived existence helps in reaching the Path.  
 An almsbowl of water in the morning  
 Preserves me alive - the parasite. <sup>24</sup>

The first stanza gives the impression that Xugu was awakened to the metaphysical idea of "emptiness". Two lines in the second stanza, "The dull mind cannot produce sophisticated plans, A deprived existence helps in reaching the Path" underscore the simplicity of his mind and living condition. His "dull mind" had not only excluded him from the hypocrisy of the Qing bureaucracy, but had also promised him a simple and yet a more noble life.

Nevertheless Xugu's psychological mind was more complex than it seemed. By entering the Buddhist order, he was supposed to have renounced the world, but memories of worldly affairs were never completely out of his mind. Therefore, it is not surprising to find this Buddhist monk refused to obey the monastic rules since his entrance to Buddhism was most likely a kind of escapism from the chaotic environment of his times. The practices of retiring from human society and entering into Buddhist or Taoist monasteries could be found during difficult periods of history, especially under alien rule. As James Cahill has pointed out, such decision of seeking refuge in religious orders was often dictated by a mixture of other factors, including upbringing and temperament.<sup>25</sup> Xugu's awareness of his fault and his noble disposition are influential in affecting his decision. The whole event revealed his "revolutionary temperaments" and "courage as a rebel".<sup>26</sup> Such nonconformist and courageous attitudes in politics had

foretold his innovative and individualistic approach in art. His resignation from the military service thus became an important turning point in his life.

Wearing a black robe, Xugu fled into the mountain. His "Portrait of Monk Hengfeng" [Fig.1], now in the Suzhou Museum, has an inscription which reads:

The Portrait of Old Monk Hengfeng at the Age of Fifty-seven. Written by the disciple,  
Xugu.

This inscription states clearly the relationship between Monk Hengfeng and Xugu. The artist had also painted the portrait of Monk Dawei or had dedicated a number of paintings to other monks. However, in none of the paintings do we find Xugu addressing himself as the disciple like the way he did in the "Portrait of Hengfeng".

The colophon by Cai Changyu on this painting gives some information concerning Monk Hengfeng. It states:

Unhindered and unconfined,  
That's the emptiness of Buddhism.  
Admiring the moon at leisure,  
Plucking flowers with the smile.  
From practical goodness of wisdom  
Mastered the secrets of Buddhism,  
And lived his former life at Jiuhua.  
.....  
In practices of painting and poem,  
There was neither dirt nor dust...

The old monk's "practices of painting and poem" might have inspired Xugu's direction in art. Ding Xiyuan, a contemporary Chinese art historians, argued that Xugu might have gone to Mount Jiuhua where he practised Buddhism. His argument is based on the fact that Xugu was the disciple of Monk Hengfeng, and the latter "lived his

former life at Jiuhua." According to him, Xugu's journey to the mountain was most likely following one of these two routes. He either went eastward to Suzhou or westward to Anhui province. Judging from the inscriptions on "Portrait of Monk Hengfeng", Ding believes that he fled to Mt. Jiuhua.<sup>27</sup>

Monk Hengfeng lived his former life at Mt. Jiuhua, but this does not necessarily mean that he was a monk at that famous Buddhist mountain. Further, the biography of the old monk had not been recorded in the Gazetteer of Mt. Jiuhua.<sup>28</sup> We cannot confirm whether Hengfeng and Xugu both practised Buddhism at Mt. Jiuhua when there is a lack of documentary evidence.

### The Artist By Profession

Xugu spent his life travelling in regions between Yangzhou, Suzhou and Shanghai, and devoted himself to calligraphy and painting.<sup>29</sup> Although these scholarly pursuits were mainly for the self amusement of a literatus, they were the preoccupation from which Xugu derived his livelihood. In a poem composed by Xugu, the hardship and financial reality of his life were clearly stated:

It seems accidental

For the flowering prunus covering the entire piece of paper,

Their heavenly cold bones are mixing up freely.

Writing three thousands pictures at leisure,

[I'm] begging money in the world for meals.<sup>30</sup>

The abandonment of the post of military official by Xugu also meant his sacrifice for a promising career and a more comfortable material life. His life had now become simple and humble. For ancient masters, like Zhongren (Huaguang), the founder of prunus painting in ink in the Northern Song dynasty, his art might be a kind of Chan

meditative practice while in solitude. On the other hand, when in company, it served as a means of communication with friends.<sup>31</sup>

But to Xugu in the late nineteenth century, his prunus painting meant his source of income. Therefore it represented a kind of economic value, which the artist relied heavily upon. Such a professional dimension was contrary to the traditional notion that painting was a pastime for scholars. According to Xugu's poem, selling paintings in Shanghai was comparable to "begging money in the world for meals". Although there was no scruple in the poem indicating his inner struggle or reluctance to be a professional, he was certainly aware of the low position of a professional painter in the society. If the sale of paintings for a living was despised by traditional critics who believed that painting was solely for pleasure in the leisure time, the irony was that Xugu's disposition had urged him to sacrifice a more comfortable life in order to pursue an "ideal ethical conduct".<sup>32</sup>

The earliest dated painting of Xugu is a handscroll entitled "Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Narcissuses and Peonies" [Col. pl. 1, fig.2], painted in 1866 when Xugu was forty-four years old. However, many of his early works are portraits of individuals. He had once painted the portrait of the famous Qing official, Zeng Guofan.<sup>33</sup> In 1870, he painted the "Portrait of Yongzhi at the Age of Fifty" (now in the Shanghai Museum) and another for his friend Zhang Mingke (1828-1908).<sup>34</sup> In 1875, he painted the "Portrait of Qin Zanyao" (now in the Palace Museum) and the "Portrait of Shen Zhuzhai (1862-1908)" (now in the Palace Museum).

Since the early dated paintings of Xugu were mainly portraits, he might have begun his artistic life as a portraitist. Indeed, portraiture had prospered at the popular level during the Qing dynasty, giving rise to countless professional portrait painters.

They painted portraits of ancestors that were most favoured by the clientele.<sup>35</sup> In Shexian, the hometown of Xugu, there was a custom of hanging portraits of ancestors at courtyards, burning candles, and setting offerings for eighteen days in each New Year. This was called the-eighteen-day-homage or *shibachao*.<sup>36</sup> No wonder that portrait painting became popular. It is possible that Xugu specialized in portraiture in his early phase because this genre provided a steady flow of income.

### Travels And Social Life

Xugu's travels had given him inspirations in artistic creation. Yangzhou, located at the crossroad of the Grand Canal and the Yangzi River, had once become exceptionally prosperous during the early Qing dynasty. Some of the fortunes earned by the salt merchants were expended on costly gardens. However, during the reign of Daoguang (1821-1850), the once prosperous city began to decline. The melody of music and dance had waned and the construction of garden withered.<sup>37</sup> Yangzhou gardens, famous for their design of rockeries amidst pools of water, were nevertheless preserved. They provided ideal environments for artists to seek an atmosphere of poetic and painterly feelings.

The material prosperity of Yangzhou had offered attraction and stimulation to painters who visited and worked there in the Qianlong reign (1736-1796). The so-called "Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou", with the exception of Luo Ping (1733-1759) were all born in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and were active mainly during the first half of the eighteenth century. These masters were representatives of an epoch and a stylistic movement characterized by individualistic modes of expression.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, it is essential to point out that Yangzhou, where Xugu took up his residence in his early years and where he travelled frequently after he had become a Buddhist monk, might have provided him with important sources of artistic inspiration. While the private gardens had allowed a direct experience with nature, the paintings of the Yangzhou masters, which he should certainly be familiar with during his residence, were apparently more important sources of inspiration for him.

Apart from Yangzhou, Xugu's trips to Suzhou were also essential for his development. Suzhou was a centre of culture and art where the activity of woodblock printing prospered. Various types of commercial books such as the classics, dramas and painter's manuals with fine illustrations were published. The production of *nianhua* or New Year prints was dominant, forming a major part of woodblock production.<sup>39</sup> The flourishing of such activities implied the penetration of printed culture which fundamentally influenced Chinese popular culture. Further, as painters were employed for the drawing of prints, there was the close relationship between painting, engraving and printing. For instance, Ren Xiong (1820-1857) was active as an illustrator in Suzhou and his works were carved by Cai Zhaochu and printed by Wang Ling.<sup>40</sup> The young Ren Bonian and Ren Xun (1835-1893) were said to have assisted him in part of the woodblock carving process.<sup>41</sup> Since the paintings of the Shanghai masters were said to have drawn inspirations from woodblock illustrations in subject matters and brush techniques,<sup>42</sup> Xugu's visit to Suzhou are particularly noteworthy. Although Suzhou prints had not directly exerted an influence on his art, the idea of incorporating elements from folk art into Chinese painting inspired the artistic creation of the artist. His landscape painting, for instance, shows his adherence to the Huizhou prints (See Chapter Three).



The Suzhou region, being surrounded by trees, hills, mountains and lakes of such beauty and delicacy that it had inspired painters of China for centuries. Wealthy merchants made gardens into leisure centres, which were of the highest artistry. They were full of poetic elegance that strived for the appreciation of nature through art.

While it was natural to assume that the beautiful scenery of Suzhou had inspired Xugu's artistic creation, the significance of the city to Xugu was not confined to this aspect. He had maintained a close relationship with some monasteries in Suzhou.

Xugu had drawn a painting for Bronze Guanyin Temple at Guangfu in Suzhou during the eleventh year of the Tongzhi reign (1872), now in the Nanjing Museum [Fig.3]. The painting is a handscroll with a number of colophons. One of them reads:

During the summer of the year *gengshen*, the tenth year of the Xianfeng reign (1860), bandits fled into this town (Guangfu). This temple was robbed and destroyed by bandits while the abbot took refuge in Hu (Shanghai). Coming back in the second year of the Tongzhi reign (1863) when the bandits were gone, [the abbot] then raised funds to reconstruct [the temple]... This painting was done by Monk Xugu in the tenth month of the year *renshen*, autumn of the eleventh year of the Tongzhi reign (1872).<sup>43</sup>

Xugu had also painted for the Ruilian Temple in Suzhou. Two paintings of the temple are now extant, one dated the spring of the year *gengchen* (1880) [Fig.4], now in the Suzhou Museum, the other undated, and with a dedication to Monk Jianzhong [Fig.5].

The relationship of Xugu with the Shilin Temple [Lion Grove Temple] was probably more intimate. Zhang Mingke, the author of *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, was introduced to Xugu by a monk of the Shilin Temple named Nuoqu, when Zhang visited Suzhou during the reign of Tongzhi (1862-74). Xugu painted a portrait for this new friend when they first met.<sup>44</sup> From then on, they became good friends and their

friendship had lasted for more than twenty years. Since Xugu possessed an "aloof and lonesome character", "it was not easy to obtain a painting from him unless one became his confidant".<sup>45</sup> The fact that Zhang had his portrait painted in his first meeting with Xugu suggests the mutual respect that had developed. However, the close relationship of Xugu with the monks of the Shilin Temple as well as the role played by Monk Nuoqu on this occasion are also important factors.

According to the account in *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, Zhang called at Shanghai at the end of the year *guisi* (1893). Once he heard that Xugu was also in the city, he visited the monk. This event was depicted in a painting by Wu Botao (1840-1895) entitled "Visiting the Monk at Shanghai", and Zhang had also composed a poem in which the first four lines read:

The tiring whipping of wheel and hoof  
 Exhausted me in getting to Shanghai,  
 To visit the haggard Chan [master].  
 For three thousand miles over land and sea,  
 Find the fated friendship with incense and candle  
 For twenty-four years.<sup>46</sup>

Composed in 1893, the poem mentioned the twenty-four-year friendship with Xugu. Hence, their first encounter in Suzhou occurred around the year 1870.

According to Fu Hua and Cai Geng, Xugu had served as the abbot at the Shilin Temple and was on intimate terms with the monks of the temple. He quitted after a while and spent much of his time at Mt. Shibi in Suzhou.<sup>47</sup>

Xugu's close relationship with the Suzhou monasteries persisted until his death in 1896 at the Guandi Temple in Shanghai. When the news of his death reached Tian'an, a disciple of Xugu who was then the abbot of the Shilin Temple, he purposely

went to Shanghai and brought the coffin of the old monk back to Suzhou. He buried him at Mount Shibi in Guangfu by the shore of Lake Tai.<sup>48</sup>

Although Xugu was related to the Buddhist monasteries in Suzhou, there is no evidence that he belonged permanently to any particular religious institution. By possessing a "lonesome soul", he lived a carefree style of life.

As a painter, Xugu worked in Yangzhou, Suzhou and Shanghai, but it was his activities in Shanghai that gave him the reputation of being a famous Shanghai master. Before the advent of foreigners to the shores of China, Shanghai had already been developed into a centre of trade. But she remained in a secondary position to Suzhou and Songjiang since her local economic and physical growth was relatively slow and limited.<sup>49</sup>

The Treaty of Nanjing concluded at the close of the Opium War changed the situation. It contained provisions that granted the "convenience of abode" to foreigners.<sup>50</sup> The city was also opened to foreign trade, resulting in the influx of foreign capital. In 1849, tariff collected by the Customs Office in Guangzhou was still eighteen times more than the amount collected in Shanghai. However, since 1842, Guangzhou gradually lost her advantageous position as the only appointed trade port. Within the few next decades, exports from Shanghai rose sharply. In 1863, tariff collected in Shanghai was already two and a half times of Guangzhou. In 1872, tariff collected even shot up to five times of Guangzhou.<sup>51</sup>

Culturally, Shanghai was on the periphery of the Jiangnan region from the historical point of view. Comparing with other cities, like Suzhou in the Jiangnan region, she failed to rival as the paradise for all high-minded and scholarly persons. Therefore, her contribution to the broad cultural heritage of China, measured by the number of

degrees granted, collections and artistic personalities, was limited. Yet, she inherited various traditional styles of painting because Suzhou was only eight kilometres west of her and Huating was thirty kilometres in her southwest. The city became an important centre of artistic activity during the Taiping Rebellion when she was a refuge for scholars and artists fleeing the uprising.

Soon after the Taiping Rebellion broke out in Guangxi, there was a peasant uprising in Shanghai. The *Xiaodao hui* [Small Swords Society], organised by the Fujianese population in Shanghai, seized the city in 1853.<sup>52</sup> However, after the evacuation of the Small Swords from the city, she enjoyed peace and prosperity. This tiny place of relative security, where the presence of foreign consuls and troops and the quasi-independent status of the foreign settlements had attracted large numbers of Chinese refugees to escape from civil disorders in various places in China.<sup>53</sup> Officials and merchants, rich and poor, all rushed in to seek a place of safety. Every available space in Shanghai was soon occupied and her population rose rapidly.

The Taiping Rebellion was thus crucial in bringing about the population flow as well as the destruction of long established cultural centres in the Jiangnan region.<sup>54</sup> Shanghai, then with an accumulation of great wealth replaced Yangzhou and Suzhou as an important art centre. Vast numbers of traditional paintings made their way into the city's famous private collections, because those who were able to flee from war and seek protection elsewhere were usually part of the upper stratum of their local areas.<sup>55</sup> The city's cultural atmosphere became far more cosmopolitan than those of the other regions.

The artist index *Haishang molin* records the biographies of numerous artists and serves as the best reflection of the flourishing era in the artistic world of Shanghai. The book divides the artists into two categories: Shanghai natives and non-natives residing

in Shanghai. The first edition records the biographies of 393 natives, 332 non-natives and 21 monks. Two later reprints add more artists to make a total of 810. Although artists of successive dynasties, beginning from the Song dynasty, are included, the large number of Qing artists gives an idea of the thriving scene in Shanghai.

Commercial prosperity of Shanghai had created a lucrative market for artists who depended on the sale of paintings to make a living. Numerous artists flooded into the city to look for patrons.

Western political and economic intrusion in Shanghai gave rise to a new fraction of Chinese-Manchu elite which got into the business of being "barbarian experts". Capable of speaking a foreign language and thereby dealing with foreigners, these "barbarian experts" handled new foreign relations between the government and the Westerners. They were also named "treaty port mandarins" who made their career outside the regular bureaucratic system.<sup>56</sup> Such a new position was comparable to another type of Chinese merchant-compradore [*maiban*], who was developing simultaneously to serve as the middleman in foreign firms. The compradore occupied an even lower position in society than did the treaty port mandarin.<sup>57</sup> As trade was the major aspect of foreign relation, these treaty port mandarins and compradores rose to wealth and power quickly through their involvement with foreign trade. With great accumulation of wealth, they became the new patrons of art.

Since competence in dealing with foreigners was the main asset for the success of these new specialists, they were not educated in the traditional manner which emphasized learning the Classics as the major curriculum. No doubt, these men were not attracted to the tastes of the literati and were not interested in paintings that were highly contemplative.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the frequent contact with westerners, these patrons had no knowledge of Western art and had never helped to introduce Western artistic styles through their contact with foreigners. As for the westerners, the main objective of residing in Shanghai was to carry out foreign trade. Unlike the Jesuit missionaries who brought in western religious art in the Ming period, their influence was confined to establishing the economic foundation for the creation of a prosperous urban bourgeoisie as a base for patronage.<sup>59</sup>

Wealthy treaty-port mandarins and compradores only made up a small fraction of the urban population.<sup>60</sup> Educational expansion in the Ming and Qing periods had indeed affected cultural development in many ways. The spread of literacy had meant an increased audience for literary and artistic works. Besides, as printing industry flourished, it hastened the speed of democratization of art. Painting manuals penetrated to a wider segment of the population. All these indicated that paintings were also in demand among others who occupied a lower social-economic status. They could be smaller-scale merchants, officials, firm managers or lower-level gentry. Together with the wealthy treaty-port mandarins and compradores, the new social conglomeration made up a sizable artistic market in Shanghai.

Artist-patron relationship had been changing in different periods of history, and a new relationship had been established in nineteenth-century Shanghai. Anhui merchants of the seventeenth century played significant roles in sponsoring and promoting art. Their support of cultural activities was motivated by the desire to identify themselves with the literati class in order to elevate their social standing. Anhui artists were therefore supported to paint conventional landscapes, often in a dry-brush style that had long been associated with the literati.<sup>61</sup> In the eighteenth century, Yangzhou

patrons became more confident and assertive of their taste. They knew what they wanted and were not ashamed to ask for it. Instead of inculcating a higher taste in the audience, Yangzhou artists were responding to the audience's taste in their paintings.<sup>62</sup> The same responsive attitude was adopted by the nineteenth-century Shanghai artists. Wang Tao, the author of *Yingru zazhi* [*Sundry Notes on Shanghai*], criticized the Shanghai patrons:

People who engage in business here are people with no insights. They will unhesitatingly pay out big money to buy paintings and calligraphy for the sake of assuming some air of culture. Yet they are merely impressed by the painter's name, and do not truly understand his merits.<sup>63</sup>

To satisfy the demands of patrons, Shanghai artists followed the Yangzhou predecessors to produce paintings that were decorative, colourful and appealing. Preferences of patrons then entered into Chinese painting. However, the pattern of patronage had changed. Transactions in Yangzhou varied from long term painter-in-residence relationship to direct monetary payment.<sup>64</sup> In nineteenth-century Shanghai, commercialization of paintings had reached its maturity. Patrons and artists became buyers and sellers, and their relationship was of a commercial nature. There were more records about the sale of paintings in Shanghai. For example, Zhang Mingke stated in his *Hansongge tanyi suolu*:

Once the ban on maritime trade is relaxed, no city beats Shanghai in her prosperity of trade and commerce. Those who earn their living with inkstones (i.e. by painting) also come and reside there to sell paintings...<sup>65</sup>

It was at this time under such circumstances that Xugu emerged as one of the important artistic personalities active in Shanghai. Faced with hardships in life, he came to Shanghai and relied upon his talents to maintain himself.

Shanghai to Xugu was not merely a place for selling paintings. Dramatic changes in the coastal metropolis had offered excitement, unusual experiences as well as new feelings and new ideas. The influx of artists allowed Xugu to meet many artists, some of whom became his good friends.

If a list of Xugu's friends is made, it would be headed by Gao Yong (1850-1921), who was a native of Renhe (present-day Hangzhou) and resided in Shanghai. A scholar and a connoisseur, he was also adept in calligraphy, particularly interested in the works of Li Yong of the Tang dynasty. In painting, Gao followed Bada Shanren (1626-1705) and Shitao (1630-1724). His landscapes and flowers were praised by the contemporaries as marvellous and detached.<sup>66</sup>

The intimate friendship of Xugu and Gao Yong could be seen in the number of dedications inscribed on Xugu's paintings. Gao owned a fair amount of paintings by Xugu.<sup>67</sup> Being more than twenty years younger than his friend, Gao showed reverence for the old master. He owned a portrait of Xugu painted by Ren Bonian. When the monk died in Shanghai, he hanged it in his room and said: "This can be viewed as the portrait of the deceased monk, but the marvellous brushwork of Bonian can be appreciated without considering it as the portrait of the deceased monk."<sup>68</sup>

Gao collected all the poems composed by his deceased friend and published *Xugu heshang shilu* [*Collected Poems of Monk Xugu*].<sup>69</sup> It is most unfortunate that this book has not been located. Whether it is still extant is in question.<sup>70</sup> That Gao wrote on a fan three Xugu's poems concerning his conversion to Buddhism and published *Xugu heshang shilu* convince us of their sincere friendship and Gao's appreciation for the works of his close friend.



Ren Bonian and Hu Gongshou (1823-1886) were also admiring friends of Xugu.<sup>71</sup> Both of them were influential figures in the artistic circle of Shanghai.

Born in Xiaoshan in the prefecture of Hangzhou in Zhejiang province, Ren Bonian moved to Shanghai in the mid 1850's when he was fifteen or sixteen years old.<sup>72</sup> In Shanghai, he originally served as an apprentice in a fan-painting workshop. Then he went to Suzhou to learn painting with Ren Xiong and his younger brother Ren Xun. Working in Suzhou for six months or a year, he returned to Shanghai and supported himself by selling paintings. There, he rapidly gained the status as an important figure of the Shanghai School of Painting.

Xugu and Ren Bonian had mutual respect and admiration. Several paintings were jointly painted by them, the earliest dated one is "Portrait of Yongzhi at the Age of Fifty" [Fig.6], dated 1870, now in the Shanghai Museum. The date suggests that they had known each other by 1870. In the painting, Xugu was responsible for portraying the face of Yongzhi, while Ren painted his clothes, two attendants and a simple landscape to provide a setting to place the figures. Yongzhi is depicted at the centre of the composition, accompanied by two attendants, one leading the road with a lantern while the other standing behind and carrying the clothes for his master. The setting is relatively simple, with trees on the right and a portion of the arch-bridge on the left. Quite a large portion of paper is left empty to suggest the hazy atmosphere along the river at dawn. Although the painting is significant for studying the early styles of both artists, what concerns us now is the evidence for the friendship of these two masters.

The figures and the landscape are matched harmoniously. Even from the first glance, we can easily recognise the figure of Yongzhi as the principal subject. Yongzhi and one of his attendants are portrayed frontally at the centre of the composition. The

two attendants are relatively smaller in size. The precision and realism of Yongzhi contrast with the indistinct and misty background. We can say this was the clever technique of Ren Bonian to highlight the part drawn by Xugu, who was his senior. Such reverence for Xugu was also seen elsewhere. He once addressed Xugu as his mentor in his inscription on the fan painting "Willow and Flying Swallows", dated 1891 [Fig.7].

"Portrait of Yuelou", now in the Palace Museum, is another example of the collaboration between Xugu and Ren Bonian. Xugu drew the portrait in 1878 and Ren Bonian added the setting two years later. On another occasion, Xugu, Ren Bonian and Hu Zhang (1848-99) jointly painted "Pine, Bamboo and Plum", now in the Palace Museum. Xugu painted the pine tree in 1894, Ren then painted the bamboo in 1895 and Hu added the plum blossoms in ink.

Hu Zhang, *zi* Tiemei, was a native of Tongcheng, Shexian, Anhui province and had lived in Shanghai for a long time. His father, Hu Yin was active in Shanghai in the mid-nineteenth century. The old Hu was a friend of Zhang Mingke, and when he once visited the Lion Grove Garden, he painted the lion-shaped rockeries to dedicate to the monks of the Shilin Temple.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, it is most probably that Hu Yin had known Xugu. Through his father, Hu Zhang was exposed to a number of painters in Shanghai. Xugu might be one of those he knew from his father. The painting "Pine, Bamboo and Plum", therefore, has not only suggested the friendship of Xugu, Ren Bonian and Hu Zhang, it shows that artists active in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century were acquainted with each other. The cooperative efforts of these artists had revealed the artistic activities at that time.

When Ren Bonian died in 1895, Xugu was so depressed that he wrote an elegiac couplet for his friend:

The brushwork has no established rule; it achieves a new invention. Your art is of the highest grade.

Heaven has taken away this person. How can anyone else succeed him? Isn't my path on the wane? <sup>74</sup>

Although Xugu was seventeen years older than Ren Bonian, the loss of this friend was a severe blow to him. He praised Ren Bonian highly and said sincerely that the death of his close friend meant a loss of strength for him.

Traditional scholar-artists were aware of their social positions. They made friends with scholars who shared with them similar background and taste, forming an elite group in the society. However, the socio-economic environment in nineteenth-century China had forced many literati turn professional, reflecting the changing character of the literati-artists. In Shanghai, Xugu had the opportunity to meet these literati and become their friends. Hu Gongshou and Yang Borun (1837-1911) were two examples of such.

Hu Gongshou, a native of Huating, was a member of the lower gentry who sought refuge in Shanghai in 1861 and remained there after the Taiping Rebellion. Like many other refugees in the city, he sold paintings for support.<sup>75</sup> A native of Jiaqing, Yang Borun was also a member of the gentry-literati. Since Yang's father was adept in painting and calligraphy, his family had collected a number of famous artwork from which Yang followed and imitated in his early artistic life. During the reign of Xianfeng (1851-1861), he moved to Shanghai and sold paintings to support his mother.<sup>76</sup>

Hu Gongshou had a studio in Shanghai named *Jihe xuan* (Lodging-of-Crane Studio) where Xugu visited frequently. One day, Hu asked for a portrait of himself from Xugu. He then inscribed a poem on this painting. After a few months, Hu died.<sup>77</sup> Xugu had also painted a portrait for Yang Borun. This was recorded in Yang's colophon on

"Portrait of Yuelou" by Xugu, now in the Palace Museum. Yang stated in the colophon that Xugu valued every bit of his brush and ink.<sup>78</sup> This reminds us of what Zhang Mingke had once said that Xugu would not give his painting to anyone who was not his confidant. The portraits that he had painted for Zhang Mingke, Hu Gongshou and Yang Borun therefore revealed his sincerity towards his friends. Although he was a professional, he followed the scholar's practice of painting for good friends on social occasions.

When Xugu stayed in Shanghai, he must have known other literati-artists as well. The establishment of art clubs was an important feature appearing in Shanghai in the late Qing. The art club was a kind of literary group as the types of members who belonged were the literati and gentry. Prominent people from established cultural areas in the Jiangnan region flocked into Shanghai, eventually sought out others of equal status in the cultural gatherings.<sup>79</sup> *Pinghuashè* or the Pinghua Society organized by Wu Zonglin in the 1860's offered an example of such.<sup>80</sup> However, the less erudite tastes of the new Shanghai bourgeoisie had not required as much as the cultivated literary talents of the painters. Meanwhile, in Shanghai, the entrance to cultural activities was less exclusive than elsewhere, with less emphasis on educational background.<sup>81</sup> This could be reflected in the functions of some other art clubs set up later in Shanghai. Apart from promoting the spread of new ideas in painting, *Feidange* [Flying Paintings Pavilion], which was active in the Tongzhi and Guangxu reigns, served as an agent which bought and sold paintings. It also provided shelters for sojourners. It was said that Ren Bonian had once lived in *Feidange* when he first came to Shanghai. Some of the prominent artistic figures in Shanghai at that time, like Wang Qiuyan (Wang Li), Hu

Gongshou, Wu Tao, Yang Borun, Ren Xiong, Ren Xun, Ren Bonian, Zhang Xiong ... were all related to this art club.<sup>82</sup>

The *Haishang tijinguan jinshi shuhua hui* [The Shanghai Tijinguan Society of Inscriptions on Bronze and Stone, Calligraphy and Painting] set up in the reign of Guangxu did not only encourage the discussion on art, but played the active roles of introducing artists and patrons, setting prices for paintings as well as promoting the sales of artistic works.<sup>83</sup>

There is no evidence that Xugu belonged to any of these art clubs, however, it is unlikely that he was unrelated to them. In a meeting of *Pinghuashe* held in 1864, three members of the club, Qian Jisheng (Qian Huian; 1833-1911), Bao Ziliang (Bao Lian) and Wang Qiuyan (Wang Li; 1813-79) jointly painted a group portrait entitled "An elegant gathering of the Pinghua Society". In this painting, the appearances and personalities of different members were truthfully depicted. Then Wu Zonglin, the founder of the club, inscribed on the painting and listed the names of twenty-four members being depicted. While such a count did not comprise all the painters in Shanghai, those who were included were representatives of artistic activities in Shanghai at that time.<sup>84</sup> Xugu was not included in the list, showing that he was not active in the art circle of Shanghai in the early years of 1860's. His earliest dated painting that is extant, is "Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Narcissuses and Peonies", dated 1866. The rest of his dated paintings were painted from 1870's onwards. However, Xugu must have known some of these literati artists. One of them was Zhu Cheng (1826-1900), *zi* Menglu, a master of *Pinghuashe*. He was a native of Jiaxing and was the younger brother of the well-known painter, Zhu Xiong (1801-?).<sup>85</sup> This implies that Xugu had access to the members of the literati circle in Shanghai.

Xugu and Zhu Cheng had once jointly painted a picture entitled "The Crane of Longevity" [Fig.8], in which Zhu painted a crane standing on the rock and Xugu painted the plum blossoms. On another occasion, the two artists painted a handscroll of "Flowers" with Hu Zhang [Fig.9]. Zhu painted the peonies and the peach blossoms, Hu painted the rocks, and Xugu added the bamboos and the prunus in 1890. This painting was finished at a time when all the three artists had developed their mature styles of painting and had attained their status in Shanghai. More importantly, it signifies the appreciation for each other and the opportunity for them to cooperate in an artistic activity.

Such cooperative painting efforts of artists were similar to the literary games in which each person composed a different couplet of a poem.<sup>86</sup> They were common practices of the art clubs at that time. When Gao Yong, Yang Yi, Wu Changshi and other artists organised the *Yuyuan shuhua shanhui* [The Yu Garden Charitable Club of Painting and Calligraphy] in 1909, Gao specified clearly in the agenda that all the artwork should be done jointly by different artists. Even if one finished the painting by himself, it should be inscribed by another hand, so as to bring more varieties of styles to the paintings.<sup>87</sup>

In a painting entitled "Flowers" [Fig.10], Xugu painted with eight other artists. According to the inscriptions on this painting:

Xugu painted the red cassia. Ren Yi painted the silver cassia, dated 1891. Hu Zhang, the yellow chrysanthemum. Qian Hui'an, the crab-apple blossoms. Zhu Cheng, the hibiscus. Shu Pingqiao (Shu Hao), the hollyhock. Deng Tiexian, the lagerstroem. Yang Borun, the amaranth. Lu Hui, the maple.<sup>88</sup>

A colophon on the painting states that this painting could have been executed at the request of Lu Hui. Lu wrote another inscription stating that he asked these eight artists to paint together, then he added the maple.<sup>89</sup>

Such collaborative effort of artists on a painting reveals the relationship between Xugu and other Shanghai masters. Xugu was mostly likely related to the art associations in Shanghai although there is no evidence showing that he was a member of a particular art society. These clubs had certainly provided much practical assistance for the artist who looked for patrons in Shanghai.

Xugu originally served as a Qing official. Although a military one, his experience was not unlike the traditional scholar officials who entered the ruling bureaucracy as the final goal of upward social mobility. But by giving up his official post, he showed his aloofness from official status. More importantly, he manifested a revolutionary spirit that would shape his artistic path. As a professional artist in Shanghai, Xugu depended on the sale of paintings for his livelihood. However, he was unlike the artisans who relied primarily on copying without any original contribution. A professional but also a highly gifted artist, Xugu was adept in painting, calligraphy and poetry. All these practices were thought to be enjoyed by the traditional literati.

Xugu also made friends with scholars, like Zhang Mingke, and members of the literati circle in Shanghai. This inevitably made possible the transmission of knowledge among peers. In addition to book learning, Xugu's moral integrity and extensive travels were essential for determining the quality of expression in his painting. Economic realities had forced Xugu become professional, however, he created a code of rectitude for himself. When Xugu was commissioned to paint, he was unwilling to spend the

money until the painting was finished. After his death, his friends made arrangements for his funeral and discovered pieces of paper with money being piled up neatly. These were commissions for painting which the artist had not started to work on.<sup>90</sup> Both his life and his art were permeated with his moral and philosophical seriousness. Being a literatus in the late nineteenth century, Xugu also had the identity of a professional. In the following chapter, we will look into the art of Xugu, and see how he painted in both the professional and literati styles.



## Notes to Chapter Two

1. Yang Yi, *juan 4*, pp.2-3. Special attention should be paid to the creditable effort of Gao Yong to sponsor the publication of *Haishang molin*. Since Gao Yong was a close friend of Xugu, the information provided by the text is quite reliable.

Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu [A Record of Conversations on Art in Hansong Pavilion]* (Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1931), *juan 6*, p.7. Zhang was also a friend of Xugu and their friendship lasted for more than twenty years.

Therefore, these two books have given important data concerning the artist and help to supplement the information in basic sources like gazetteers.

2. Documentation concerning the date of birth of Xugu is not available. The date for his birth has been given by various writers as either 1823 or 1824, and the date for his death is generally accepted as 1896. Since the artist's latest paintings known to us are dated 1896, it is most likely that Xugu died in 1896. Two sources, Wu Xin ed., *Shanghai xian xuzhi [Shanghai Gazetteer]*, 1918 edition, *juan 29*, p.21; as well as Yang Yi's *Haishang molin*, have mentioned that Xugu died at the age of seventy-three. On the contrary, inscriptions on Xugu's paintings have proved that he was seventy-four years old in 1896.

For instance, his "Loquats", now in the Shanghai Museum, has an inscription which reads: "The third month, spring of the *yiwei* year (1895), at Juefei'an. (Painted by) Xugu who was aged seventy-three during the year." His "Sailing in Autumn", now in the Ellsworth Collection, is dated the *guisi* year (1893) and inscribed: "In my (Xugu's) seventy-first year". These examples show different dates and the corresponding age of the artist. They are consistent, and this is true for other dated paintings that are inscribed with the age of the artist. Evidently, Xugu was seventy-four years old when he died. Since an infant in China was thought of as one year old at birth, the correct date of his birth is most likely 1823.

In another source, Xugu is said to be seventy-two years old in "the *bingshen* year of the Guangxu reign (1896). See Wu Xingu, *Qingdai huashi zengbu [Supplement to History of Painting in the Qing Dynasty]*, preface dated 1928, *juan 37*, p.13.

3. Yang Yi, *juan 4*, pp.2-3.

4. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, *juan 6*, p.7. According to some contemporary art historians, Zhu Huairan was the original name of Xugu. Yet, no literary evidence has been given to confirm it. See Zhou Jiyin, et. al., *Jiangsu lidai huajia [Painters of the Jiangsu in Successive Dynasties]* (Jiangsu guji, 1985), pp.162-164.

5. Yang Yi, *juan 4*, pp.2-3.

The Chinese official title *canjiang* has its English rendering as Assistant Regional Commander. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), p.517.

6. Xugu had an oval seal that was carved with the six characters *Sanshiqi feng caotang*, and he used it frequently from 1870's onwards. In the 1880's, he started to use the studio name *Juefei* in his inscription.  
It is said that Yisu'an was also the studio name of Xugu. See Zhou Jiying, pp.162-164. However Yisu'an was indeed the name of a Buddhist monastery in Shanghai. This name has never been found in any painting of Xugu. See Wang Tao, *Yingru zazhi [Sundry Notes on Shanghai]*, preface dated 1874 (Taipei: Guangwen, 1970), *juan* 5, P.137.
7. Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsu, "Anhui Merchant Culture and Patronage," in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981), pp.19-24.
8. Zhou Wu, *Huipai banhua shilunji [Collected Essays on the History of the Huizhou Prints]* (Anhui: Renmin, 1983), p.1.
9. Quoted from Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsu, p.19.
10. *Ibid.*, p.20.
11. Charles O. Hucker, p.517.
12. *The Taiping Rebellion* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1976), p.8. In the 1840's, there were uprisings of peasants and handicraft workers everywhere. The minority nationalities also rebelled. Within ten years, there were well over a hundred uprisings, ranging from struggles against the payment of levies, taxes, rents and the delivery of grains to landlords to assault on cities, and the occupation of territories.
13. *Gugong bowuyuan cang huaniaohua xuan [Selected Bird and Flower Painting from the Palace Museum]* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1981), p.96.  
Also see Ding Xiyuan, "Xugu yishu fengge jianlun [A Brief Account of the Artistic Style of Xugu]," *Meishu shilun congkan* 2 (1982): pp.130-134.
14. Zheng Zhenduo, "Jin bainian lai zhongguo huihua di fazhan [The Development of the Last Hundred Years of Chinese Painting]," in *Zhongguo jin bainian huihua zhanlan xuanji [A Selection from the Exhibition of the Last Hundred Years of Chinese Painting]* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1958).  
Also see Wang Bomin, *Zhongguo huihuashi [History of Chinese Painting]* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1982), p.674.
15. Wang Jingfu accidentally obtained the fan when Fu Hua and Cai Geng carried out their research on Xugu. See Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting [Xugu and Jiang Hanting]," *Meishu congkan* 33 (1986): pp.13-14.
16. Guo Tingyi, *Taiping Tianguo shishi yuezhi [Daily Records of Historical Events of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom]* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1965), pp.237-240.
17. Michael Franz, "Military Organization and Power Structure of China during the Taiping Rebellion," *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (1949): p.478.

18. *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua [A Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Painting]* (Shanghai : Renmin meishu, 1988), vol.11, p.66.
19. Yang Yi, *juan* 4, pp.2-3.
20. The oral account is supplied by Qian Jingtang and is recorded in Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu [The Study of Xugu]* (Tianjin: Renmin, 1983), p.60. Accordingly, the event was first described orally by Xugu to Wang Kun(1877-1946). The latter, zi Zhongshan, settled in Shanghai to sell paintings and was said to have lived with Xugu for some time. This information was told personally by Wang Kun to Qian Jingtang.
21. *The Taiping Rebellion*, pp.35-36.
22. Fang Ruo, *Haishang huayu [Discourse on Painting of Shanghai]*, quoted from Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.79.
23. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, foreword to *Xugu huace [A Collection of Paintings by Xugu]* (Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1984).
24. Ibid.
25. James Cahill, *The Compelling Images. Nature and Style in the 17th Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p.147.
26. Zheng Zhenduo, "Jin bainian lai zhongguo huihua di fazhan." Also see Fu Hua and Cai Geng, forward to *Xugu huace*.
27. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.59.
28. Monk Yinguang, ed., *Jiuhuashan zhi [Gazetteer of Mt. Jiuhua]*, 1938 edition.
29. Yang Yi, *juan* 4, pp.2-3.
30. The poem is composed and inscribed by Xugu on a circular fan, undated. Published in Fu Hua and Cai Geng, *Xugu huace*, plate 145.
31. Maggie Bickford, et.al., *Bones of Ice. Soul of Jade. The Flowering Plum in Chinese Art* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985), p.61.
32. James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, p.169.
33. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu, juan* 6, p.7.
34. Ibid.
35. Wang Bomin, *Zhongguo huihua shi*, p.649.
36. Shi Guozhu, et.al., *Gazetteer of Shexian*, 1937 edition, vol.1, *yudizhi*.

