

**The Making of a Modern Art World:
The Institutionalisation of *Guohua* in Shanghai,
1929–1937**

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Abstract

Using *guohua*, the indigenous art form of China, as the point of entry, this thesis seeks to explore and interrogate the discourse both of *guohua* itself, and the wider discourse of Chinese modernism in the visual arts. It does this through examining newly adopted modern artistic practices of the Republican period, namely; art associations, journals, exhibitions, and the art market. *Guohua*, literally ‘national painting’, was a new term and new concept which has long been associated in the standard narrative of modern Chinese art history with tradition, backwardness, and conservatism. It is the aim of this thesis to correct the mistaken reading of *guohua* as essentially ‘traditional’, by closely analyzing primary source materials, mainly newspapers and magazines, published in the Republican period. Adopting the concept of ‘artistic field’ postulated by Pierre Bourdieu, this thesis will reconstruct the ‘logic of the field’ in the Shanghai art world of the Republican era. In the light of the sociological definition of ‘art world’, the thesis attempt to contextualize the visual arts through concentrating on the modes of production and consumption of painting in Shanghai. Focusing on the years 1929 to 1937, this research demonstrates how the young generation of *guohua* artists appropriated new practices and embraced new attitudes towards the artistic profession, and in doing so professionalized and institutionalized *guohua*. The chapters are thematically organized to deal with modern artistic practices from the art society to the art market, aiming to unpack the discursive practices of *guohua*, and to reexamine and redefine the discourse of modern China and Chinese modernity.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Yishujie 藝術界 ('art world' or 'artistic field') was a neologism that was used broadly in the early twentieth century Chinese press to describe a well-defined field, group of people, or community. For instance, under the title of 'art world', a new column entitled 'Yishujie' was introduced in both the 'Shanghai Daily' (*Shenbao*, 申報)¹ newspaper in 1925 and an art journal entitled 'Art World Monthly' (*Meishujie zhoukan*, 美術界週刊), established in 1926. Although the definition of the term *yishujie* was not yet clear at that time, from the mid 1920s onwards, *yishujie* became a popular term that appeared frequently in print media such as newspapers, magazines, and journals, offering clues allowing us to sketch a profile of the community described by this new term. Taking a closer look at the newspaper *Shenbao*, for instance, a considerable proportion of the paper's news items, advertisements, reviews, and articles pertained to the art world, suggesting that art had by that time become an integral component of modern Shanghai society, widely permeating the daily life of the general public.² Two news reports published in the newspapers *Shenbao* and *News Daily* (*Xinwenbao*, 新聞報) respectively are good examples showing how the art world was

¹ *Shenbao* was the most influential Chinese-language newspaper in the Republican period. Established by Ernest Major (1841–1908) in 1872, *Shenbao* featured a wide variety of coverage, including editorials on current issues, articles on local, national, and international news, advertising, and literary pages. Circulated widely across the nation, it was sold in various major cities, such as Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hong Kong and Hangzhou. For detailed discussion on *Shenbao*, see Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912* (Cambridge and London, 2004).

² All art-related articles published in the *Shenbao* have been organised and published in Yan Juanying 顏娟英, *Shanghai meishu fengyun 1872-1949 Shenbao yishu ziliao tiaomu suoyin* 上海美術風雲：1874-1949 申報藝術資料條目索引, 'The Heyday of Art in Shanghai: Index of Art Articles in *Shenbao* 1874-1949' (Taipei, 2006).

perceived and presented in Shanghai:

Dinner of the Qiuying Association (*Qiuying hui zhi yan*, 秋英會之宴)

The day before yesterday, Zhao Banpo from Hanyang and Xie Gongzhan from Zhenjian invited members of Shanghai's literary and artistic fields (*wenyijie*, 文藝界) to dinner at Dajiali Restaurant. Invitation cards were sent to guests including..... [what follows is a list of altogether seventy-eight names of artists, writers, and celebrities, including (in order of appearance) Zeng Xi, Pang Lanshi, Zhu Guwei, Wang Yiting, Wu Zheng, and Xu Langxi.] However, probably due to the delayed delivery of invitation cards, only two-thirds of the invited guests were actually in attendance yesterday.³

Record of Two Beautiful Dinners (*Ermei yan ji*, 二美宴記)

The 'Two Beautiful Dinners' does not mean dinners for the purpose of beauty, but for the benefit of the art world (*meishujie*, 美術界). On the 21st of this month, in fulfilment of Ms He Xiangning's wish to call for paintings for philanthropic purposes, three gentlemen—Jing Zhiyuan, Chen Shuren, and Li Zuhan—invited around twenty Shanghai artists to attend a dinner held at Li's house in Kade Road. On the following day, Huang Binhong of the Shenzhou Guoguang She Publishing House invited around a hundred members of the artistic field (*meishujie*, 美術界), the press (*baojie*, 報界), and the literary fields (*wenyijie*, 文藝界) to another dinner, held at the Dadong Restaurant. I was fortunate to be

³ Changsheng 長生, 'Qiuying hui zhi yan' 秋英會之宴, 'Dinner of the Qiuying Association', *Shenbao* 申報, 1928.10.4 (21). All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

able to attend both dinner parties. Owing to the importance of these dinners to the Chinese art world, I would like to make a record of both of them [.....] According to my memory, guests from the literary field included Hu Puan, Chen Zhuzun, Wang Xishen, etc., and from the press, Zhou Shoujuan, Yan Duhe, Yu Kongwo, Zhu Yingpeng, etc. The number of artists who attended was so numerous to the extent that it was difficult to count, and included such artists as Cheng Yaosheng, Shang Shengbo, Wang Zhongshang, Zhang Hongwei, Zheng Manqing, Zhang Shanzi, Xiong Songquan, Chen Gangshu, Ma Qizhou, Cai Yimin, Yu Jifan, Wang Taomin, Huang Ainong, Zheng Wuchang, Xu Zhengbai, Wang Geyi, and Wang Shizi.⁴

These two reports explicitly demonstrate how the term ‘art world’ or ‘artistic field’ was perceived and used in the rhetoric of newspaper items during the late 1920s, which sheds some light on our understanding of the meaning of ‘the art world’ and its relation to society in general at the time.

The first report is a record of a dinner party celebrating the inauguration of an art society, the Qiuying Association. The party was hosted by Zhao Banpo 趙半破 (Dates Unknown) and Xie Gongzhan 謝公展 (1885–1964),⁵ who invited guests whom they considered to be members of the literary and the artistic fields. Another report, written by active young art critic Yu

⁴ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, ‘*Ermei yan ji* 二美宴記’, ‘Record of Two Beautiful Dinners’, *Xinwen bao* 新聞報, ‘News Daily’, quoted in Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀, *Huang Binhong nianpu* 黃賓虹年譜, ‘Chronology of Huang Binhong’s Life’ (Shanghai, 2005), pp. 215–6.

⁵ Brief biographies of people who are mentioned in the thesis are attached in Appendix 1.

Jianhua 俞劍華 (1895–1979),⁶ is a report about two important Shanghai dinner parties. One was held by He Xiangning 何香凝 (1878–1972), the wife of highly-ranked Republican government official Liao Zhongkai 廖仲愷 (1877–1925) and an active woman artist active in politics, with the aim of raising funds to support a private school. The other was organised by revered cultural celebrity Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865–1955)⁷, who intended to gather professionals from the literary, artistic, and publishing fields to discuss the new directions and ongoing plans for the Shenzhou guoguang she publishing house, which he had recently bought. These reports show the imperative role played by the art world in the artistic development of modern China. Whether it was used for the purpose of establishing an art society, raising money for a school, or running a publishing house, the collective power of the members of a well-defined art community had become one of the most critical determinants of the success of a variety of ventures. These writings were not only purposely written to record the various events but also intentionally included long lists of names of people who participated in the events— names with whom the public were presumably familiar and which carried some meaning and had some value to the newspaper's readers. The order of the names listed also shows the underlying logic, in which the beginnings of the lists included people who

⁶ For a brief discussion of Yu's art and life, see *Yu Jianhua huaji* 俞劍華畫集, 'Paintings by Yu Jianhua', (Ji'nan, 1981).