37. Qian Yun, ed., *Classical Chinese Gardens* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. and Beijing: China Building Industry Press, 1982), p.15.
38. Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (London: Lund, Humphries, 1958), vol.5, p.237.
39. James Han-hsi Soong, pp.44-45.
40. Ibid. —
41. Ibid.
42. Mae Anna Pang, "Painting in the Qing Dynasty", Edmund Capon and Mae Anna Pang, *Chinese Painting of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, 14th-20th Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Victoria: International Cultural Corporation of Australia Ltd., 1982), pp.90-44.
43. Yu Jianhua, ed., *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidan [Dictionary of Chinese Artist]* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1980), p.1112.
44. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu, juan 6*, p.7.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, foreword to *Xugu huace*.
48. Yang Yi, *juan 4*, pp.2-3.
49. James Han-hsi Soong, p.21.
50. Betty Peh-ti Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp.1-2.
51. *Fan Paintings by Late Qing Shanghai Masters* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1977), p.5.
52. Francis Lister Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai* (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1973), pp.23-34.
53. See Rhoads Murphery, *Shanghai: Key to Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, n.d.), pp.10-12.
54. James Han-hsi Soong, p.25.
55. Ibid.
56. John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p.195. Also see James Han-hsi Soong, pp.116-117.

57. Ibid.
58. Mae Anna Pang, "Painting in the Qing Dynasty", p.92.
59. Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China. The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906-1951* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p.4 (introduction).
60. John King Fairbank, p.176.
61. Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsu, pp.19-24.
62. James Cahill, "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting," pp.59-61.
63. Wang Tao, ch.4, p.11. See Stella Lee's translation in "Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century," p.228.
64. Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, "Merchant Patronage of the Eighteenth Century Yangzhou Painting," in *Artists and Patrons*, ed. Chu-tsing Li, p.219.
65. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, juan 6, p.5.
66. Yang Yi, the sequel of *Haishang molin*, entry on Gao Yong.
67. Paintings by Xugu dedicated to Gao Yong include the followings:
  - i. Album of Landscapes, dated 1876. 12 leaves, 38.3x52.2 cm. Ink and colour on paper. Shanghai Museum.
  - ii. Album of Landscape, dated 1883. 12 leaves, 18.9x25.4 cm. Ink and colour on paper. Shanghai Museum.
  - iii. Couplet in Running Script, dated 1880.
  - iv. "Willow Bank Under the Waning Moon", dated 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 120.5x58 cm.
  - v. "Buddha of Infinite Life", undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 18x52.5 cm. Shanghai Museum.
  - vi. "Peonies and Chrysanthemums", undated. Fan painting, ink and colour on paper, 18x52.5 cm. Tokyo National Museum.
  - vii. "Landscape", undated. Fan Painting, ink and colour on paper. Tianyige Collection.
68. Fang Ruo, *Haishang huayu*, quoted from Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.79.
69. Yang Yi, juan 4, pp.2-3.
70. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, foreword to *Xugu huace*.
71. Yang Yi, juan 4, pp.2-3.
72. James Han-hsi Soong, pp.37-42.
73. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, juan 3, p.12.

74. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.50.
75. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, *juan 2*, p.6. Also see James Han-hsi Soong, p.53.
76. Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, *juan 3*, p.21.
77. *Ibid.*, *juan 3*, p.17.
78. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.86.
79. James Han-hsi Soong, p.49.
80. The activities of this art club are described in details in the biography of Wu Zonglin, see Yang Yi, *juan 3*, p.7.  
Also see Huang He, "Qingmo Shanghai jinshi shuhuaajia di jieshe [The Associations of Shanghai Artists in Late Qing Dynasty]," *Flowery Cloud* 12 (1987), pp.142-149.
81. Elizabeth Foard Bennert, "Chao Chih-chien (1829-1884). A Late Nineteenth-Century Chinese Artist: His Life, Calligraphy and Painting" (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1984), pp.186-187.
82. Huang He, pp.142-149.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. Yang Yi, *juan 3*, p.22.
86. Susan Bush, p.10.
87. Huang He, "The Associations of Shanghai Artists in Late Qing Dynasty," pp.142-149.
88. *Fine 19th and 20th Centuries Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Christie's, January 1986), Lot 190.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, foreword to *Xugu huace*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PAINTING OF XUGU

Xugu was a versatile painter, equally proficient in painting figures, landscapes, flowers and birds. He was particularly known for his goldfish and squirrel. In view of the vast number of his surviving paintings as well as the variety of subjects and techniques, it is necessary to bring an order to such richness. When we trace the chronological development of Xugu's paintings, it can be divided into two periods. The early period ranges from 1866 to 1886, and the late one from 1887 to 1896.

The early period mainly shows a consolidation of the achievements of predecessors in Xugu's paintings. It is also an experimental stage in which Xugu created a style of his own after assimilating and internalising the modes of ancient masters. In the 1880's, his personal style became increasingly pronounced. His innovation of a special kind of harsh and seemingly tremulous, calligraphic line to delineate natural form is one example of his individual style. The variety of techniques is probably greatest in this period of experimentation. With the exception of portraiture which concerns physical verisimilitude, his early works in general display a vigorous and impressionistic style. His forceful brushwork conveys a feeling of tension and excitement that had political and social implications. They are revelation of the period-mood in late nineteenth-century China.

Xugu abandoned figural subject in the late period and painted numerous flower-and-bird paintings, especially in the nineties. Most of his late works show a quest for calmness and tranquillity. The artist slowed down the pace of his brush and concealed his skill under the appearance of awkwardness [*zhuo*]. The abstract manipulation and

spacing of forms signify his personal approach to traditional subjects. Exaggeration, stylization and decorativeness are typical of his late paintings.

Normally, an artist progresses from a meticulous, rigid style to an intermediate relaxation of brushwork. Xugu, on the contrary, reduced the freedom and variety of styles to concentrate on slow-moving and controlled brushwork. The reason for this progression in the late eighties has not been explained by his biography or other literary evidences. With limited information about his travel experiences in the Jiangnan region, we cannot relate such artistic development to specific events in his life. Whether the change in artistic style is corresponding to particular life experience is still uncertain. That Xugu frequently used his studio name Juefei'an [Fault-awareness studio] in his inscriptions in the late period is a good indication of his psychological mind. Visual evidences also show his increasing preference for serenity and quietude. Therefore, a gradual shift towards the aesthetic values of plainness and simplicity best describes Xugu's stylistic progression.

As a professional painter, Xugu also had to cater for the demands of his clients. His late works indicate an increasing influence of the market force on his artistic creation. In the late eighties, Xugu had already attained a reputation in the art circle of Shanghai. Although Zhang Mingke had said in *Hansongge tanyi suolu* that Xugu was famed for his painting, he had not told us the time when Xugu attained his fame.<sup>1</sup> The popularity of *Jieziyuan huachuan* [*The Mustard Seed Garden manual of painting*] was attested by its several editions and innumerable reprints. In the Shanghai (1887-1888) edition, the manual was enlarged by the addition of examples taken from the works of famous painters of Shanghai.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Xugu's paintings were included in the additional examples has revealed his reputation in Shanghai in the late eighties. Xugu specialized in depicting flower-and-bird subjects in his late period. Goldfish and squirrel



were his favourite themes. Such a tendency towards specialization implied that themes were not chosen arbitrarily to suit the artist's momentary temperament. He must have understood the patron's tastes so that he no longer tested his market on a trial and error basis. While Xugu pursued qualities of blandness and simplicity in his late works, he was simultaneously moving further into the realm of popular art.

### Stylistic Origins

A better understanding of the art of Xugu requires an examination of its affinities with specific traditions in Chinese painting. His art is in praise of its "cold touch of brushwork that opens a new path" in Chinese painting.<sup>3</sup> Yet, his original and individualistic attempt is also indebted to traditions.

Xugu was indebted to the traditions of the Anhui school and the Yangzhou school. It is asserted that Shanghai's artistic lineage came from Yangzhou, specifically from the city's bold and eccentric traditions.<sup>4</sup> Being a native of Shexian in Anhui province, Xugu also shared a certain stylistic affinity with the great masters of the Anhui school.<sup>5</sup>

The name Anhui school is used by western scholars who base on the traditional Chinese one of the *Xin'an pai* [Xin'an school].<sup>6</sup> The school was active in the decades following the fall of the Ming dynasty to the Manchus in 1644. Hongren (1610-1664) was an important representative of the school. Some recognizable stylistic characteristics of the Anhui school included the repeated use of Mt. Huang as the subject matter, the reduction of natural form to bare and almost abstract composition, an emphasis on contour line over modelling, an avoidance of textural density and the prevalence of dry-brush drawing.<sup>7</sup>

That Xugu adopted one of his sobriquets or style names (*hao*) as Ziyang Shanmin is an indication of his emotional bonds to his ancestral home. He also had an oval seal that reads *Sanshiqi feng caotang* (Thirty-seven Peaks Thatched Hut), which is believed to be the name of his former home at Mt. Ziyang. The mountain is located in the outskirts of the town of Shexian and faces Mt. Huang in the northwest. According to Ding Xiyuan, Mt. Ziyang is in the neighbourhood of Mt. Huang and they seem to lie on one continuous vein, with the former emerging as an extension of the thirty-six peaks of Mt. Huang. This probably explains the term *sanshiqi feng* [thirty-seven peaks].<sup>8</sup> The seal therefore indicates Xugu's nostalgia for his hometown. His Anhui origin accounted partly for his heritage of the tradition of the Anhui masters in the early Qing dynasty.

Xugu's "Landscape in the Style of Hongren" [Fig.11], dated 1888, now in a private collection in Japan, provides evidence for his indebtedness to Hongren. To compare with Hongren's "Landscape" from the Tianjin Art Museum [Fig.12], dated 1656, it shows Xugu's imitation of Hongren's linear rendition of angular forms. The strokes tend to create sharp corners as the brush is turned. Mountains are constructed with a rectilinear formation of overlapping planes. However, Xugu was able to transform his landscape so that it contains ink washes and dense arrangement of moss dots to supplement the dry, linear brushwork. The mountains are shrouded in mist and are full of vegetation. This marks a difference from Hongren's economic use of ink. Yet, it still conveys the tranquillity of a cool and unpeopled landscape desirable for withdrawal from the human world.

Xugu's imitation of the style of Hongren also suggests his heritage of a tradition that could be traced back to Ni Zan (1310-1374), the principal model of the Anhui school.<sup>9</sup> Working in the spirit of desolation of these ancient masters, Xugu developed

his own personal style. His landscapes, especially those small scale album leaves, show his creative individuality in painting. But the quest for tranquillity and serenity in his landscapes was actually extending the same line of painting practised by ancient artists.

With reference to Hongren's radical simplification and geometricizing of elements from the nature, Xugu transformed the technique into his paintings of flowers, fruits, birds and animals. The pictorial image of goggled-eyed goldfish is depicted with various geometric shapes. In his "Goldfish Swimming in Spring Water" [Fig.13], two small circles are employed to represent the eyes of each goldfish. His angular brushwork gives rise to various irregular polygons when depicting the body. Similar technique is adopted in his "New Year Offerings" [Fig.14], an undated fan painting of still-life arrangement. All the objects: pot, teapot, loquat, and finger citron are represented by angular forms being defined by broken segments of lines. Even though the subjects and composition are traditional, his painting style is contemporary. This is his transformation of the style of Hongren to new subjects.

Hongren's delineation of the rock contours with sharp, angular brushstrokes and his fracture of the rock surfaces with overlapping rectangular shapes have a reference to the hard-edged contour of Mt. Huang. There are photographs showing the cliffs of Mt. Huang that are sharply cut and deeply fissured [Fig.15]. Long, intersecting cracks divide the rock surfaces into flat geometric patterns, and this shows that Hongren's paintings owe a great deal to the natural scenery.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Xugu, he boldly adopted a similar manner in representing the round body of the goldfish and the smooth surfaces of fruits and vessels. By means of radical reduction and distortion of natural forms, he expressed his personal vision of the world. This simplification of forms is an innovation of Xugu, and it presupposes a degree of aesthetic sophistication.

Xugu's indebtedness to the tradition of the Anhui school is also exemplified in his stylistic reference to Cheng Sui (1605-1691). Cheng's style is characterized by rubbing dark, dry ink sparingly onto the paper to produce a rhythmic surface of dots and strokes. His "Thousand Cliffs Competing their Beauties" [Fig.16], dated 1687, has illustrated his individual style. Cheng's spontaneous and impressionistic brushwork had exerted much influence on Xugu. Instead of following Cheng's homogeneity of dry brushwork, Xugu often added light washes to his paintings and reconciled the contrasts of dry and wet, light and heavy brushwork within a single picture.

In *Haishang Huayu [Discourse on Painting of Shanghai]*, the author Fang Ruo stated that the artistic style of Xugu "followed completely the late works of Cheng Muqian [Cheng Sui]".<sup>11</sup> Although the influence of Cheng Sui is obvious in Xugu's paintings, saying that Xugu developed his style completely out of Cheng Sui did not tally with the actual situation. In fact, Xugu learnt from various traditional masters. After assimilating the styles of ancient masters, he created an individual style. He was credited for introducing the painting styles of the Anhui school, like the dry, linear manner of Hongren and the dry, rubbing and dotting methods of Cheng Sui, to flower-and-bird painting. These techniques were originally used by the Anhui masters to depict landscapes. By applying them in a creative manner, Xugu introduced them to a wider scope of subjects.

Yangzhou artists in the eighteenth century exerted tremendous influence on the Shanghai artists. They adopted a style characterized by light-hearted playfulness, charm and humour. Intimate subjects of flowers and birds overtook landscapes in importance. Colours were frequently used and were applied with great sensitivity. Their desire for novelty and originality was subsequently carried on by the Shanghai artists.

There is ample evidence showing that Xugu looked to Yangzhou masters for inspirations. One of whom is Hua Yan (1682-1756). Many Xugu's paintings bear the inscription of "*fang Jietaoguan bi*" [imitating the brushwork of Jietaoguan]. Jietaoguan was the name of Hua Yan's studio, which was located near the West Lake at Hangzhou. Literally, *jietao* means relinquishing the quiver. This served as Hua Yan's forthright proclamation of his total resignation to follow his once cherished vocation.<sup>12</sup> Xugu used the studio name of Hua Yan to substitute for the artist's name has indicated his similar desire for a total resignation and a carefree life. Two of his seals have characters of *niao* [bird] and *tiankong renniaofei* [boundless sky for birds to fly] respectively. They reflect the state of spiritual liberation which the artist pursued.

Inscriptions showing Xugu's imitation of the style of Hua Yan only appear in his paintings of goldfish, birds and animals. In Xugu's "Squirrel Alighting from the Willow Tree" [Fig.17], now in the Sen-oku Hakko Kan collection, he followed Hua Yan's technique of depicting simple subjects in a simple composition. This is comparable to Hua's "Squirrel Passing the Branches" [Fig.18], a delightful picture which captures the movement of a squirrel on the branch of a pine tree. The neatness of composition and the ease in the manipulation of brush in Hua's painting were all followed by Xugu, who portrayed his squirrel moving along the soft, drooping branches of the willow tree. The weight of the animal defies any stability, adding a degree of playfulness and humour to the painting. Such a technique is often employed by Hua Yan, like his "Birds among Ears of Wheat" [Fig.19] in the Palace Museum.

Although these inscriptions only appeared in his pictures of birds and animals, Hua's influence is not restricted to these subjects. The flower painting of Hua Yan reflects an extraordinary beauty and delicacy which is a synthesis of the essence of

ancient masters like Chen Chun (1483-1544), Zhou Zhimian (?-after 1606), Yun Shouping (1633-1690) and Shitao (1641-1707).<sup>13</sup> Through the influence of Hua Yan, Xugu inherited the spontaneous and expressive traditions in flower painting. His "Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Narcissuses and Peonies" [Col. pl.1, fig.2], dated 1866, has traces of these ancient masters. Xugu exhibited a variety of techniques in this handscroll. He used long flowing lines to contour the tapering leaves of the orchids, and adopted the boneless manner [*mogu fa*] in the depiction of the peonies. Petals of the peonies have colours that are naturally produced by a juxtaposition of two colour tones, pink and white. Chrysanthemums are arranged rhythmically among a profusion of leaves. The whole picture is a lyrical representation of nature and it shows Xugu's consolidation of the achievements of various ancient masters.

Jin Nong (1678-1764) is another Yangzhou master to whom Xugu was much indebted to. He followed the eccentric composition of Jin Nong. With several huge trees occupying the space in his "Fallen Leaves in Autumn Breeze" [Fig.20], Xugu then added two figures in between these monumental trunks. This tiny picture imitates an album leaf by Jin Nong in the Palace Museum [Fig.21]. In another example, the album leaf entitled "Shed and Grove" [Fig.22] resembles Jin Nong's "To Close the Door and Stop Studying" [Fig.23]. Being simple enough, Xugu's painting shows a small hut at the lower right corner of the composition. There is a bamboo fence running diagonally and defining the exterior space. The tangle of twigs is represented in an impressionistic manner. It balances the composition at the upper left. Instead of enclosing both the trees and the hut as in Jin Nong's painting, the fence in Xugu's album leaf separates the two subjects. But the basic composition is similar to the manner of Jin Nong.

In addition to the eccentric composition, Xugu learned from Jin Nong an aesthetic taste of childlike awkwardness [*zhuo*]. This is achieved through the deliberate lack of proficiency. The naivety in Jin Nong's painting is strengthened by his unique archaic standard script of calligraphy. His painting and calligraphy are reminiscent of the drawing and writing of an innocent child. Like his predecessor, Xugu introduced a naive flavour to his paintings. His invention of some humorous pictorial images of goldfish and squirrel continued the Yangzhou tradition of eccentricity.

The Yangzhou masters were criticised by the Conservatives as "deviants" because they defied the orthodox values in art.<sup>14</sup> Their paintings appealed to the tastes of both the refined and lowly people, and depended heavily on the preferences of patrons in the choice of subject matters. This revealed a tendency towards commercialization of painting and foreshadowed the art circle of Shanghai in the mid-nineteenth century. The paintings of Xugu offer good examples of this phenomenon in late imperial China.

Most of the subjects used by Xugu are similar to the Yangzhou masters. His "Plum Blossoms and Chinese Cabbage" [Fig.24], for example, has imitated the manner of Li Shan (1686-after 1760) to juxtapose various motifs so as to appeal to both the cultured people and the commoners. Li Shan had once put some garlic and narcissus flowers together within one composition [Fig.25]. While the widening scope of subject has brought painting closer to the general public, it also gives the artist fresh modes of expression.

Well reflected from the eccentric painting styles of the Yangzhou masters were their odd behaviours and extraordinary personalities. Jin Nong was said to have a strange temper and Luo Pin claimed that he could see ghosts in the daytime.<sup>15</sup> Even though their painting styles can be imitated, their inborn eccentric dispositions are individual

qualities that cannot be followed. Nevertheless, Xugu possessed similar eccentricity in his behaviour. His proud and unsociable character, his dramatic decision to convert to Buddhism, as well as his refusal to follow any monastic rule, all proved what his friend Zhang Mingke had called him "an eccentric man".<sup>16</sup> In Zhang's catalogue of poems entitled *Hansongge shi*, there is a section of "Huairan ganjiu shi [Poem of Reminiscence]", among which is a poem expressing the extraordinary character of Xugu. The first two lines read:

(He has) an aloof personality and likes eccentricities,

(His) calligraphy and painting break conventional rules.<sup>17</sup>

The Yangzhou artists are significant in the history of Chinese painting because "their focus on the individualist painters of Ming and Qing, especially Xu Wei (1521-1593), Zhu Da (1625-ca.1705) and Dao Ji, helped to carry on that lineage in the twentieth century".<sup>18</sup> Since Xu Wei executed his painting in a dynamic manner characterized by bold, splashy washes and broad, swift strokes of ink, Xugu's paintings do not belong so much to this *xieyi* (writing of ideas) type.<sup>19</sup>

Bada Shanren chose simplicity and emptiness to express his spiritual beauty and purity. His artistic vocabulary was based on rhythmic structures which were suggestive of a definite mood. Following the manner of Bada Shanren, Xugu achieved simplification in painting. While Bada Shanren revealed his genius as a master of ink and brush, Xugu tended to employ colours in a refreshing manner. Obviously, some degree of differentiation should exist when the style of Bada Shanren was transformed by the interpretation of the Yangzhou masters, who acted as a bridge between the individualists of the early and late Qing periods. Yet, some vestige of the original master remains in the art of Xugu.



Even more compelling is the influence of Shitao, who left a legacy that opened a new chapter in Chinese painting. Although the role of Yangzhou masters as a link in the chain of continuity is essential, Shitao's paintings have themselves magnetized a number of successors in the later generations. Xugu learnt directly from this influential figure. His "Landscape after Shitao" [Fig.26] is an important evidence for such a stylistic source. In this picture, the traditional concept of placing solids in three distant distances, near, middle and far, is adopted. Dense moss dots entangle with the profusion of vegetation. They help to unify and enliven disparate elements of the painting. Such technique is typical of Shitao. But unlike Shitao's landscape, it is executed in a calm and restrained manner. There is no Shitao's straggling lines to give an impression of veins or arteries of nature. Instead, the crowding of dots are counterbalanced by broad areas of colour washes. Vast area of empty space allows the passage of *qi* [life force], giving life and vitality to the painting. Such a transformation reveals Xugu's indebtedness to Shitao's famous idea of "For the self to be self, there must be a selfhood."<sup>20</sup>

Xugu's "Wild Geese" [Fig.27] illustrates his search for an individual artistic vocabulary. It follows Shitao's "Geese by the Lake" [Fig.28] in subject and composition. Both paintings depict a desolate scene of wild geese flying over withered trees. Shitao executed his in a bold and spontaneous manner, crowding it with overlayings of wet and dry ink. A surface excitement is created by the dense arrangement of dots and calligraphic lines. Xugu followed the subjects of Shitao but his approach is entirely different. Sparseness and simplicity form his vocabulary for articulation. No human activity is described. Boulders disappear and the number of birds is also reduced. The dense arrangement of subject matters gives way to the vast area of empty space. There is also a tendency towards abstraction and patternization of pictorial images. This novelty

gives a modern outlook to Xugu's painting. Although the art of Xugu shows some stylistic influence of Shitao, it is more appropriate to say that Shitao's desire for originality in art has a stronger impact on Xugu.

As for flower painting, the influence of Shitao is also significant. Specifically, Shitao had evolved his distinctive manner of colour suffusion. He also allowed ink and colour to suffuse so that the outcome is an interaction of pigment and brushwork.<sup>21</sup> The album leaf "Peonies" [Fig.29], now in the Sackler collection, serves as an example of this technique. Through the practice of the Yangzhou Eccentrics, this style is carried on. Xugu's "Chrysanthemum and Rock" [Fig.30] demonstrates the style he derived from Shitao.

Concerning Xugu's portraiture, surviving paintings demonstrate his succession of a tradition originated from Zeng Jing (1568-1650). In Xugu's "Portrait of Monk Hengfeng" [Fig.1], there is a subtle use of ink washes to portray facial features. Colours are also employed for shading and modelling, giving descriptive realism to the painting and allowing the spirit of the old monk to be grasped in a marvellous way. The delicate lines of the facial features contrast with the more robust and expressive lines of the drapery. The precise depiction of the face also differs from the simple and unnatural treatment of the monk's hand.

Xugu's heavy dependence on ink and colour washes to achieve physical likeness is similar to the method of Zeng Jing, whose technique is discussed by Zhang Geng in *Guochao huajinglu* [A Collection of Biographical Notes on Qing Dynasty Artist].<sup>22</sup> By developing an original style, Zeng formed the "Bochen school". His style followed the linear tradition of figure painting but he applied layers and layers of ink washes to build up a bone structure which is supplemented by light colours to enhance a realistic

outlook. The repeated application of ink washes to build up the three dimensionality of the face is novel in Chinese figure painting. Critics have argued that the shading and modelling are techniques learnt from European paintings, which were introduced to China through the activities of the Jesuit missionaries in Nanjing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> But Zeng's portraiture shows an absence of the single light source and a reluctance to obscure the linear tradition in Chinese figure painting. The western representational method of chiaroscuro was borrowed by Zeng to enrich an accepted tradition of Chinese figure painting.

Xugu's portrait painting is clearly derivative and he followed the manner of Zeng. This implies that his portraiture is indirectly affected by the western mode of representing light and shade. Such influence could scarcely be termed as novelty in the late nineteenth century as the absorption of the western method had occurred since the Ming dynasty. It is necessary to identify the time when western influence on art takes place. East-West contact also occurred in the mid-nineteenth century when foreigners lived in Shanghai and other treaty ports. However, the contact had not produced something of great artistic significance. No new element of western art was introduced to Chinese painting at that time because the main objective of the foreigners was to gain profits through trade. In addition, the culture in Shanghai was basically and for the most part purely traditional and Chinese.<sup>24</sup> The persistence to traditional pattern was an essential feature in nineteenth-century China.

When studying the art of Xugu, we find many echoes of previous periods. Among the ancient masters to whom Xugu was indebted, Hongren and Hua Yan were the major sources of influence in the formation of Xugu's style. Although no literature has shed light on how the past traditions were made accessible to Xugu, the artist's residence in

Yangzhou in his early life must have provided him opportunities to view the works of Yangzhou masters. In addition, art collectors who fled to Shanghai during the Taiping Rebellion had brought their collections of ancient paintings to the city. As Xugu had access to the literati circle in Shanghai, it was most likely that he had seen the genuine works of these ancient masters.

In fact, the creation of an artist's distinctive style is complex. Within the framework of an accepted tradition, he interprets and transforms past manners so as to develop an individual language of art. His personalities and life experiences are also instrumental in inspiring him in the creation of a distinctive style.

### Figure Painting

Since the majority of Xugu's early works is portrait painting, he might have begun his artistic life as a portraitist. The earliest dated portrait painting extant is "Portrait of Yongzhi at the Age of Fifty", dated 1870. But Xugu might have started painting portraits even earlier. From the biography of Xugu in *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, we learn that the artist had once painted a portrait for Zeng Guofan, the famous late Qing official. In which year did Xugu meet Zeng and make a portrait for him? It is unlikely that the painting was done when Xugu was still serving in the Qing army. The occasion might occur during Zeng's travels in the Jiangsu province in the 1860's, at a time when Xugu was a professional artist wandering in regions of Yangzhou, Suzhou and Shanghai. Zeng established the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai in 1865,<sup>25</sup> and travelled to Yangzhou and Suzhou in 1865 and 1867 respectively.<sup>26</sup> Probably during one of these years, Xugu had an opportunity to paint a portrait for Zeng.

A total number of ten portrait paintings by Xugu is known but only seven paintings are extant. The sitters are of identifiable persons, like Zeng Guofan, Zhang Mingke, Shen Zhuzhai, Yang Borun and Hu Gongshou.

In "Portrait of Yongzhi at the Age of Fifty" [Fig.6], Xugu and Ren Bonian used different approaches to portray Yongzhi and his attendants, illustrating the two styles in portraiture that Zhang Geng had observed. Accordingly,

There are two schools in portraiture. One emphasizes the ink bone, and when this bone structure is established, colours are then added so as to differentiate age; yet the spirit of the figure is already established through the ink bone. This is the method of Zeng Bochen (Zeng Jing) in Fujian. The other uses pale ink to outline the general nature of facial features, and then applies the colour washes. This is the method of the painters of the Jiangnan region, and Zeng Jing is also good at it.<sup>27</sup>

"Portrait of Yongzhi" shows that Xugu once again followed the manner of Zeng Jing while Ren Bonian adopted the method of the Jiangnan portraitist. Their collaborative efforts allow a variety of styles within a single painting.

In "Fisherman at Fengshan" [Fig.31], dated 1875 in the Palace Museum, Xugu painted both the sitter and the landscape. The painting is in fact the portrait of Shen Zhuzhai, a Qing official who was also adept at calligraphy and landscape painting.<sup>28</sup> The serene figure of Shen wears a plain, white garment with a bamboo hat on his head. He sits calmly on a rock beside the stream. At his back is a fishing rod which suggests the activity of the sitter. Contrary to the precision of the drawing of the figure is the expressive style of the landscape. The distant mountains are represented in simple forms so that they are subservient to the principal subject. One of the colophons in this painting praises Xugu highly of his skill:

This painting is a small work about a fisherman which he [Xugu] drew for Shen Zhuzhai. [The figure has] a graceful bearing and elegant demeanour. The radiating vitality shows a resemblance to the real person. Landscapes are majestically and stately composed. This is incredibly possible! ...

Xugu achieved widespread fame in portrait painting. A number of colophons on his "Portrait of Yuelou", dated 1878 in the Palace Museum, have revealed the reputation gained by him. For example, Ge Qilong wrote:

Whoever wants to transmit the spirit, [ask] Monk Xugu,  
 One will get the verisimilitude of the figure.  
 Whoever desires an addition to the picture, [ask] Ren Bonian,  
 The elegant flow of the drapery ...  
 Both the two are successors,  
 Their works can live for thousand springs  
 Once they begin to paint.  
 Ju'ran (tenth century), Daozi (?-792) now live again,  
 This picture is as previous as round, beautiful jade.

The portraiture of Xugu together with the landscape of Ren are praised as bringing back to life the styles of Wu Daozi and Ju'ran. While such praises seem highly subjective and almost exaggerated, the fame that the two Shanghai masters had acquired was pronounced. Wu Daozi was one of the most celebrated artists in China. He was credited for originating a linear tradition that gave lines of varying thickness. Although Xugu did not employ the line of Wu Daozi, his ability to grasp the spirit of the sitter, a state most-honoured in Chinese figure painting, explains the praise of "Daozi now lives again".

Every sitter in the portrait painting of Xugu has similar frontal posturing, but the stiffness of pose is broken by the ease and spontaneity of his brush. "Portrait of Dawei"

[Fig.32] in the Suzhou Museum, dated 1884, gives some idea of Xugu's mature style in portraiture. The most successful technique which he introduced in this painting is the use of blank space to create an atmosphere. The lower portion of the body disappears completely in the emptiness of space in such a way that the deceased monk seems to be floating in the mist towards the beholder. It captures the solitude and tranquillity of the subject. Plainness and subtlety, qualities that are highly praised in Chinese literati painting are revealed in this "Portrait of Dawei".

In the category of figure painting, portraits were mainly painted by Xugu. With an exception of "Buddha of Infinite Life" [Col. pl.2, fig.33], there is no painting of Daoist or other Buddhist figures. The identity of the artist as a Buddhist monk most likely explains the lack of those themes like mythological figures or beautiful ladies that were most favoured by the art collectors in Shanghai at that time. "Buddha of Infinite Life", an undated picture in the Shanghai Museum, becomes a rare example of his depiction of a Buddhist subject matter. The figure is an imitation of one of the Sixteen Arhats by Guanxiu (832-912), a famous figure-painter in the Five Dynasties. Some of the works attributed to this ancient master still survive in paintings or stone engravings, offering an opportunity for artists of later generations to study his formidable representations of the Buddhist deities. The stone engraving at the Huagai Monastery in Guilin [Fig.34] and the painting imitated by Monk Zhaofeng, now in the Baoguang Temple at Sichuan [Fig.35] are two examples derived from Guanxiu. The bizarre posturing of the arhat was copied by Xugu but he added bright colours of red, blue and green to give a striking and decorative effect. Yet, the excitement from the contrast of colours has not disturbed the serene quality which is suggested by the static position and the dignified appearance of the Buddha.

The face, the neck and the hand of the Buddha are all shaded and fleshy. Even though the modelling is arbitrary, there is a deliberate attempt to intensify the three-dimensional quality of the figure. Some Chinese scholars may expect to find western influence in this aspect.<sup>29</sup> The phenomenon may be explained as a result of continuing the mode of Zeng Jing. By the time Xugu applied this method to his painting of Buddhist figure, the concepts of shading and modelling must have existed in the mind of the artist. Xugu was also concerned with the structural and the three dimensional qualities in his paintings of fruits and animals. All these show a tendency towards visual realism. When no evidence is available to prove that Xugu had ever seen an original western painting during his frequent travels to Shanghai, it is more appropriate to believe that the realism is partly due to the visual experience of the artist, and partly because of his acquisition of the concepts of shading and modelling through learning from traditional masters.

### **Landscape and Ruled-Line Paintings**

Landscape painting had always received the highest esteem from Chinese painters, especially during the Yuan and Ming dynasties when literati painting became the mainstream of Chinese painting. Ruled-line painting [*jiehua*], on the contrary, was despised as the work of artisans. Zhang Yanyuan had said that "if one makes use of line-brush and ruler, the result will be dead painting."<sup>30</sup> Yet, Xugu was able to incorporate elaborate architectural constructions into his landscape painting, showing the mingling of styles of both the literati and professional painter.

Xugu acquired the technical skill of depicting architectural construction in the early stage of his artistic development. His "Bronze Guanyin Temple" [Fig.3], dated 1872,



depicts a view of the temple and pagoda, with trees growing at the entrances along other buildings. This is his earliest architectural painting known to us.

Xugu's "Ruilian Temple" [Fig.4], dated 1880, clearly shows the use of ruler to create straight lines in a rigorous manner. A complex winding structure of buildings is placed among dense trees of different species. The precise delineation of the architectural construction contrasts with the expressive rendering of trees which are painted by forceful and crisp calligraphic brushstrokes. This makes the fixed forms of the buildings become animated among the energetic brushstrokes of the trees. Also noticeable is the tonal variations of ink. Each tree has its trunk being outlined in pale ink. Then dots or broken strokes of dark ink are added sparingly, creating a rough but refreshing outlook. Sharp, angular strokes of the twigs heighten a sense of tautness in the painting.

In another work entitled "Planting Orchids and Bamboo" [fig.36], Xugu once again exhibited his skill in architectural painting. Although the long, straight lines in this painting are not produced by using a ruler, the meticulous rendering of the three-dimensional buildings on a flat surface shows his sound knowledge in *jiehua*. The upright clusters of the bamboo grove echo the countless vertical lines which are used repeatedly to represent the edges of the cottage, the frames of the windows as well as the legs of the stools. The foliage is outlined carefully to bring clarity and luxuriousness to the left of the composition. The employment of *shanggou fa* (double-line method) in landscape painting is typical of Xugu, although his manner sometimes appears rough and impressionistic, like the bamboo grove at the extreme left of "Ruilian Temple" [Fig.4]. Similar to "Ruilian Temple", the delicate delineation of the architectural construction has been placed harmoniously in an expressive landscape setting.

Another common feature of these two paintings is the close resemblance to woodblock prints in terms of the elaboration in details and the ambiguity in the representation of space. They particularly look like the Huizhou prints that reached their height in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. These prints are characterized with very fine lines carved with extreme care and precision.<sup>31</sup> Famous painters like Ding Yunpeng (1547-ca.1621) and Xiao Yuncong (1596-1673) were employed to draw pictures for the prints, indicating the beginning of a new epoch in the production of prints at Huizhou.<sup>32</sup> It marks the close relationship between painting, engraving and printing.

Xugu had been inspired by the folk tradition of woodblock illustrations. The elaboration of details in "Planting Orchids and Bamboo" and the ambiguous representation of space in "Ruilian Temple" show similar styles of the Huizhou prints [Fig.37,38]. An interesting phenomenon is at once noticeable. Huizhou prints reached a golden age in the history of Chinese printing when scholar-artists were employed to draw pictures for the prints. A scholarly taste had been added to this folk art. After several centuries in the late Qing, when Shanghai painters drew inspiration from the folk tradition of woodblock prints, Chinese painting was also moving towards the verge of popular art. Xugu's paintings indicate the integration of elements from both the scholarly and popular arts.

Through the experimentation of a variety of techniques, Xugu was able to integrate different modes within his landscape painting. However, his early landscapes in general are characterized by vigour and spontaneity. The frequent use of album leaf in the early period had provided an opportunity to display more varieties in content and style. In the late period, Xugu was in favour of hanging scroll and handscroll. A slowing down in the pace of his brush and an obsession with space make his landscape painting

become more poetic in mood. They embody the artist's pursuit of peaceful solace in his old age.

In an album of landscape in the Shanghai Museum, dated 1876, Xugu showed the range of techniques that he had mastered. The leaf "Withered Grove with Bamboo and Rock" [Col. pl.3, fig.39] appears raw and crowded. It is different from other leaves in the same album, like "Autumn View of an Open Field" [Col. pl.4, fig.40] and "Thatched Hut in the Shade of Willow Trees" [Col. pl.5, fig.41], which convey a calm and serene quality. Underneath the apparent roughness of the painting is a discipline followed by the artist. The tangle of twigs is painted swiftly with forceful, calligraphic brushstrokes. By employing oblique brushstrokes in a reverse manner, he avoided virtuosity or sweetness resulted from the natural flow of brushwork. Wet and dry ink are used simultaneously. Together with the energetic brushstrokes, an organic structure of brush and ink is finally achieved. The rocks behind are depicted spontaneously with effortless ease. This kind of dynamic power characterizes the early landscape of the artist. In fact, the style of Xugu can be understood well in a broader context. In Shanghai, the impact of European civilisation was beginning to be felt. Although Chinese painting was basically untouched by western influence at that time, a new energy and boldness was perhaps the unconscious answer of the painter to the challenge of Western culture.<sup>33</sup>

On the contrary, "Thatched Hut in the Shades of Willow Trees" is more calmly depicted. Xugu spared no trouble in giving every narrative detail: the mass of rocks as the base of the cottage, the drooping leaves of the willow trees, the books and the reeds. As for the painting style, an important feature appears in this leaf. It is the use of some strikingly harsh and unnatural lines which a critic has described as "tremulous lines".<sup>34</sup> Although Xugu acquired the knowledge of ruled-line painting, he developed a personal

kind of calligraphic line to define form, avoiding the gently splayed effect. The line first appeared in this "Album of Landscapes", dated 1876. It became more dramatically and commonly employed in the eighties when other subjects were outlined in a similar way. Lines that define the trunks of the willow trees are emphatically drawn in a reverse manner. The forceful brush-wielding creates dignified lines which seem to be etched by a knife.<sup>35</sup> They look robust and vigorous, lacking the smooth flowing of lines.