⁷ For a detailed chronology of Huang's life see Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*; for Huang's writings, see Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀 ed., *Huang Binhong wenji* 黃賓虹文集, 'Collection of Huang Binhong's Writings', (Shanghai, 1999); for a discussion of Huang's achievement in art, see Kotewall Pik-Yee, *Huang Binhong (1865–1955) and His Redefinition of the Chinese Painting Tradition in the Twentieth Century*, Ph.D dissertation (University of Hong Kong, 1999); Jason C. Kuo, *Innovation within Tradition: The Painting of Huang Pin-hung* (Hong Kong, c1989); Shen Fu, 'Huang Binhong's Shanghai Period Landscape Paintings and His Late Floral Works in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery', *Orientalism*, 18. 9 (September, 1987), pp. 66–78.

were perceived as more important, such as Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938),⁸ Zeng Xi 曾熙 (1861–1930), and Huang Binhong—revealing the fact that people in the art world were stratified into a perceptible social hierarchy. Under the category of ‘literary and artistic field’, seventy-eight names appear in the first report, while in Yu Jianhua’s article, twenty-four names are listed and specifically classified into three categories: namely the literary field, artistic field, and print media.

With different purposes—say, the inauguration of an art society, fundraising for a school, or the announcement of the handover of a publishing house—three different dinner parties drew together members of the art community, most of whom were renowned Shanghai celebrities such as Zeng Xi, Zhu Zumei 朱祖謀 (1857–1931), Wang Yiting, He Xiangning, Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1884–1948),⁹ and Huang Binhong. At these gatherings, different issues related to the art world were discussed, and details of these events were then published in the public sphere—suggesting that art had by that time become a newsworthy public issue in the glittering metropolis of Shanghai. Furthermore, these remarkable reports recorded the astonishing number of people from the art world taking part in the dinner parties; for instance, the dinner held by Huang Binhong was attended by around one

⁸ For a further discussion of Wang, see Tsao Hsing-yuan, ‘A Forgotten Celebrity: Wang Zhen (1867–1938), Businessman, Philanthropist, and Artist’, in Ju-hsi Chou ed., *Art at the Close of China’s Empire* (Tempe, 1998), pp. 94–109; Siu Fun-kee, *The Case of Wang Yiting (1867–1938): a Unique Figure in Early Twentieth Century Chinese Art History*, M. Phil dissertation (University of Hong Kong, 2000); Walter Davis, *Wang Yiting and the Art of Sino-Japanese Exchange*, unpublished Ph D dissertation (Ohio University, in progress).

⁹ For a further discussion of Chen, see Chen Zhenhun 陳真魂 ed., *Chen Shuren de yishu* 陳樹人的藝術, ‘The Art of Chen Shuren’, (Hong Kong, 1980); Chen Zhenhun 陳真魂 ed., *Chen Shuren xiansheng nianpu* 陳樹人先生年譜, ‘The Chronology of Chen Shuren’s Life’, (Guangzhou, 1993); Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: the Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906–1951* (Berkeley, 1988).

hundred guests. This figure in a way implies that the number of people participating in cultural production in modern China far surpassed the number of artists recorded in the standard art history of the period. Evidently, it may be asserted that a community referred to as the 'art world' had already emerged in Shanghai's public sector, suggesting that art production had become a public and collective activity during this time, as distinguished from imperial China, when art production took place mainly within the private sector, particularly within elite circles.

This study aims to explore the history of modern Chinese art by adopting the concept of an 'art world', focusing especially on the key subject of 'national painting' (*guohua*, 國畫) and the key players in this field: *guohua* artists (*guohuajia*, 國畫家), many of whom belonged to China's first generation of artists who were born at the turn of the twentieth century, in a particular geographical location—Shanghai—and within a particular historical period—from 1929 to 1937. Despite the fact that the term 'art world' has been used as a generic phrase in the study of Chinese art history, the present study uses the framework and conception of 'art world' or 'artistic field' (to be explained in greater detail later) as defined by certain sociologists, mainly Pierre Bourdieu and Howard Becker, to approach the history of modern Chinese art.¹⁰

¹⁰ I am indebted to Prof. Michel Hockx for inspiring me to use the idea of an 'artistic field' to approach my research. His books on the literary field of modern China shed light on our collective understanding of the development of modern Chinese literature from a different perspective and are the source of inspiration for my dissertation. See Michel Hockx ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-century China* (Honolulu, 1999); Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937* (Leiden, 2002).

New Approaches to Modern Chinese Art Studies

In its early days, the study of modern Chinese art intended to explain the transformation of modern Chinese art with reference to the cause-and-effect relationship between art and social factors—especially (for instance) China's encounters with the West, the new cultural movement, and the reform of the country's educational system—most scholars have inevitably adopted the prevailing 'impact-response approach' model of the 1950s to examine and evaluate the development of modern Chinese art.¹¹ In 1957, Michael Sullivan, the leading pioneer of modern Chinese art studies, began to research this area thoroughly. His book *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* used the 'impact-response approach' and emphasises the influence of external factors on modern Chinese art; Sullivan pays a great deal of attention to the process of westernisation in Chinese art and tries to classify modern Chinese artists into two polarised categories: namely, traditional and westernised.¹² In line with Sullivan's classification and model, beginning in the 1970s, Mayching Kao,¹³ Chu-tsing Li,¹⁴ Ellen Laing,¹⁵ Lang Shaojun,¹⁶ Ruan Rongchun, Hu Guanghua,¹⁷ Wen C. Fong¹⁸, and Julia Andrews¹⁹ have joined the ranks of

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of this model, see Wang Xi, 'Approaches to the Study of Modern Chinese History: External Versus Internal Causations', in Frederic Wakeman Jr. and Wang Xi eds., *China's Quest for Modernization: A Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 1–21.

¹² Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959); Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley, 1996).

¹³ Mayching Kao, *China's Response to the West: 1898-1937*, Ph.D dissertation (Stanford University, 1972); Mayching Kao ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong, 1988).

¹⁴ Chu-tsing Li, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting* (Ascona, 1979).

¹⁵ Ellen Mae Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproduction of Paintings by Twentieth Century Artists* (Portland, 1984).

¹⁶ Lang Shaojun 郎紹君, *Lun Zhongguo xiandai meishu 論中國現代美術*, 'On Modern Chinese Art', (Shanghai, 1988).

¹⁷ Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華, *Jindai meishu shi 近代美術史*, 'History of Modern Art', (Hong Kong, 1997).

¹⁸ Wen C. Fong, *Between Two Cultures: Late-Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Chinese Paintings from the Robert H. Ellsworth Collection in the Metropolitan Museum Art* (New York, 2001).

¹⁹ Julia F. Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley,

those studying modern Chinese art and have taken more expanded approaches to broadening the scope of the subject. However, despite the fact that their scholarly enquiries have helped to construct a more clear and comprehensive outline of the development of modern Chinese art, their work has also cast our understanding of the subject in an oversimplified way, which is inevitably imbued with the simplistic binaries of Western and Chinese, innovative and traditional, new and old. Through the prism of Eurocentrism, the role of 'Western influence' has become the central focus in accounting for the progressive development of modern Chinese art. Inevitably, little attention has been paid to the role of *guohua*, the indigenous art form of China, as well as the role played by tradition in the processes of modernisation and transformation. Throughout the 1990s, the opening of China unearthed more and more visual as well as historical materials which had not been available in previous decades, and Chinese scholars have been participating in the compilation and publication of useful primary materials, ranging from early periodicals and newspapers to collections of reprints.²⁰ In addition, the

c1994); Julia F. Andrews, 'Traditional Chinese Painting in an Age of Revolution, 1911-1937', in Cao Yiqiang 曹意強 and Fan Jingzhong 范景中 eds., *20 shiji Zhongguohua : chuantong de yanxu yu yanjin guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 20 世紀國畫：傳統的延續與演進國際學術研討會論文集, 'Chinese Painting and the Twentieth Century: Creative in the Aftermath of Tradition', (Hangzhou, 1997), pp.579-595; Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen eds., *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York, 1998); Julia F. Andrews, 'A Shelter from the Storm: Chinese Painting in a Cataclysmic Age (1930-1980)', in *Between the Thunder and the Rain: Chinese Paintings from the Opium War to the Cultural Revolution, 1840-1979* (San Francisco, 2000), pp. 169-197.