The chief means of expression in this tiny picture is brushwork. From it, we are reminded of the attempt of other Shanghai artists, like Zhao Zhiqian and Wu Changshi, who adopted the *jinshijia* or antiquarian epigrapher's taste into painting. Unlike his Shanghai counterparts, Xugu had not emphatically introduced the *jinshi* taste to his painting, but his works show that he understood the basic relationship between painting and calligraphy. His painting is essentially a transformation of calligraphy. By practising clerical (*li*) and running (*xing*) scripts in calligraphy [Fig.42,43], Xugu translated into painting the square type of brushwork. He went further to seek for fresh modes of expression and invented some deliberate slow-moving, tremulous lines that are rich in astringent flavour. Under the appearance of unripeness, there is a real sense of sophistication and refinement.

In the simple, lyrical leaf of "Pavilion among Snowy Trees" [Col. pl.6, fig.44], the architecture is defined by similar tremulous lines that are arranged in a parallel order. No matter how dramatic they look, the structural form of the architecture has been represented. Its precise delineation betrays a fidelity to details, but Xugu's individualistic style has transformed the image into an expressive form. The casualness of the painting is well reflected by its spatial inconsistency. Snowy trees surrounding the pavilion had concealed the lower portion of the construction, making the pavilion look as if floating

in the air. Bare trees have their twigs that are simply represented by arcs which echo the upturned eaves of the pavilions. The whole composition shows the artist's tremendous expressive power in giving his impression of a wintry scene.

Despite the diversity of styles in these album leaves, some similarities can be easily recognised. First, the composition of his early landscape painting is dense. The majority of space is occupied by the rich details. When boulders lie horizontally in "Withered Grove with Bamboo and Rock", two huge bare trees are placed diagonally in the front with their height reaching beyond the picture frame. In "Autumn View of an Open Field", the horizontality achieved by the placements of the bamboo grove, the lake and the grassland is upset by the verticality of the rock structure and trees. Once again, no complete view of these images is given. Nevertheless, there is an appropriate placement of void in between the dense composition.

Second, the degree of freshness attained by the use of colour and ink wash is consistent in all his landscape paintings. While the chief expression is the brushstroke, the addition of soft, subtle colour and ink washes has suggested the atmosphere of the painting. Coolness of the snowy scene, austerity of the withered grove, or lyricism of an open field, all are executed with the greatest sensitivity. They are the outcome of the artist's studious observation of nature and his understanding of the operating principles of nature.

While some of his landscape paintings appear rough and dynamic, others look calm and static. But a careful scrutiny of each leaf will show that Xugu was an expert in playing with contrasts. Various conflicts of dark and bright, heavy and light, dry and wet have been reconciled harmoniously in each leaf. The inner richness of landscape is

expressed by the strength and individuality of his brushwork, as well as the great sensitivity in tonal gradations of ink and colours.

In 1883, Xugu painted another "Album of Landscapes" which consists of twelve leaves and is now in the Shanghai Museum. Dedications to Gao Yong are inscribed on the leaves "Cultivating Banana Trees around Fairy House" [Fig.45] and "Rain in Misty Mountains" [Fig.46] respectively. Comparing with the previous album, there is no sign of any drastic evolution of style. Yet, the experimentation in composition is probably the greatest innovation of this album.

His "Studio and Plum Trees" [Fig.47] simply depicts a quiet, wintry landscape with a studio underneath some bare trees. The tranquillity makes the place most suitable for escaping from involvement with dusty affairs. Several plum trees are planted beside the studio and two are located in the front. The most unusual feature in the composition is the joining of the foreground trees with those in the middle distance, creating a hollow space in the centre of the painting. Twigs of the trees are mingled with each other, making the upper-half of the painting completely filled with expressive brushstrokes. They defy both structural and spacial effects.

The subject of viewing the waterfall has been employed by literati painters, but the way Xugu composed his picture is marked with stunning modernity. In the leaf "Gazing at the Waterfall" [Fig.48], overhanging cliffs at both sides are painted spontaneously with reverse calligraphic lines. They differ from the conventional textural strokes [*cun*]. At the lower right corner is a sloping ground that is rendered with the highest degree of simplicity. The emptiness of the slope shows a dramatic contrast with the solid forms of the cliffs. In addition, the compression of space is a special feature in this painting. Two edges of the cliffs together with the sloping ground line has

accidentally formed a triangle to frame a lonely figure gazing at the waterfall. Similarly, in his "Mountains and Rivers for Hermitage" [Fig.49], Xugu left a void among an eccentric mountain, then he ingeniously placed a scholar in it with no concern for the spacial consistency of the painting. In general, there is no fixed formula for the composition of each landscape painting. The novelty is a consequence of his personal vision and creative individuality in art.

The earlier discussion of Xugu's "Landscape in the Style of Hongren" has mentioned its soothing and calming effects. To view the painting again in the perspective of chronological development, it represents a stylistic difference from his early works. Equally elegant, the painting is more slowly or carefully drawn. Besides, the change in format has also meant a corresponding difference in compositional devices. Although the painting is basically an imitation of the work of Hongren and a compliance to the original is readily understandable, the changes occurred in this painting are also extended to his later works. So from 1888 onwards, the late landscape paintings of Xugu are consistently executed in a slow movement of brush and in the formats of the hanging scroll and the handscroll.

However, the development in landscape painting is not resulted from imitating the work of Hongren. What Xugu learnt from this Anhui master is the pursuit of tranquillity through painting. As far as the technique is concerned, the dry, angular brushwork which Xugu had acquired from Hongren was employed even before 1888. So the influence of Hongren began at an earlier time. Although this painting marks the beginning of a new stylistic development, its imitation in the style of Hongren has not provided the reason for it. His "Recluse in the Mountains" [Fig.50], dated 1889, gives an idea of the changes just mentioned. "Willow Bank under the Waning Moon" [Fig.51] and "Sailing in Autumn"

[Fig.52], painted in 1891 and 1893 respectively, illustrate further stylistic developments in landscape painting. Increased area of the neutral background and the very simplicity of the composition are evocative of the infinity of space in nature. Instead of using *shanggou tiancai* [outline filled with colour] to render the foliage, Xugu adopted the boneless method. In "Willow Bank under the Waning Moon", light colour washes defining the languid willows echo against the wide range of tonal gradations of ink. The whole painting is gracefully depicted. Even the tiny moon which suggests the night has played its role to heighten the atmospheric effect. To complete the poetic mood of the painting, Xugu inscribed a verse from a *ci* poem by Liu Yong.<sup>36</sup> In this way, the literati ideal of equal achievements in poetry, calligraphy and painting is attained. His "Sailing in Autumn" shows a similar painterly method in rendering trees. Xugu applied bright colours of blue, green and orange to achieve a highly decorative and striking effect. The bright and decorative qualities seem to violate the traditional preference for ink representing the five colours. Such colouristic effect is traditionally left to the craftsmen painters. But when Xugu applied his colour strokes emphatically and expressively, he had integrated contradictory artistic vocabularies within his painting.

Full of spiritual overtone, the majority of his landscape paintings were dedicated to his good friend Gao Yong, but whether they were given as free gifts was not indicated from the inscriptions. His landscapes are the secluded world for scholars and they suggest the refinement of taste shared by these two friends. Although they are painted by a professional artist, the spiritual worth of these works makes them belong to the family of the literati painting. It wins the praise from Gu Linshi (1865-1930) as follows:

Being pure but not withered, dense but not disordered, it follows the Six Canons. Only my old friend Monk Xugu is able to practise this.<sup>37</sup>



Gu Linshi, *zi* Heyi, was a native of Yuanhe, the present day Suzhou. His grandfather, Gu Wenbin (1811-1889), was an official serving at Zhejiang, and his family had a rich collection of ancient calligraphy and painting.<sup>38</sup> Since Gu Linshi was also a famous landscape painter,<sup>39</sup> the praise that he had given to Xugu shows his admiration for the master.

Landscape painting had always received the highest esteem and was ideally practised by an educated minority. That the late Qing professional artists came to paint landscapes in the amateurs' styles is an indication of the popularity of the literati painting. The special feature of Xugu's landscape painting is his ability to integrate both the professional and literati styles, loosening the distinction between these two traditions in Chinese painting.

### Flower-and-Bird Painting

The flower-and-bird paintings of Xugu include a variety of subjects which appeal to both the refined and the popular tastes. There are paintings of the "four gentlemen": prunus, orchid, chrysanthemum and bamboo, which conventionally symbolize the noble and virtuous qualities of an individual. He also had paintings that depict auspicious objects, such as peonies, peaches, *lingzhi*, *suichao* (paintings for the New Year), paradise flycatchers, cranes ... and others which show vegetables and fruits from daily life. Paintings of animals, like goldfish and squirrels, are the most famous. The richness in the choice of motifs within this category of flower-and-bird reveals that his art is rooted in both literati and popular culture. While the "four gentlemen" paintings suggest a detachment from vulgarity, paintings of objects from daily life appeal to the patrons in Shanghai who did not receive a classical education and therefore were not attracted to

the tastes of the literati.<sup>40</sup> To meet the diverse demands of the market, Xugu was moving towards a wider scope of subjects which were easily understood or recognized by his patrons. Such a change did not mean a betrayal of the literati tradition. It was indeed a response to the socio-economic circumstances at particular place and time. The variety of motifs made possible a richness in artistic expressions. They were based on the artist's life experience. For example, a whole range of vegetables and fruits, such as white cabbage, gourd, hyacinth bean, loquat, cherry and globefish are famous products in the Jiangnan region. They are all recorded in the *Shanghai Gazetteer* and the *Suzhou Gazetteer*.<sup>41</sup>

"Prunus" [Fig.53] from the Palace Museum, dated 1870 represents Xugu's early style in flower painting. Xugu rejected a naturalistic description and gave us a tangle of dry angular strokes which are in fact the spiky twigs of the plum trees. Flowers are depicted in a wild manner, and when they are placed among the irregular twigs, the whole picture does not look as elegant as the conventional ones which normally depict the graceful meandering of branches of the flowering plums. However, the abandonment of physical likeness indicates that Xugu only borrowed the image through which his emotions were translated. The expressionism is similar to Shitao's "Searching for Plum Blossoms" [Fig.54], dated 1685 in the Art Museum of the Princeton University. But Xugu was able to struggle with tradition to achieve authentic self-expression. The colophon written on the painting by Jiang Que (1839-1879) praises this work as "the best of all Xugu's paintings that he has seen".

Among the motifs of the four gentlemen, the plum blossom is probably Xugu's most favourite subject. He had also composed poems about the flower, like "Flowering Plums amidst Snow" [Fig.55]:

The white snow comes suddenly on the sandy ground,  
 Falling on old trunks and sparse twigs as powdery moss.  
 As snow, as blossom, or blossom resembles snow,  
 The flowering plums bloom in the snow.

In another one entitled "Moonlit Plum Blossoms" [Fig.56], he wrote:

High above the sky, the bright moon is my previous life,  
 The moonlit plum blossoms look extraordinary distinct.  
 Lights defuse and mingle with shadows of blossoms,  
 Lying horizontally and slantwise on the ground.  
 When falling blossoms cover everywhere,  
 There's the coming of spring all over the place.

In order to study the chronological development of Xugu's flower painting, we can concentrate on his paintings of prunus. While the one dated 1870 represents his early vigorous style, "Goldfish and Plum Blossoms" [Col. pl.7, fig.57], dated 1880, shows the artist's exploration of new representational modes. It marks the beginning of employing his tremulous lines in flower painting. Red and green plum blossoms are depicted differently. The green flowers are defined with tremulous ink outlines and the red ones are coloured lightly in the boneless method. Striking contrasts of red and green flowers, black and white goldfish remind us of the flashing colours used by professional and courts painters.

In the earlier discussion of landscape painting, we realize Xugu's first employment of the tremulous lines in 1876. "Goldfish and Plum Blossom" therefore suggests that the tremulous lines had been widely applied to painting of other subjects in 1880. This is also exemplified by an "Album of Various Subjects", dated 1880-1881, now in the Shanghai Museum. In two leaves of this album, "Teapot and Orchids" [Fig.58] and

"Orchids" [Fig.59], the delineation of the subjects is precise and descriptive. The lines are drawn with drastic stress and pause. Denying a smooth, natural flow, these lines have added an astringent flavour to the paintings and avoid the sweet and over-appealing effects.

In fact, an artist's choice of style often has political and social implications.<sup>42</sup> Xugu's brushstroke conveys a feeling of tension and excitement. It is a vivid illustration of the period-mood in nineteenth-century Shanghai. This thrilling city offered material gains, new excitement and experiences. There were tensions between old and new ideas, native and foreign cultures. The period of unrest also made the artist think about the national and social problems. Perhaps, Xugu's inner struggle in choosing between the life of a literatus and a professional is also revealed unconsciously in such forceful and agitated brushwork.

In his late period, the plum blossoms of Xugu are executed in an ordered and restrained manner. This can be seen in the handscroll of "Flower" [Fig.9], dated 1890 and is painted with Zhu Cheng and Hu Zhang. The branches do not appear as rough as those in his early works. Instead of leaving them loose, they are interwoven to become an integrated structure. Xugu also displayed in his plum painting a purposeful abbreviation of form. The blossoms are simply drawn with circles without adding details of stamens. This creation of abstract plum designs becomes more exaggerated in his "Squirrels and Prunus" [Fig.60], dated 1892. The twigs are straight and stretch out in all directions to define polygons of different shapes. The whole composition becomes abstract and geometric. There is no spatial recession and the flat linear pattern becomes his personal artistic vocabulary. However, the abstract design and flatness of the plum tree contrast with the more volumetric shapes of the squirrels. The three animals are

arranged to form an elegant swirling curve on the abstract design of the plum tree. This painting best illustrates the tendency of Xugu to reduce natural forms into geometric patterns in his late period. Abstraction and patternization of forms are characteristics of his late works.

In "Plum Blossom" [Fig.61a], similar abstract design of the prunus is shown. This picture belongs to a set of four hanging scrolls that are dated 1894, with themes of the four gentlemen [Figs.61a-d]. Here, branches and twigs of the plum tree rise straight up beyond the confine of the picture frame. The plum tree is composed vertically on the left so that the right remains empty. By adding the inscription on this empty space, Xugu achieved a stabilising effect in the composition.

Vertical format became more popular since the Ming Dynasty when it was widely used by literati like Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming. This convention was followed by the Qing artists. In nineteenth-century Shanghai, the vertical format was particularly favoured by patrons who used paintings to decorate their homes and business places. In interior decoration of the patron's home, the painting was normally hung against the rear wall of the main hall. In his office, the long wall of the room resembled the main hall of a Chinese home. Normally, a set of four or more hanging scrolls was displayed.<sup>43</sup> Xugu had proved himself capable of experimenting different compositions in order to suit the format. This set of four hanging scrolls serve as a good example of his skill. The interaction of positive and negative spaces achieves harmony in each painting.

Not only his paintings of plum blossoms illustrate this process of abstraction and patternization of natural forms, his loquats and peaches, for examples, also show a similar stylistic development. Xugu often used brilliant colours to depict fruits and vegetables. The yellowish green and pink colours of the peaches, or the bright orange

colour of his loquats have given an appealing effect much favoured by the popular taste. In "Hollyhocks, Peaches and Loquats" [Fig.62], dated 1877, in the Palace Museum, Xugu depicted twigs of hollyhocks and peaches in a vase. In the foreground are some loquats and two lily roots. The arrangement of these selected subjects allows a juxtaposition of colours which create a striking visual effect. Peaches and loquats are coloured by the boneless method. They are modulated carefully with colour washes which provide them with a clarity of form and volume. In another painting entitled "Peaches and Bamboo" [Fig.63], dated 1880, a similar technique is applied. The modulation of colour washes gives a naturalistic description to the peaches. At the same time, the clarity of form stabilises the angular washes of the dark leaves and the sharp outlines of the bamboo.

But in his "Peaches" [Col. pl.8, fig.64], dated 1889, in the Shanghai Museum, the fruits are depicted as abstract structures of green circles being bisected by red bands. The circular forms of the peaches and the pattern of the basket form an interwoven structure. Similar effect is achieved in his "Loquats, Globefish and Garlic" [Fig.65]. Painted in the same year, the basket of loquats is an integrated structure of colour and ink, of line and geometric form. It represents the style of patternization developed in Xugu's late period of flower painting.

At present, there are three surviving paintings of "Loquats" which were painted in the last two years of the life of Xugu. One is dated 1895 in the Shanghai Museum [Fig.66], and the remaining two are dated 1896, now in the Nanjing Museum and the Art Gallery of the Chinese University of Hong Kong respectively [Fig.67, 68]. All of them show the twigs of the plant rising vertically or diagonally in a very straight manner. The monumental composition is similar to "Plum Blossoms" of 1894. "Loquats" [Fig.66] in the Shanghai Museum shows clearly the formation of lozenges when twigs rise and intersect

each other. Sharp angular leaves that are rendered with spontaneous and expressive brushwork contrast with the orderly arrangement of the twigs. The angularity and sharpness echo some high pitched tunes made gently by a ringing bell.<sup>44</sup> Although the subject is simple, Xugu painted it in his original style.

Stylized and geometric representations of flowers and fruits showed Xugu's vision of the objective world. His personal vision is also revealed in his paintings of animal and goldfish. A set of twelve hanging scrolls [Fig.69] dated 1884 shows the eccentric images of the twelve animals which represent the twelve Earthly Branches. This is the only set of zodiac animals painted by Xugu. Some of the animals are painted in a humorous way. For instance, Xugu took some liberty by depicting squirrels instead rats. The one in the higher position has a pair of circular eyes echoing the grapes next to it. His representation of the horse is also interesting for its legs seem unnaturally thick. At present, there are only two extant paintings of horse by Xugu. The other is undated and entitled "Horse in the Autumn Trees" [Fig.70]. It depicts the eccentric pose of a bowing horse. Both paintings show a certain degree of exaggeration but the artist's sense of humour is clearly visible. His paintings of monkey and dog are rare. Instead of capturing the lively movement of a naughty monkey or an active dog, Xugu gave us the quiet and calm images of the animals. The monkey is seated quietly on a rock. The image of the dog is so beautiful that it looks like a hairy pet dog enjoying the fragrance of narcissus in a lazy afternoon. All these paintings show the imaginary power and the personal vision of the artist.

The majority of the bird and animal paintings of Xugu were painted in the late period, that is, after the year 1887. His "Pine, Crane and Chrysanthemums" [Col. pl.9, fig.71] and "Crane and Plums" [Fig.72] are both dated 1887. They represent the calmness

and tranquillity conveyed in his late works. Although his brushstrokes do not appear as cursory as the early ones, they are equally energetic and spontaneous. A stylized image of the crane is represented. It stands solemnly with one leg that is painted with disciplined and forceful strokes, while the other leg is raised and partly hidden in the feather. Both its shrunken neck and the raised leg give an odd pose to the bird. This once again reveals Xugu's preference for an eccentric depiction. In "Pine, Crane and Chrysanthemums", brilliant red and yellow are boldly applied. Pale hues of yellow provide the colour base of the chrysanthemums. The yellow colour deepens in saturation as it verges toward the centre. Such brightness of colour achieves a decorative effect. Similar to the roles of moss dots in landscape painting, the colour vibration has a refreshing effect and unifies the whole composition firmly.

Stylization of pictorial image also appears in his "Birds and Willow" [Fig.73], dated 1894. A pair of birds are resting on the twigs of the willows while another is flying behind the drooping leaves. Lines which delineate the twigs are arranged carefully so that they at times form beautiful curves to frame the motionless birds, and at times intersect to create a linear pattern in front of the flying bird. Identical posturing of the two birds are depicted with similar tonal and textural gradations of ink. Xugu deliberately produced a repetitive pattern. The flying bird behind the willow leaves is depicted rather strangely. Its eccentric pose is comparable to the pair of flying cranes in "A Flock of Cranes" [Fig.74], dated 1890. Therefore, Xugu's bird and animal paintings have stylized images which he employed constantly in his late period. Sometimes, he deliberately arranged them in pairs. This kind of repetition and exaggeration was typical of Xugu. Commercialization had led to painless reproduction of pictorial images. Creativity had sometimes given way to productivity in response to the commercial



demand. Xugu's art is therefore commented as having "a potentially dangerous tendency to Mannerism".<sup>45</sup>

Of all the subjects belonging to the category of flower-and-bird, Xugu's squirrel and goldfish are the most famous. They occupy a fair amount of his late works, especially in the nineties.

In an album of four leaves dated 1892, various themes of squirrel, goldfish, fish, loquat and peach are painted [Fig.75]. The leaf entitled "Squirrel and Bamboo" [Fig.75a] captures the delightful movement of the agile animal. Xugu has a large repertory of the lively images of squirrels. This is exemplified by his "Squirrel" [Fig.76], "Squirrel Standing on Inkstone" [Fig.77] and "Squirrel and Loquats" [Fig.78], which are all portrayed from careful observation. Although they show various posturings and expressions of the subject, some common features are at once noticeable. First, Xugu had given us an exaggerated portrayal of the natural forms. Each body is composed of several geometric units. He used a semi-circular arc to represent the squirrel's body in the leaf "Squirrel and Bamboo" [Fig.75a]. An enlarged eye gazes upward at its tail so that the round head echoes the circular end of its thick tail. The two legs are also represented by circles midway along the curve. The whole form is a graceful and elegant composition of geometric shapes. In other paintings, circular forms of various sizes are employed to represent different parts of the body. The attempt to simplify and reduce natural forms into geometric shapes brings freshness and vitality to Chinese painting.

Another common feature in his depiction of squirrel is the concern for texture and volume. Xugu had used different brushwork to represent the fur of the creature. His "Squirrel Standing on Inkstone" [Fig.77] shows how he employed his strokes in an orderly manner. Similar fine strokes are used in his "Squirrel" [Fig.76] but they are

applied in a loose and sketchy way. His "Squirrel and Loquats" shows his adoption of dry, rubbing and dotting methods. Despite the diversity of brushwork, all the animals show a realism in volume and texture. Repeated applications of brushstrokes, ink washes and dots give refined modelling to his exaggerated representation.

One unique quality of Xugu's squirrel is the conveyance of a sense of humour. Its enlarged eyes and simple form remind us of the characters in animated cartoons. The lovely creature in "Squirrel and Loquats" [Fig.78] is moving clumsily to taste the delicious loquats. Such playfulness is further suggested by the funny appearance of the squirrel which opens its eyes widely to gaze at the fruits. In "Squirrel Standing on Inkstone" [Fig.77], the creature is moving its tongue to lick the inkstone. While it shows the sense of humour of the artist, it also reminds us of Xugu's identity as a professional painter, who depended on his brush and inkstone (i.e. painting) to maintain a living. Therefore, the squirrel maybe the self-image of Xugu.

Xugu's goldfish is represented by simple geometric forms. The undated album leaf in the Shanghai Museum [Fig.79], demonstrates how the round, plump body and the bulging eyes of the goldfish are represented by a variety of shapes: circles, semi-circles, ovals and rectangles. In another hanging scroll entitled "Goldfish and Wisteria" [Fig.80], Xugu's angular brushwork gives rise to various polygons. To overcome the flatness, he modulated with repeated layers of colour washes, hence giving the effect of volume. Appearing in a group of three or four, they advance ahead with irresistible force. The perspective is unnatural if not eccentric. This is the innovation of Xugu. His subjects are full of spirit and awareness. They reveal the revolutionary spirit of the artist who dashed forward to explore new frontiers in Chinese painting. In this way, Xugu's goldfish is also

the self-image of himself. His lofty aspiration has been suggested through the beauty, simplicity and tranquillity of the painting.

This kind of spiritual overtone becomes more explicit and obvious in his other paintings of fish. Although the forward movement of his goldfish is symbolic of Xugu's revolutionary approach in Chinese painting, the image of his goldfish is interesting and colourful. They appeal to the popular tastes at that time. The inscription in "Goldfish and Wisteria" is "Golden medal with purple ribbon" which is a symbol of official position and prestige. Therefore, the inscription serves as a wish for prestige and satisfies the demands of his clients. On the contrary, the album leaf of "Fish", [Fig.81] now in the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy, is painted more solemnly. A total number of eleven long, narrow fish forge ahead against the swift current. It is of simplicity but great vivacity. Balancing the diagonal design of the composition is an inscription of the artist that states, "Fish does not know the disturbances on the water surface". Such "disturbances" are interpreted by modern scholars as the inefficient rule of the Qing dynasty and the aggression of foreign imperialism.<sup>46</sup> It is a satire on the political chaos during his time when the outbreak of the Opium War in 1840 changed China's traditional feudal society into a "semi-colonial" and a "semi-feudal" one.<sup>47</sup> Full of agitation and restlessness, the fish is a symbol for Xugu's revolutionary spirit. It possesses more impulsive force than the goldfish. The sombre colouring also evokes an unsettling melancholy of the period.

Takeyoshi Tsuruta identifies in the work of Zhao Zhiqian and his contemporaries "a sense of dark hopelessness about the condition of their time. If suffering is one condition of modern painting, we can say that modern Chinese painting begins with Zhao Zhiqian".<sup>48</sup> It is true that the paintings of the Shanghai masters were sometimes inspired

by depressed feelings. This album leaf of "Fish" by Xugu is one example. In fact, these Shanghai artists were extending the same line of painting practised by Xu Wei and Bada Shanren in the early Qing period.<sup>49</sup>

In the work of Xugu, a violent expression of anguish is entirely lacking. The satire is concealed in his inscription. However, Xugu's frequent use of angular brushstrokes and tremulous lines shows the anxiety and tension in the period of political upheaval. Yet, these feelings are counterbalanced by his quest for calmness and tranquillity. Simple repetition and stylization of forms have reduced the excitement of surprise and variation. They reveal the reserved and subtle taste of Xugu. In a poem that was composed in 1896, the year in which Xugu died, he expressed his desire for peace in the future [Fig.82].

With noises of firecrackers in the neighbourhood,  
Every family cheers to celebrate the New Year.  
Tomorrow this time will the New Year come,  
Spring breeze will pass the prunus as before.

When Xugu composed this poem, he was seventy-four years old. He showed no worry of the end of life or the chaotic political scene. He was optimistic that his peacefulness of mind and the beauty of nature would come again in the following year. Such peacefulness of mind is consistently present in his late works.

To sum up, in the study of the stylistic development of Xugu's paintings, a sense of tranquil beauty and blandness was strongly felt. These were qualities highly appreciated by the literati. In addition, he conveyed a feeling of tension and excitement which can be understood well in a broader context. Having a professional status, Xugu stood well on the side of the literati painting tradition and followed basically the

expressive qualities inherent in the paintings of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou. His art best represented how the literati tradition had been enriched by eccentric and folk elements. Seen against the background of the orthodox style of stereotyped imitation, his works embodied changes in response to the "internal demand" of Chinese painting.<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, his art also served as a kind of commercial production that was appreciated on different levels. External influences simultaneously played important role in shaping his style. Xugu employed bright colours and refined details to impress his audience. Themes that had popular appeal were painted. They included flowers and birds, auspicious symbols of longevity, happiness and wealth. Appealing to the tastes of the refined and the "vulgar", Chinese painting changed its nature from self-amusement to both individual and public enjoyment.

### Notes to Chapter Three

1. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, juan 6, p.7.
2. Mai-mai Sze, ed., *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p.6.
3. Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, juan 4, pp.2-3.
4. Li Chu-tsing, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, pp.31-32.
5. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, pp.12-14. Also see James Cahill, "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting," p.64.
6. James Cahill, introduction in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, pp.7-15.
7. Julia Andrews and Haruki Yoshida, "Theoretical Foundations of the Anhui School," *Ibid.*, p.34.
8. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, pp.56-58.
9. Wang Shiqing, "Xin'an huapai di yuanyuan [The Origin of the Xin'an School of Painting]," *Flowery Cloud* 9 (Dec, 1985): pp.67-71.
10. Jane DeBevoise and Scarlett, "Topography and the Anhui School" in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, ed. James Cahill, p.46.
11. Fang Ruo, *Haishang Huayu*, quoted from Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.79.
12. Wang Qingxian, "Hua Yan di yishu sixiang ji qi chengjiu [The Artistic Thought and Achievement of Hua Yan]," *Flowery Cloud* 2 (Nov,1982): pp.183-202.
13. Mu Yiqin, "An Introduction to Painting in Yangzhou in the Qing Dynasty," in *Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum*, ed. Mayching Kao (The Palace Museum and the Art Gallery, the Chinese University of Hong Kong), pp.21-32.
14. *Ibid.*, p.31.
15. *Ibid.*, p.32.
16. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, juan 6, p.7.
17. Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge shi* (1884-1898), vol.7.
18. Li Chu-tsing, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, p.32. Also see Joseph Hejzlar, pp.7-8.

19. James Cahill, "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting," p.54.  
While it is conventional to use the terms *gongbi* and *xieyi* to characterize two main stylistic directions in Chinese painting, the distinction itself is problematic. Cahill states that "most of the best painting of Yangzhou and Shanghai artists, as well as of their predecessors and successors, does not belong to either manner."
20. *Huayulu* (Record of Sayings on Painting), Ch.III. See Ju-hsi Chou, "The Evolution of Daoji's Thought on Painting," *New Asia Academic Bulletin (Special Issue on Chinese Art)*, vol.IV (1983), pp. 335-365.
21. James Cahill, "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting", p.55.
22. Zhang Geng, *Guochao huajinglu [A Collection of Biographical Notes on Qing Dynasty Artists]*, preface dated 1887, part 2, entry on Gu Ming.
23. See Zhou Jiyin, ed, *Zeng Jing di xiaoxiang hua [The Portrait Painting of Zeng Jing]* (Beijing: Renmin, 1981), p. 18.
24. Joseph Hejzlar, p.9.
25. Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.351.
26. Wang Qiyuan, *Zeng Wenzheng gong riji [The Diary of Zeng Guofan]* (Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1930), juan 2, *youlan* [Travels], pp.27-32.
27. Zhang Geng, *Guochao huajinglu*, part two, entry on Gu Ming.
28. Zhang mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, juan 6, p.6.
29. Xue Yongnian, p.17.
30. Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai Minghuaqi*, Chapter II, Section II, trans. William R.B. Acker, pp.182-183.
31. Zhou Wu, p.13.
32. Hiromitsu Kobayashi and Samantha Sabin, "The Great Age of Anhui Printing," in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, ed. James Cahill, pp.26-30.
33. Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 3rd ed. (California: University of California Press, 1984), p.252.
34. Zheng Zhenduo, "Jin bainian lai Zhongguo huihua di fazhan".
35. Zheng Wei, foreword to *Xugu huace [A Collection of Paintings by Xugu]*, ed. Shanghai Museum (Sichuan: Renmin, 1983).

36. *Fine 19th and 20th century Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Christie's Swire, March 20, 1990), Lot. 170.
37. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu Yanjiu*, p.80.
38. Yu Jianhua, p.1533.
39. *Ibid.*, p.1550.
40. Mae Anna Pang, "Painting in the Qing Dynasty", p.92.
41. Wu Xin, et. al., *Shanghai xianzhi* [Shanghai Gazetteer], 1935 edition, juan 4. Also see Li Ming Wan, et. al., *Suzhou fuzhi* [Suzhou Gazetteer], 1883 edition, juan 20.
42. See Michael Sullivan, *Symbols and Eternity: The Art of Chinese Landscape Painting in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), p.xi.
43. James Han-hsi Soong, pp.125-126.
44. Wu Guanzhong, "Shi Lu di qiang ji qita [The Tune of Shi Lu and Others," *Meishu* 9 (1983): pp.109-111.
45. Joseph Hejzlar, p.10.
46. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, foreword to *Xugu Huace*. Also see Liu Fangru, "Xugu di shengping yu huayi [The Life and Art of Xugu]," *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* 6, no.9 (Dec, 1988): pp.18-31.
47. Xue Yongnian, p.16.
48. Edmund Capon and Mae Anna Pang, p.202.
49. Elizabeth Foard Bennett, p.202.
50. Li Chu-tsing, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, p.228.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE LEGACY OF XUGU

From the investigation of Xugu's paintings, we learn that he made a conscious effort to develop individual styles distinguished by simple, rustic forms and innovative compositions. His lines have a strikingly harsh and broken outlook, and his colours show remarkable freshness. His attempt to simplify the forms of his subjects eliminated those details that are artistically non-essential while occasional exaggeration and distortion of forms reveal his personal vision and his great sensitivity to the objective world. Xugu tended to simplify objects into geometric shapes, resulting in an abstract manipulation of forms. Such an innovation gives his painting a modern outlook with which Xugu bridged the transition between traditional and modern Chinese painting. His individualistic style of painting left a legacy for the generation that followed.

Although Xugu had attained his reputation in Shanghai, his influence was not as scintillating as that of Ren Bonian. This friend of Xugu, who was a great draughtsman, was the most admired personality in Shanghai at that time. Ren's time of activity spanned the formative and flourishing years of a regional movement, giving rise to the term *Haipai*. Painting in a style characterized by facile brushwork and bright colours, Ren influenced his contemporaries like Zhu Cheng, Hu Zhang, Qian Hui'an and Shu Hao. They were all outstanding artistic personalities who were instrumental as a group in the formation of the Shanghai School. The direct disciples of Ren continued his footsteps and constituted a recognizable group in Shanghai.<sup>1</sup> Among Ren's disciples was Wu Changshi who greatly affected modern artists with his energetic drawing deriving from his calligraphy. Both Ren and Wu dominated the art scene of Shanghai. Unlike his

friend Ren Bonian, Xugu did not have a sizable group of disciples during his life time. Probably it was due to Xugu's lack of ambition to become an influential figure in Shanghai, even though he had already attained his fame in the late eighties. When Xugu stayed in Shanghai for several months, there was a great demand for his works. He painted, and when he became tired, he left.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he had never been forced to paint reluctantly and his residence in Shanghai was only of a temporary nature.

Another explanation can be found in the painting style of Xugu. His painting exhibits a very different approach from that of Ren Bonian, which was more popular with the mercantile class of Shanghai. To compare the flower-and-bird paintings of these two masters, Xugu was working in the style of expressive distortion. Resemblance to the outer appearance was sometimes sacrificed. Ren, on the other hand painted in a more naturalistic manner to display the pastoral pleasure and lyrical grace in his works. Even though Xugu was painting popular themes to cater to the commercial market, he reserved a scholarly taste by avoiding technical virtuosity, and his paintings conveyed a degree of coolness and aloofness. At times, he dramatically produced tremulous calligraphic lines which had an astringent flavour. The popular appeal of Ren's paintings was not only reflected in his choice of subject matter, but also in the refreshing ease of his brushwork. Ren did not possess any great learning and thus concentrated solely on painting to the exclusion of poetry and calligraphy. It was Wu Changshi who utilized his literary and calligraphic talents to change the image of the Shanghai School from popular appeal to one with certain respectability.<sup>3</sup> Xugu's painting is a revelation of the refined disposition of a reserved philosopher while Ren's painting is the rendition of the dexterous and sophisticated skill of an influential painter. Ren's success was due to his creative capacity and vitality in catering to the tastes of the Shanghai population.

Bearing qualities of simplicity and awkwardness, Xugu's paintings perpetuate the traditional aesthetic concepts. His success therefore depended on the possession of some lasting qualities in painting, whose beauty stood the test of time. Although he did not gain wide popularity as Ren Bonian, his innovative accomplishments gave him a unique position in the history of Chinese painting. Chen Dingshan, a modern writer who lived in Shanghai in the early twentieth century, said that:

Xugu's high artistry should be ranked among those of Xu Tianchi (Xu Wei), Jin Dongxin (Jin Nong), Zhao Zhiqian and Ren Bonian.<sup>4</sup>

Xu, Jin, Zhao and Ren were all influential figures in the history of Chinese painting. But Xugu's artistic style was so personal that his influence was not as profound as the four masters. The uniqueness of his art had no parallel in history. In Xugu's "Finger Citron", now in the Tianjin Museum, Wu Changshi inscribed:

With ten fingers,  
Getting fragrance, colour and taste,  
To shake a fist,  
Breaking [conventions of] the past, the present and the future...

Yet, the legacy of Xugu has been taken over by contemporary artists in different places. After absorbing the ingredients from this legacy, painters find a way out to create their personal styles. The consequence is the rejuvenation or modernization of the age-honoured traditions of Chinese painting. Since contemporary artists are living in a new period of time, it is necessary to understand the momentous events that shaped the twentieth-century Chinese art world.

Active in the nineteenth century, Xugu was living within an old Chinese society. The foreign presence in Shanghai as well as the foreign stimulus to the growth of the new Shanghai bourgeoisie had brought about economic changes to the city. However,

culturally, she was still adhering to the traditional scholarly style in the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, western political and commercial intrusion had started substantial social and intellectual changes in China. Her cultural tradition was confronted with challenges from the West. Chinese students went to Japan and Europe to study Western painting and brought back many of the new art theories to China. Paintings of Realism, Impressionism, Post-impressionism, Fauvism and Expressionism made their way to China. Since 1949, the traditional literati approach underwent even greater changes as the content of Chinese painting was specifically utilized as the political propaganda to glorify the success of communism in the People's Republic of China. Contemporary artists, therefore, have to grapple with the new issue of the impact of the West and of Communism. The new environment was completely different from the old society in which Xugu lived. Xugu's painting conveyed a feeling of tension and anxiety that gave his work a modern outlook. It anticipated the tensions between artists and the Communist authority, native and foreign styles, in painting of the twentieth century.

In this chapter, we will discuss how modern artists like Shi Lu (1918-1982), Chen Wenxi (b.1906), Tang Yun (b.1910), and Zhu Qizhan (b.1892) had respectively taken the essential ingredients from the art of Xugu. Among these artists, Shi Lu had the greatest influence from Xugu. The others viewed the legacy of Xugu as an inspiration for artistic creation but its impact on their styles was minor and limited. For examples, Chen and Zhu were devoted to Western art in their early years but ultimately returned to the long stream of traditional Chinese painting. The vestige of Western art remained in their Chinese paintings. Jiang Hanting (1903-1963) was famous for producing the forgeries of

Xugu's painting. Therefore, he was also named Jiang Xugu.<sup>5</sup> Some of his forgeries will be discussed in this chapter as well.

In China's transition from a traditional to a modern society, the status of the artist had changed. The emergence of art schools not only drew talented young people from the lower levels of society, but also opened up a large number of teaching positions in schools for artists. Contemporary painters gradually assume a more professional standing and often served as art teachers in the academies. In addition to their dependence on mercantile patronage, they were beginning to find a place for themselves in society. The changing status of artist as well as the popularization of art were therefore inevitable outcomes of the new social environments in modern China. Art was no longer limited to the literati as it was in the traditional feudal society.

### Shi Lu

Original name Feng Yaheng, native of Renshou in the Sichuan province, Shi Lu was born in a landlord family in 1919. Being nurtured in the cultural environment of his family, he developed an interest in Chinese literature as well as the scholarly pursuits of music, chess, calligraphy and painting. In 1934, Shi Lu studied Chinese and Western arts at the Dongfang Art College in Chengdu. After graduation, he was recruited into the Department of History and Sociology at the West China Union University. By the time the Sino-Japanese War broke out, Shi Lu joined the anti-Japanese campaigns and actively participated in propaganda work. He then involved himself in many responsible posts in educational and cultural institutions, including the chief editor of the periodical *Qunzhong huabao* [Mass Pictorial], president of *Xibei huabao* [Northwest Pictorial],

council member of the Chinese Artists' Association and chairman of the Shaanxi Branch of that association.