²⁰ Xu Zihao 許志浩, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyanlu: 1911-1949* 中國美術期刊過眼錄: 1911-1949, 'A Study of Chinese Art Journals: 1911-1949', (Shanghai, 1992); Xu Zihao 許志浩, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manglu* 中國美術社團漫錄, 'A Record of Art Societies in China', (Shanghai, 1994); Shui Tianzhong 水天中 and Lang Shaojun 郎紹君 eds., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan* 二十世紀中國美術文選, 'Essays on Twentieth Century Chinese Art' 2 vols, (Shanghai, 1999); Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀, Mao Ziliang 茅子良 and Chen Hui 陳輝 eds., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli* 近現代金石書畫家潤例, 'Remuneration Rate of Modern and Contemporary Seal-Cutters, Calligraphers and Painters', (Shanghai, 2004); Yan, *Shanghai meishu fengyun 1872-1949 Shenbao yishu ziliao tiaomu suoyni*.

blooming art auction market for modern Chinese painting currently taking place in various Asian regions has also brought to the public many previously inaccessible paintings, raising the possibility that the numbers of *guohua* works produced and artists having participated in cultural production of Republican China is far in excess of what standard history has traditionally estimated, even to the extent that *guohua* in fact overwhelmingly dominated Republican China's art scene. Undoubtedly, these materials have constructed a new vision and indicated new directions for the field to take in approaching modern Chinese art, yet at the same time they have complicated the oversimplified narrative of standard modern Chinese art history, challenging the erroneous readings of *guohua* and artistic traditions in previous scholarly literature.

Shifting away from the classic impact-response paradigm, scholars have adopted new approaches and perspectives in their examination of the subject. Wan Qingli adopted Paul Cohen's China-centred approach to re-examine the art history of the nineteenth century, a period that has heretofore been neglected by historians, and argues that internal factors within China should also be considered as an alternative primary driving force that fostered the development of modern Chinese art.²¹ Kuiyi Shen challenges the simple classificatory concepts of 'reformist' versus 'conservative' and 'traditionalist' versus 'innovative', considering the routes to modernisation taken by various

²¹ Wan Qingli, *Bingfei shuailuo de bainian: Shijiu shiji Zhongguo huihua shi* 並非衰落的百年—十九世紀中國繪畫史, 'The Century was not Declining in Art: A History of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Painting', (Taipei, 2005). For Cohen's China-centred approach, see Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent China Past* (New York, 1984).

guohua artists.²² Julia Andrews has also shifted her scholarly attention to the practices within the *guohua* community by studying in depth two *guohua* societies, the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Association (*Zhongguo nüzi shuhua hui*, 中國女子書畫會) and the Painting Association of China (*Zhongguo hua hui*, 中國畫會). She argues that 'traditionalism was, to some important artists, an active, not passive, theoretical position.'²³ Recently, an increasing number of thematic exhibitions and conferences have focused their attention on China's traditional art form, *guohua*—including the 'Twentieth-century Landscape Painting' (*Ershi shiji shanshuihua*, 二十世紀山水畫),²⁴ and 'Turmoil, Representation, and Trend: Modern Chinese Painting' (*Shibian xingxiang liufeng Zhongguo jindai huihua*, 世變·形象·流風—中國近代繪畫).²⁵ Furthermore, the adoption of anthropological and sociological methodologies, in addition to the advocacy of interdisciplinary approaches throughout academia, have shed new light on the overall study of Chinese art history, opening up new directions for exploring multiple facets of Chinese art and shifting attention from conventional stylistic studies to investigations of the social and cultural contexts within which works of art were produced—for instance, art patronage, art markets, and the social history of art.²⁶ In addition, due to the widespread cultural theories about the nature

²² Kuiyi Shen, 'Traditional Painting in Transitional Era, 1900–1950', in Julia Andrews ed., *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York, 1998), pp. 80–131.

²³ Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 'Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: The Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 11. 1 (1999, Spring), pp. 1–30; 'The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai', in Jason C. Kuo ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s–1930s* (Washington, 2007), pp. 79–93.

²⁴ *Ershi shiji shanshuihua* 二十世紀山水畫, 'Twentieth-century Landscape Painting', (Shanghai, 2006).

²⁵ *Shibian xingxiang liufeng Zhongguo jindai huihua* 1796–1949, 世變·形象·流風—中國近代繪畫 1796–1949, 'Turmoil, Representation and Trend: Modern Chinese Painting, 1796–1949', (Kaohsiung, 2007).

²⁶ The best examples include Chu-ting Li ed., *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and*

of power—particularly the work of Michel Foucault and Edward Said—scholars are now tending to re-examine and redefine the traditional discourse about modern China and Chinese modernity to mitigate the Eurocentric bias. Within the realm of art history, modernity in Chinese art is now discussed from different perspectives rather than a solely Eurocentric one, extending beyond the simplistic binaries of past and present, Chinese and West, old and new.²⁷ Aida Wong's *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-style Painting in Modern China* is an insightful attempt to question the discourse about Chinese modernism by focusing on *guohua* with reference to a non-Western country, Japan.²⁸ She points out that despite the fact that 'guohua is premised on the preservation of age-old elements in Chinese painting', it 'embodies neither a pure nostalgia for the past nor the sort of radical mythologizing of the untrodden path,' and that instead, it conveys 'modernity without rupture'.²⁹ She convincingly clarifies the role played by tradition and transcultural dialogue in the discourse about Chinese modernity, constructing a more complex picture of modern Chinese art and challenging previous readings and understandings of *guohua*.

Shifting from focusing on the effects of contact with the West to concentrating instead on China's neighbour Japan, it is clear that the cultural aspects of the Sino-Japanese relationship have recently become one of the

Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting (Kansas, 1989); James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York, 1994); Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge, 2001); Craig Clunas, *Elegant Debts: the Social Art of Wen Zhengming, 1470–1559* (London, 2004).

²⁷ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth Century China* (New York, 1998); Fong, *Between Two Cultures*; Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith eds., *Chinese Art Modern Expressions* (New York, 2001).

²⁸ Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu, 2006).

²⁹ Wong, *Parting the Mists*, p. 123.

central issues of scholarly investigation.³⁰ From the late Qing period to the early Republican period—roughly the 1850s to 1920s—cultural contact between China and Japan intensified to the extent that it surpassed that of any period before that time.³¹ Thousands of young Chinese students went to Japan to further their advanced studies, while at the same time hundreds of Japanese instructors were employed by Chinese educational institutions to teach, showing the crucial role played by Japan in the cultural development in modern China.³² In the realm of art, as Liu Xiaolu pointed out, a rough survey shows that from 1902 to 1949, there were more Chinese artists who had been trained in Japan than in France and all other European countries combined.³³ Following their first contact, trade between the two countries had stimulated the circulation of material goods—including art products such as ancient and contemporary paintings, calligraphy, books, and antiques—in both China and Japan, which in turn had a significant influence on artistic practices and aesthetic ideologies.³⁴ As shown in Appendix 4, in the very

³⁰ For a discussion of the cultural dimension of Sino-Japanese relations see, Joshua Fogel, *The Cultural Dimension of Sino-Japanese Relations: Essays on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1995); Joshua Fogel ed., *Late Qing China and Meiji Japan: Political and Cultural Aspects* (Norwalk, 2004); Joshua Fogel, ed., *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: Japan and China* (Philadelphia, 2005); Joshua Fogel ed., *Crossing the Yellow Sea: Sino-Japanese Cultural Contacts, 1600/1950* (Norwalk, 2007).

³¹ For a discussion of the early contact see, Joshua Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945* (Stanford, 1996).

³² Joshua Fogel, 'Introduction: Integrating Late Qing China and Meiji Japan', in Fogel ed., *Late Qing China and Meiji Japan*, p. vii.

³³ Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, *Shijie meishu zhong de Zhongguo yu Riben meishu* 世界美術中的中國與日本美術, 'Chinese and Japanese Art in the World Art' (Nanning, 2001), p. 217.

³⁴ For the discussions of the circulation of artworks between China and Japan see, 富田升 Noboru Tomita, Zhao Xiumin 趙秀敏 translated, *Jindai Riben de Zhongguo yishupinliuzhuan yu jianshang* 近代日本の中國藝術品流轉與鑒賞, 'The Circulation and Appreciation of Chinese Artworks in Modern Japan' (Shanghai, 2005); 小林優子 Yuko Kobayashi, 'shijiu shiji houban zai Riben liutong de Zhongguohua yi Jingjia tang shoucang weili' 十九世紀後半在日本流通的中國畫：以靜嘉堂收藏為例, 'The Circulation of Chinese Paintings in Latter Nineteenth-century Japan: A Study Centering around the Seikado Collection', *Shibian xingxiang liufeng*, pp. 295 - 312; 弓野隆之 Takayuki Yumino, 'Jindai Riben de Zhongguo shuhua souji yi Abu cangpin weili' 近代日本の中國書畫蒐集：以阿部藏品為例, 'Collection Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in Modern Japan: The Abe

early twentieth century, most solo exhibitions were organized by Japanese artists who sought opportunities in the metropolis of Shanghai. Although a thorough exploration of the Sino-Japanese relationship is beyond the scope of the present study (due to the fact that the involvement of Japanese artists in artistic activities of the 1930s was in fact decreasing significantly),³⁵ it is worth sketching briefly here recent scholarly studies of the Sino-Japanese relationship in modern Chinese art studies. Through this endeavour, it will be demonstrated how this innovative field of scholarly research has added new dimensions to the western-oriented framework of scholarly inquiry, salvaging our understanding of modern Chinese art from the oversimplified impact-response interpretation. In the past few years, scholars in the field of modern Chinese art history have made efforts to explore the artistic exchange between China and Japan from various perspectives, ranging from a wide overview to specific case studies.³⁶ For instance, based on a large amount of

Collection', in *Shibian xingxiang liufeng*, pp. 313 - 28;

³⁵ Yoshindo Ajioka pointed out that the establishment of the *Zhongguo huahui* 中國畫會在 late 1931 encouraged anti-Japanese sentiment in the Shanghai art world, which resulted in the termination of Sino-Japanese artistic interchanges which prevailed in the following decade. See 味岡義人 Yoshindo Ajioka, '1920 zhi 1930 niandai zai Shanghai de Zhong Ri jiaoliu huodong 一九二零到三零年代在上海的中日交流活動', 'Sino-Japanese Cultural Relations and Activities in Shanghai, 1920s - 30s', in *Shibian xingxiang liufeng*, p. 259 - 65 (p. 265).

³⁶ For a discussion of artistic exchange between China and Japan, see Chen Zhenlian 陳振濂, *Jindai Zhong Ri huihua jiaoliu shi bijiao yanjiu* 近代中日繪畫交流比較研究, 'A Comparative Study of Artistic Exchange Between China and Japan in Modern Time' (Hefei, 2000); Liu, *Shijie meishu zhong de Zhongguo yu Riben meishu*; Aida Wong, *Parting the Mist*; Yu-chih Lai 賴毓芝, 'Fuliu qianjie: 1870 niandai Shanghai de Riben wangluo yu Ren Bonian zuopin zhong de Riben yangfen 伏流潛借: 1870 年代上海的日本網絡與任伯年作品中的日本養分', 'Surreptitious Appropriation: Japanese Networks in Shanghai in the 1870s and Ren Bonian's Contemporary Assimilation of Japanese Visual Conventions', *Taida Journal of Art History*, 14 (2003), pp. 159 - 242; Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 'The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: The Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field', *Twentieth-Century China*, 32.1 (2006), pp. 4 - 35; Joshua Fogel, 'Lust for Still Life: Chinese Painters in Japan and Japanese Painters in China in the 1860s and 1870s', in Elizabeth Lillehoj ed., *Acquisition: Art and Ownership in Edo-Period Japan* (Warren, 2007), pp. 149 - 68; Chialing Yang, 'Choices and Conflicts: Artistic Responses to Foreign Stimuli in Late Qing Shanghai', *East Asia Journal*, 2 (1) 2007, pp. 66-85; Aida Wong, 'The East, Nationalism, and Taishō Democracy: Naitō Konan's History of Chinese Painting', in Fogel ed., *Crossing the Yellow Sea*, pp. 281 - 304; Kuiyi Shen, 'The Shanghai-Japan Connection in the Late

primary material, Chen Zhenlian, Kuiyi Shen, and Joshua Fogel have reconstructed the landscape of the artistic exchange between China and Japan dating from the late nineteenth century to the very early twentieth century, showing the growing involvement of Japanese artists in Chinese art markets and art circles—particularly in Shanghai, the commercial and cultural centre of China.³⁷ Shen points out that ‘the new market opened by Japanese collectors and dealers provided crucial support in a time of impending economic collapse for the Chinese art world’, and laying a substantial foundation for the development of a flourishing market for the Shanghai school.³⁸ Case studies by Yu-chih Lai and Aida Wong detail the vigorous artistic interchange that took place between individual Chinese and Japanese artists as well as art groups, exploring how the unprecedented but frequent contact enriched artistic creation and shifted existing attitudes toward artistic practices.³⁹ Lai’s insightful study of the late Qing Shanghai artist Ren Bonian convincingly shows how Japanese networks, tastes, and even daily commodities were appropriated by Ren and introduced into his paintings. Wong’s studies of the late Qing artist Wu Changshou and the Republican artist Qian Shoutie unfold the close relationships between the Chinese and Japanese art worlds during a time of political hostilities.⁴⁰ From artistic practice to artistic ideas, Julia Andrews, Kuiyi Shen, and Aida Wong’s sophisticated

Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century’, in *Shibian xingxiang liufeng*, pp. 233–58; Yoshindo Ajioka, ‘1920 zhi 1930 niandai zai Shanghai de Zhong Ri jiaoliu huodong’; Aida Wong, ‘A Chinese Seal Carver in Japan: Qian Shoutie and the Literati World of Hashimoto Kansetsu’, in *Shibian xingxiang liufeng*, pp. 425 – 50.

³⁷ Chen, *Jindai Zhong Ri huihua jiaoliu shi bijiao yanjiu*, pp. 94–169; Shen, ‘The Shanghai-Japan Connection in the Late Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century’; Fogel, ‘Lust for Still Life’.

³⁸ Shen, ‘The Shanghai-Japan Connection in the Late Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century’, p. 248.

³⁹ Lai, ‘Fuliu qianjie’.

⁴⁰ Wong, *Parting the Mist*, pp. 77 – 99; Wong, ‘A Chinese Seal Carver in Japan’.

investigations into the Sino-Japanese dialogue in the historiography of writings about art as well as modernity in literati painting depicts a more complex picture of the interpretation of 'traditional Chinese painting'. Also, their studies have traced the trajectory of the introduction of the concept of art history from Japan to China, showing the role played by Japan in transmitting new knowledge to modern China, simultaneously illuminating the political, social, and cultural conditions of the Sino-Japanese relationship in the early twentieth century.⁴¹

Significantly, since the first contact at the very end of May 1862, the cultural exchange between China and Japan never stopped, resulting in the broadening of the artistic vision within the Chinese art world. However, in the early 1930s, the change in political atmosphere due to Japan's military invasion of China subsequently damaged and in some ways even terminated the close contact between the two countries.⁴² The rivalry between China and Japan with regards to which nation holds the leading position in the field of Oriental art transformed the cultural discourse in the Chinese art world in subsequent decades.

The shifts in focus both from external (and in particular, Western) impacts towards internal factors as well as intra-Asiatic relations (in particular, Japan), and from western-style painting towards traditional art forms suggests that currently much effort is being directed toward salvaging our

⁴¹ Andrews and Shen, 'The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World'; Wong, 'The East, Nationalism, and Taishō Democracy'.

⁴² Joshua Fogel, 'Introduction: Integrating Late Qing China and Meiji Japan', in Joshua Fogel ed., *Late Qing China and Meiji Japan*, p. vii.

understanding of modern Chinese art from the oblivion of dismissive over-generalisation. Based on the foundations of previous scholarly endeavours, the present study attempts to explore artistic practices in Republican China, seeking to develop an understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which the period's works of art were produced and received. Instead of following the understandable preference of Chinese art historians to research creativity and the visual development of works of art and their producers—the artists themselves—my attempt is to contextualise the visual art by concentrating on the modes of production and consumption of painting in the *guohua* sub-field in Shanghai, and in doing so to reconstruct a certain set of attitudes and dispositions towards *guohua* in the Shanghai art world, as well as what Pierre Bourdieu coined the 'logic of the field' in this context.

The Art World

Referring to the points of view of sociologists, the 'artistic' nature of an 'artwork' is in fact not an intrinsic and inalienable property of the object, but rather a label attached to it by certain concerned members of social groups whose interests are augmented by the object's being defined as 'art'.⁴³ Breaking from conventional art-historical approaches focusing on individual art creators, this view leads us to approach art history from a broader and more interdisciplinary way to scrutinise the close relationship between art and a given social structure. Regarding art as a social institution and a component of a society, the concern of sociologists is how the social structure

⁴³ David Inglis, 'Thinking "Art" Sociologically', in David Inglis and John Hughson eds., *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing* (New York, 2005), p. 12.

generates 'art' and how the process of labelling occurs. According to most contemporary versions of the sociology of art, the 'art world'—a structured social institution within which art is produced, circulated, and consumed—has emerged in Western modernity.⁴⁴ Howard Becker suggests that 'art as a form of collective action' involving some number (perhaps even a large number) of people, turns our focus from the works of art themselves to the social organisations and the networks of people who participate or participated in the production and consumption of works of art.⁴⁵ According to his definition:

Art worlds consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art. Members of art worlds coordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artefacts. The same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants.⁴⁶

Perceiving artistic production as a collective action rather than a naïve vision of the individual creator, as well as on the basis of his very definition of an art world, Becker sees works of art as joint products of all the people who cooperate to bring them into existence. In the light of this view, cultural

⁴⁴ Inglis, 'Thinking "Art" Sociologically', p. 23.