The growth of Communism in China envisioned a more active role for Chinese artists. Mao Zedong, in his famous "Talk on Art in the Yan'an Forum" of 1942, stressed that art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and must learn from them in order to be true in life.<sup>6</sup> The artist could use his art, whether woodcut or painting in the socialist realistic style, to serve as a weapon to fight against injustice in society. In light of the cultural change, Shi Lu had produced a number of woodcuts, cartoons, New Year's pictures and serial story books. In painting such as "Beyond the Great Wall" [Fig.83], he showed his ability to paint in the realistic style. During the last decade of his life, he turned back to traditional landscapes and flower paintings.

Being a highly original artists, Shi Lu ignored all painting principles and solely devoted himself to his individual style, which had been commented as "wild, eccentric, chaotic, and black".<sup>7</sup> In the aspect of creating eccentric style in painting, Shi Lu was indebted to Xugu. Most Shi Lu's paintings have forms that can be identified as the two basic components of round and square.<sup>8</sup> Such manner is not unlike the way Xugu represented his subjects by using simple geometric forms. In Shi Lu's "Turning to Northern Shaanxi to Fight" [Fig.84], all the images, small and large, from the figure of Mao Zedong to the plateaux in the foreground and the vista, are depicted in the forms of squares. Yet, the angularities of his squares have been reduced to imply a certain degree of roundness. By adding some round shapes to represent the head and the straw hat, the entire surface is made up of the basic forms of round and square. To take another example, his "Golden Melon" [Fig.85] depicts some melons growing among bunches of vines. In the rendition of the twisted vines, he made a variety of rectangles

stand out emphatically from the arrangement of lines. While these flattened geometric shapes are different from the oblate and seemingly rectangular structures of the melons, all the forms are juxtaposed to create a beauty of contrast and harmony. No matter what enters his picture plane, it must have been adjusted to one of these simple geometric forms.

To compare Shi Lu's "Golden Melon" with the "Loquats" of Xugu [Fig.66], the degree of sharpness filling the surface of Xugu's picture is relatively stronger. Wu Guanzhong (b.1919) had said that such artistic effect of acuteness is similar to the high-pitched tunes made gently by a ringing bell. If so, the tunes of Shi Lu are low-pitched and are the heavy sounds of a drum.<sup>9</sup>

When the peaches of Xugu and Shi Lu are put together, we can easily recognise the similarity of styles [Figs.86,87]. Each fruit has its circular form built up by washes of colours, and contrasts with the angularity of the leaf. In the painting by Shi Lu, nearly a quarter of the composition is left for his inscription. Writing in his vigorous manner, Shi Lu sought to create his individual style in calligraphy. The force of his stroke was created by the rapid twisting of his brush in a nervous manner. It reveals the nervous tension between the artist and the authority. Such distinctive style is closely related to Shi Lu's sufferings and the persecutions posed on him in the Cultural Revolution. In 1965, Shi got a mental illness. But after he had just recovered, he found himself being pulled in the whirlpool of the Cultural Revolution and suffered a mental collapse again. A critic had said that Shi Lu's calligraphy had all the defects that a calligrapher should avoid, nevertheless, his calligraphy had its own value by itself.<sup>10</sup> Xugu and Shi Lu tried to show their loftiness in their works. The distinctive brushstrokes of Xugu still followed the traditional principles while Shi Lu's brushwork was disintegrated from the old

traditions. Yet, the latter's quest for an eccentric style in art as well as the simplification of forms into geometric shapes are evidences testifying to his admiration for Xugu. Both artists revealed a nervous anxiety in their works, giving social and political implications.

### **Chen Wenxi**

The time-honoured tradition of Chinese painting had to adjust itself to the new requirements in China when faced with the impact of the West and of Communism. While Shi Lu, with his early realistic style, represented those artists who utilized their works to glorify the success of Communism, Chen Wenxi had shown in his art the influence of the West.

In fact, elements of Western and Chinese paintings are not mutually exclusive. Xugu painted within an accepted tradition of Chinese literati painting, but had shown in his work a tendency towards the abstract manipulation of forms and space. Although his paintings were basically untouched by Western influence, the approach was marked with stunning modernity. When Chen inherited the painting styles of Xugu, he added in new nourishments from Western art, thus bringing new light to our national painting.

A native of Jieryang, Guangdong, Chen went to Shanghai at the age of eighteen and was enrolled at the Shanghai Fine Art Institute. Later he entered the Xinhua Arts College to study Western and Chinese paintings. After graduation, he taught at various secondary schools at Shantou. In 1948, Chen migrated to Singapore and served as a lecturer at the Nanyang Arts College. He had held more than thirty one-man exhibitions in Asia and Europe, and had won various awards including the Public Service Star bestowed by the government of Singapore, and the Honourary Degree of Doctor of Letters of the Singapore University.



Having a great liking for Xugu's painting, Chen started collecting his works since he resided in Singapore. Goldfish was one of the favourite motifs that Chen painted in his early artistic career, and he used to keep fish in his garden for constant study. On one occasion, when he met a dealer selling a painting of Xugu which depicted goldfish, he was much inspired by it. From then on, he started his collection of Xugu's paintings.<sup>11</sup> Chen's "Playful Goldfish" [Fig.89] represents his imitation of Xugu's stylization and exaggeration of the images. But what Chen greatly admires is the use of blank space in Xugu's painting to accentuate the mood of the work. He is fond of the way Xugu played with the contrast of the tones of ink within a single composition. When light tones of ink and colour dominate the whole picture, Xugu must have added some slight quantity of dark, roasted ink to give a refreshing effect. Such a technique is adopted by Chen in this picture which renders a number of goldfish on the light background touches. In his colouring of goldfish, the use of colours is adventurous, showing the influence of modern Western painting. This eclectic sources of inspiration, Chinese and Western, is an important feature of Chen's paintings.

Chen is particularly fond of depicting egrets and gibbons, the forms of which are simple and abstract, and the brush style is spontaneous, generating a sense of lively resonance. "Three Egrets" [Fig.90] shows that the training of Western painting has inspired Chen to think of the pictorial plane as a field reserved for lines and surfaces. The painting is executed with the Chinese media of ink and paper, and Chen basically followed the manner of Bada Shanren and Xugu to pare down the pictorial images to essentials. Nevertheless, its pictorial structure is closely related to Cubism and Abstractism of Western art. The western training allowed Chen to move a step forward from Xugu's patternization of forms. His superb control of line shows the Chinese

discipline. The delineation of one of the egrets by means of broken lines, the spontaneity of straight, flying-white strokes, and the variety of the tonal changes in ink are techniques Chen acquired from Xugu. In this way, the traditional essence in Xugu's painting has been grasped by the contemporary artist and is transformed into a new style with a creative modern sense.

### **Tang Yun and Zhu Qizhan**

Among the themes of contemporary Chinese painters, goldfish ranks high in the category of flower-and-bird painting. Tang Yun and Zhu Qizhan are eminent painters of flowers and birds who occasionally imitated the goldfish of Xugu. In Tang's "Goldfish", the artist depicted five goldfish swimming among reeds. He followed Xugu's stylization of the pictorial image and imparted life and movement to the fish through his lines and colours. In colouring, Tang used light touches of tints, giving a sensation of soft and delightful rhythm. Simialr to Xugu, he took Hua Yan as his principal model. However, Xugu's transformation of the style of Hua Yan was personal and individual. His painting style was therefore different from Tang's. Despite Tang's occasional imitation of the goldfish of Xugu, the latter's influence in the formation of the former's style was limited.

Zhu Qizhan's "Goldfish" [Fig.91] indicates that even late in life when Zhu was ninety-six years old and had already achieved wide acclaim, he still looked to Xugu for inspiration. In this painting, he followed Xugu's dexterous use of space as well as light touches of ink and colour washes to depict algae and ripples. Without restricting himself to the style of Xugu, Zhu painted with forceful brushstrokes and intense colours. Similarly, his "Fish" [Fig.92] shows plainness and simplicity in composition. While these qualities are inherited from the ancient master, Zhu executed his brushstrokes in his

distinctive bold manner. A sense of heroic vigour is then conveyed. His individual style came also from his long years of practices in the oil painting medium.

### **Jiang Hanting**

Jiang's popularity came from his skill in reproducing an exact replica of Xugu's style. Generally speaking, his forgery began with the intention to deceive for the sake of livelihood. In addition to this practical intention was his fondness for Xugu's painting which motivated him to study carefully for aesthetic cultivation. As a result, Jiang's own artistic creation was not untouched by Xugu's influence.

Jiang Hanting's original name was Shangyu, his studio name Difang [Reed Boat]. Being a native of Yushan in the Jiangsu province, he became a professional painter active in Shanghai. At the age of sixteen, he learnt flower-and-bird painting from Tao Songxi, who was a disciple of Zhu Menglu.<sup>12</sup> Then he supported himself by selling paintings when he was twenty-eight years old.<sup>13</sup> Since there was only little business, he was in great financial difficulty. In sympathy with Jiang's condition, the painter Zhang Shiyuan gave the original work of Xugu to Jiang and requested him to copy the painting. Zhang would add the inscription, and the forged work was then sold in the market.<sup>14</sup> With this original intention of earning a living, Jiang began to reproduce Xugu's paintings. By studying intensively the brush manner, the colouring and the composition of Xugu, he eventually created perfect forgeries, and people could not distinguish genuine works from the forgeries.

Throughout the centuries, copying in China was considered as an important step for beginners to learn painting. Therefore, art forgery in China had never carried such dark connotations as it did in the West.<sup>15</sup> Jiang Hanting spoke openly of his forgery

of Xugu's painting and admitted that an "Album of Various Subjects" in the Suzhou Museum, dated 1891, is indeed one of his forgeries. The original album painted by Xugu is now in the Palace Museum.<sup>16</sup> (A comparison of these two albums will be presented in Appendix One.) To Jiang, the ability to create such perfect forgeries testified to his virtuosity. He was therefore justifiably proud of it.

Jiang's "Official Promotion" [Fig.93] shows his imitation of the style of Xugu when rendering a grasshopper resting on the cockscomb underneath a tree. While the inscription tells that he was imitating the brushwork of Hua Yan, it itself is an imitation of Xugu's inscription. He adopted Xugu's dry, angular brushstrokes to depict the branches and twigs of the tree. It is a result of Jiang's careful study of Xugu's real paintings and his practices of copying them. Yet, this painting also suggests the difference between the styles of these two artists. First, Jiang Hanting had his artistic heritage not limited to Xugu. The delicacy and elegance of the red cockscomb at the bottom of the picture reveal his learning from the style of Hua Yan. His indebtedness to various artists was exemplified in his famous handscroll entitled "Hundred Birds" [Fig.94]. The styles of Lin Liang (1419-1480), Lu Ji (15th century), Hua Yan and Ren Bonian were all applied skilfully when rendering the growth of plants and the movements of birds in the painting. Second, Jiang's dry brushstrokes appear crisp and are more luxuriously applied in "Official Promotion". I think this is a very important clue for identifying Jiang's forgeries from the original works of Xugu.

In his forgery entitled "Rabbit and Loquats" [Fig.95], a stinging effect is resulted because of the sharpness of strokes. Obviously, Jiang recognized the typical angular brushwork of Xugu. But when he created a forgery, he paid too much attention to this characteristic and had finally sacrificed the well-constructed form of the subject. Xugu's

painting of loquats, on the contrary, shows that ink washes and angular strokes are integrated harmoniously so that the form of each leaf is clearly defined [Fig.66]. In Jiang's painting, not only the forms of the leaves are not well-constructed, a spatial sense of recession has also been sacrificed. As for the calligraphy, the deliberate heaviness for the beginning stroke of characters and the shaking lines are unnatural consequences of Jiang's intention to achieve a resemblance to the original. The calligraphy and the short, angular strokes therefore provide the hints for identifying those forgeries by Jiang.

Two Chinese art historians, Fu Hua and Cai Geng, have made an important effort in distinguishing between the genuine and the forged paintings of Xugu. They suggest the recognition of the different backgrounds and the personal styles of Xugu and Jiang.<sup>17</sup> The former was revolutionary both in politics and painting. His expressiveness and stylistic innovation in painting seem to reflect his stormy life as a military official who ultimately resigned to become a Buddhist monk. Xugu's paintings therefore convey his vitality and innovative spirit. About half a century later, Jiang also depended on the sales of painting in Shanghai in order to earn a living. For the sake of business, his painting was relatively conservative rather than experimental. Probably this could guarantee a satisfactory amount of income. He also learned from other ancient masters like Lin Liang, Lu Ji, Hua Yan, and Ren Bonian. By juxtaposing strong colours, he achieved an appealing effect which suited well the preferences of his clients. With such a background, Jiang's forgery of the work of Xugu lacked the vigorous and innovative spirit of the original. He seemed to have lost the sense of unity and cohesiveness in his works. As the plum blossoms of these two artists illustrate, Xugu's flowers look extraordinary spirited while those of Jiang convey elegance and charm [Figs.96,97].

But what we also concern is whether Jiang had created his own style from the legacy of Xugu. As a result of his forgery, his own artistic creation was not untouched by Xugu's influence.

In "Globefish", Jiang simply depicted two globefish against a neutral background [Fig.98]. Like Xugu, he used angular strokes to give a geometric shape to the body of the fish. Stylization of the pictorial images and the quest for simplicity are what he learnt directly from Xugu.

Since many paintings of Xugu, especially those depicting goldfish and squirrel, are related to a sense of delight which the artist experienced, they are direct expressions of happiness in life. Similar joy and optimism are observed in Jiang's paintings. His album leaf "Frog" reminds us of Xugu's preference for the eccentric posturing [Fig.99]. While two enlarged eyes have added a sense of humour, the soft colouring gives a certain freshness to the painting. As Xugu had never painted such a motif, it convinces us that the album leaf is Jiang's application of Xugu's painting style to a wider scope of subjects.

In 1956, Jiang became an art teacher in the Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy. Four years later, he taught in the Shanghai Fine Art Institute. Being an art teacher, Jiang did not only teach his own personal style. The Song and Yuan traditions of flower-and-bird painting and the manners of individual artists, like Hua Yan, Xugu and Ren Bonian were also instructed to students. Obviously, his contribution in introducing the art of Xugu to contemporary artists was remarkable. One of his students, Jiao Yu, learned the styles of Xugu from him. Jiao had collected all his teacher's demonstrations of Xugu's painting techniques and had made up an album of Jiang's imitation of the style of Xugu. Nearly all the subjects that Xugu had ever painted are illustrated by Jaing in

this album. Both Tang Yun and Cheng Shifa (b.1921) have inscribed on it. Cheng Shifa wrote:

Inheriting the past and ushering in the future!

Then he added:

Before Ziyang Shanmin (Xugu), there was no such painting method. After Ziyang Shanmin, there is this painting method. The one who first received his (Xugu's) succession is Master Jiang Shangyu (Jiang Hanting). Now his (Jiang's) student Hai Chang (Jiao Yu) in turn inherited his succession...<sup>18</sup>

Xugu had created his own personal style and at the same time left a legacy for the generation that followed. What the contemporary artists have taken from this legacy are Xugu's simplification of natural forms into irreducible essentials, his light background touches for giving spirit to the atmosphere, as well as the effect of sparsity to convey a sense of aloof solitude and spiritual transcendence. Without doubt, the artist's personality and intimate feeling for nature are essential factors for the visualization of all these aesthetic aims. It is therefore not enough for contemporary artists to learn simply from Xugu's pictorial techniques. Emphasis should also be on the personal experiences on life for the sake of fresh artistic inspirations.

With the exception of Jiang Hanting who needed to forge Xugu's paintings to maintain a livelihood in his early artistic career, all the other contemporary artists we have studied in this chapter are able to explore new frontiers for themselves. Even Jiang is successful in his assimilation of the manners of various ancient masters in flower-and-bird painting. Although Xugu was not as influential as Ren Bonian or Wu Changshi in Shanghai, he played an active role in carrying on the aesthetic values of Chinese painting into the twentieth century. The professional status of Xugu had not prevented him from

working in the literati tradition. When this tradition was carried on to the twentieth century, contemporary artists still pledge their loyalty to it. Like Xugu, they are all professional artists but contribute in projecting a new life on the literati tradition. Chinese painting in the modern era no longer debates the Northern verses the Southern Schools, nor the status of the artist. Styles, professional and literati, Chinese and Western, became inextricably mingled, making it difficult to classify the works of art by school or stylistic influence.<sup>19</sup>



## Notes to Chapter Four

1. James Han-hsi Soong, pp. 133-150.
2. Yang Yi, *juan* 4, pp. 2-3.
3. Li Chu-tsing, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, p.32.
4. Quoted from Liu Fangru, p.31.
5. *Jiang Hanting huaji [A Collection of the Paintings of Jiang Hanting]* (Hong Kong: Jiesiyuan, 1991), foreword.
6. Li Chu-tsing, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, p.3.
7. Joan Lebold Cohen, *The New Chinese Painting, 1949-1986* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publisher, 1987), p.121.
8. Wu Guanzhong, pp.109-111.
9. Ibid.
10. Liu Xiaochun, "Zai lishi di zhuanzhedian shang [At the Turning Point of History]," in *Shi Lu: Calligraphy and Painting* (Beijing: People Fine Arts Publishing House, 1990), pp.64-70.
11. Interview with Chen Wenxi on March 20, 1991 in Singapore.
12. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting," p.17.
13. Yu Jianhua, p.237.
14. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting," p.17.
15. Wen Fong "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae* 25 (1962): pp.95-119.
16. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting", p.22.
17. Ibid., pp.21-23.
18. Ibid., p.21.
19. Tseng Yu-ho Ecke, "Comments on Literati Painting and Its History," in *Wen-Jen Hua. Chinese Literati Painting from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell Hutchinson*, ed. Howard A. Link (Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1988), p.27.

## APPENDIX ONE

### THE CONNOISSEURSHIP OF THE PAINTINGS OF XUGU

In nineteenth-century Shanghai, painting represented a kind of economic value in the market. Therefore, the more popular the artist, the more frequent the forgeries.<sup>1</sup> Owing to Xugu's name as a famous master in Shanghai, his works were frequently copied, giving a high percentage of works of doubtful authenticity among Xugu's paintings. It is said that forgers had been copying his paintings since the Guangxu reign (1875-1908), but whether these copies are extant is in question.<sup>2</sup>

In this appendix, some copies of Xugu's paintings will be chosen to discuss the variety of forms in forgery as well as the criteria used by connoisseurs and art historians in authentication. Forgeries, when they are produced, satisfy a contemporary demand. Once detected, they may indicate the artist's popularity in succeeding generations, his esteem in collector's eyes, and the impressions of his style when a given forgery is made. Therefore, it is meaningful to restore every extant work to its proper place in art history. This includes the identification and evaluation of forgeries as well.<sup>3</sup>

Jiang Hanting was the most famous copyist of the works of Xugu. One of the methods which Jiang adopted was tracing or *mo*. He put a transparent paper on the top of the genuine work and outlined the pictorial images with dark ink. This tracing draft was placed underneath a piece of *xuan* paper, so that the composition of the painting would be indicated. In the execution of details, he attempted at free-hand copying or *lin*.<sup>4</sup> Figure 100 shows one of the tracing copies outlined by Jiang. It delineates the loquats of Xugu. Sometimes, Jiang simply began with free-hand copying without the

tracing draft. His copy of Xugu's "Album of Various Subjects", now in the Suzhou Museum, is an example of this type.

A visual focus on brushwork was an important feature in traditional Chinese connoisseurship.<sup>5</sup> This kind of brush-oriented connoisseurship is also practised by modern art historians like Marilyn Wong-Gleysteen and Shen Fu, but they argue that "we must not seek out mechanically repetitive likeness but rather the habits of instinctive muscular response which condition the pace, pressure, pauses and stresses in any one stroke and its relationship with others."<sup>6</sup>

Such connoisseurship can be applied to identify Jiang's copy of "Album of Various Subjects" by Xugu. The forged album [Fig.101] is now in the Suzhou Museum. Since the composition is identical with the original, a focus on a limited range of the pictorial vocabulary, the brushwork, is essential. When delineating the tapering leaves of narcissuses [Fig.102a], Xugu used lines that were dramatically produced by rapid pauses and stresses. Although the lines of Jiang were also forceful and vigorous, they were flowing in a smooth and natural manner [Fig.102b]. Jiang followed Xugu to paint in a dry manner, leaving streaks of *feibai* [flying-white] within his strokes. This is executed by the pressure and swift movement of the brush. However, such a movement had not created the same pause-and-stress effect as the lines of Xugu. Obviously, the instinctive muscular responses and the pace of the movement of the arm and hand are difficult to follow, resulting in different vitality and energy levels of brushwork. This serves as an important criterion for detecting the forgery.<sup>7</sup>

Applying the criterion to examine a hanging scroll entitled "Cat and Butterfly" [Fig.103], we notice the weak and unnatural brushwork which is different from that of Xugu. To outline a cat, Xugu used dry, vigorous brushstrokes and executed them in his

habitual stress-and-pause manner so that the seemingly broken lines suggest the hair of the animal [Fig.104]. When the forger failed to achieve such a mastery of the brush, he only gave crisp, dotted lines which are weak in energy level.

Referring back to the two albums, the squirrels by Xugu and Jiang [Figs.105a, 105b] can be identified by focusing on the lines, ink washes and their interactions which build up the body of the animal. Xugu's squirrel is more realistically depicted because the interaction of his brushwork had successfully depicted the texture of its fur and the volume of its body. On the contrary, Jiang's execution only shows a visual fusion with overlapping strokes and ink washes, giving a surface pattern rather than a structural form. In this way, as suggested by Wen Fong, the structural qualities of the painted forms and the organizational schema of brushstrokes play a large part in connoisseurship. His methodology concentrates more on elements that lay beyond the immediate awareness of the forger.<sup>8</sup>

Calligraphy in the forms of an artist's inscription and signature is physically a part of painting, and forms a basis for authentication. In writing, the habits of daily utility encourage a certain repertory of forms of any one character, making forgeries of calligraphy more readily identifiable.<sup>9</sup> After copying Xugu's paintings for a period of time, Jiang said that it was not difficult to copy Xugu's painting. The only difficult task was the forgery of his calligraphy. He normally began with the artist's inscription and signature. Once they looked similar to the calligraphy in the original, he started the painting.<sup>10</sup> The painstaking effort of Jiang to copy Xugu's calligraphy is shown in one of his manuscripts that is full of his forging of Xugu's inscriptions and signatures [Fig.106]. His heavy employment of ink for the beginning strokes of the characters

creates a dramatic variation in the thickness of strokes which appears artificial and exaggerated.

A hanging scroll of "New Year Offerings" [Fig.107] is an example of a much careless copy of Xugu. It is probably not a copy of a specific work, but intended to give a still-life arrangement according to the forger's own invention. One of the most obvious failures of this copy is the calligraphy in this painting. Anxiety in the execution of brushwork creates strokes that are tentative, stiff and unnatural. The lack of vitality and energy is also reflected in the thick outline of the jar which is holding two goldfish. As far as the content of the inscription is concerned, it is uncharacteristic of Xugu. It specifies the reign title, the *ganzhi* [heavenly stems and earthly branches] designating both the year and the month, the studio name, and is concluded by the artist's signature. On the contrary, Xugu usually inscribed his painting in a simple way. The use of *ganzhi* to refer to a month is rare and exceptional. This kind of "adding legs to a snake" error in the content of the inscription may very well suggest the forgery.

Another unnatural feature of this copy is the placement of two goldfish within a jar. Having a sickly look, the goldfish appears lifeless. Xugu's goldfish is usually playing in the spring water or swimming forward with irresistible force. They convey the spirit of an innovative artist as well as the courage of the man who faced hardships in life. Besides, Xugu's goldfish is swimming freely in boundless space in the water, not within an enclosed area of the jar. This copy lacks the period-mood and the expressive quality of the intended artist. Similarly, the goldfish in "Willow Tree with Goldfish" [Fig.108] appears too low-spirited. And in "Goldfish" [Fig.109], delicate depiction has lowered the quality of awkwardness which Xugu pursued. The expressiveness and spiritual worth in Xugu's paintings are absent in these copies.

Like calligraphy, the artist's and the collector's seals are also an invaluable aid in authenticating paintings. Since the above examples are chosen from reproductions, details of the seals are not easily read, making authentication of seals difficult in the study.

A proper identification of the forgery forms an important part in the research on an artist. It requires an intensive investigation of extant works in accordance with different criteria, including the personal style, the period style and the physical properties of the painting (such as silk, paper and seal). Each set of criteria is a flexible system of checks and counter-checks by which we practise our visual analysis of style.<sup>11</sup>

#### Notes

1. Other late nineteenth and early twentieth century artists like Ren Bonian, Zhao Zhiqian, Wu Changshi or Qi Baishi are also famous for their attraction to the copyists. See Elizabeth Foard Bennett, p.214.
2. Ding Xiyuan, *Xugu yanjiu*, p.62.
3. Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1974), p.23.
4. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting," p.22.
5. In authenticating paintings, Tang Gou of the fourteenth century wrote, "one must examine first the silk, then the brushwork, and finally the *qiyun*, 'spirit-resonance.' See Wen Fong, "Chinese Painting. A State of Method", *Oriental Art* 9 (1963): pp.73-78.
6. Marilyn and Shen Fu, p.17.
7. *Ibid.*, p.24.
8. Wen Fong, "Chinese Painting. A State of Method," pp.73-78. Also see "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting," pp.95-119.
9. Marilyn and Shen Fu, p.59.
10. Fu Hua and Cai Geng, "Xugu yu Jiang Hanting," p.21.
11. Marilyn and Shen Fu, p.25.

## APPENDIX TWO

### CATALOGUE OF XUGU'S PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY

#### Explanatory Notes

1. This catalogue of Xugu's works is a revision of the one published in *Xugu yanjiu* [*The Study of Xugu*] by Ding Xiyuan. It is based on reproductions of Xugu's works and catalogues of paintings from the collections of museums. About five hundred works are listed in this catalogue.
2. The catalogue consists of two parts: a section of dated works in chronological order, and a section of undated works categorised by the subject matters of paintings.
3. The "List of Reproduction Sources" is placed before the catalogue. More than sixty sources of reproduction are provided. The order of the listing is random and simply complies with the order in which the sources were found.
4. Each entry has the following format:  
Date / Name of Work / Collection / Code  
As for the format of the work, it is indicated at the end of the title. The abbreviations are as follows:  
hg. = hanging scroll, hd. = handscroll, al. = album, al. leaf = album leaf, and c. fan = circular fan.
5. The code for each work, if given, specifies the source of the reproduction. The number after the dot indicates the plate number of the work given in the book. For instance, A01.23 means that the painting can be found as plate number 23 in the book coded A01 in the "List of Reproduction Sources".
6. Works of doubtful authenticity will be indicated by an asterisk at the end of the title. The identification is based on the studies made by Fu Hua, Cai Geng and Ding Xiyuan, as well as personal observation and judgement in accordance with the criteria suggested in Appendix One.

## List of Reproduction Sources

- A01 Shanghai Museum, ed. *Xugu huace [A Collection of Paintings by Xugu]*. Sichuan: Renmin, 1983.
- A02 Fu, Hua and Cai, Geng, ed. *Xugu huace [A Collection of Paintings by Xugu]*. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1984.
- A03 Lin, Shuzhong and Zhou, Jiyin, ed. *Zhongguo lidai huihua tulu [Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings in Successive Dynasties]*. Tianjin: Renmin meishu, 1981.
- A04 Yu, Yi'ran, ed. *Collectionea of the Famous Chinese Artists' Drawings in Current Century*. Vol. 1. Taibei: China Painting Association, 1973.
- A05 \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Collectanea of the Famous Chinese Artists' Drawings in Current Century*, Vol. II. Taibei: Zhonghua shuhua, 1974.
- A06 *Haishang minghua [Famous Paintings in Shanghai]*. Shanghai: Shanghai Antique Store, n.d.
- A07 *Zhongguo meishushi tulu congshu: Zhongguo huihuashi tulu [A Series of Illustrated Catalogues of History of Chinese Art: Illustrated Catalogue of History of Chinese Painting]*. Vol.2. Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1984.
- A08 *Gugong bowuyuan cangbao lu [Catalogue of the Collection in Palace Museum]*. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. and Shanghai: Wenyi, 1985.
- A09 *Fan Paintings by Late Qing Shanghai Masters*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1977.
- A10 Tianjin Art Museum, ed. *Zhongguo lidai huihua. Tianjin Yishu bowugan canghua ji [Paintings in Successive Dynasties. Paintings from the Collection of the Tainjin Museum]*. Vol.1. Tianjin: Renmin meishu, 1982.
- A11 Editorial Board of *Yiyuan duoying*, ed. *Meilan juzhu huapu [Painting Manual of Prunus, Orchid, Chrysanthemum, and Bamboo]*. Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1982.
- A12 *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua [A Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Painting]*. Vol.11. Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1988.
- A13 *Zhongguo jin bainian huihua zhanlan xuanji [A Selection from the Exhibition of the Last Hundred Years of Chinese Paintings]*. Beijing: Wenwu, 1958.
- A14 Ding, Xiyuan. *Xugu yanjiu [The Study of Xugu]*. Tianjin: Renmin meishu, 1983.



- A15 Ho, Kungshang, ed. *Hsu Ku (Xugu) : Collected Paintings*. Taipei: Art Book Co. Ltd, 1985.
- A16 *Jieziyuan huachuan [The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting]*. 1887 edition. Book of Feathers-and-fur and Flowering Plants.
- A17 Kao, Mayching, ed. *Modern Chinese Painting and Calligraphy from the Collection of the Kau Chi Society of Chinese Art*. Hong Kong: Kau Chi Society of Chinese Art and the Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987.
- A18 Hao, Zhihui, ed. *Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe canghua xuan [A Selection of Painting from the Collection of Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House]*. Tianjin: Renmin meishu, 1984.
- A19 Ho, Kungshang, ed. *Masters of the Shanghai School*. Taipei: Art Book Co. Ltd, 1985.
- A20 *Daren* 40 (1973): pp.49-52.
- A21 Group for the Authentication of Ancient Works of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, ed. *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*. Beijing: The Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1987-88.
- A22 *Selected Treasures of Chinese Art. Min Chiu Society Thirtieth Anniversary Exhibition*. Hong Kong: Min Chiu Society, 1991.
- A23 *Meishu congkan* 33 (1986).
- A24 *Xinwei xinchun huazhan [Exhibition of Paintings in the New Year of xinwei]*. Hong Kong: Jiguzhai, 1991.
- A25 *Gugong bowuyuan cang huaniaohua xuan [Selected Bird and Flower Painting from the Palace Museum]*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1981.
- A26 Nanjing Museum, ed. *Nanjing bowuyuan canghua [Paintings from the Collection of Nanjing Museum]*. Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1981.
- A27 *Artists* 97, no.17 (June, 1983): 115-123.
- B01 Tsuruta, Takeyoshi. *Kindai chugoku kaiga [Contemporary Chinese Painting]*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974.
- B02 *Sekai bijutsu taikei [A Series of World Art]*. Vol.10. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1965.

- B03** Tanaka, Kanro. *Chugoku meigashu [Collection of Famous Chinese Paintings]*. Tokyo: Ryubun shokyoku, 1945.
- B04** *Kaiankyo - Rakuji. Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Periods. Collection of Kikujiro Takashima*. Tokyo: Kyuryudo, 1964.
- B05** *Shodo Club [Calligraphy Club]*. n.p.: Kindai shodo kenkyujo, 1990.
- B06** Suzuki, Kei, comp. *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings*. Vol. 1-5. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1983.
- B07** *Sen-oku Hakko kan, Sumitomo Collection*. Kyoto: Shishigatani Sakyo-ku, 1981.
- B08** Harada, Bizan. *Nihon genzai Chugoku meiga mokuroku [Catalogue of Chinese Paintings in Japan]*. Kyoto: Ringawa shoten, 1975.
- C01** Ellsworth, Robert Hatfield. *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*. Vol.1-3. New York: Random House, 1987.
- C02** Shen, Zhiyu, ed. *The Shanghai Museum of Art*. [New York]: H.N. Abrams, 1983.
- C03** Kao, Mayching, ed. *Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- D01** *Chinese Paintings*. New York: Christie's. November, 1983.
- D02** *Fine Chinese Paintings*. New York: Christie's. June, 1985.
- D03** *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. January, 1986.
- D04** *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*. New York: Christie's. December, 1986.
- D05** *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. January, 1987.
- D06** *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. January, 1988.
- D07** *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*. New York: Christie's. June, 1988.
- D08** *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*. New York: Christie's. November, 1988.

- D09 *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. January, 1989.
- D10 *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. September, 1989.
- D11 *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. March, 1990.
- D12 *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. October, 1990.
- D13 *Fine Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*. Hong Kong: Christie's Swire. January, 1991.
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- E01 *Fine Chinese Paintings*. New York: Sotheby's. June, 1985.
- E02 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. May, 1987.
- E03 *Fine Chinese Paintings*. New York: Sotheby's. June, 1987.
- E04 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. May, 1988.
- E05 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. November, 1988.
- E06 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. May, 1989.
- E07 *Fine Chinese Paintings*. New York: Sotheby's. May, 1989.
- E08 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. November, 1989.
- E09 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. May, 1990.
- E10 *Fine Modern Chinese Paintings*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. May, 1991.

## I. Catalogue of Dated Works

Date	Name of Work	Collection	Code
1866	Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Narcissuses and Peonies (hd.)		D06.80
1870	Portrait of Yongzhi at the Age of Fifty (hd.)	Shanghai Museum	A02.24, A15.01
	Portrait of Zhang Mingke		
	Prunus (hd.)	Palace Museum	A11
1871	Drinking Wine (hg.)		A02.03
1872	Bronze Guanyin Temple (hd.)	Nanjing Museum	A23
	Pine, Rock and Narcissus (hg.)	Palace Museum	
1875	Fisherman at Fengshan (hg.)	Palace Museum	A14
	Portrait of Qin Zanyao (hg.)	Palace Museum	A21. Jing 1- 6483
1876	Album of Landscape (12 leaves) (al.)	Shanghai Museum	A01, A02
1877	Hollyhocks, Peaches and Loquats (hg.)	Palace Museum	A25
1878	Portrait of Yuelou (hg.)	Palace Museum	
1879	Chrysanthemums (c. fan)		A02.71, A15.124
1880	Couplet in Running Script (hg.)		A23
	Basket of Flowers (hg.) *		A02.02, A15.78
	Peaches and Bamboo (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A19.116, B05
	Willows, Peach Blossoms and Goldfish (hg.)		D11.340
	Plum Blossoms and Goldfish (hg.)		D09.70

1880	Ruilian Temple (hd.)	Suzhou Museum	A02.22, A15.51
1881	Album of Various Subjects (12 leaves) (al.)	Shanghai Museum	A01, A15
	Album of Flowers, Fruits and Vegetables (8 leaves) (al.)		D03.187
1882	Chrysanthemums in Vase (hg.)	Palace Museum	A21.Jing 1- 6468
	The Path of Fragrance (hg.)		A02.39, A15.83
1883	Six Lily Roots (hg.)	Shanghai Artists' Association	
	Album of Landscape (12 leaves) (al.)	Shanghai Museum	A01, A02
1884	Couplet in Clerical Script (hg.)		D06.16
	Twelve Zodiac Animals (hg.)		A23
	Portrait of Monk Dawei (hg.)	Suzhou Museum	A02.19, A15.53
1885	Narcissuses (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01
1886	Portrait of Hu Gongshou		
	Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Palace Museum	
	Red Prunus and Cat (hg.)	Palace Museum	
	Squirrel Standing on Inkstone (hg.)		A02.40, A15.49
1887	Shanyin Thatched Cottage (hd.)	Anhui Provincial Museum	A14
	Plum Blossoms and Goldfish (hg.)	Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House	A18

- |      |  |   |                 |
|------|--|---|-----------------|
| 1887 | Pine, Crane and Chrysanthemums (hg.)   | Suzhou Antique Store                        | A02.49, A12     |
|      | Crane and Plum Blossoms (hg.)  |   | D07.170         |
|      | Cranes, Prunus and Bamboo (hg.)  | Zhang Chengwang                             |                 |
|      | Birds and Autumn Moon (hg.)  | Palace Museum                               | A21.Jing 1-6470 |
| 1888 | Landscape in the Style of Hongren (hg.)  |   | A14, B01.26     |
|      | A set of four hanging scrolls (Plum Blossoms and Lily Roots, Peaches, Loquats and Pine Tree) (hg.) |   | D05.159         |
|      | Eight Illustrations for the <i>Mustard Seed Manual of Painting</i>                                 |   | A16             |
| 1889 | Peaches (hg.)  | Central Academy of Fine Arts                |                 |
|      | Peaches (hg.)  | Shanghai Museum                             | A01, B05        |
|      | Loquats, Fish and Garlic (hg.)   |   | E09.115         |
|      | Recluse in the Mountains (hg.)   | Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House | A18             |
|      | Couplet in Running Script (hg.)  | Suzhou Museum                               | A02.150, B05    |
| 1890 | Flowers (painted in cooperation with Zhu Qing and Hu Zhang) (hd.)                                  | Anhui Provincial Museum                     | A19.120         |
|      | Chrysanthemums (fan)   | Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House | A11             |
|      | Narcissuses (hg.)  |   | A23             |
|      | A Flock of Cranes (hg.)  |   | A02.48          |
| 1891 | Willow Bank Under the Waning Moon (hg.)  |   | D11.170         |
|      | Chrysanthemums and Rock (hd.)  |   | D09.162         |

1891	Bamboo and Rock (fan)		A02.60, A15.18
	Flowers (with Ren Bonian and seven other artists) (hg.)		D03.190
	Squirrel Watching Goldfish (hg.) *		D12.50
	Goldfish (fan)		B04
	Cranes and Plum Blossoms (hg.)	Palace Museum	A08
	Album of Various Subjects (6 leaves) (al.) *		D11.145
	Album of Various Subjects (12 leaves) (al.)	Palace Museum	A13
1892	Camellia and Lily Bulbs (hd.)		A02.102, A15.113
	Squirrels and Prunus (hg.)		A02.12, A15.35
	Squirrel and Oleander (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01
	Squirrel on a Willow Branch (hg.)	Suzhou Museum	A05
	Goldfish Swimming in Spring Water (hg.)	Palace Museum	A05, A19.94
	Album of Various Subjects (4 leaves) (al.)		D11.326
	Album of Various Subjects (12 leaves) (al.)	Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy	A02.50-59,77, 143
	Letter Paper (Rock, Loquats, Gourds, Lingzhi)		A02.151
1893	Loquats (hd.)		A23
	Pine, Bamboo and Prunus (hg.)	Palace Museum	
	Four Squirrels (hg.)		A02.122, A15.94
	Goldfish (c. fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	A23

1893	Goldfish (hg.)		A19, B01
	Cat beneath Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Miu Chiu Society	A22.50
	Sailing in Autumn (hd.)	Ellsworth	C01
1894	Landscape with Pagoda (hd.)		E01.104
	Orchids (hg.)	Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House	
	A set of four hanging scrolls (Prunus, Orchids, Chrysanthemums, Bamboo) (hg.)		A02.123-126, A19
	Birds and Willows (hg.)	Palace Museum	A13
	Squirrels on a Pine Tree (hg.) *		D06.260
	Squirrels and Bamboos (hg.)		A15.95
	Squirrels and Green Bamboos (hg.) *		D06.20
	Squirrels (hg.)		E04.88
	Squirrel (hg.) *		E06.145
	Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.) *		D13.200, E05.162
	Globefish and Bamboo Shoots (hg.)		D07.95
1895	Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)	Palace Museum	
	Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)		A02.132
	Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)		A19, B05
	Album of Various Subjects (10 leaves) (al.)	Shanghai Museum	A02, A15
	Artist in his Studio (hd.)		D11.65
	Couplet in Running Script (hg.)	Liu Jingji	



1895	Loquats (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01, A02.139
1896	Loquats (hg.)	Nanjing Museum	A12, A26
	Loquats (hg.)	Chinese University of Hong Kong	
	Chrysanthemums (hg.) *		D11.93
	Goldfish (hg.)		B06.JP14-177
	Plum Blossoms and Goldfish (hg.)	Yangzhou Antique Store	A21.Su 11- 112
	Poems in Running Script (hd.)		A02.149, B05
	Squirrel (hg.) *	Jiangsu Art Museum	A21.Su 19-65
	Squirrel and Bamboo (hg.) *	Wuxi Antique Store	A21.Su 7-43
	Squirrel (hg.) *	Chen Wenxi	B05
	New Year Offerings (hg.) *	Anhui Provincial Museum	A02.137

## II. Catalogue of Undated Works

### Figure Painting

<b>Name of Work</b>	<b>Collection</b>	<b>Code</b>
Portrait of Gao Yong (hg.)	Qian Jingtang	
Portrait of Monk Hengfeng (hg.)	Suzhou Museum	A03.63 A15.46
Portrait of Mr. Peng (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Buddha of Infinite Life (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01 A02.73

## Landscape Painting

Name of Work	Collection	Code
Landscape after Shitao (hg.)		D05.158
Flying Geese (hd.)		A02.84 A15.133
Flying Geese (fan)		E08.53
Ruilian Temple (hd.)		A02.76 A15.02
Viewing the Waterfall (hg.)	Palace Museum	A14
Silent Mountains in the Long Day (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01 A02.04
Planting Orchids and Bamboo (hd.)		B05
Landscape with Pagoda (hg.)	Anhui Provincial Museum	A02.82 A15.20
Landscape with Pagoda (hg.)		E07.126
Album of Landscapes (12 leaves) (al.)		A23
Cloudy Mountains and the Shadow of Pagoda (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Landscape in the Style of the Song Master (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Landscape (fan)	Tianyi Pavilion	
Landscape (hg.)	Rongbaozhai	
Walking Alone in the Autumn Wood (hg.)	Rongbaozhai	

## Flower Painting

Name of Work	Collection	Code
Prunus (hg.)		B05
Prunus (hg.)		A02.44
Prunus (fan)		E10.73
Prunus (c. fan)		A02.17 A15.54
Plum Blossoms and Chinese Cabbage (hg.)		D08.136
Prunus and Crane (Crane by Zhu Qing) (hg.)		E02.76
Red Prunus (hg.)	Palace Museum	
White Prunus (hg.)	Chinese Artists' Association	
Prunus in Ink (hg.)	Suzhou Antique Store	
Plum Blossoms in Vase (hg.)	Zhang Chengwang	
Prunus in Ink (c. fan)	Zhang Chengwang	
Orchids and Loquats (hg.)		A02.67 A15.125
Orchids, Lingzhi and Autumn Leaves in Rubbings of Bronze Vessels (hg.)		D12.134
Orchids and Lingzhi (c. fan)	Anhui Provincial Museum	A02.74 A15.76
Orchids and <i>Lingzhi</i> (c. fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	A23
Orchids and Loquats (fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	A23
Orchids (c. fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	
Orchids (c. fan)	Palace Museum	
Chrysanthemums (hg.)		E06.86

Chrysanthemums and Rock (hg.) *		E08.13
Chrysanthemums by a Rock (fan)	Matsumaru	B06.JP 67-062
Sprigs of Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Yuji Eda	B06.JP14-142
Chrysanthemums by a Fence (hg.)	K.S. Lo	C03
Chrysanthemums and Finger Citron (hg.) *		A02.68 A15.88
Chrysanthemums (hd.)		A02.138 A15.50
Chrysanthemums (hd.) *	Ellsworth	C01
Chrysanthemums (hg.)		E09.23
Chrysanthemums (hg.)		A06
Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A02.128
Chrysanthemums and Rock (hg.) *		D11.15
Chrysanthemums (fan)		D13.166
Chrysanthemums (hg.)		A23
Chrysanthemums and Peonies (fan)	Tokyo National Museum	B06.JM 1-149
Chrysanthemums (hg.)		B08
Chrysanthemums (al. leaf)		A10
Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Rongbaozhai	
Chrysanthemums (c. fan)	Zhang Chengwang	
Chrysanthemums (fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	
Chrysanthemums (al. leaf)	Shanghai Antique Store	
Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Palace Museum	

Autumn Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Bamboo in Ink (c. fan)		A02.80 A15.130
Slender Bamboo and Chinese Rose (c. fan)		A02.23 A15.05
Bamboo (fan)		E10.19
Bamboo (fan)		E03.116
Bamboo (fan)		A23
Green Bamboo and Yellow Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Bamboo in Red Colour (hg.)	Tianjin Art Museum	
Slender Bamboo and <i>Lingzhi</i> (hg.)	Tianjin Art Museum	
Bamboo and Rock (fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	
Bamboo in the Rain (fan)	Suzhou Antique Store	
Pine, Rock, Orchids and Chrysanthemums (hg.) *	Lingyanshan Temple	A02.21
Pine Tree (hd.)		A02.62 A15.06
Pine Tree (hg.)		A02.129
Pine and Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A02.01 A15.77
Pine Tree (hd.)	Xian Academy of Fine Arts	
The Moonlit Pine Tree (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Viewing the Moon under the Pine (hg.)		B08
Narcissus and Bamboo (c. fan)		A02.18 A15.55
Flowering Plants in Vase and Trays and Fruit on four fold screens	Tokyo National Museum	B06.JM 1-308

Flowers (hd.)	Shanghai Museum	A01 A15.72-74
Sweet-scented Osmanthus Blossoms (fan)	Matsumaru	B06.JP67-063
Hydrangea Blossoms and Peaches (hd.)		A02.131 A15.97
Lotus (hd.)		A24
Lotus (hg.) *		A06
Peonies (hg.)	Central Academy of Fine Arts	
Narcissus (hg.)	Chinese Artists' Association	
Narcissus (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Narcissus and Camellia (hg.)	Palace Museum	
A set of four hanging scrolls (Chrysanthemums, Prunus, Pine, Orchids) (hg.)	Palace Museum	
A set of four hanging scrolls (Orchids, Narcissus, Chrysanthemums, Prunus) (hg.)	National Art Gallery	

## Fruit and Vegetable

Name of Work	Collection	Code
Flowers and Fruit (hg.)		A02.142 A15.123
Fruit (hg.)	Palace Museum	A13
Loquats (hd.) *		E10.149
Loquats (hg.)		B03
Loquats (hg.)		A05
Loquats (hg.)	Palace Museum	A02.78 A15.23
Loquats (hg.)		A02.45
Loquats and Waterpot (c. fan)		E10.144
Loquats and Lily Roots (fan)		D13.245
Loquats and Apples (hd.)		D10.53
Loquats and Rock (Rock by Hu Gongshou) (hd.)		A23
Six Lily Roots (hg.)		A02.64 B05
Pumpkin and Lily Roots (hd.)	Kau Chi Society	A17
Gourds (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	A01
Gourds (al. leaf)		D03.189
Peaches (hg.)		A02.130 A15.88
Lotus Root (hg.)		E09.65
Lychee Fruit and Waterpot (al. leaf)	Ching Yuan Chai	C03



<i>Lingzhi</i> (al. leaf) *	Chen Wenxi	A27
Lily Roots (al. leaf)	Chen Wenxi	A27
Still Life (hd.)		A02.25 A15.17
New Year Offerings (hd.)	Shanghai Museum	A02.79
Offerings on Table (fan)		A05.65 A15.33
Offerings on Table (al. leaf)		D03.188
Finger Citron and Loquats (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Finger Citron (hd.)	Tianyi Pavilion	
Finger Citron (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Loquats (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Peaches (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Persimmon and Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Tianjin People's Fine Arts Publishing House	

## Goldfish, Bird and Animal

Name of Work	Collection	Code
Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)		D08.150
Goldfish (hg.) *		E09.22
Goldfish Swimming under the Branches (hg.) *		D07.110
Goldfish (fan)		D11.78
Willow Tree with Goldfish (hg.) *		D02.148
Goldfish (fan)		D11.221
Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.)	Palace Museum	A07
Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A06
Plum Blossoms and Goldfish (hg.)	Chinese Artists' Association	A12
Goldfish (fan)	Anhui Provincial Museum	A02.97 A15.129
Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.) *	Chen Wenxi	A27
Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.) *	Chen Wenxi	A27
Golden Metal with Purple Ribbon (hg.) *	Chen Wenxi	A27
Goldfish (fan)	Zhang Chengwang	
Ink Bamboo and Goldfish (hg.)	Zhang Chengwang	
Wisteria and Goldfish (hg.)	Tianyi Pavilion	
Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Goldfish Swimming in Spring Water (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Ink Bamboo and Goldfish (hg.)	Palace Museum	

Willow and Goldfish (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Golden Medal with Purple Ribbon (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Goldfish, Orchid and Rock (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Goldfish and Lotus (Lotus by Wu Changshuo) (hg.)	Chu Deyi	
Fish (fan)	Shanghai Antique Store	A23
Fish (al. leaf) *	Tianjin Art Museum	A10
Fish (hd.)	Rongbaozhai	A02.83
Fish (fan)		E07.127
Fallen Petals and Swimming Fish (fan)		A02.141 A15.86
Fallen Petals and Swimming Fish (hg.)	Shanghai Museum	
Fish (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Squirrel Alighting from Willow Tree (hg.)	Sen-oku Hakko Kan	B07 B06.JM 13-029
Squirrel on a Branch (fan)	Liu Zuochou	A09
Squirrel (fan) *	Ellsworth	C01
Squirrel Bouncing in the Wind (c. fan)	Anhui Provincial Museum	A02.144 A15.80
Squirrel and Grapes (hg.)	Chen Wenxi	A27
Squirrel on a Branch (fan) *	Chen Wenxi	A27
A pair of Squirrels (hg.)		A22.49
Squirrel (hg.)		A02.46 A06
Squirrel on a Branch (c. fan)		D10.127
Squirrel Sitting on an Inkstone (fan) *		E09.141

Squirrel Standing on an Inkstone (fan)		D12.117
Squirrel (c. fan)		D04.161
Squirrel (c. fan) *		E09.142
Green Bamboo and Squirrel (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Crane (hg.)		B04 B08
Crane (hg.)	Duoyunxuan	A02.20
Prunus and Crane (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A06
Prunus and a pair of Flying Cranes (hg.)		A11 B05
Crane of Longevity (fan)		A02.61 A15.90
A pair of Cranes in the Shade of Bamboo (c. fan)		A23
Crane and Chrysanthemums (hg.)		D13.140
Crane and Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Crane and Prunus (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Crane and Prunus (hg.)	Tianjin Art Museum	
Cat and Butterfly (hg.) *	Ellsworth	C01
White Cat Sitting on the Rock (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A06
Cat and Chrysanthemums (fan)		A02.75
White Cat and Yellow Flowers (hg.)		B08
Cat and Butterfly (hg.)	Palace Museum	
White Cat and Chrysanthemums (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	
Slender Bamboo and a pair of Birds (hg.)		A02.38 A15.82

Chrysanthemums and a pair of Flying Birds (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A06
Red Prunus and Birds (hg.)	Shanghai Antique Store	A06
Bird (hg.)	Tianjin Art Museum	
Bamboo and Birds (hg.)	Chen Wenxi	A27
Cicadas on Willow Branches (al. leaf)	Ching Yuan Chai	C03
Horse in Autumn Trees (fan)		D05.160
Peach Blossom and Geese (hg.)	Palace Museum	
Geese (hg.)	Zhang Chengmeng	

## Album of Various Subjects

Name of Work	Collection	Code
Album of Various Subjects (4 leaves)	Shanghai Museum	A01
Album of Flower and Fruit (8 leaves)		A02.108-115
Album of Flower and Fruit (Silk, 4 leaves)		A02.133-136
Album of Various Subjects (8 leaves)		E04.64
Album of Flower and Fruit (12 leaves)		A02. 85-96
Album of Various Subjects (8 leaves)	Dingzhai	A20
Album of Flowers, Birds and Aquatic Animals (12 leaves)	Nanjing Museum	A21. Su24-1291
Album of Flowers, Birds and Animals (12 leaves)		A19. 84-88
Album of Various Subjects (4 leaves)	Zhang Chengmeng	
Album of Flower and Fruit (3 leaves)	Chinese Artists' Association	
Album of Various Subjects (4 leaves)	Palace Museum	

## Calligraphy

Name of Work	Code
Couplet in Clerical Script (hg.)	B05
Couplet in Clerical Script (hg.)	A02.152,B05
Couplet in Clerical Script (hg.)	B05
Couplet in Running Script (hg.)	B05
Couplet in Running Script (hg.)	B05
Poems on Circular Fan (fan)	A02.145,B05
Poem in Running Script (hg.)	A02.146,B05
Poem in Running Script (hg.)	A02.147,B05
Prose in Running Script (hg.)	B05

## GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

- Anhui 安 徽
- Bada Shanren 八大山人
- Ba shangdi hui 拜上帝會
- Bao Lian (Bao Ziliang) 包 棟 (包子梁)
- Baoguang Temple 寶光寺
- Cai Changyu 蔡昌遇
- Cai Geng 蔡 耕
- Cai Zhaochu 蔡照初
- canjiang* 參 將
- Changsha 長 沙
- Chen Chun 陳 淳
- Chen Hengke 陳衡恪
- Chen Wenxi 陳文希
- Cheng Shifa 程十髮
- Cheng Sui 程 邃
- Chengdu 成 都
- Chinese Artists' Association 中國美術家協會
- cong* 從
- cun* 皴
- Daoguang 道 光
- Daoji 道 濟
- Deng Tiexian 鄧鐵仙
- Difang 荻 舫
- Ding Xiyuan 丁羲元
- Dongfang Art College 東方美術專科學校
- Fang Ruo 方 若
- Feidange* 飛丹閣
- Feng Yaheng 馮亞珩
- Fu Hua 富 華
- Fuzhou 福 州
- Gao Yong 高 邕
- Ge Qilong 葛其龍
- genggeng qixin* 耿耿其心
- Gu Linshi (Gu Heyi) 顧麟士 (顧鶴逸)
- Gu Wenbin 顧文彬
- Guangdi Temple 關帝廟
- Guangdong 廣 東
- Guangfu 光 福
- Guangxi 廣 西
- Guangxu 光 緒
- Guangzhou 廣 州
- Guanxiu 貫 休
- Guilin 桂 林
- Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛
- Hai Chang 夏 廠
- Haipai* 海 派
- Haishang mingjia* 海上名家
- Haishang pai* 海上派



*Haishang tiyinguan jinshi shuhua hui* 海上題襟館金石書畫會

Hangzhou 杭州

hao 號

Hua Yan 華岳

Huagai Monastery 華蓋寺

Hebei 河北

Henan 河南

Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全

Hongren 弘仁

Hu 滬

Hu Gongshou 胡公壽

Hu Yin 胡寅

Hu Zhang 胡璋

Huaguang 華光

Huating 華亭

Huizhou 徽州

Hunan 湖南

Jiang Hanting (Jiang Shangyu) 江寒汀 (江上漁)

Jiang Que 蔣確

Jiang Xugu 江虛谷

Jiangnan 江南

Jiangbei daying 江北大營

Jiangnan daying 江南大營

Jiangsu 江蘇

Jiao Yu 蕉雨

Jiaqing 嘉慶

Jiaxing 嘉興

jiehua 界畫

Jietaoguan 解脫館

Jieyang 揭陽

Jihe xuan 寄鶴軒

Jin Nong 金農

jinshi 金石

jinshijia 金石家

Jintian 金田

jiupin 九品

Juanhe 倦鶴

Juefei'an 覺非齋

Ju'ran 巨然

Lake Tai 太湖

li 隸

Li Beihai 李北海

Li Shan 李鱣

Lianghuai 兩淮

Lidai Minghua ji 歷代名畫記

Lin Liang 林良

Liu Haisu 劉海粟

Lu Hui 陸恢

Lu Ji 呂紀

Luo Ping 羅聘

*Luying* 綠 管

*maiban* 買 辦

Mao Zedong 毛澤東

*mogu fa* 沒骨法

Monk Dawei 僧大為

Monk Hengfeng 僧衡峰

Monk Nuoqu 僧諾瞿

Monk Zhaofeng 僧照峰

Mt. Jiuhua 九華山

Mt. Shibi 石壁山

Nanjing 南 京

Nanyang Arts College 南洋美術專科學校

Ni Zan 倪 瓚

*nianhua* 年 畫

*niao* 鳥

Ningbo 寧 波

*Pinghuashe* 萍花社

*qi* 氣

Qian Hongyu 錢鴻遇

Qian Hui'an (Qian Jisheng) 錢慧安 (錢吉生)

Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘

Qiu Ying 仇 英

*Quiqu lai ci* 歸去來辭

*Qunzhong huabao* 群眾畫報

Ren Bonian 任伯年

Ren Xiong 任 熊

Ren Xun 任 薰

Renhe 仁 和

Renshou 仁 壽

Ruilian Temple 瑞蓮寺

*Sanshiqi feng caotang* 三十七峰草堂

Shaanxi 陝 西

*shanggou fa* 雙勾法

*shanggou tiancai* 雙勾填彩

Shanghai 上 海

Shanghai Chinese Painting Academy  
上海中國畫院

Shanghai Fine Arts Institute  
上海美術專科學校

*Shanghai huapai* 上海畫派

Shantou 汕 頭

Shanyin 山 陰

Shen Zhou 沈 舟

Shen Zhuzhai 沈竹齋

Shexian 歙 縣

Shi Lu 石 魯

*shibachao* 十八朝

Shilin Temple 獅林寺

Shitao 石 濤

Shizi lin 獅子林

Shu Pingqiao (Shu Hao) 舒平橋 (舒浩)

Sichuan 四 川

- Songjiang 松江
- Su Dongpo 蘇東坡
- Suzhou 蘇州
- Tao Songxi 陶松溪
- Tao Yuanming 陶淵明
- Tang Yin 唐寅
- Tian'an 恬庵
- tiankong renniaofei* 天空任鳥飛
- Tongcheng 桐城
- Tongzhi 同治
- Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志
- Wang Jingfu 王京篁
- Wang Li (Wang Qiuyan) 王禮 (王秋言)
- Wang Ling 王齡
- Wen Tong 文同
- Wen Zhengming 文徵明
- West China Union University 華西協合大學
- Wu Botao 吳伯滔
- Wu Changshi 吳昌碩
- Wu Daozi 吳道子
- Wu Guanzhong 吳貫中
- Wu Zonglin 吳宗麟
- Wuchang 武昌
- Xiamen 廈門
- Xianfeng 咸豐
- Xiang Army 湘軍
- Xiaodao hui 小刀會
- Xiaoshan 蕭山
- Xibei huabao* 西北畫報
- xieyi* 寫意
- Xin'an pai* 新海派
- xing* 行
- Xinhaipai* 新安派
- Xinhua Arts College 新華藝術專科學校
- Xu Wei 徐渭
- Xubai 虛白
- Xue Yongnian 薛永年
- Xugu 虛谷
- Xugu heshang shilu* 虛谷和尚詩錄
- Yan'an 延安
- Yang Borun 楊伯潤
- Yang Yi 楊逸
- Yangzhou 揚州
- Yun Shouping 惲壽平
- Yunnan 雲南
- Yushan 虞山
- Yuyuan shuhua shanhui* 豫園書畫善會
- Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
- Zeng Jing 曾鯨
- Zhang Geng 張庚

Zhang Mingke 張鳴珂

Zhang Shiyuan 張石園

Zhang Xiong 張 熊

Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠

Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙

Zhejiang 浙 江

zheng 正

Zhongren 仲 仁

Zhou Zhimian 周之冕

Zhu Cheng (Zhu Menglu) 朱偁 (朱夢廬)

Zhu Da 朱 奎

Zhu Huairan 朱懷仁

Zhu Qizhan 朱杞瞻

Zhu Xiong 朱 熊

zhuo 拙

zi 字

Ziyang Shanmin 紫陽山民

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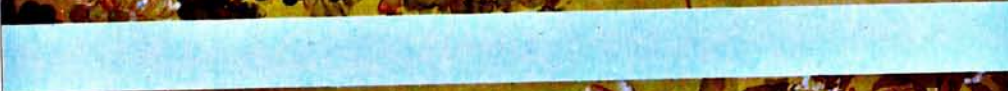


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8



恭題

衡峯禪師 玉照

無礙亦無遮空：此  
佛家閒中頻指月笑  
裏每拈花慧業通三  
昧前身記九華蒼茫  
惟獨立相伴只烟霞  
種得菩提樹修成自  
在身作詩兼作畫無  
垢更無塵迦葉三生  
契曇花一現真孤雲  
倚野鶴色相悟前因

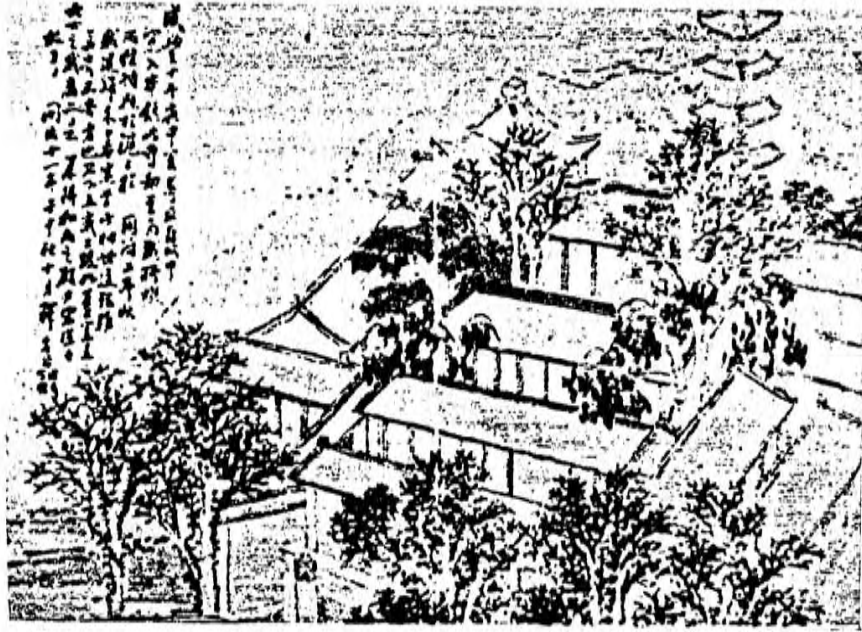
法華卷昌通稿



衡公老和尚五十七歲小像  
弟子 法華卷昌通稿



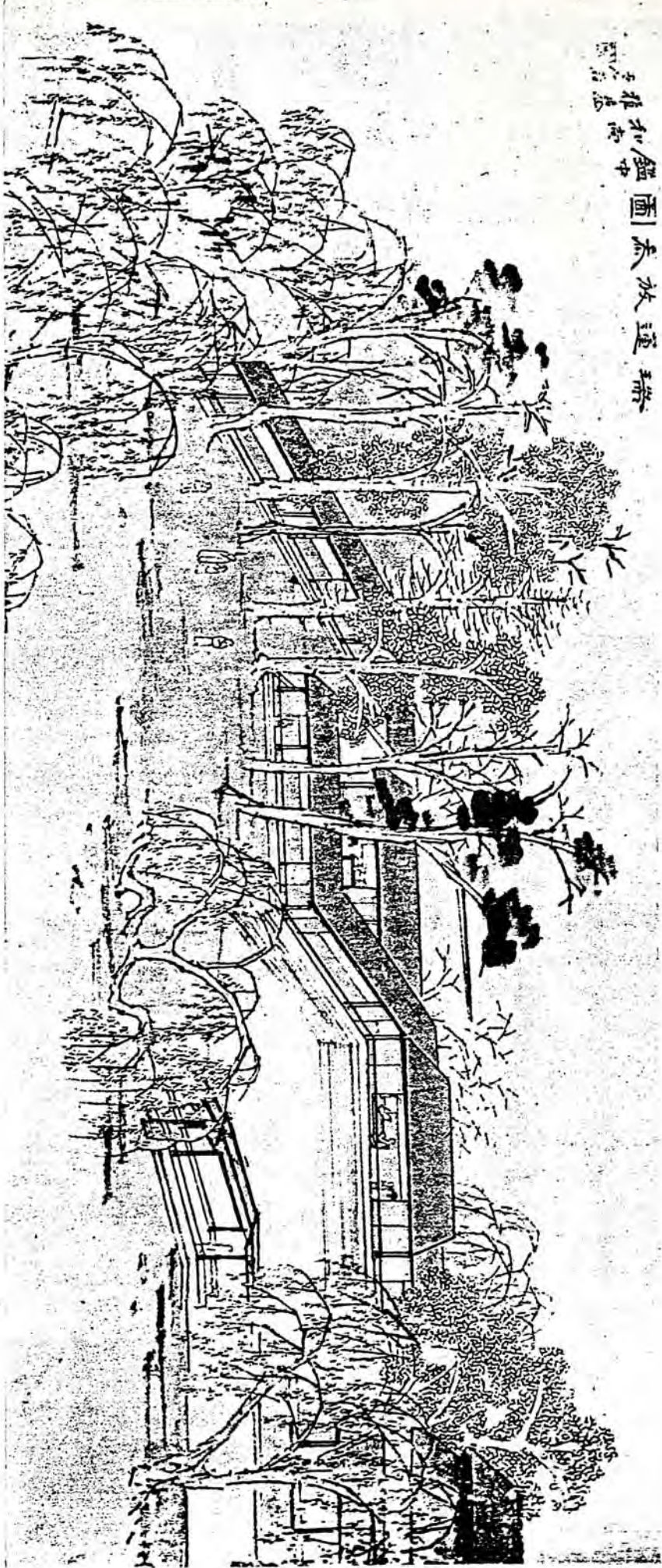


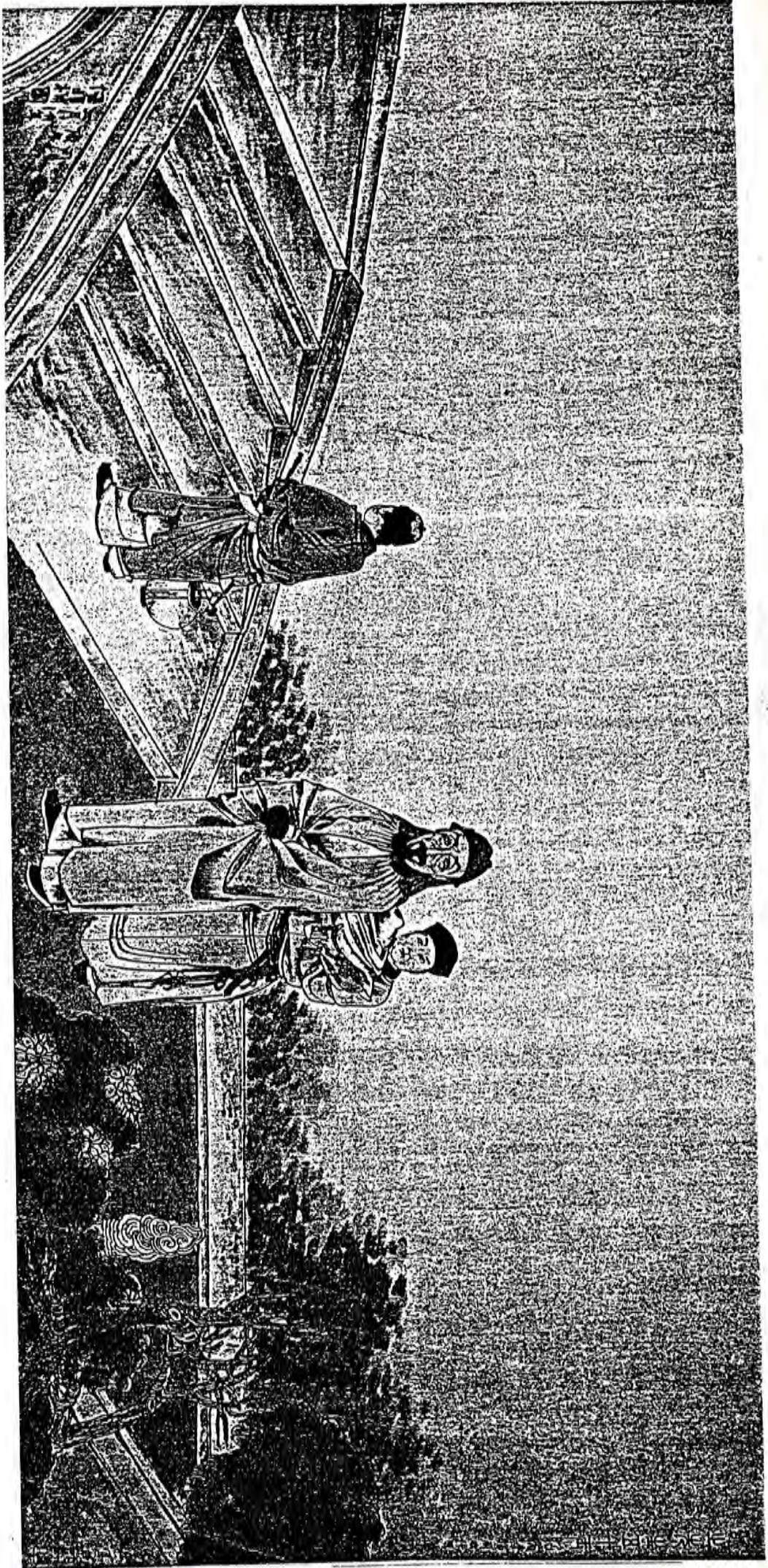


瑞星放春園  
三月廿四日

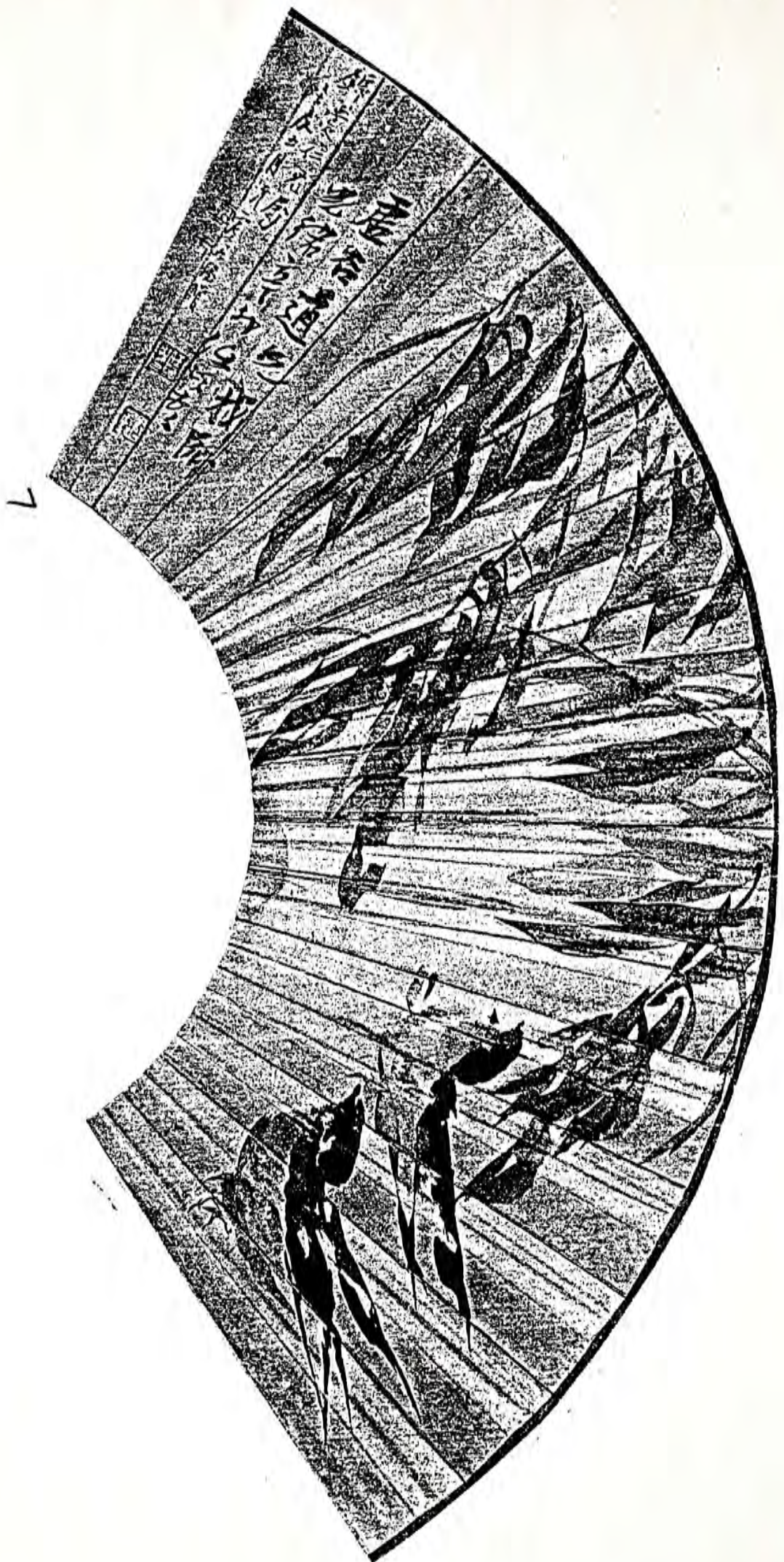


瑞蓮放魚圖  
中 和 雅 志





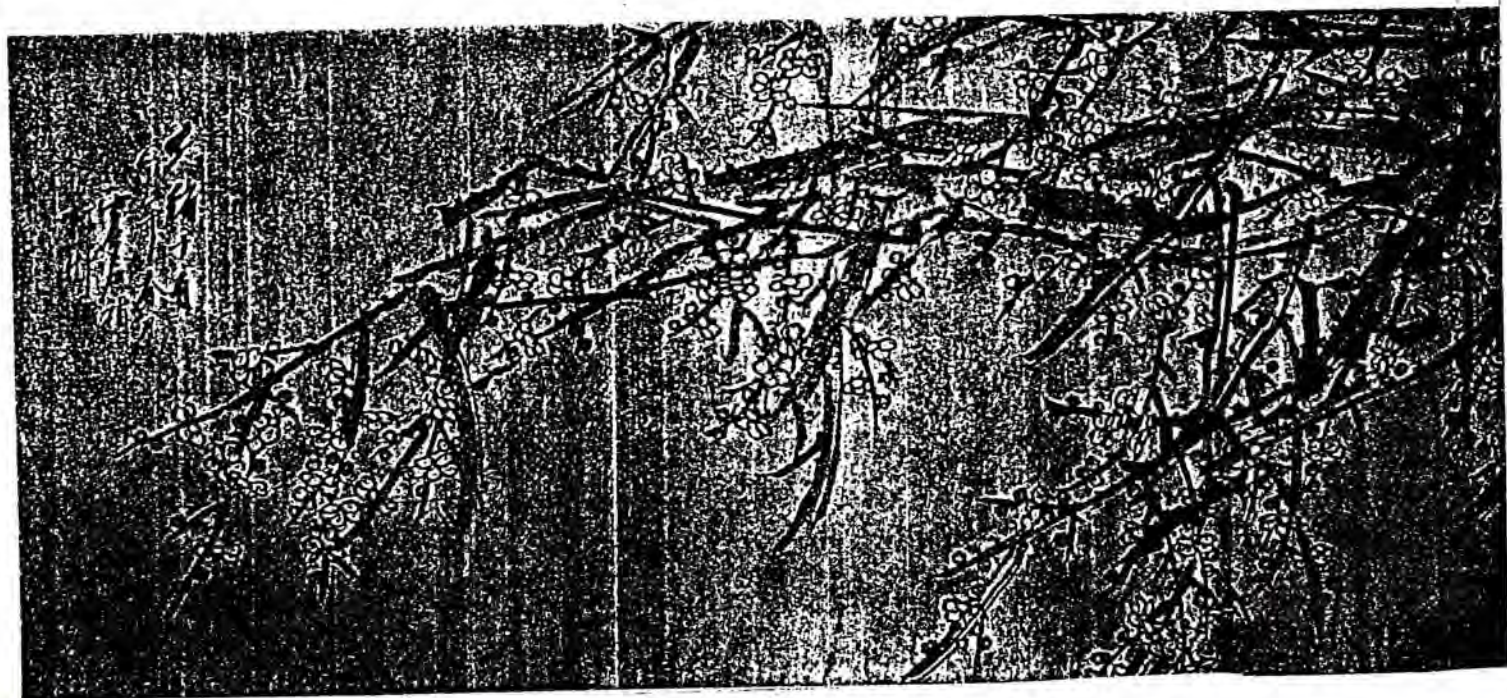
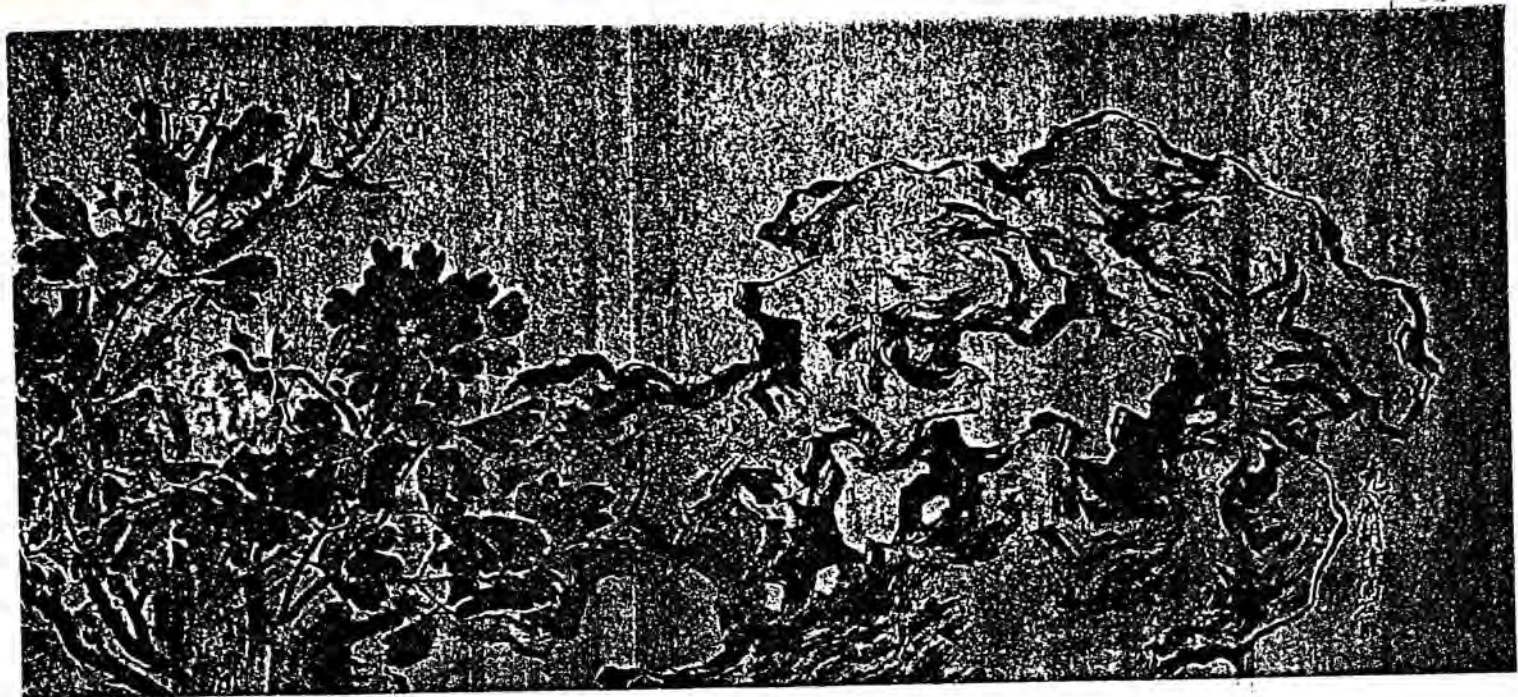




7

鶴 喜 君 貞 補 兼





秋遊滬益散年以國已得一家  
 至此時諸名公或組謝或衰者矣  
 其秋風時也今補楓葉一枝為  
 以圖秋意其景紅於二月花矣  
 癸卯秋末老初一陽二初矣  
 癸卯秋末老初一陽二初矣



右然外正補葉紅

先城胡錦雲黃菊圖

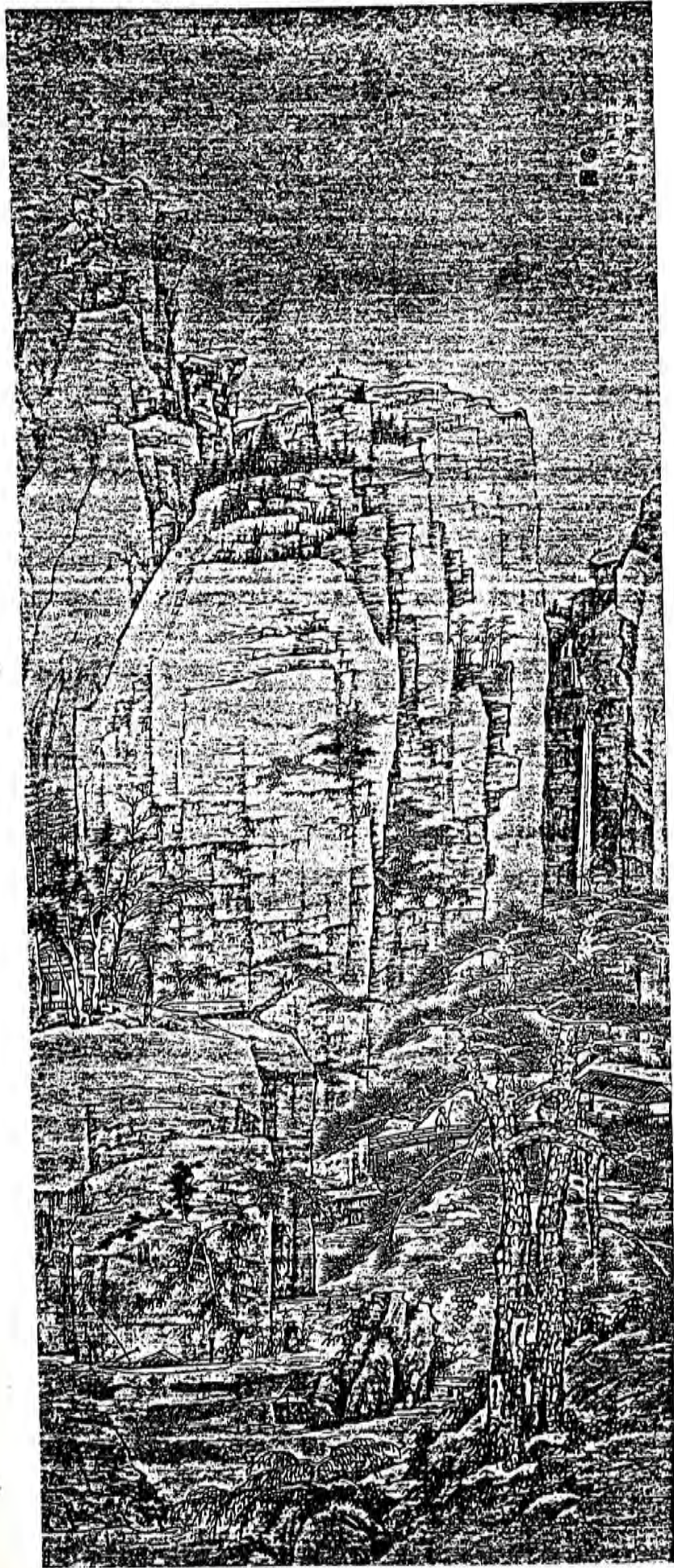
香上秋風...  
 此洲...  
 台...