⁴⁵ Howard S. Becker, 'Art as Collective Action', in Jeremy Tanner ed., *The Sociology of Art: A Reader* (London, 2003), pp. 85–95.

⁴⁶ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 34–5.

production in fact involves a great deal of human power and operates routinely in terms of division of labour—a view which offers a broader scope within which art historians are able to deal with art production and to analyse the process of how an ‘object’ is labelled as ‘art’ at some point in the process of its production, circulation, and consumption.

Pierre Bourdieu’s idea of ‘artistic field’, which is adopted as the key concept of this thesis, offers a more complicated and sophisticated insight allowing us to understand the transformation of art. A field, as defined by Bourdieu, is ‘a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy’ and ‘a veritable social universe where, in accordance with its particular laws there accumulates a particular form of capital and where relations of force of a particular type are exerted.’⁴⁷ Each field is autonomous but simultaneously homologous in structure with others; due to its autonomy, this ‘social universe functions somewhat like a prism which refracts every external determination: demographic, economic or political events are always retranslated according to the specific logic of the field’.⁴⁸ This specific logic consists of *nomos*, which Bourdieu defines as a set of laws and rules developed by each specific field and shared among existing and new participants in the field. Described as the reverse of an economic field, fields of cultural production are for Bourdieu always sites of struggle, within which agents are always in a conflict-oriented situation, struggling to take position, competing for legitimacy, and attempting to establish their distinction via the accumulation

⁴⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus’, in Randal Johnson ed., *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 162–4.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu, ‘Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus’, pp. 164.

of different forms of capital, their occupying of various positions within the field, and the generalised system of dispositions that they each bring to bear. Therefore, agents' artistic statements, dispositions, and actions all imply a kind of 'position-taking' in relation to existing works and positions in the field, and the range of positions that can be taken by any artist will depend upon the prior history within the field. It is the specific logic and history within the field that define and confer value upon different kinds of capital. Also, unlike most of the sociologists who emphasise little more than the impact of social structures on art and diminish what art historians consider as the most important factor—artistic genius—Bourdieu found a balance between the two through his theory of habitus and fields. He suggests that a work of art 'is produced in a particular social universe endowed with particular institutions and obeying specific laws',⁴⁹ and that a work of art is neither the solitary expression of an artistic genius nor the simple reflection of that artist's social origins. Rather, a work of art is produced by the meeting of a habitus—which reflects the social origins and personal trajectory of a given artist—and a field. In light of this concept, the transformation of modern Chinese art thus cannot be simply understood as a direct reflection of the drastic political and economic changes at the time, but should also take account of the specific logic and history of the field as a whole.

In China the restructuring of political and social institutions and orders at the turn of the twentieth century are undoubtedly two of the most critical factors that led to the emergence of an art world. The introduction of the term 'art' (*meishu*, 美術) at the turn of the century evidently suggests that art

⁴⁹ Bourdieu, 'Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus', pp. 163.

had been undergoing a process of differentiation, separating itself from other subjects and becoming an independent discipline.⁵⁰ Having long been regarded as an essential part of cultivation for members of the literati class, the practice of painting had never been treated as a profession in the discourse of literati culture in imperial China. However, the turn of the twentieth century bore witness to unprecedented changes in social structures and classificatory systems—such as the abolishment of Civil Examinations, the establishment of the Republic of China, and educational reforms—creating favourable conditions for differentiating art from other social institutions. This transformation in turn shifted the practice of art from elite circles to the public space, giving birth to a relatively autonomous art world within which specific logic and rules developed.

As the vibrant economic and cultural hub of modern China, Shanghai experienced a tremendous influx of artists beginning in the late nineteenth century, due to her relatively stable political state and flourishing economy. As demonstrated in recently scholarly literature on the late Qing Shanghai art scene, a community of artists with an increasing sense of professionalisation was established in the city and actively participated in the public sector in late nineteenth-century Shanghai.⁵¹ In her study of the late Qing Shanghai art world, Roberta Wue uses the word ‘community’ in place of the once-popular

⁵⁰ My classmate Liu Yujen is doing research on the formation of the discourse of *meishu* in the early twentieth century. Liu Yujen, *A Paradigm in Transition: The Concept of Art in Early Twentieth-century China (1905-1928)*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Oxford, in progress).

⁵¹ Jonathan Hay, ‘Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai’, in Chou ed., *Art at the Close of China’s Empire*, pp. 134–88; Roberta May-Hwa Wue, *Making the artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and portraits of the Shanghai art world*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 2001); Yu-chih Lai, ‘Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian’s Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai’, *Art Bulletin*, 86, 3 (2004), pp. 550–72; Chialing Yang, *New Wine in Old Bottles: the Art of Ren Bonian in 19th-Century Shanghai* (London, 2007).

and frequently used 'Shanghai School' to describe the late nineteenth-century group of artists active in the city, emphasising the idea of this assembly of artists as a group joined by informal ties, especially professional ties of their own making. As a direct result of the devastating Taiping Rebellion, a plethora of artists came to Shanghai from all over the Jiangnan area, forming the basis for an art community's development in Shanghai. Connected only by informal ties, this community developed under the auspices of certain informal institutions, such as fan shops that served as art dealers and galleries as well as the modern media—mainly newspapers and mass-produced books—which functioned as a platform bridging the gap between the art community and society and constructing artists' public images and reputations.⁵² The establishment of a sense of community among Shanghai artists was therefore crucial to the modernisation of Chinese art in the Republican period, laying a foundation and paving the way for the emergence of a modern art world in the Republican period.

After the downfall of the Qing dynasty, another influx of artists took place in Shanghai. The gathering of a large community of artists, fuelled by the booming economy, the publishing industry, and general commercial success thus eventually fostered the establishment of various new and modernised, formal and informal artistic institutions—such as professional associations, journals, exhibitions, and art markets—which are the central

⁵² Wue points out that 'the word "school" suggests an academy or formal organisation of artists with a unified approach, a description that does not at all apply to this conglomeration of (late nineteenth-century Shanghai) artists'; instead she uses the model of a 'community' to describe this group of artists. Wue, *Making the artist*, pp. 1–20. For further discussion of the Shanghai art world's participation in philanthropy, see Roberta Wue, 'The Profits of Philanthropy: Relief Aid, *Shenbao*, and the Art World in Later Nineteenth-Century Shanghai', *Late Imperial China*, 25. 1 (2004), pp. 187–211.

focus of this thesis. In the Republican period, the construction of a new social and political system was undoubtedly the collective goal of the new intellectual class. Having been shocked by the influence of both Western civilization and advancing technology, the younger generation showed their enthusiasm for appropriating Western knowledge and technology in the hopes of enlivening the perceived moribund Chinese culture and society. In the realm of art, new operating concepts, practices, and attitudes towards art were introduced by Western and Japanese-trained young artists, particularly following the 1920s. Returning to China after their graduations, most of these artists chose Shanghai as their starting point, practicing in their home country what they had learnt overseas. Exhibition, publication, and the organisation of art societies became the primary activities of members of the evolving art world. Adopting these new activities, those who hoped to rejuvenate the art of *guohua* attempted to liberate the once private and esoteric leisure entertainment from its image as an obsolete art form and to redefine the genre's value and character from a broadened perspective. During this process, competition between newcomers, westernised artists, and *guohua* artists increased within the field. Moving from a relationship of opposition to one of cooperation, artists strengthened the bonds among themselves, and a mature, modern, and relatively autonomous art world emerged. The establishment of the art world, to some extent, further legitimised the profession of 'artist' and endowed it with a new position and identity in society.

The Revival of *Guohua*

Taken as the primary subject of the current study, the discourse of

guohua will be examined in light of the concepts of an art world and of modernity. Unlike previous studies that highlight the role of western-style painting in the process of modernising Chinese art, the present study will approach this process from hitherto little-studied perspectives, centring on the cultural motivations for and practices of *guohua*, through which the meanings in and discourse on *guohua* were originally conceived. In light of the concept of an ‘art world’, this study aims to focus on the *guohua* sub-field; to examine its position in the hierarchical Shanghai art world; to explore the genre’s relationship to the changes in social and cultural factors; and to examine the broader issues of how the Shanghai art world operated and how cultural and political crises—as well as newly-introduced western thoughts and practices—have entered the discourse on *guohua*, in turn giving rise to increased knowledge about and a more precise definition of *guohua*.

Referring to the indigenous Chinese art form of China—painted in brush and ink on silk or paper with conventional genres, namely landscape, bird-and-flower, and figures—the term *guohua*, as used in this study, requires a word of explanation. *Guohua*, or literally ‘national painting’, was in fact a new term and a new concept which in the standard narrative of modern Chinese art history has long been associated with tradition, backwardness, and conservatism. However, the definition of *guohua* has always been problematic. In 1944, Pang Xunqin 龐薰琴 (1906 - 1985) submitted three or four paintings to the *guohua* section of the National Art Exhibition organised by the All-China Art Association. However, the panel of judges suggested that his works of art belonged to the Western painting section after

taking one look at them.⁵³ This confusion then initiated an argument of what was a Chinese painting among the organisers and raised a question which has continued to be debated throughout the twentieth century and even became the topic of a discussion section at a 1984 symposium on twentieth-century Chinese painting held in Hong Kong.⁵⁴ Scholars such as Mayching Kao and Julia Andrews have briefly discussed the term and its possible meanings.⁵⁵ At the moment, it is generally agreed that the term *guohua* has been used since the early years of the twentieth century to describe paintings executed in the Chinese style and media in order to distinguish them from Western and Western-style paintings. Being usually translated as 'traditional Chinese painting', *guohua* has long been associated with conservatism, tradition, and backwardness and has been regarded as the binary opposite of innovation, westernisation, and modernisation.⁵⁶ Aida Wang maintains that the term *guohua*, coined in the early twentieth century, represents 'an invented tradition that according to Eric Hobsbawm's definition, claims to be old but is actually quite recent'.⁵⁷ Beginning at the turn of the twentieth century, the introduction of 'western painting' (*xihua*, 西畫) as well as western thoughts eventually gave rise to the reformulation of the conventional classificatory system of art. In order to distinguish the

⁵³ Sullivan, *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century*, p. 19.

⁵⁴ For details of the discussion held in the symposium, see Mayching Kao, 'Foreword', in Kao ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, pp. xix–xxi.

⁵⁵ Kao, 'Foreword', pp. xix–xxx; Julia Andrews, 'Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 49, 3 (August, 1990), pp. 555–577 (pp. 556–9).

⁵⁶ One typical example showing the binary conception of *guohua* and western-style painting is the international conference on twentieth-century Chinese painting held in Hong Kong in 1995, which was entitled 'Twentieth Century Chinese Painting: Tradition and Innovation'. Hong Kong Museum of Art ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo huihua: chuantong yu chuang xin* 二十世紀中國繪畫：傳統與創新, 'Twentieth Century Chinese Painting: Tradition and Innovation', (Hong Kong, 1995)

⁵⁷ Wong, *Parting the Mists*, p. xxiii. For the concept of invented tradition see, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2000).

traditional art forms (mainly ‘calligraphy-and-painting’ [*shuhua*, 書畫]) from the newly-introduced western art forms, a neologism ‘national essence painting’ (*guocui hua*, 國粹畫) was derived from the imported word ‘national essence’ (*guocui*, 國粹).⁵⁸ This new classificatory system was quickly adopted by the art world; for instance, at the inaugural art exhibition of 1919 held by the Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianma hui*, 天馬會)⁵⁹—a representative art society founded by a number of young artists practising western painting—exhibits were classified into four categories: ‘national essence painting’, ‘western-style painting’ (*xiyang hua*, 西洋畫), ‘synthesised painting’ (*zhezong hua*, 折衷畫), and ‘decorative painting’ (*tu’an hua*, 圖案畫). This new classificatory logic for classifying works of art suggests in a way that the once-prominent position of China’s traditional art form—which had stood firmly at the top of the hierarchy of Chinese art for centuries—was at that time being challenged by new art forms such as western-style painting and synthesised painting. This challenge implies that a conflict had developed in the field between (as described by Bourdieu) ‘younger’ and ‘older’ artists as well as ‘avant-garde’ and ‘established’ artists, setting off a ‘permanent revolution’ in the art world.

Due to its inextricable link to Chinese tradition, *guohua* was viciously attacked by cultural reformers for its alleged lack of descriptive accuracy and for its inadequacy to represent the modern world. In 1917, one of China’s

⁵⁸ Kao, ‘Forward’, pp. xi; Andrews, ‘Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign’, pp. 557.

⁵⁹ For a thorough discussion of *Tianma hui*, see Julia Andrews, ‘The Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianmahui*) and Chinese Landscape Painting’, in *Ershi shiji shanshuihua yanjiu wenji* 二十世紀山水畫研究文集, ‘Studies on 20th-Century Landscape Painting’, (Shanghai, 2006), pp. 556-591.

most influential cultural figures and leading political reformers, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927),⁶⁰ launched a call for art reform by advocating the idea of ‘Returning to Antiquity As Renovation’ (*Yi fugu wei gengxin*, 以復古為更新) in his frequently quoted article entitled ‘*Wanmu caotang canghuamu*’ (Bibliography of the Painting Collection in Wanmu caotang, 萬木草堂藏畫目).⁶¹ He alleged that the decline of Chinese painting was largely due to the introduction of the idea of Chan Buddhism (Zen, 禪) in the time of Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), the patriarch of the literati tradition. Looking back to the history of Chinese painting, Kang points out that the relationship between form (*xing*, 型) and spirit (*shen*, 神) had previously been closely interwoven but had nonetheless been separated from one another following the rise of literati painting. He claims that the rise of literati painting consequently resulted in the separation of formal likeness and spirit, directing artistic pursuits towards literati spirit (*shiqi*, 士氣) and eventually having a devastating effect upon modern Chinese painting. In Kang’s words, although the paintings of the Four Masters of Yuan—including Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354), and Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308–1385)—were highly praised for their aloofness and loftiness, they should not be extolled and legitimised as constituting the canon of Chinese painting. This inadvisable decision, he argues, resulted in the identification by commentators of ‘aloof’ (*yipin*, 逸品) as the best in the

⁶⁰ For further discussion on Kang Youwei see Hsiao K. C., *A Modern China and a New World: K’ang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858–1927* (Seattle, 1975); for a discussion of his calligraphic art, see Chak-kwong Lau, *A Study of Kang Youwei’s (1859–1927) Guang yizhou shuangji*, M.Phil. Thesis (University of Hong Kong, 2000).

⁶¹ Kang Youwei 康有為, ‘*Wanmu caotang canghua mu* 萬木草堂藏畫目’, ‘Bibliography of the Painting Collection in Wanmu caotang’, (Taipei, 1977). For a discussion of Kang’s advocacy of returning to the realistic style of the art of the Tang dynasty for the purpose of reforming Chinese art, see Eugene Wang, ‘Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency’, in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith eds., *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions* (New York, c2001), pp. 103–61.

ranking system since the Ming dynasty and its having been so long regarded as the ultimate pursuit of painting. In order to rescue Chinese painting from its weakening condition, Kang then offers his contemporaries the suggestion of abandoning sketch conceptualism (*xieyi*, 寫意)⁶² and embracing colouring, outlined painting, and particularly the academic styles of the Tang and Song dynasties. He extols the Song dynasty as the golden age of Chinese painting when, he claims, China's artistic achievements reached their climax, surpassing any other country, including those in Europe, America, and India. He then condemns his contemporaries' enthusiasm for following the styles of the Four Wangs—Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), Wang Jian 王翬 (1598–1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717), and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715)—and the Two Shis—Shitao 石濤 (1641–1718) and Shixi 石谿 (1612–?)—all of whom Kang blames for the decline of the Song academic style. Kang then urges his fellows to blend Chinese painting with Western styles in order to open up new possibilities for Chinese painting. Obviously, for Kang, the appropriation of Western painting is—in terms of his idea of art reform—a way of implementing his nostalgic invocation of ancient models, which in turn could rectify what he viewed as an historical error and elevate the status of verisimilitude in the creation of art.