此...

光緒十四年春三月上浣  
臨浙江法孫本

蘇非燕畫



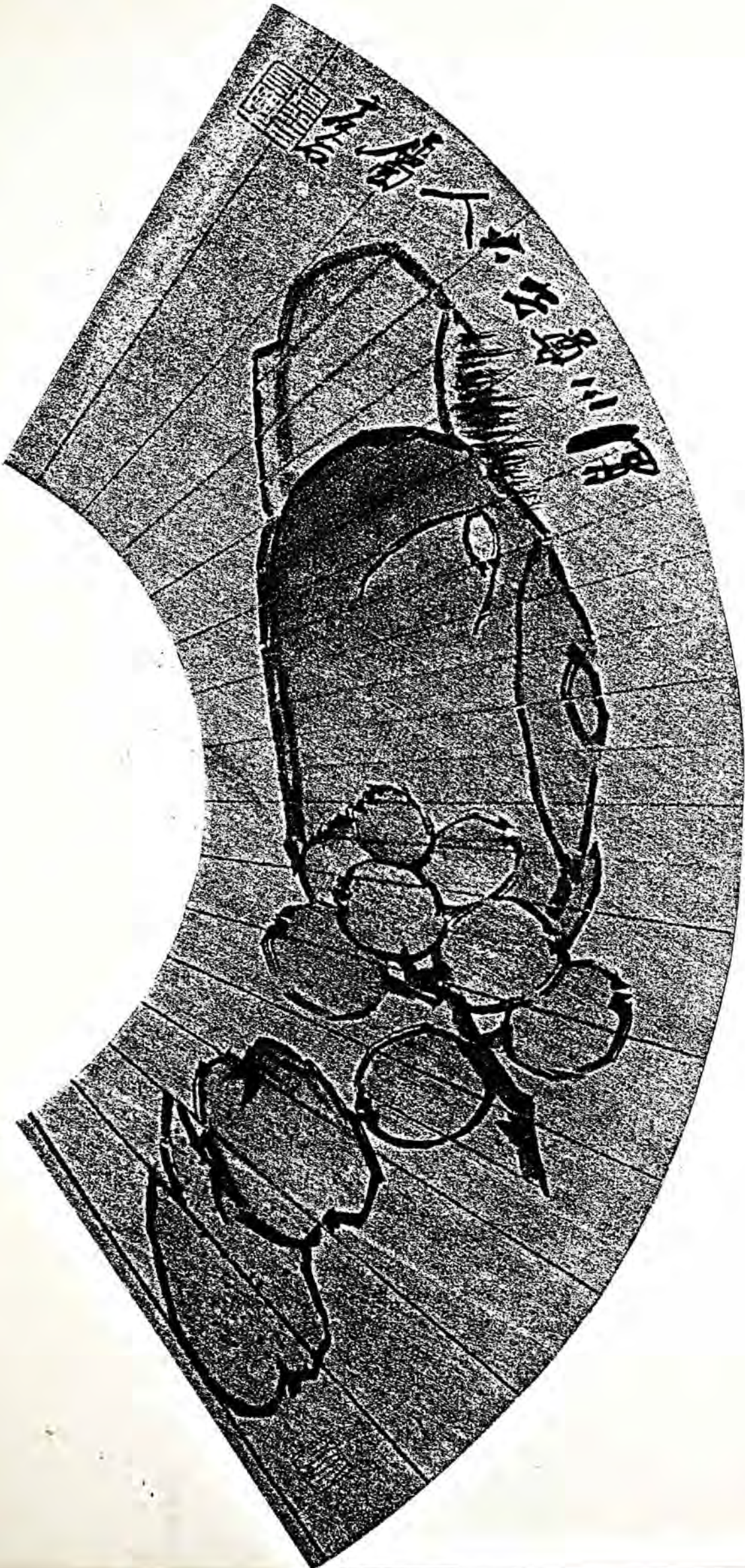




春風與我  
同於此  
見非盡

少石









15





非同絕技學地梁庭李騰學擊綠楊尾大替他  
 不掉翻身指為首花忙 錦其三九為送竹并者

仿彩羅山人派石  
 錦春大足中亦一之 高谷一四



踏翻鋪去風團噴高原雨



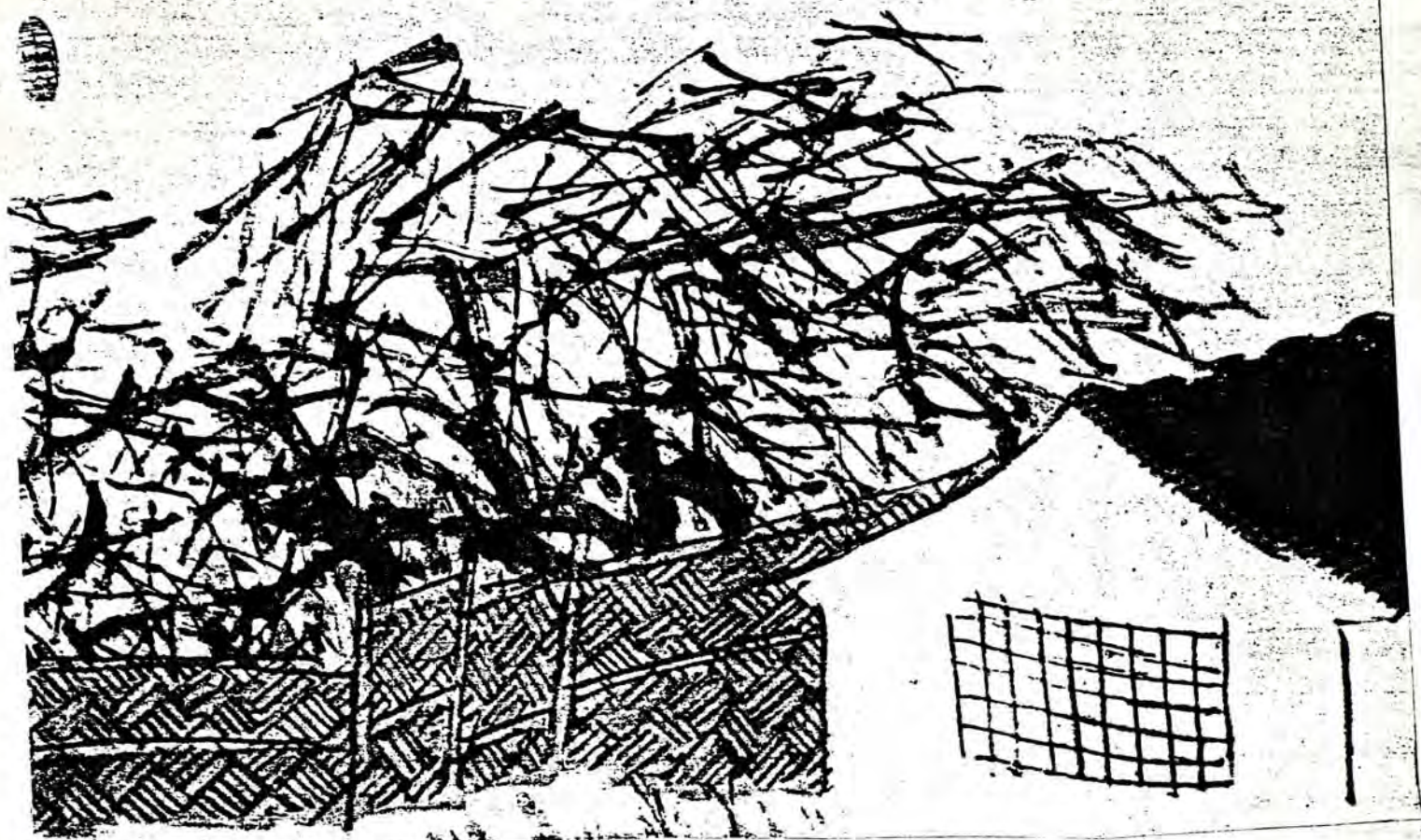


故人笑比林中學  
一日秋風一百味



馬和之秋林共語圖用筆疎簡  
 作淺絳色有楊妹子題詩其  
 上同卿周微君少穆曾藏一幅  
 余贈以古青瓷出軸裝之微君下  
 世為梁少師其鄉林所得進之內  
 府兵人追擬其音畫于紙冊是  
 耶非耶吾不自知惜雷山民記