Having been frequently cited since the very beginning of the twentieth century, Kang was perceived to hold a leading position in the cultural world, and his thoughts stirred up fierce debates on art reform and exemplified one of the prevalent views and suggestions with respect to the very mission of

⁶² The term *xieyi* was translated by Eugene Wang as 'sketch conceptualism'. Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency'.

reforming Chinese art at the turn of the century. Furthermore, Kang's idea was developed, adopted, and promoted by the new generation of artists, particularly those who aspired to reform Chinese painting through appropriating western art. Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953),⁶³ who had received his art training in France and had become an active promoter of Western Realism in the 1930s, was one of Kang's disciples. Xu delivered his polemical speech 'Methods of Reforming Chinese Paintings' (*Zhongguohua gailiang lun*, 中國畫改良論) in 1918, a year before the May Fourth Cultural Movement at Beijing University.⁶⁴ The speech was published in the art journal 'Painting Scholarship Magazine' (*Huixue zazhi*, 繪學雜誌) in 1920.⁶⁵ In the same year, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1897–1942), a radical political and cultural reformer and one of the key figures of the May Fourth Movement, published his radical article calling for an 'Art Revolution' (*Meishu geming*, 美術革命) in the magazine *New Youth* (*Xing Qingnian*, 新青年), a major platform and outlet for radical culture reformists. In the same vein as his prior argument on literature reforms, Chen denounces the traditional practice of Chinese painting and points out that 'if one wants to reform Chinese

⁶³ For further discussion of Xu, see Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency', pp. 103–61; David Der-wei Wang, 'In the Name of the Real', in Hearn and Smith eds., *Chinese Art Modern Expression*, pp. 29–59; Hong Kong Museum of Art ed., *Xu Beihong de yishu* 徐悲鴻的藝術, 'The Art of Xu Beihong' (Hong Kong, 1988); Wang Zhen 王震, *Xu Beihong yanjiu* 徐悲鴻研究, 'A Study of Xu Beihong' (Nanjing, 1991); Yeung Yuk Ling Cecilia, *Xu Beihong (1895–1953) and Western Influence: A Study of His Large-scale History Paintings*, M. Phil. Thesis (University of Hong Kong, 1996); for a detailed biography, see Liao Jingwen 廖靜文, *Xu Beihong yisheng* 徐悲鴻一生, 'The Life of Xu Beihong', (Taipei, 1992); For a collection of Xu's writings, see Wang Zhen 王震 ed., *Xu Beihong wenji* 徐悲鴻文集, 'Collection of Writings of Xu Beihong', (Shanghai, 2005).

⁶⁴ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, 'Zhongguohua gailiang lun' 中國畫改良論, 'Methods of Reforming Chinese Painting', in Lang and Shui eds., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan shang*, pp. 38–42.

⁶⁵ Xu Beihong delivered his speech to the Painting Methods Research Society at the Beijing University on 14th May, 1918, and around fifteen members attended the seminar. The complete speech was then published in the Daily Journal of the Beijing University on 23rd May, 1918 and was republished in the Painting Scholarship Magazine in June, 1920.

painting, the first and foremost thing to do is to rid it of the Four Wangs tradition, because adopting Western realism is essential for reforming Chinese painting'.⁶⁶ As a pivotal figure in the new culture movement, Chen's critical attacks on Chinese painting represent the radical views of the new intellectuals who were educated abroad about traditional Chinese painting. Despite the fact that Chen's critical article has been frequently cited by art historians as the opening of the narrative of modern Chinese art history, he actually did not have as influential or significant an impact on the Shanghai art world as he had had on the literary world. Yet, his statement reveals that from the cultural leader Kang Youwei to the cultural reformist Chen Duxiu, the adoption of Western realism in order to reform Chinese painting was felt to be a popular formula for success, embraced by reformers from both the literary and artistic fields during the May Fourth period. Intriguingly, this formula eventually led to two different outcomes. In the literary world, vernacular Chinese ultimately conquered *wenyan* (classical Chinese, 文言) and came to dominate the literary field, while Western realism never truly achieved dominance, and by the 1930s had even come to be seen as outdated.⁶⁷

If the May Fourth period represents a time when reformers used Western standards and perspectives to access and evaluate Chinese culture, then beginning in the mid 1920s—by which time 'Western fever' had cooled down—we can say that an in-depth evaluation of Chinese culture from a

⁶⁶ Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, 'Meishu geming' 美術革命, 'Art revolution', in Lang and Shui eds., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan shang*, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁷ Realism was criticised by both *guohua* and *xihua* artists as outdated with regard to the standard of modern Western art. See the collection of essays published in special issues 4 and 5 of the 'Guohua Monthly' (*Guohua yekān*, 國畫月刊).

Chinese perspective was being carried out by neo-traditionalists. In the mid-1920s, the construction of China's unique cultural and aesthetic identity in a global context became the primary goal of most intellectuals due to the rise of neo-traditionalism. In his insightful and informative essay, Republican historian Hu Huaichen offers his account of the crucial factors motivating the rapid development of cultural associations in Republican Shanghai, an essay which interestingly includes an entry entitled 'Guohua Resurrection Movement' (*Guohua fuhuo de yundong*, 國畫復活的運動). Hu points out that even as western art, music, and drama became more intensive, traditional art, music, and drama were intriguingly enlivened and revived. With regard to *guohua*, Hu gives an account of three crucial factors that he believes contributed to the revival. First, the value of *guohua* was reasserted. Despite the fact that the practice of *guohua* emphasises the importance of imitating and copying ancient models, *guohua* artists had become more aware of the role played by creativity in art creation after *guohua* was challenged by the threat of Western art and thoughts. Second, various European and American scholars visiting China reasserted the essence and value of *guohua* after they had viewed original and reproduced *guohua* works. The uniqueness of *guohua* was appreciated and promoted by these Western scholars, eventually building up the confidence of those who aspired to revive the art form. Third, international recognition was gained by an increasing number of renowned *guohua* artists, such as Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844–1927),⁶⁸ Chen Hengke 陳衡恪 (1876–1923),⁶⁹ Wang Yiting,

⁶⁸ For a detailed discussion on the art of Wu Changshuo, see Chen Siming 陳肆明, *Wu Changshuo huahui hua de chuang zuo beijin qi qi fengge yanjiu* 吳昌碩花卉畫的創作背景及其風格研究, 'A Study of the Background and Styles of Bird-and-Flower Painting of Wu Changshuo', (Taipei, 1989); Wang, *Parting the Mist*, pp. 77–99; Macau Art Museum ed., *Yu*

Huang Binhong, He Xiangning, Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 (1877–1938), and Chen Shuren. Each of these artists had developed a unique personal style, free from the constraints of ancient styles. Hu identifies 1922 as the beginning of the *Guohua* Resurrection Movement, a year which, he claims, saw *guohua* artists begin to promote and revitalise the art form via a series of modern artistic activities such as exhibitions and publications.⁷⁰

Although Hu does not simultaneously identify 1922 as the beginning of the separate ‘Reorganising the National Heritage Movement’ (*Zhengli guogu yundong*, 整理國故運動), he does in fact hint at a link between the two movements. He points out that after World War I, the traumatic impact of the devastating war and its casualties had aroused scepticism about Western civilisation, in turn redirecting people to the East in their search for a better way of life. Led by the political and cultural reformer Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929)—who enthusiastically promoted Chinese culture after returning from his European tour in 1920—the Reorganising the National Heritage Movement promoted the idea of reorganising and reassessing Chinese traditions and heritage by adopting scientific methods and a more methodical attitude. Hu identifies four significant components of the movement: first, organising a series of lectures on national learning (*Guoxue*, 國學); second,

gu wei tu Wu Changshuo shuhua zhuanke yishu 與古為徒: 吳昌碩書畫篆刻藝術, ‘On the Shoulders of Classical Masters: The Art of Wu Changshuo’s Painting, Calligraphy and Seal Carving’, (Macau, 2007).

⁶⁹ For a detailed discussion of Chen, see Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *Chen Shizeng* 陳師曾, ‘Chen Shizeng’, (Shanghai, 1981); The Palace Museum ed., *Chen Shizeng* 陳師曾, ‘Chen Shizeng’, (Beijing, 2006); Lai Kuo-sheng, *Learning New Painting From Japan and Maintaining National Pride in Early Twentieth Century China, with Focus on Chen Shizeng (1876 - 1923)*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Maryland, 2006); Wang, *Parting the Mists*.