22



國府生本捐已無掩書不  
 讀開精廬故人笑比中  
 庭樹一日秋風一日踈楮雷山  
 民畫并題



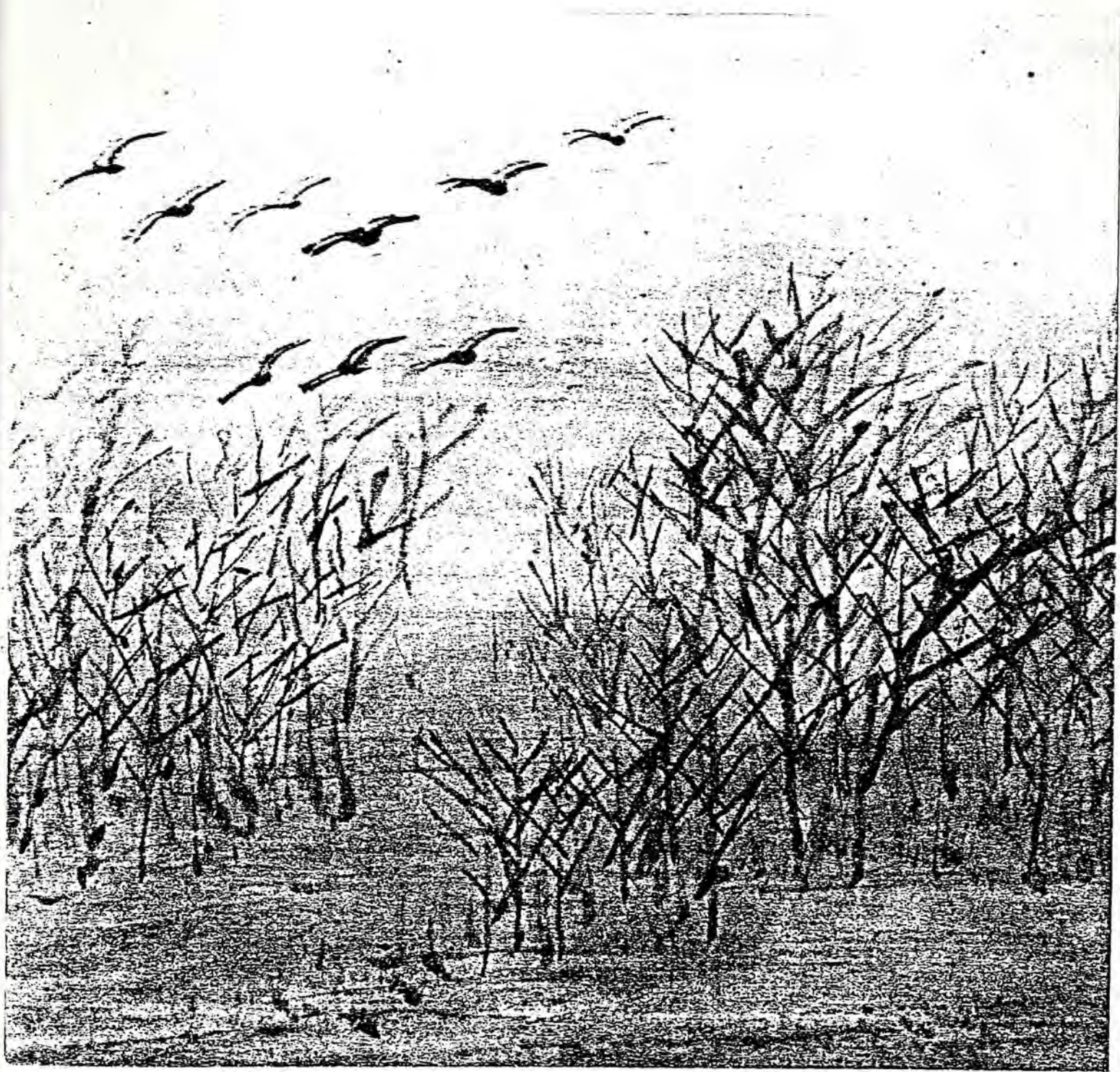
23





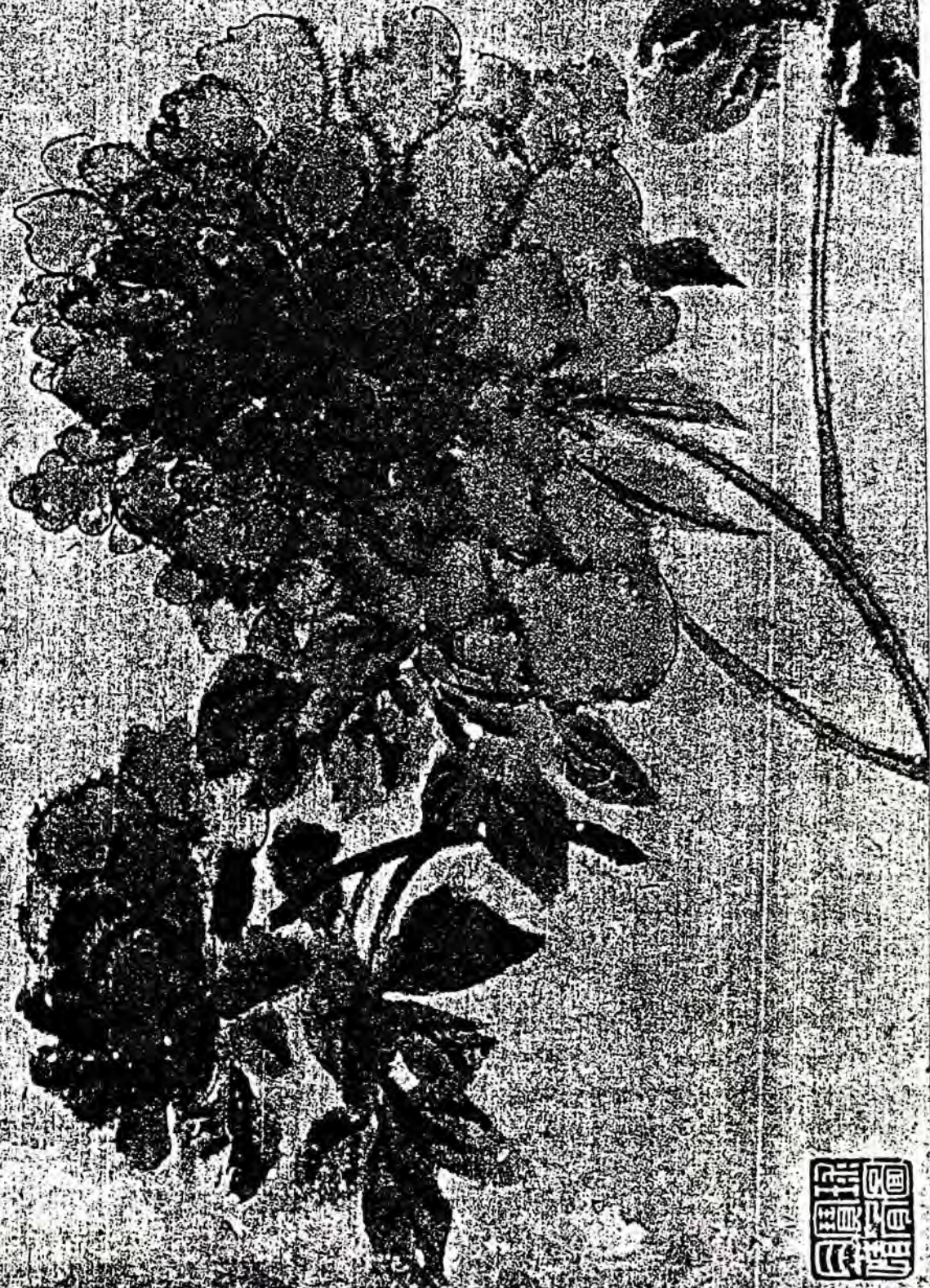


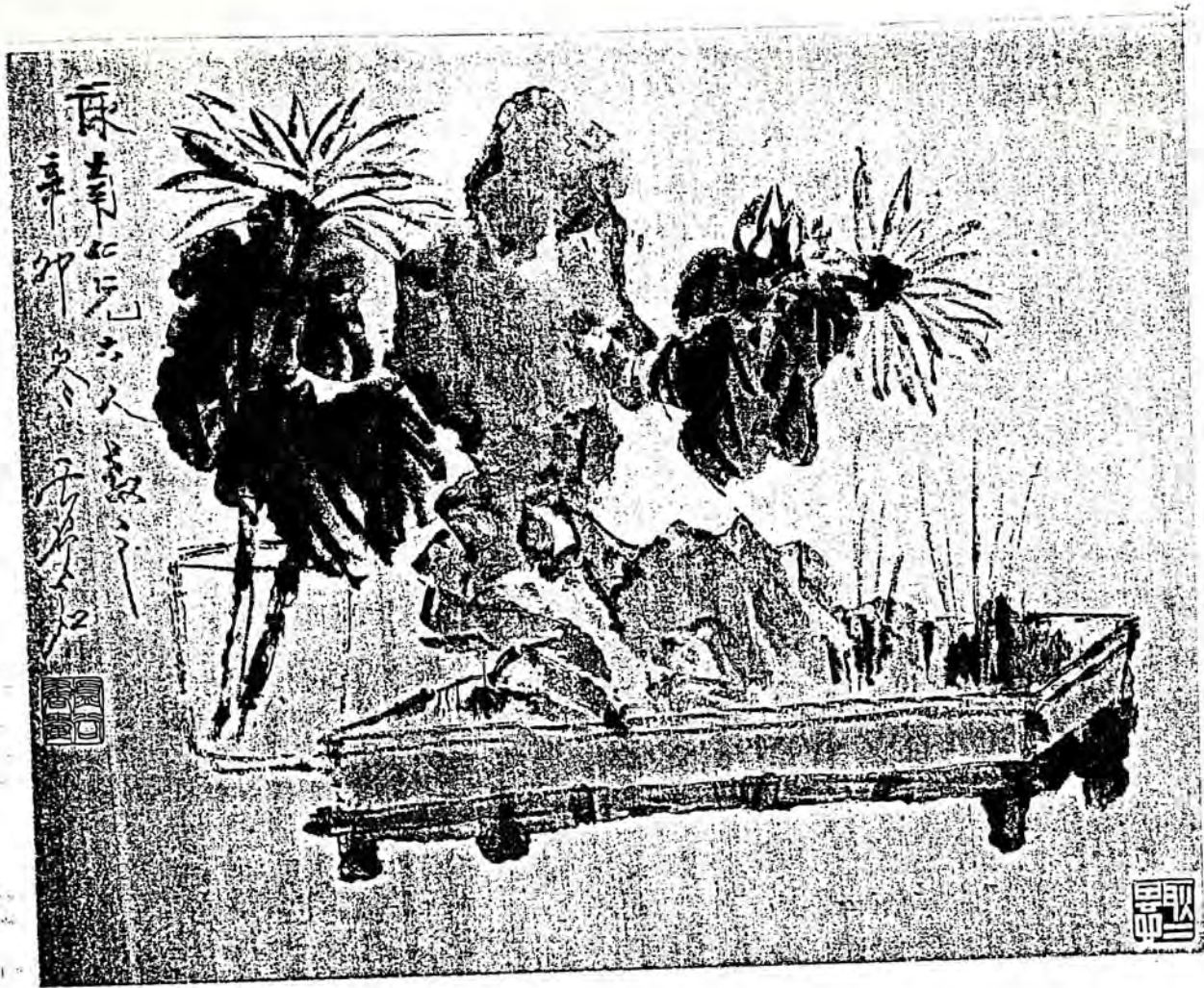


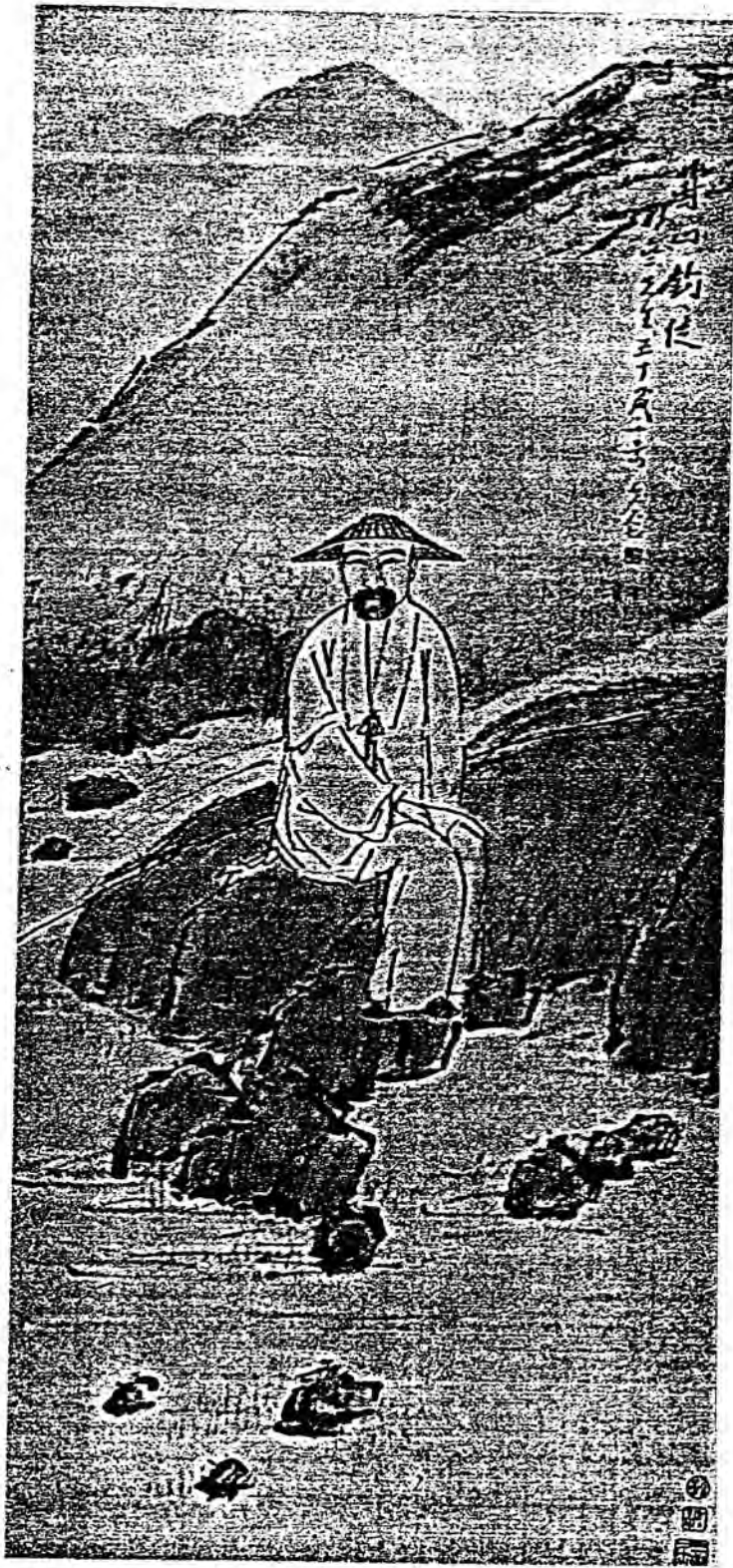




華英千態似流霞一度看來  
 一面且雨後可憐傾國色風前  
 照眼賞香人看攜蒲袖留影  
 品多臺不取塵泥語東君  
 今次第莫教蜂蝶亂爭春









六為老人  
甲申九月  
葉門山  
歲遺錄



葉門山  
歲遺錄  
印

無量壽佛

李益監第



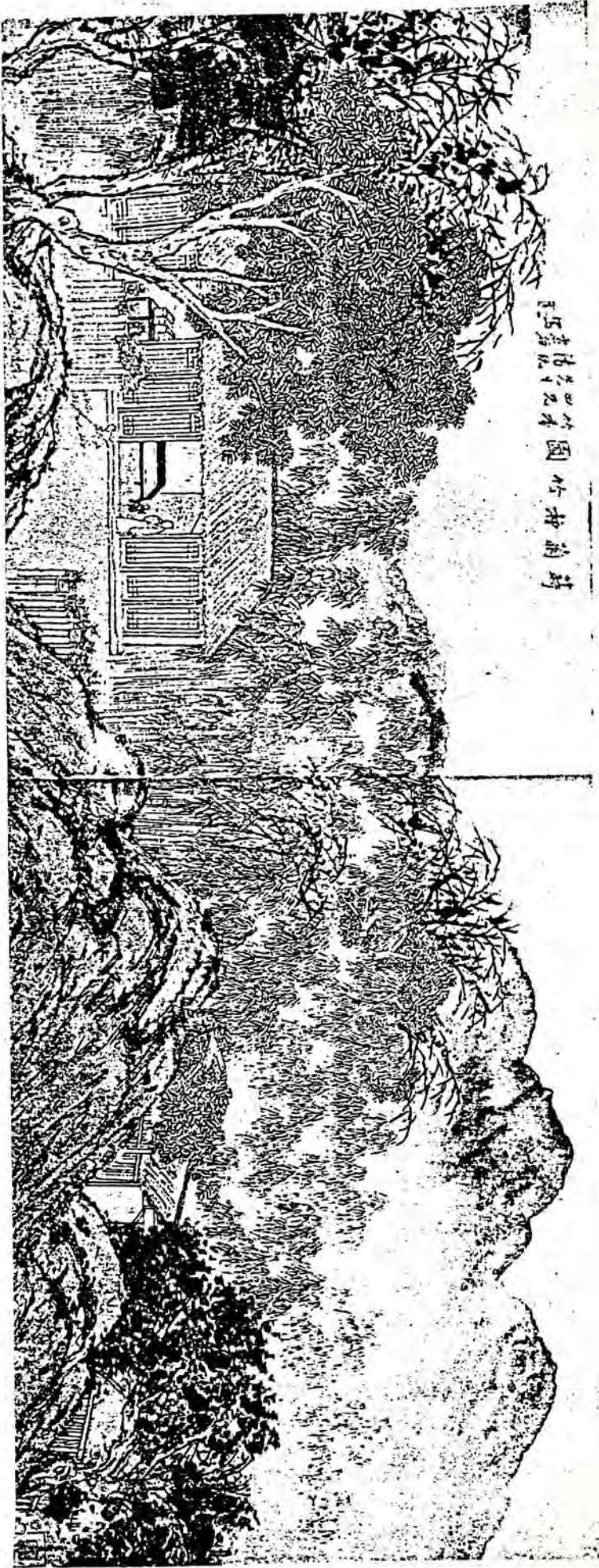


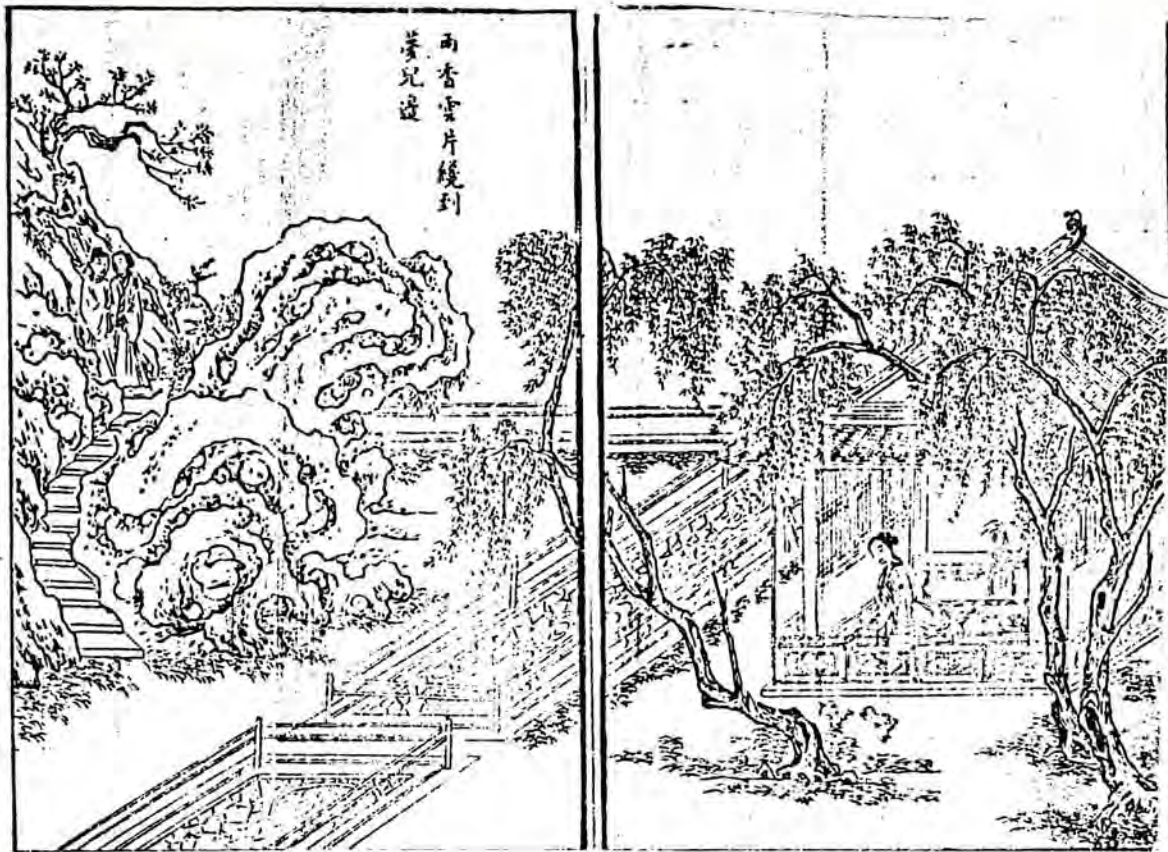
34



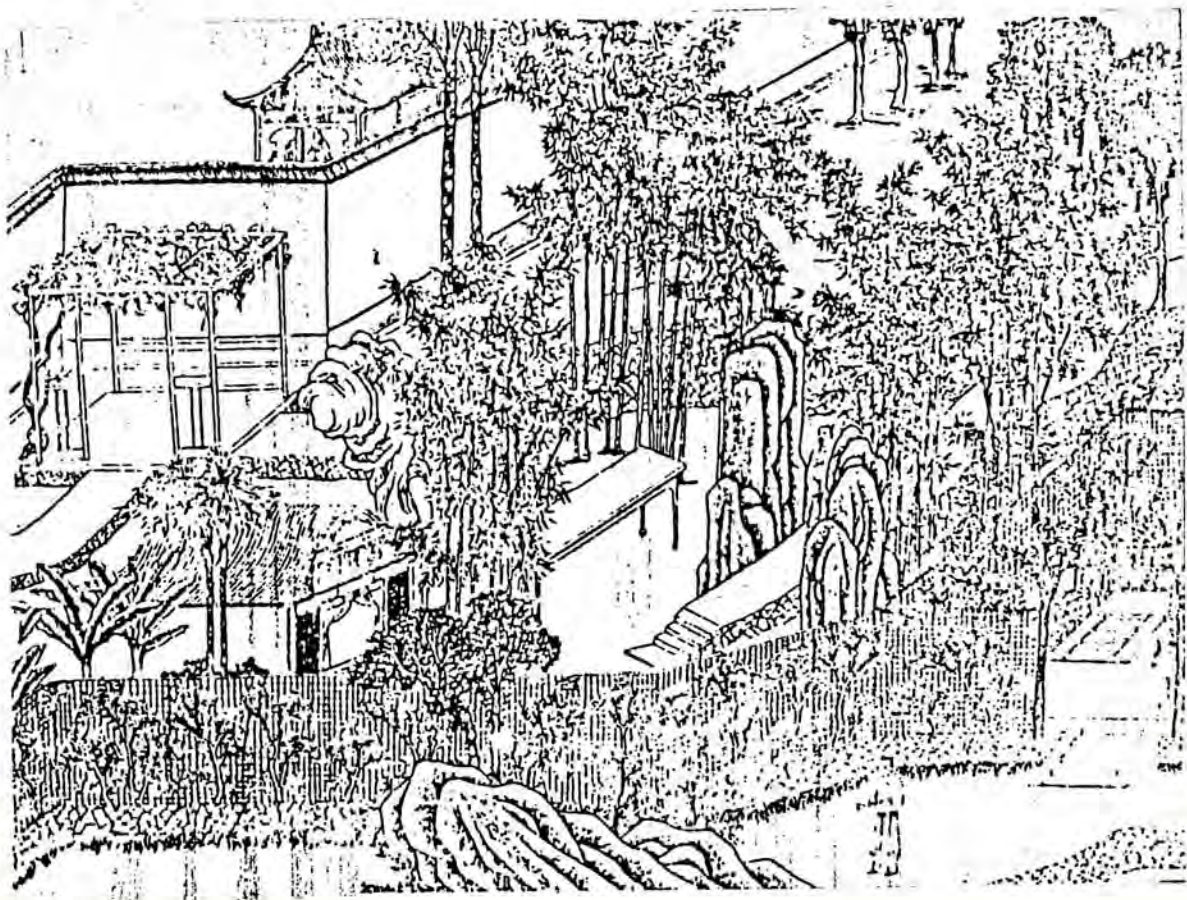
35

馬嘉祿竹園竹排圖詩





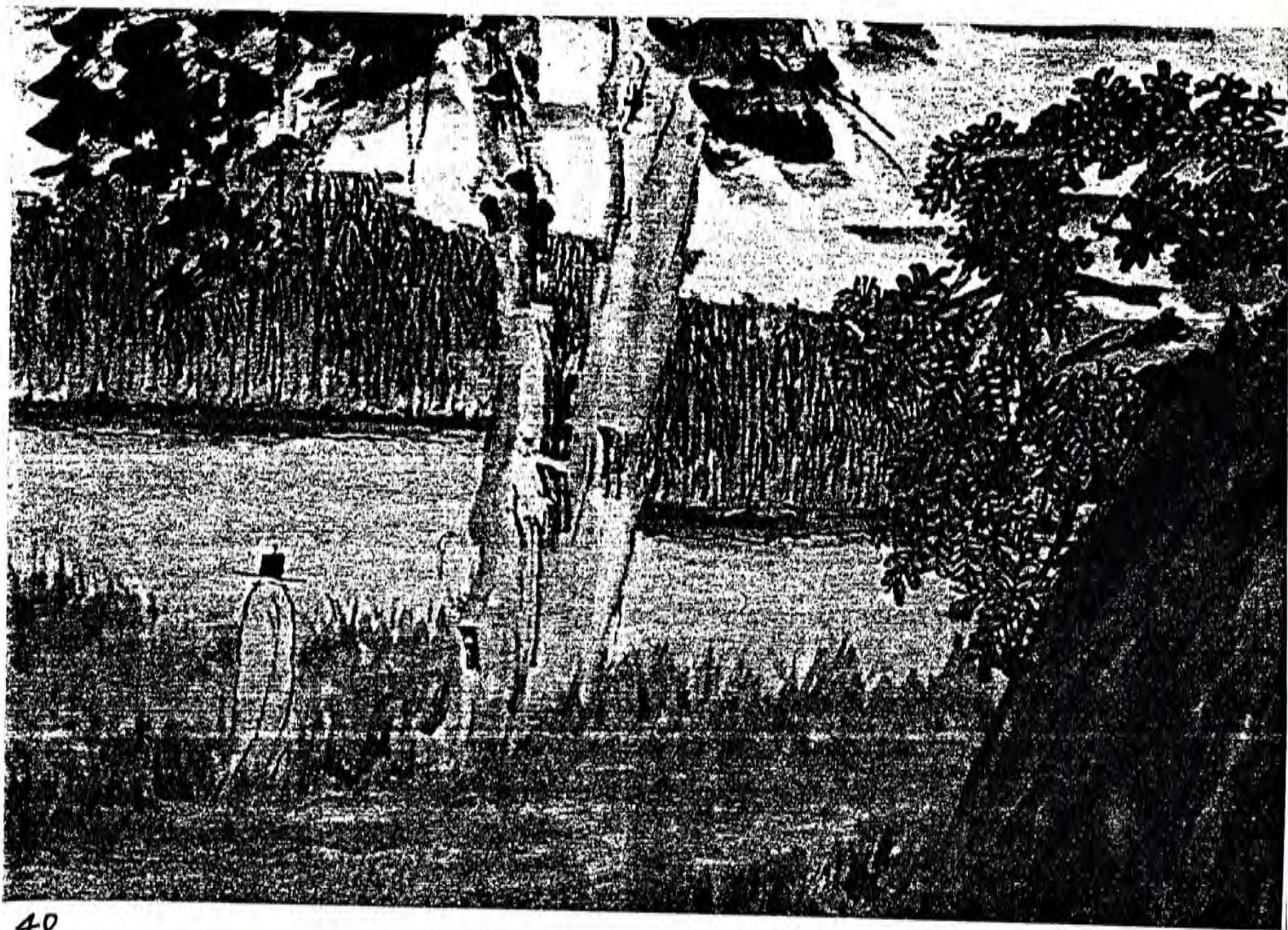
37



38



此之先王方公孫  
石子真日 勿忘







奇

篆

石

石

和

尚

友

魏

下

古

好

奇

春

篆

四

時



青 秋 一 百 後

光緒二十五年正月二十日 燈下書奉



自 珍 萬 花 中

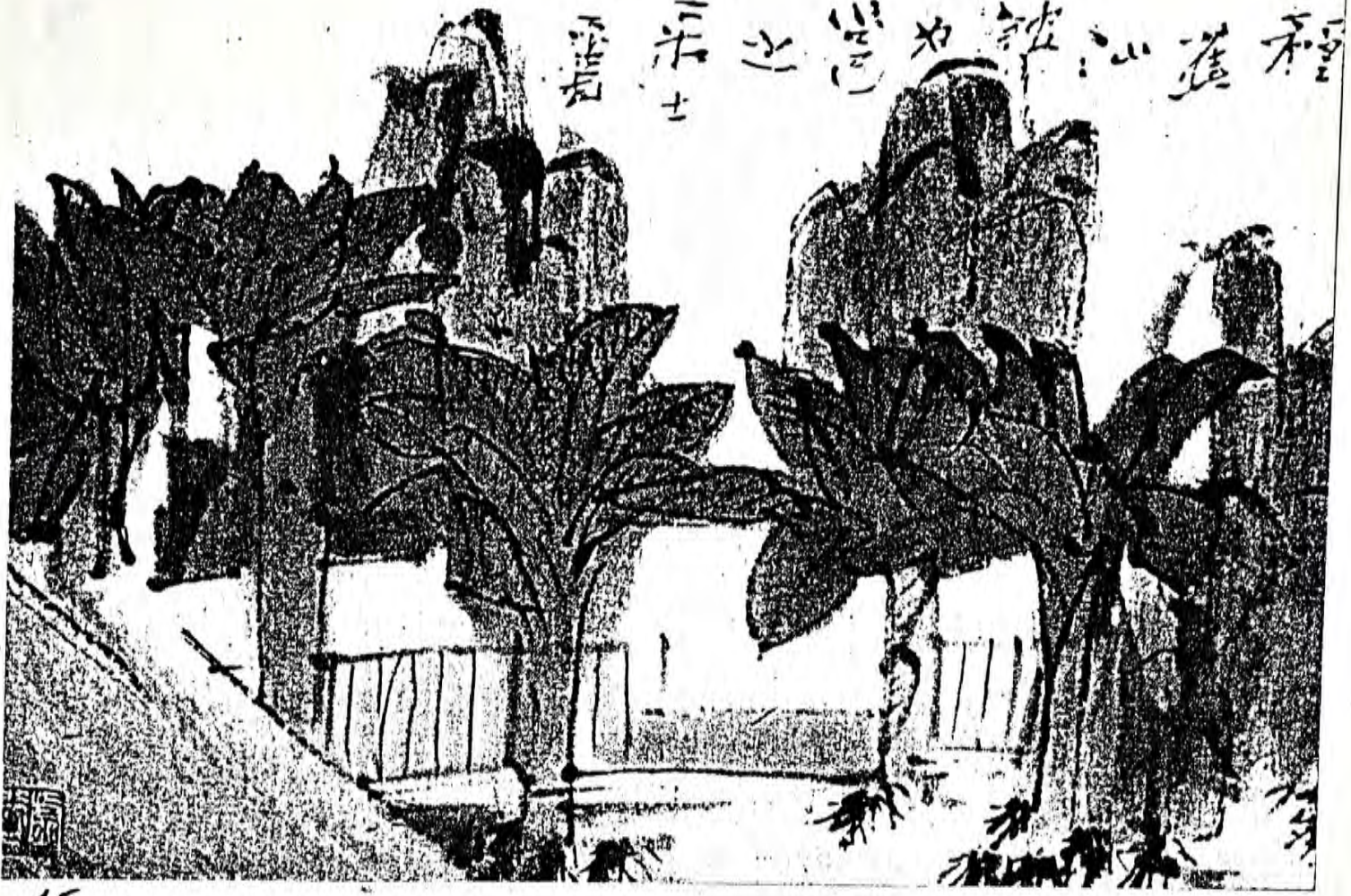
無他先生一笑即去

吳昌碩

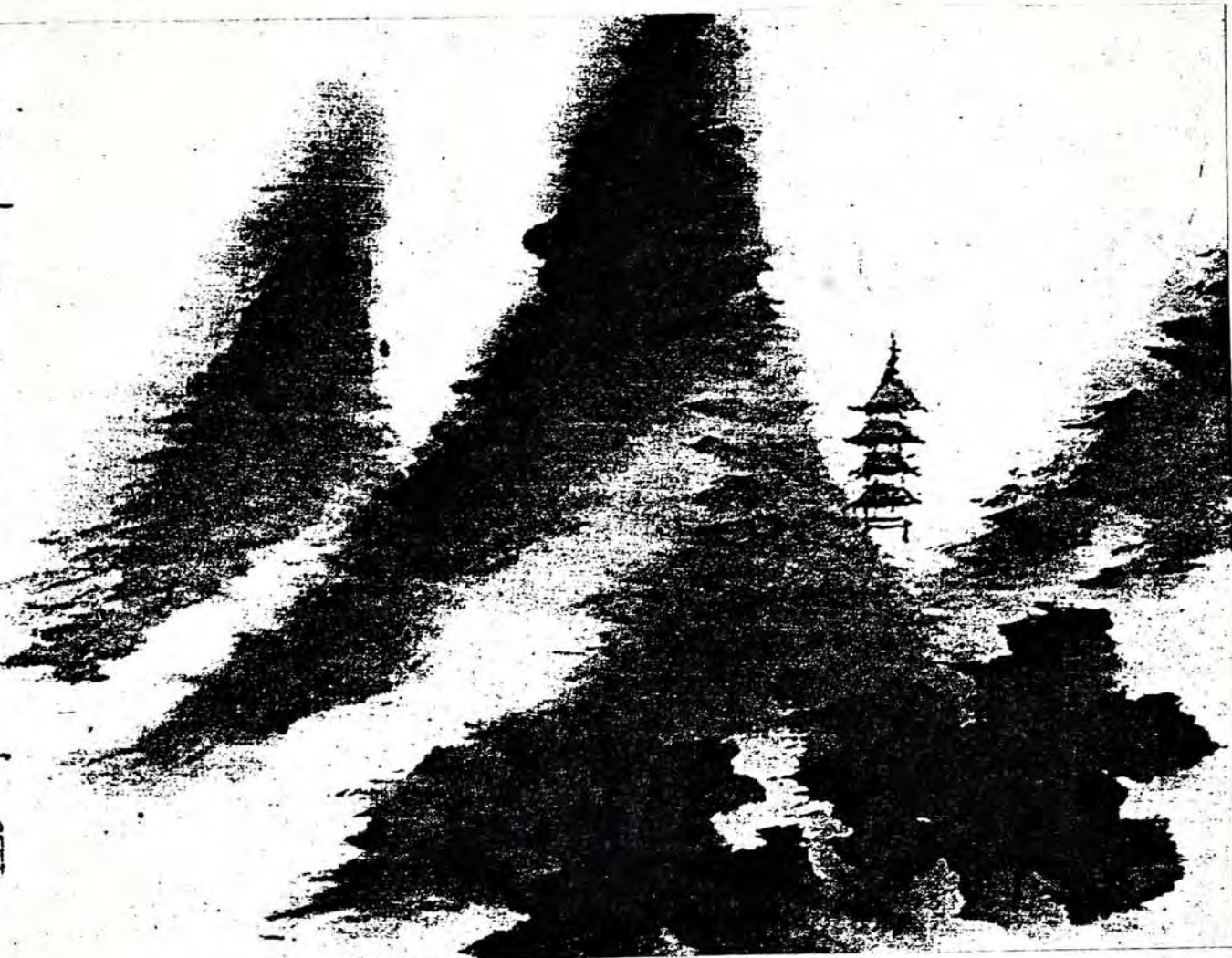




種 蕉 山 坡 如 畫 之 景 也



墨之居士屬筆畫之









49



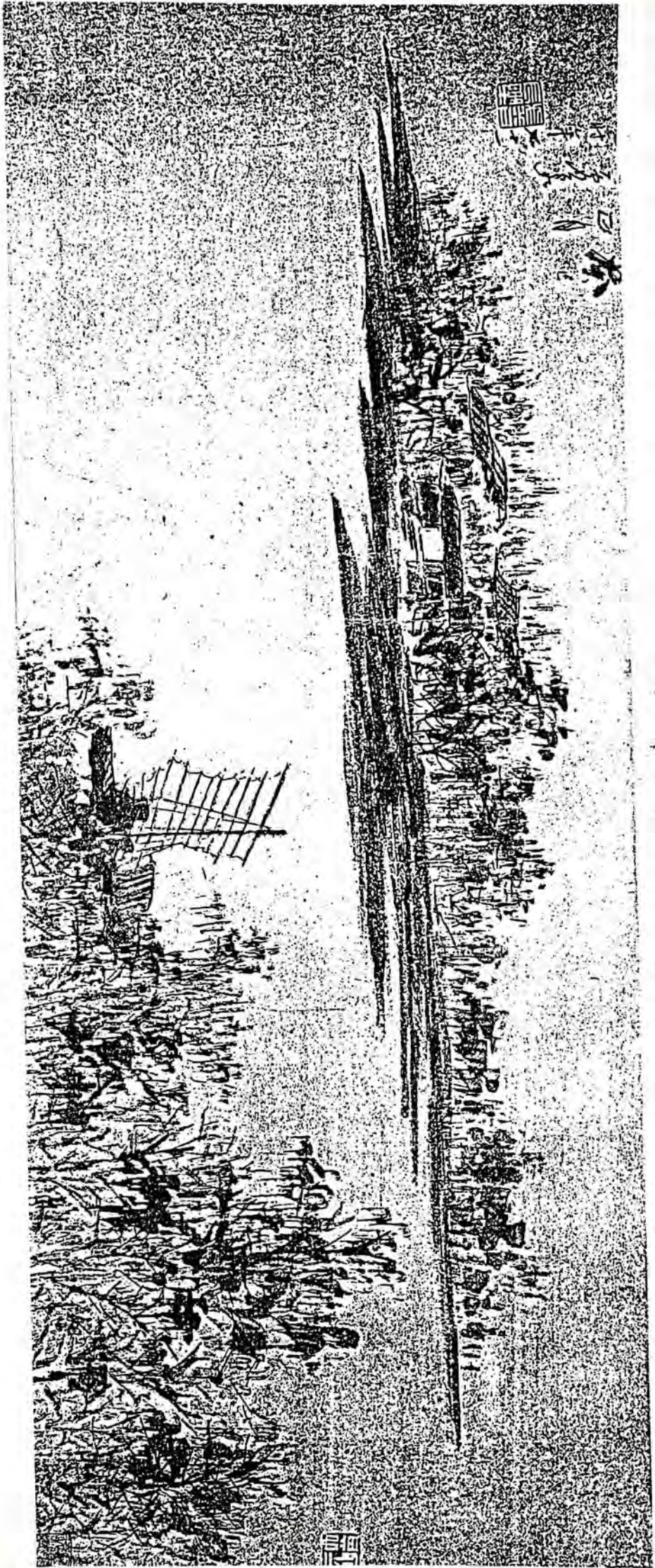
山居高士圖

元 王冕 畫





此景  
楊柳  
山  
水  
畫  
卷  
卷  
之  
末  
末  
末  
末





細部  
見ゆ

一  
二  
三  
四  
五  
六  
七  
八  
九  
十  
十一  
十二  
十三  
十四  
十五  
十六  
十七  
十八  
十九  
二十



善端白雪底  
來在木葉枝上  
粉蒼似雪似花  
似雪似花又  
如雪中

雪標

一原



宦空湖月是前  
身月照標花  
了外清光騰  
標影橫斜地  
偏地標之偏地春

月標

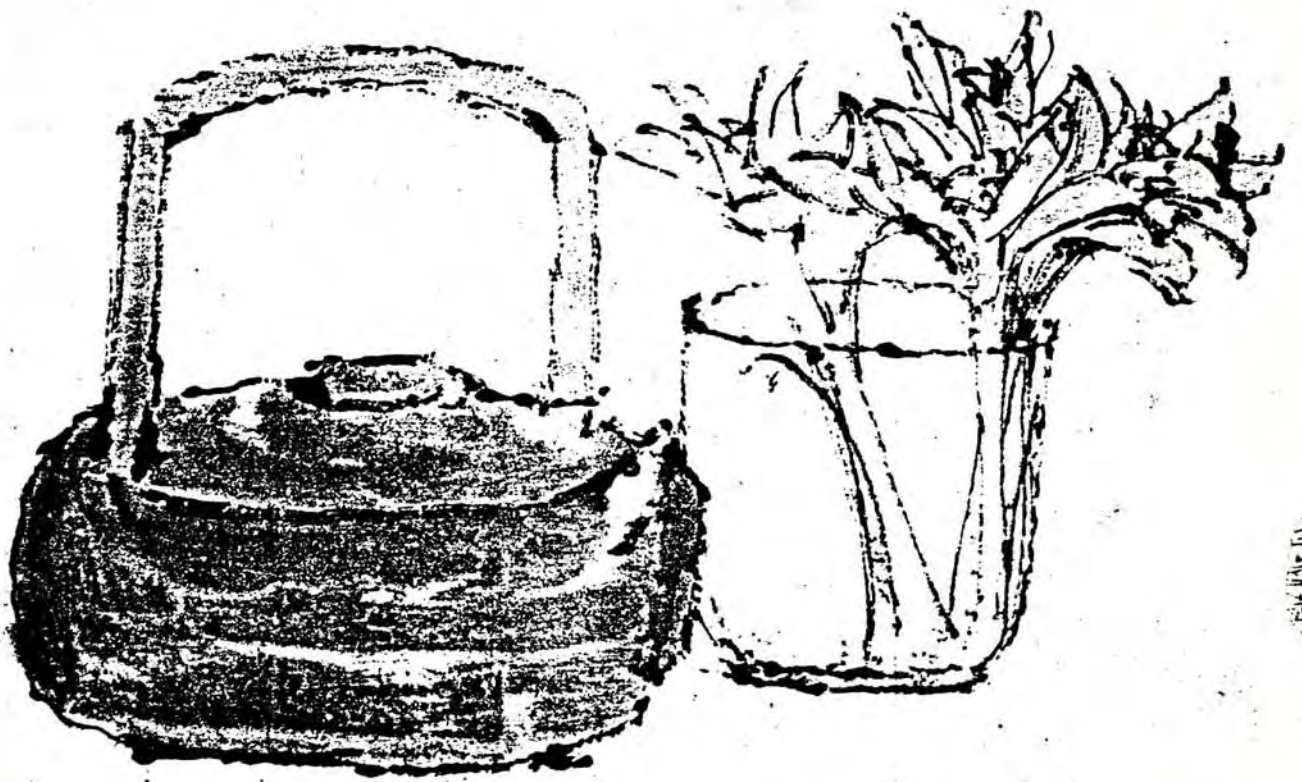
石屋公







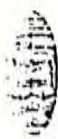
康  
秋  
大  
集  
分  
乃  
左



三  
三  
三



三友圖  
何心齋





介  
子  
年  
曾  
先  
人  
雅  
家  
壬  
辰  
四  
月  
吉  
禱  
三  
夕  
在  
園



有物有已更精神——一樹綠色天地春——  
 淨生塵世外空山流水望其人  
 曾西山民 畫



61a



落色水面留文章——  
 曾西山民 畫



b

秋色淡空解桐花



61c



可一日... 仙居耶... 留於四... 詩... 倦... 時... 年... 十... 有... 二

d

丁丑夏月

李石画





原  
后  
六  
月

李  
文  
正



庚子年五月  
画于滬城

画于滬城









乙未春三月  
自境非金  
少安片时  
録日七十  
有上





典  
臣  
水  
六  
六  
人  
屬  
五  
女  
上  
用  
年  
六  
十  
有  
三

69a



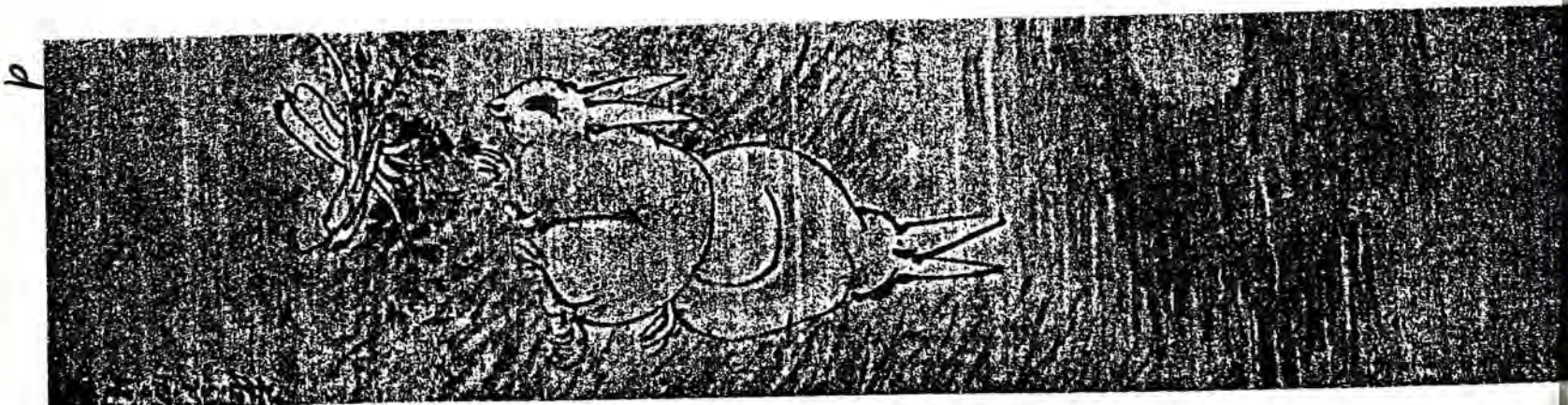
b

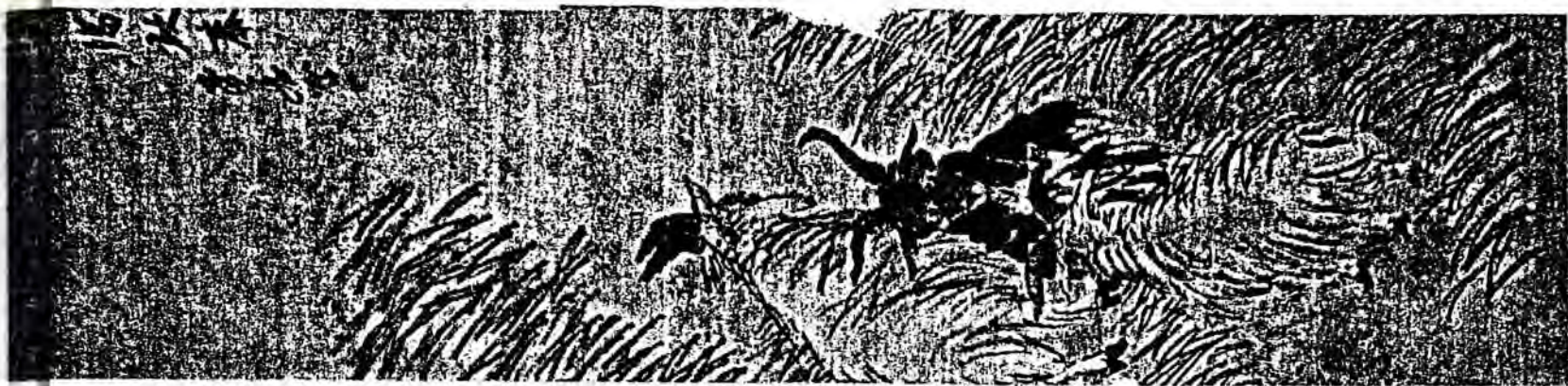


c



d





4



2



f



e

1



2



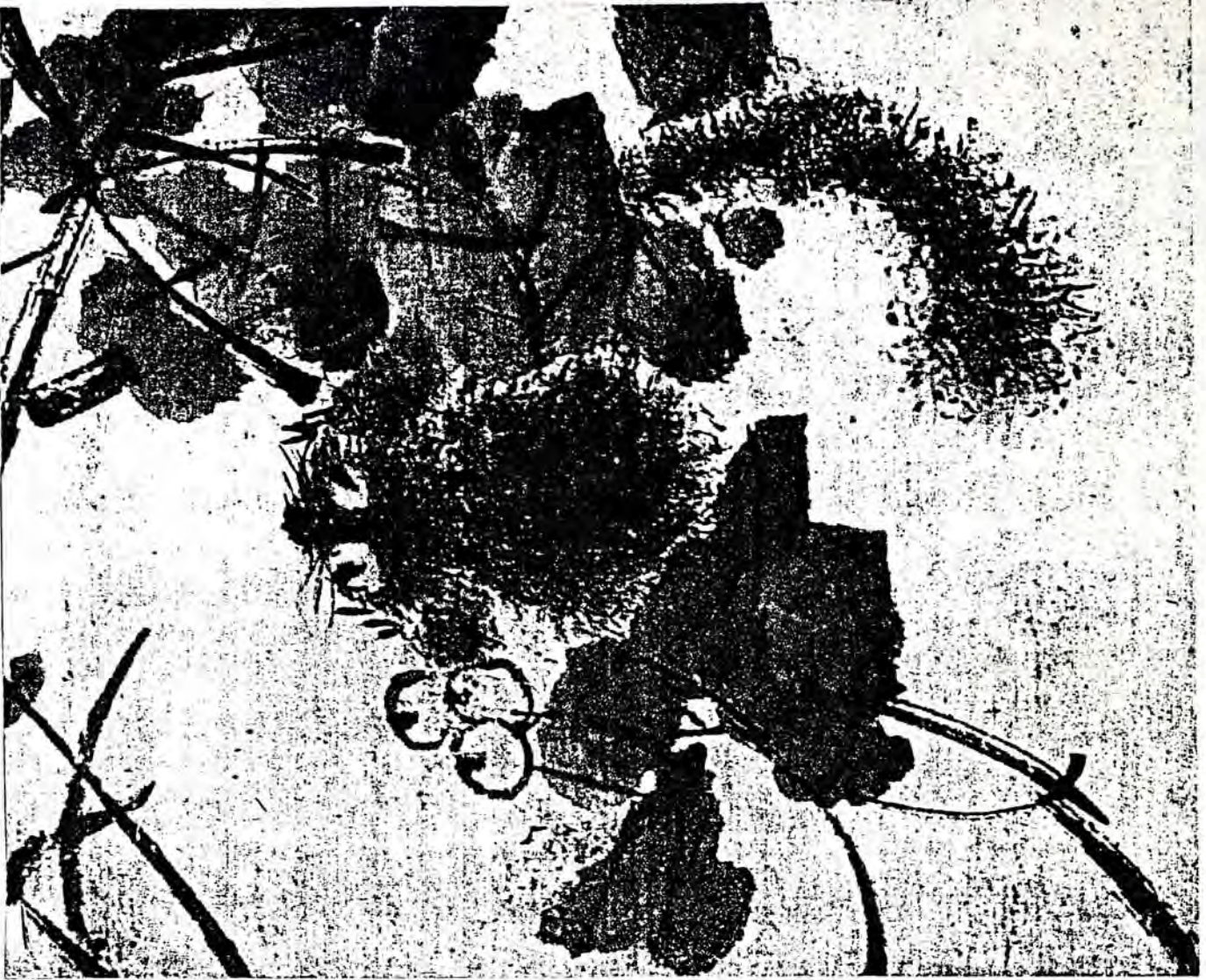
3



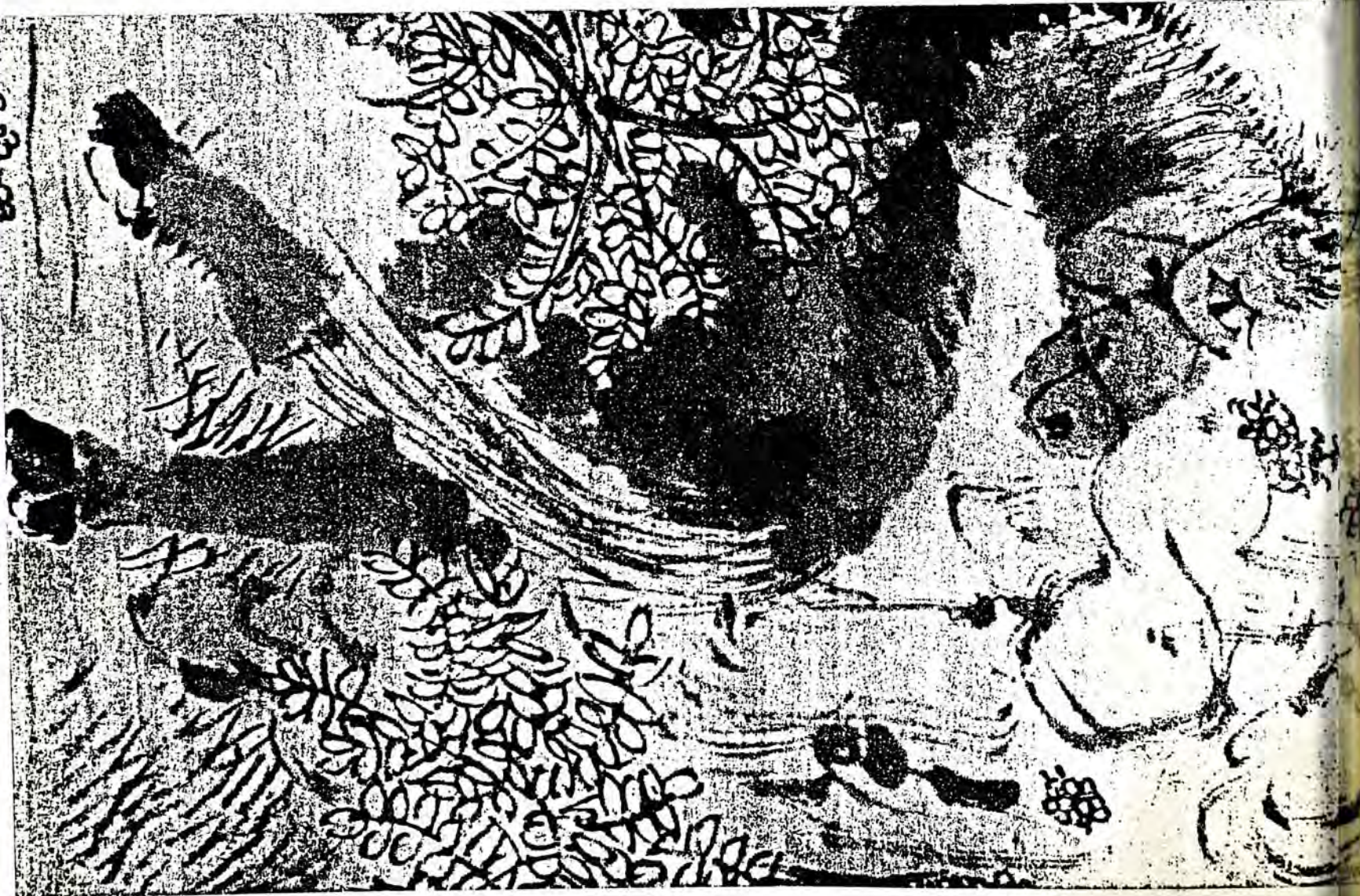
4



69a Detail



69g  
Detail 1

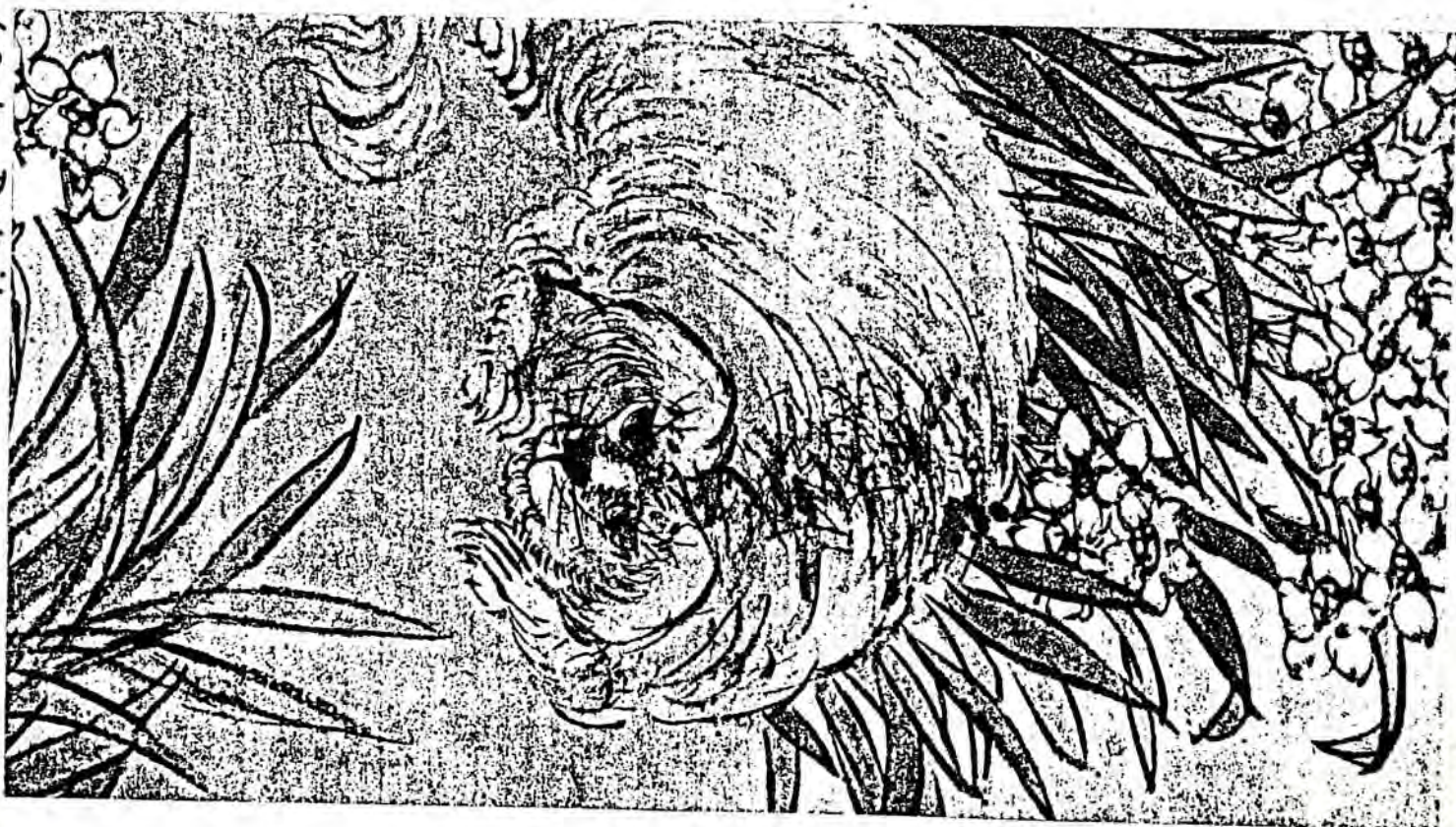


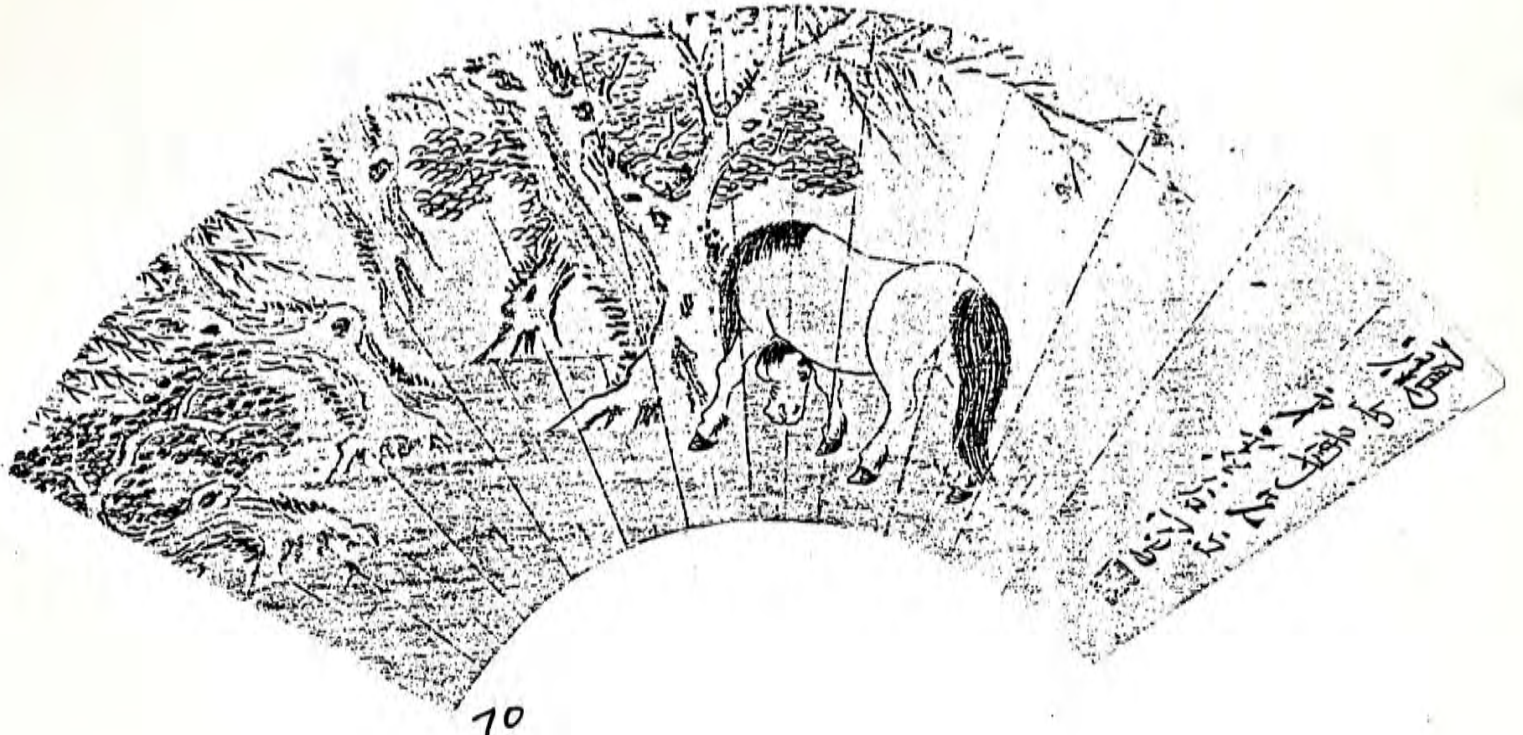


69 i Detail



69 k Detail





70



光緒二十五年二月 行



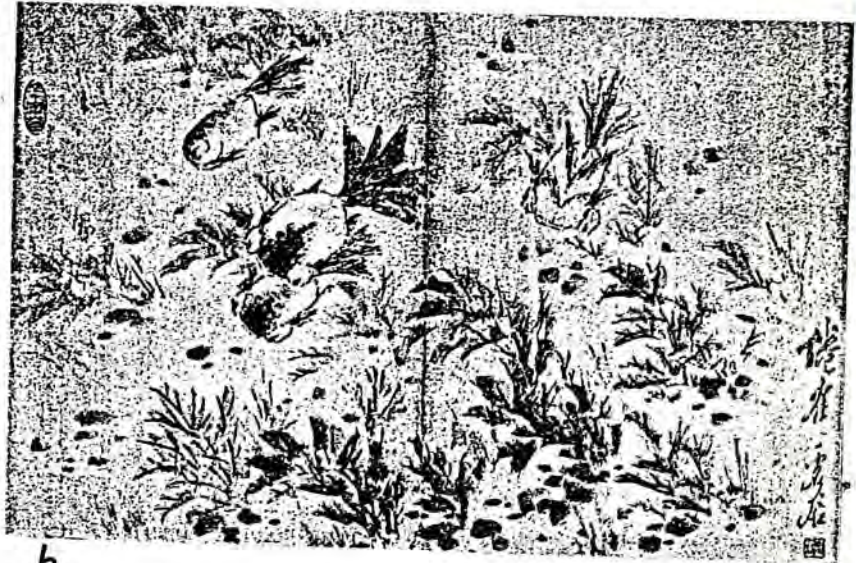


新  
珊  
仁  
兒  
友  
人  
教  
正  
庚  
子  
年  
秋  
月  
十  
日  
有  
二

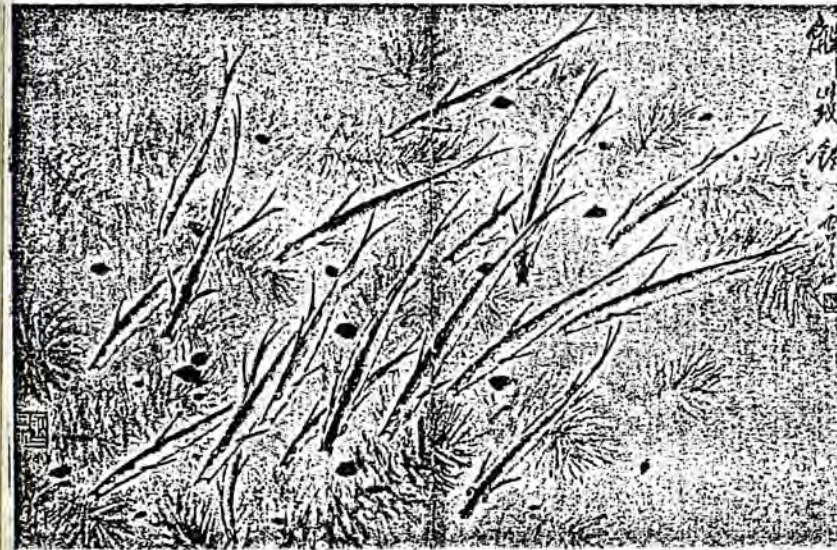




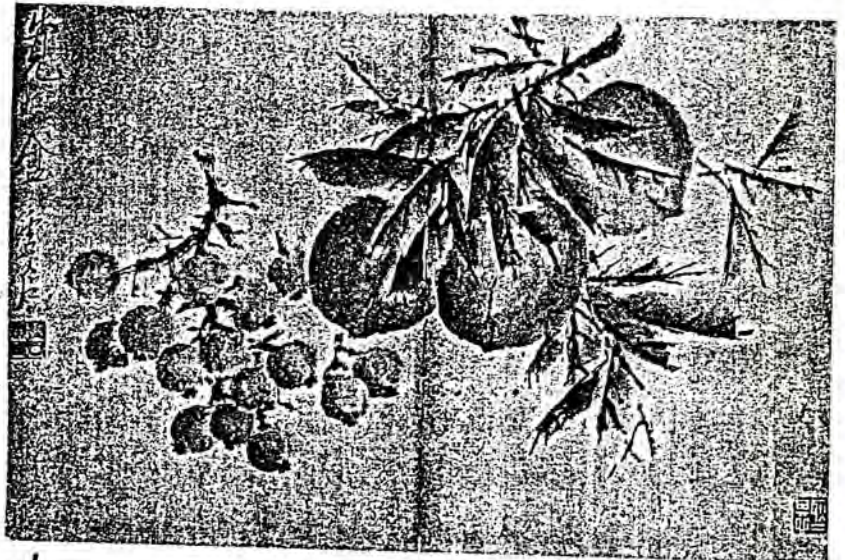
75 a



b



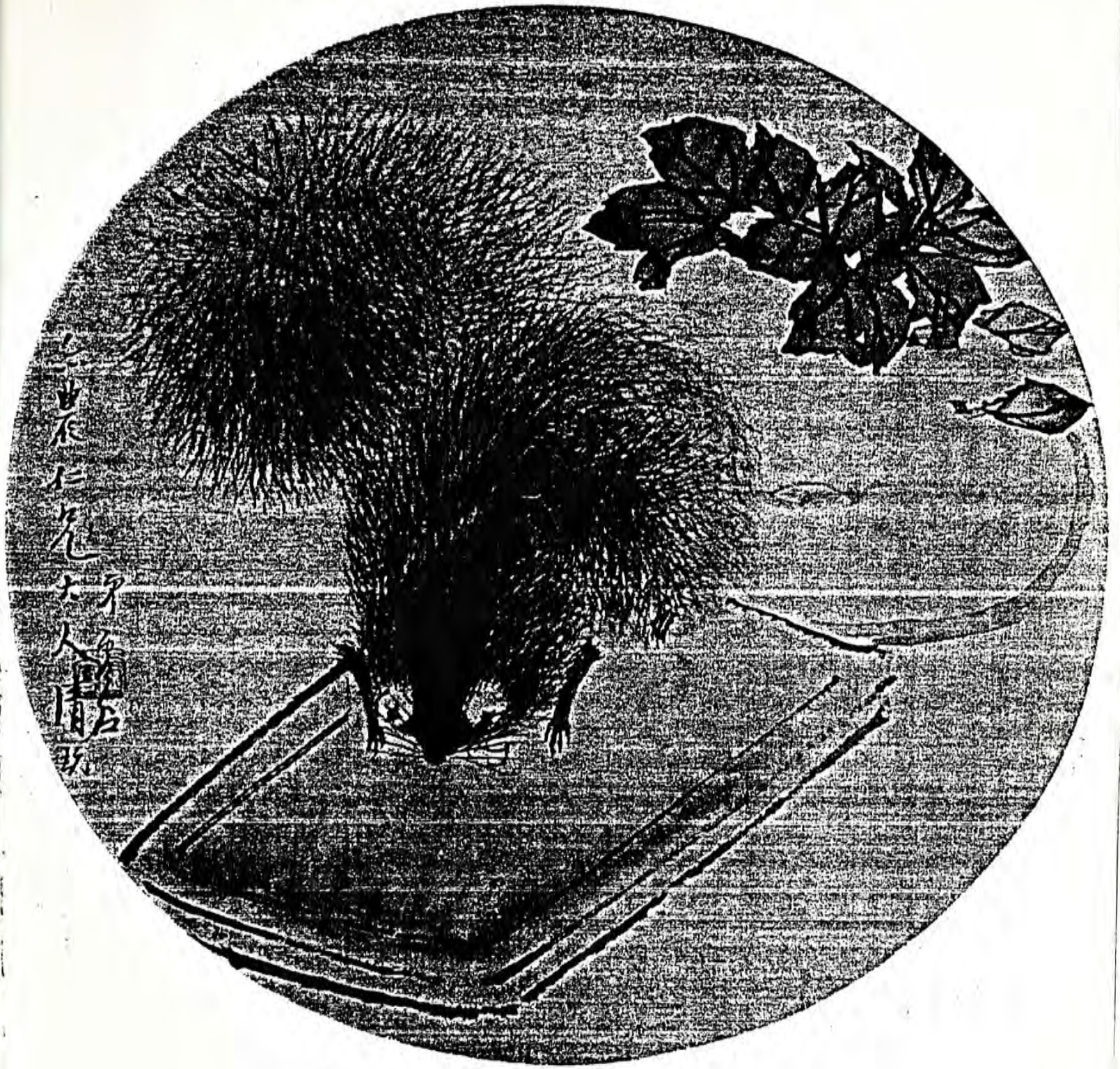
c

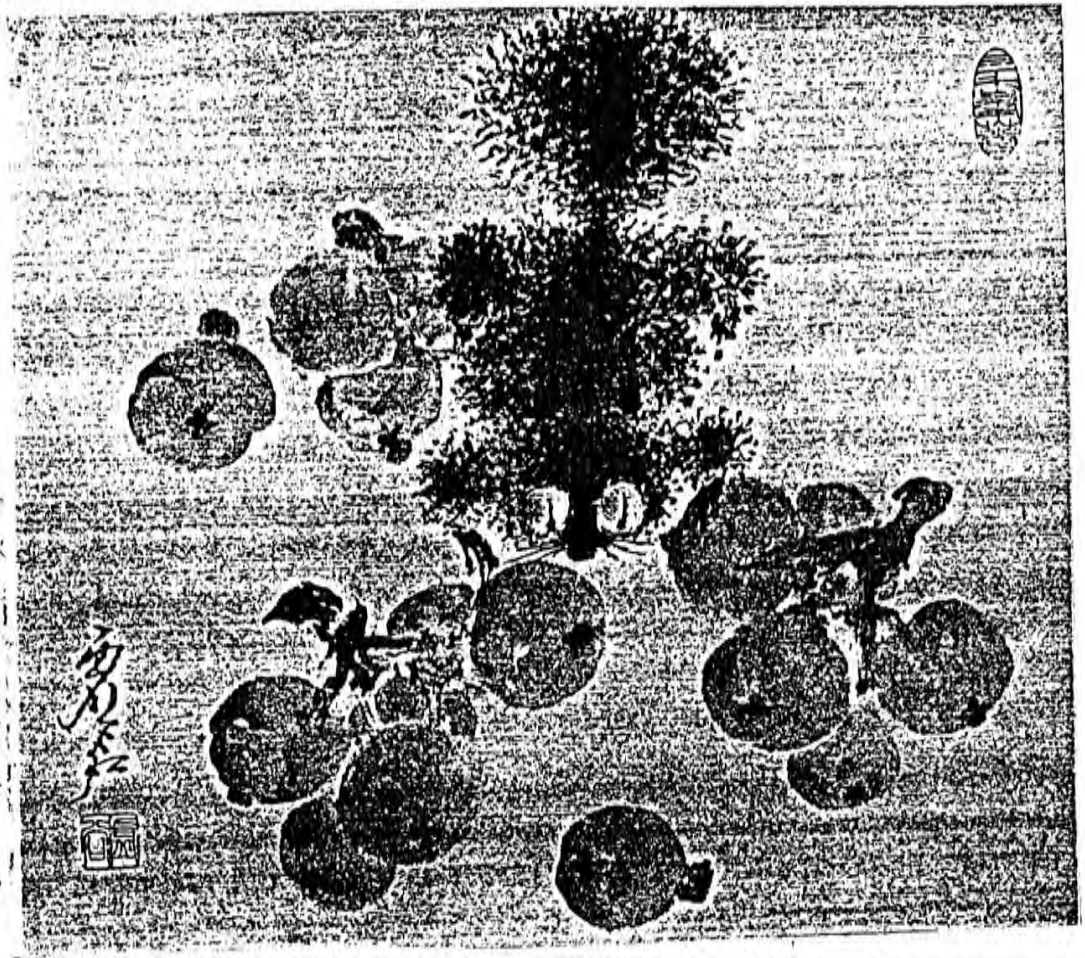


d

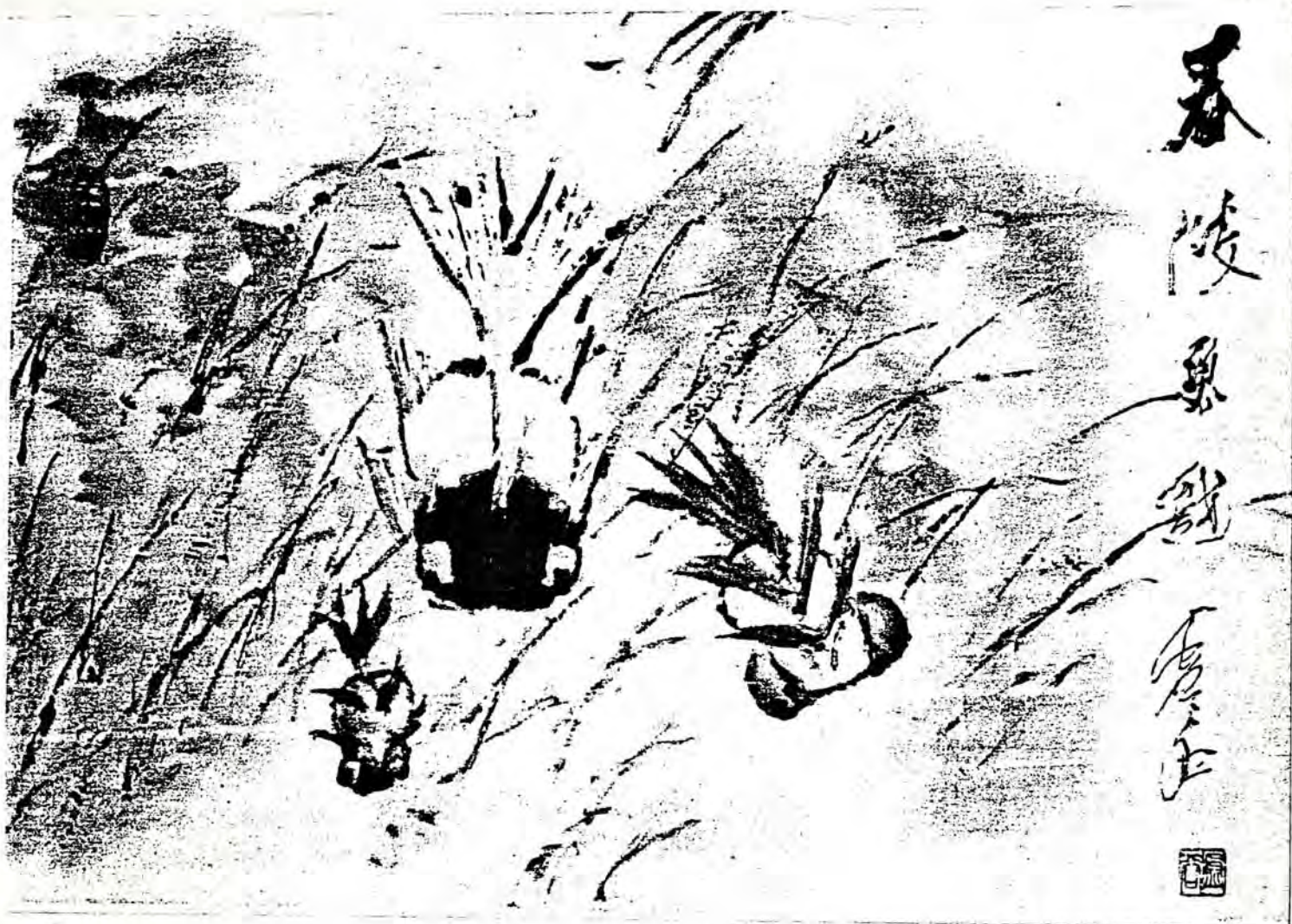




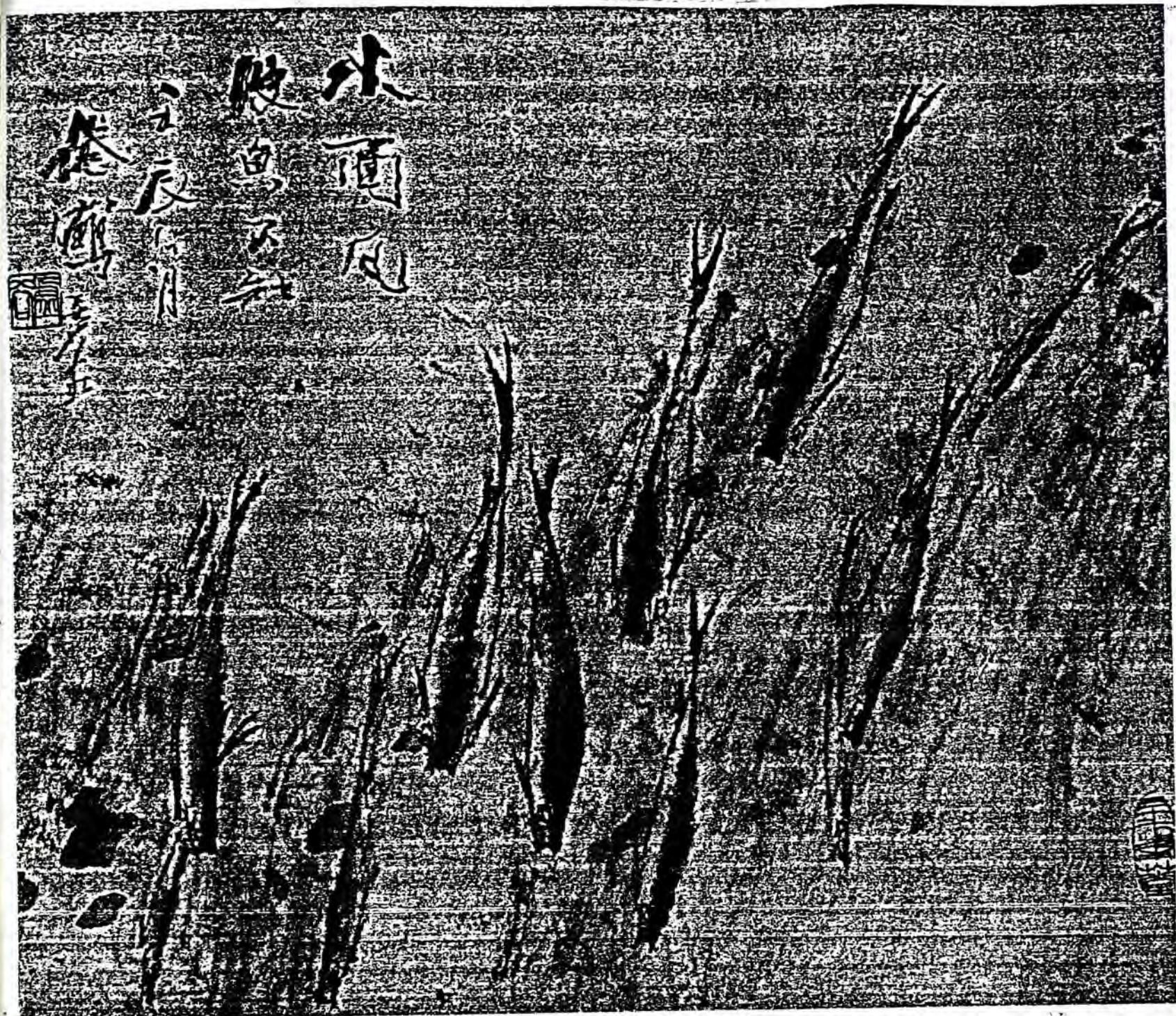




78



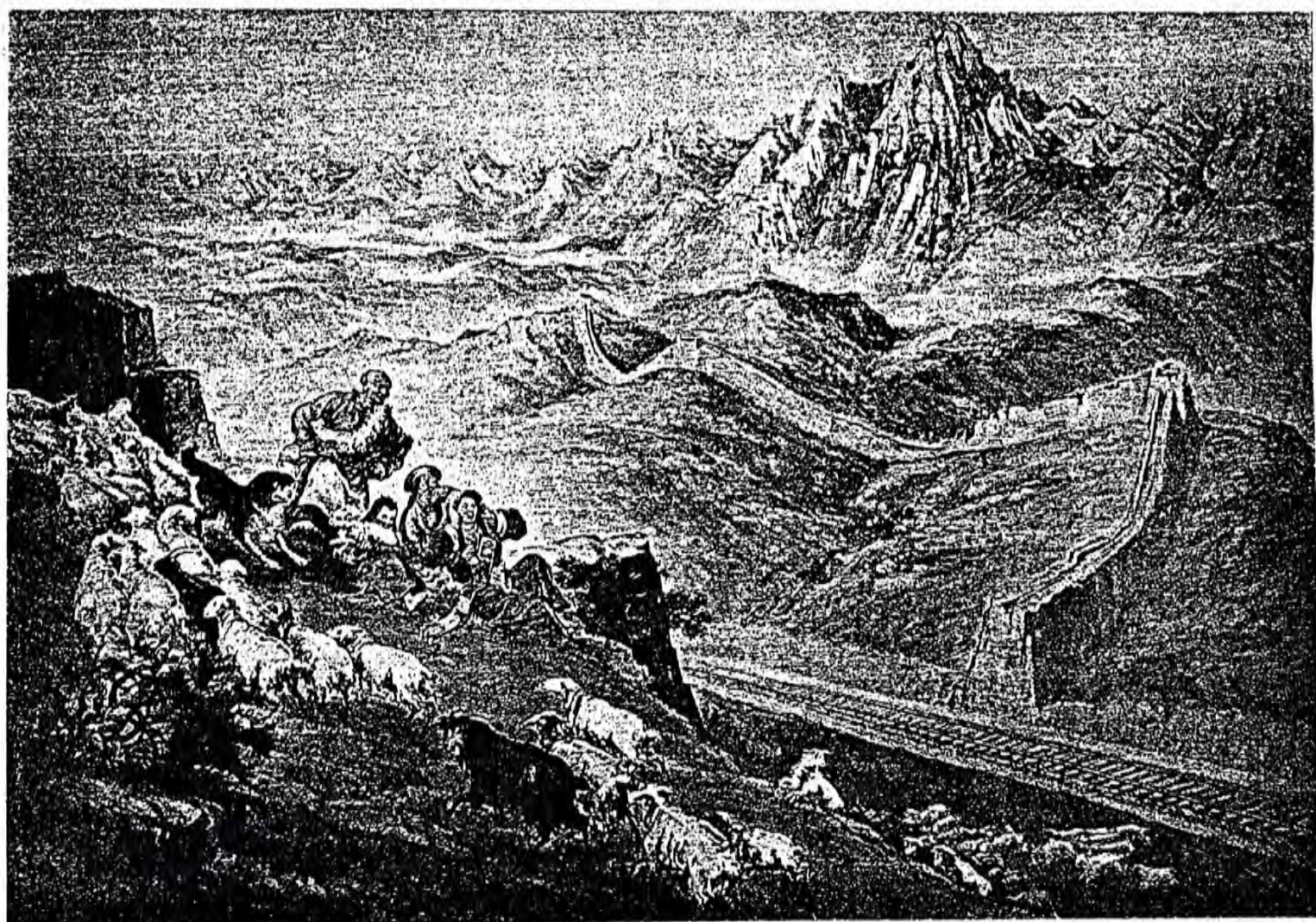


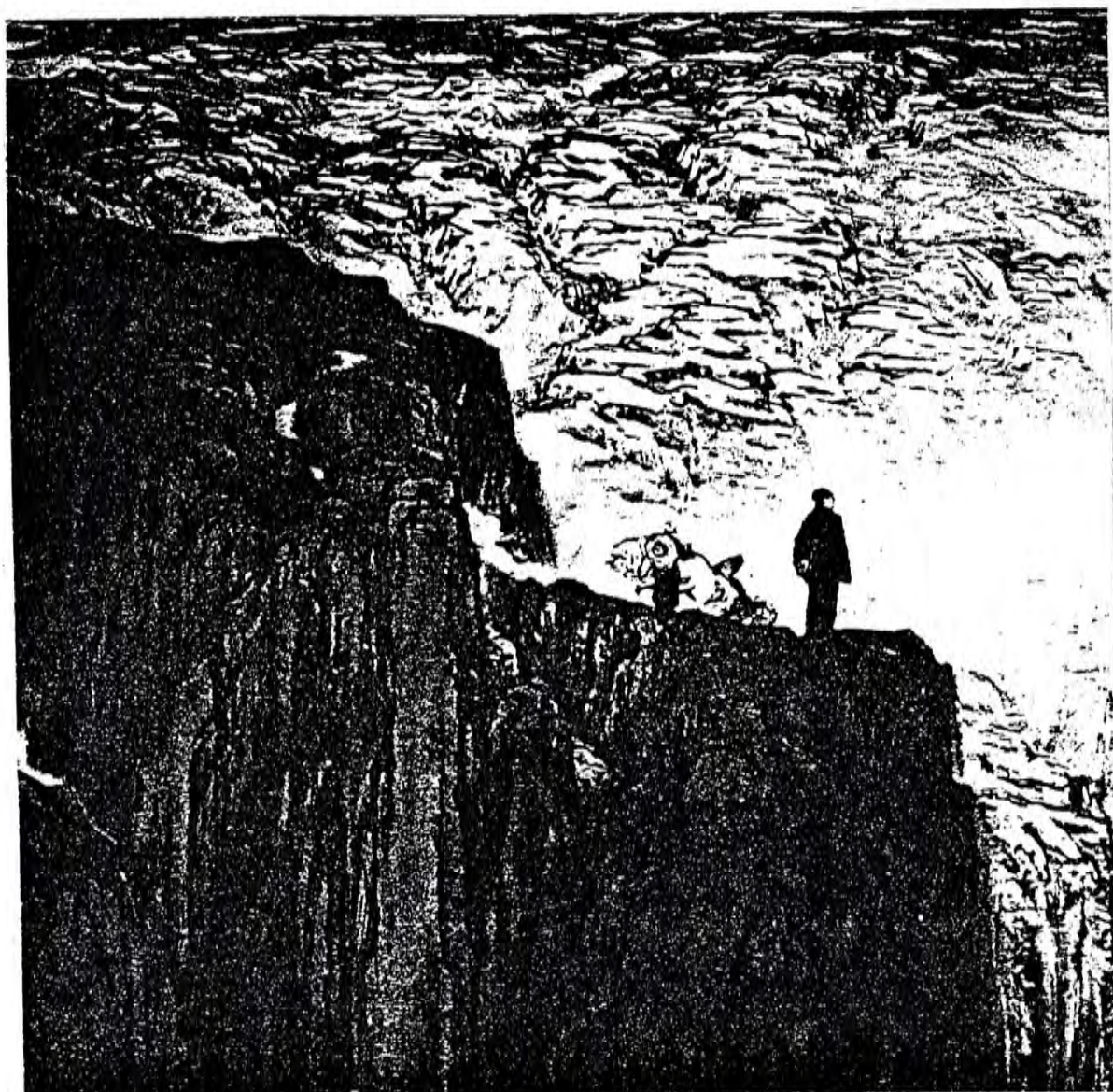


幾聲爆竹隔隣  
家戶歡呼慶歲  
華明日此時新歲  
月春風依舊度  
梅苞雨中初春

除夕詩 孟冬











何須籠綠葉且看舞龍蛇  
元嘉三年冬何曾寫



燕  
汾  
山  
民

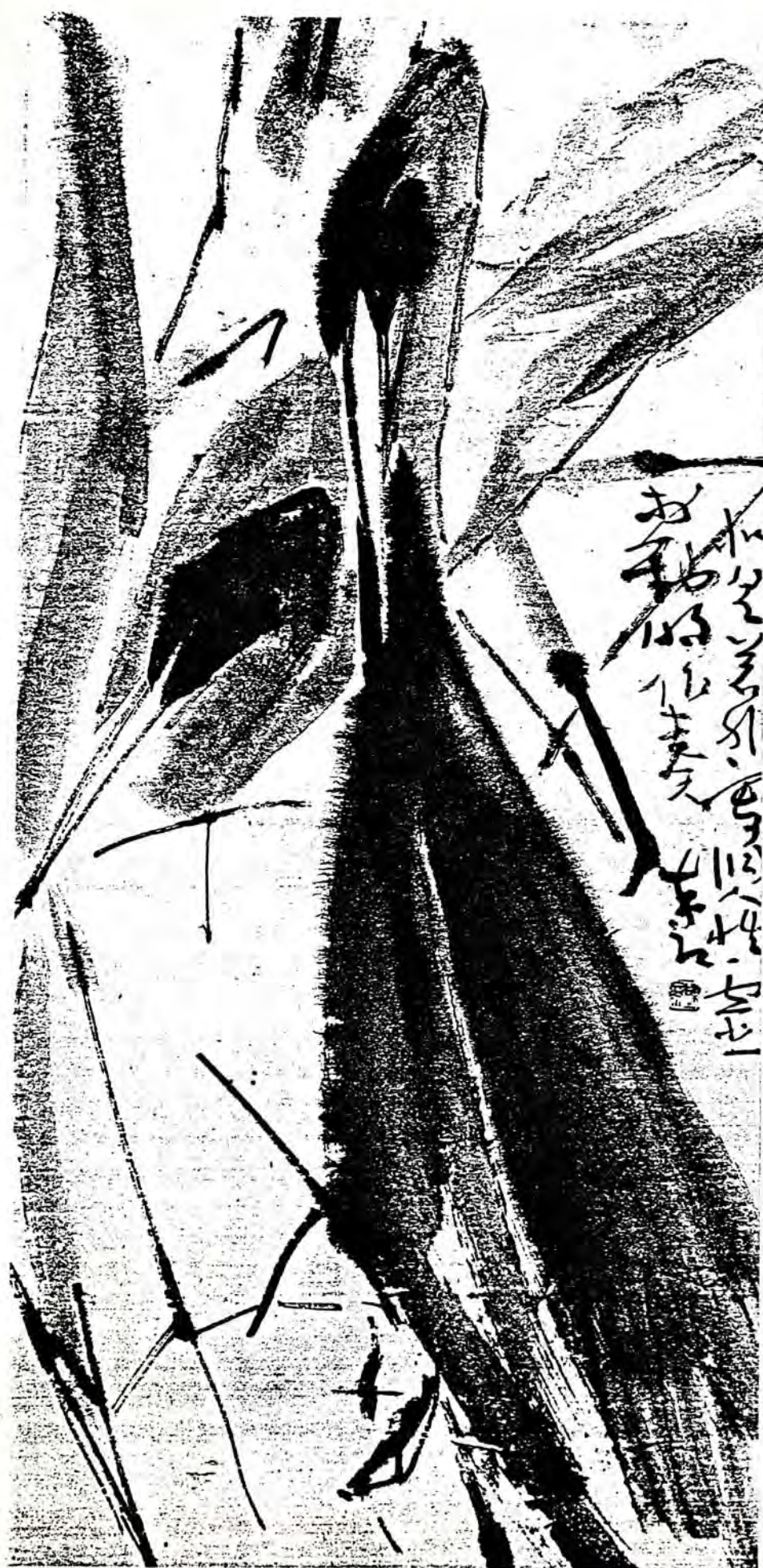
六  
十  
五  
年





夏  
秋  
冬  
春







閑暇  
蚤事  
戲仿  
虛谷  
和尚  
筆意

丁卯秋莫子

梅花州

堂二瞻老氏

朱此瞻年九十六



天然二  
 尺寸  
 風俗當  
 園蔬  
 癸亥春月  
 畫于上海  
 梅花神志  
 朱地瞻





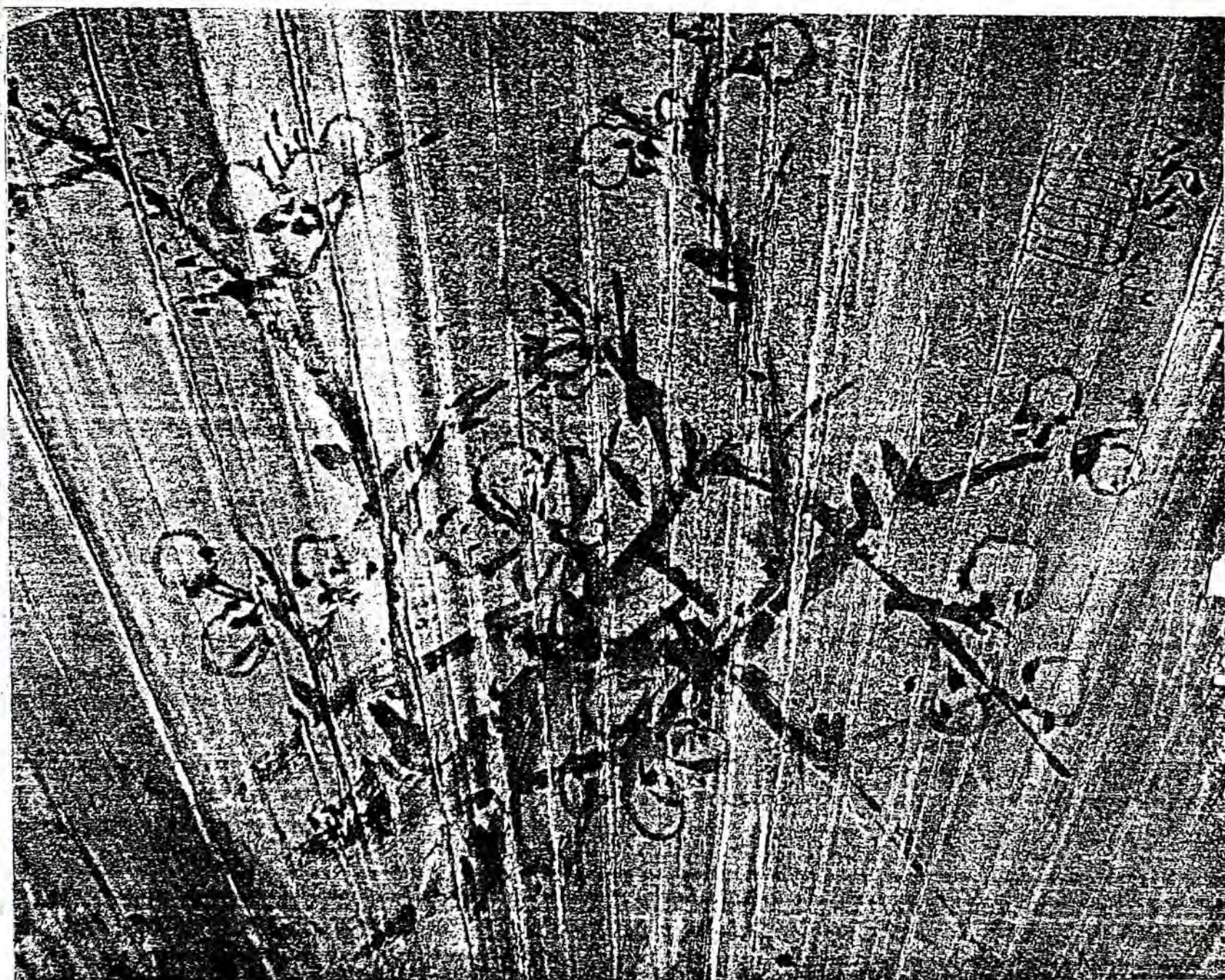


加  
官  
身  
之  
長  
·  
察  
仿  
解  
只  
館  
年









97



寒江野作





夕園池傍常見此景冥行  
傍草枯來真如對景寫  
照所謂胸有成竹也



100





(3)



水西九波長不知

(2)

同小菘也者推滋之也



(1)



堅於野元水查

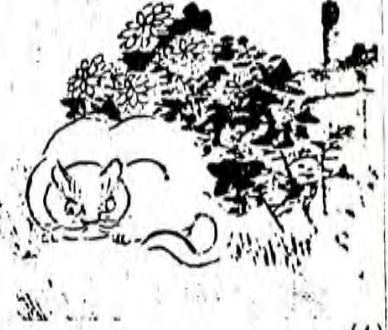
(6)



芽叶六月

(5)

研解花根芽



(4)



芽叶六月

(9)



湖中凡味

(8)

嫩叶系原



(7)



研解花根

(1)



運承就菊

芽叶六月



(1)

同六蒜也有雅俗之分也



102 a

同六蒜也有雅俗之分也



b





祭  
巳  
冬  
月  
可  
於  
澗  
水  
盪  
盪  
盪



仿解山放鹿  
馬年五月

105a



仿解山放鹿  
馬年五月

105b

解... 鄭... 庚辰九月

庚辰九月 古稀一五五

仿能... 筆... 古

庚辰九月 古稀一五五

曉... 殘... 身

楊柳岸

田... 五... 五...

八... 第... 一... 卷

五... 五...

八... 第... 一... 卷

古... 稀... 一... 五...

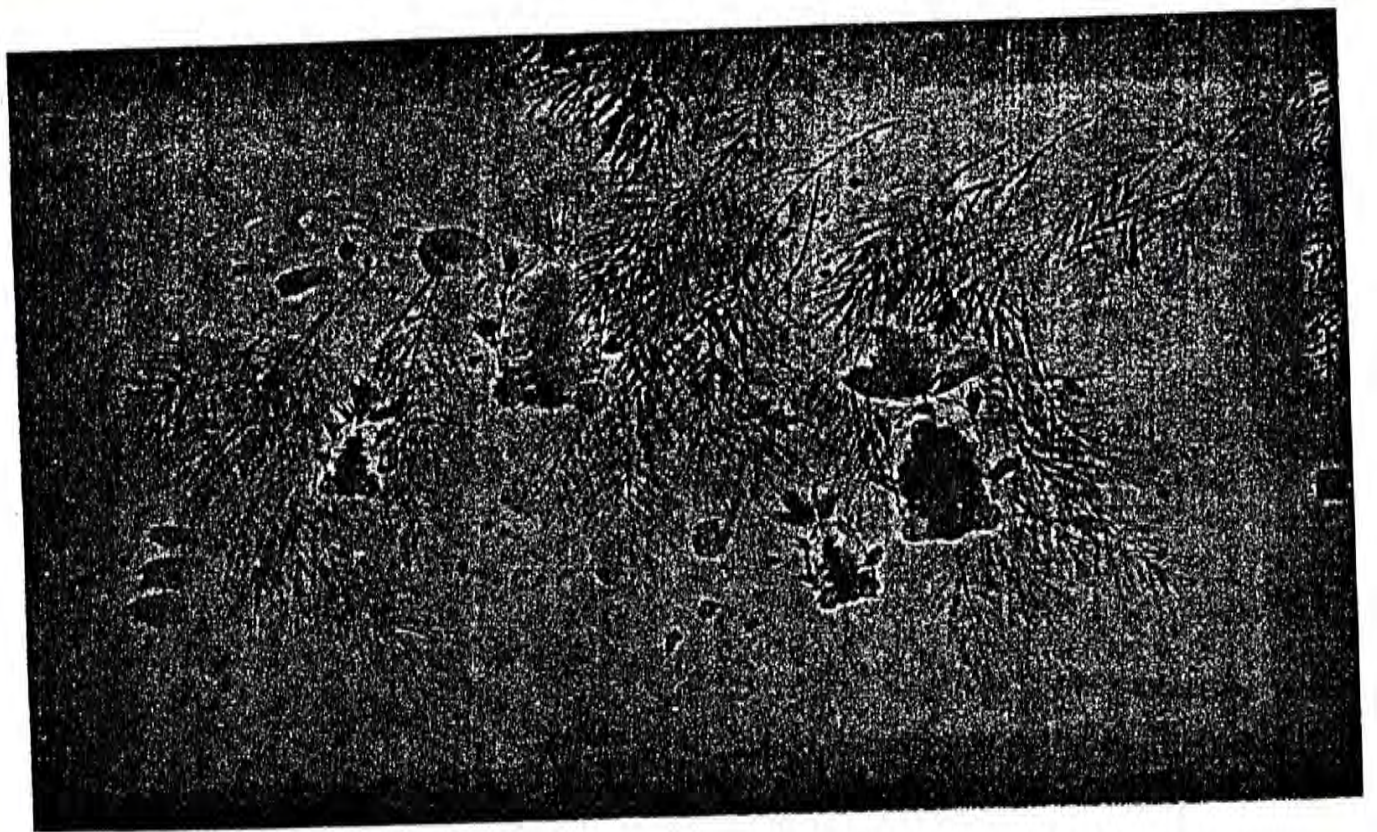
光緒丙申嘉平月  
曉非畫  
畫





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109



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