⁷⁰ Hu Huaichen 胡懷琛, ‘Shanghai xueyi gaiyao san 上海學藝概要 (三)’, ‘Brief History of Cultural Associations in Shanghai, Part 3’, *Shanghai tongzhiguan qikan* 上海通志館期刊, ‘Journal of Shanghai History’, 1.2 (pp. 1093–1128).

publishing journals on *guoxue*; third, compiling a collection of writings on *guoxue*; and fourth, organising academic associations with the purpose of carrying out research on *guoxue*.⁷¹ The popularity of *guohua* rose in tandem with the popularity of *guoxue*; the art form was regarded as one of the essential parts of national learning, deserving of serious study.

Accordingly, an examination of Republican history reveals that in the mid-1920s, a discourse on national heritage and tradition began following the May Fourth Cultural Movement. Thus, the rise of neo-traditionalism acted as a continuation of and, at the same time, a counter force to requests for reformation, resulting in the revival and reassessment of traditional Chinese culture and heritage. The neo-traditionalists possessed great knowledge of both Chinese and Western culture and were unabashedly oriented towards the high culture of China's past, even though they tended to identify this high culture with the 'Chinese spirit' in general. Also, they were acquainted (in varying degrees) with modern Western thought and did not hesitate to employ Western ideas to support their positions and ensure the survival of traditional Chinese culture.⁷² In the realm of art, the number of societies and journals dedicated to *guohua* increased significantly beginning in the mid-1920s (a topic which will be dealt with in chapter 2).⁷³ Likewise, a significant phenomenon took place in that a considerable number of oil painters—notable among these being Xu Beihong, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994),⁷⁴ Fang

⁷¹ Hu, 'Shanghai xueyi gaiyao san', pp. 1098–1100.

⁷² Benjamin I. Schwartz, 'Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and After', in Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan Lee eds., *An Intellectual History of Modern China* (Cambridge, 2000), p.128.

⁷³ Xu, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyanlu 1911-1949*.

⁷⁴ For detailed biography, see Yuan Zhihuang 袁志煌 and Chen Zu'en 陳祖恩 eds., *Liu Haisu nianpu* 劉海粟年譜, 'The Chronology of Liu Haisu', (Shanghai, 1992); for Liu's

Junbi 方君璧 (1898–1986), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894–1983),⁷⁵ and Sun Fuxi 孫福熙 (1898–1962)—joined *guohua* societies, as will be demonstrated in chapter 2, and executed at least some of their works in the form of *guohua*.⁷⁶ This shift reveals a remarkable departure from the tone of the discourse in the 1910s, which had focused on how Western art might be able to reform and restore the status of *guohua*. As Mayching Kao argues, ‘in the thirties of the twentieth century, the task of introducing Western art was omitted, and new elements such as social consciousness and national spirit were manifested in the New Art Movement.’⁷⁷ During this period, generally, *guohua* artists’ attitudes towards Western art lay between two extremes: total rejection and total acceptance, introducing a new position for *guohua* in the art world. In the pre-release statement for a special issue devoted to the genre of landscape painting, Xie Haiyan 謝海燕 (1910–2000),—the chief editor of the ‘Guohua Monthly’ (*Guohua yuekan*, 國畫月刊) art journal—addresses the question of artists’ responsibility to China’s future as follows:

We have expectations for the ‘artist of new China’, (*Xin Zhongguo huajia*, 新中國畫家), whose works of art can express the spirit of the modern world and at the same time show the national character... On the one hand, we inherit and

writings, see Zhu Jinlou 朱金樓 and Yuan Zhihuang 袁志煌 eds., *Liu Haisu yishu wenxuan* 劉海粟藝術文選, ‘A Collection of Liu Haisu’s Art-related Writings’, (Shanghai, 1987).

⁷⁵ Wang’s writings are collected in Wang Zhen 王震 ed., *Wang Yachen yishu wenji* 汪亞塵藝術文集, ‘Collective Writings on art of Wang Yachen’, (Shanghai, 1990) and Wang Zhen 王震 ed., *Wang Yachen de yishu shijie* 汪亞塵的藝術世界, ‘The Art world of Wang Yachen’, (Beijing, 1995).

⁷⁶ Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, p. 60.

⁷⁷ Kao, *China’s Response to the West*, p. 151.

perpetuate our ancestors' heritage, and on the other hand we enrich our culture in order to benefit our descendants. This is the way to revive our national art. Therefore, the purpose of publishing this special issue on landscape painting is: 1. to introduce the knowledge of Western art to broaden our horizons, thus allowing [artists] to have a better understanding of both the merits and demerits of Western art, being better able to judge accurately; and 2. to compare the artistic accomplishments of Western and Chinese art and examine the factors that have led to the various rises and declines of art, serving as a lesson for those who hope to revive our national art.⁷⁸

According to Bourdieu's theory of artistic field, every statement implies a position-taking with reference to existing positions within the field. This statement testifies to the fact that a group of *guohua* artists had taken a position which neither demonstrated loyalty to those who advocated the 'preservation of the national essence' nor compromised the avant-garde whose aim was to deliberately reform Chinese painting through the appropriation of Western art. In the Republican Period, modern intellectuals believed aspects of Chinese culture such as painting to be the only parts of Chinese civilisation which could claim to surpass the West, particularly following the devastating impact of the Western military and economic invasion. Therefore, it was believed that the artists of new China bore a social responsibility for

⁷⁸ Haiyan 海燕, 'Zhongxi shanshuihua sixiang zhuanhao fakan qiantan' 中西山水畫思想專號發刊前談 'Pre-release Statement of the Special Issue Eastern and Western Thought in Painting', *Guohua yuekan* 國畫月刊, 'Guohua Monthly', 1.3 (1934), p. 48.

reconstructing and preserving the nation's culture and heritage and that they should not practice painting—as it was espoused by elite literati in Imperial China—solely for leisurely purposes. In the hopes of differentiating themselves from their predecessors, a new title—the ‘artist of new China’—was bestowed upon those who practiced *guohua*. In order to create a new and fresh definition of this new identity, the attitude towards both Chinese and Western art, not to mention the ways of expressing these attitudes in painting, needed to be redefined. At the height of the project of constructing China's cultural identity during the 1930s, comparisons with Western art became the basis for reforming and reviving Chinese art. The ‘artist of new China’ was expected not only to contribute to the national body of painting but also to broaden their own artistic horizons by learning from the West—mainly Europe—thereby showing an open attitude towards foreign cultures. Furthermore, the artists of new China were urged to shoulder the social responsibility of reconstructing and reviving the national art and culture at large. In order to elevate the national art to an international level, artists were encouraged to refresh and enrich Chinese painting in order to reach both Chinese and Western aesthetic standards.⁷⁹

Regarded by the National Essence Scholars as one of the media through which national essence was manifested, and as is reflected in its name, *guohua* was perceived to be part of the essence of China's cultural heritage. Consequently, the art form played a crucial role in the process of

⁷⁹ See Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, ‘Xiandai Zhongguo huajia yingfu zhi zeren’ 現代中國畫家應負之責任 ‘The Responsibility that Modern China's artists Should Bear’, *Guohua yuekan*, 1.2 (1934), p. 17.

culture-building in early twentieth-century China.⁸⁰ Thus, the above quoted statement and proclamation offered an alternative approach for the reform of Chinese painting, shifting away from the 'East-West' binary opposition. As Lydia Liu argues, the term 'national essence' (*guocui*) underwent a drastic transformation in meaning between 1911 and the 1920s: 'the ambivalence toward the West that had marked the National Essence Movement' at the turn of the twentieth century 'was replaced by a system of justification firmly grounded in the Western humanist tradition'.⁸¹ Eschewing the earlier East-West binary opposition in cultural discourse, the neo-traditionalists attempted to renovate Chinese traditions within a global context, on the same discursive ground as the New Culturalists, with reference to Western knowledge.⁸² Artists of new China also shared the objective of renovating the national art, *guohua*, within a global context. As a part of national essence, *guohua* underwent a shift in meaning which was certainly able to reflect a change in the ideology of 'national essence' and reveal the modernised attitude of young intellectuals towards national traditions.

The present study sets 1929 as our point of departure, when the First National Art Exhibition—a significant event in the history of modern Chinese art—was launched in Shanghai (an event which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters). In 1927, after a series of political upheavals, the

⁸⁰ Laurence A. Schneider, 'National Essence and the New Intelligentsia', in Charlotte Furth ed., *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 59. For detailed discussions on the 'National Essence Movement' see Charlotte Furth ed., *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge, 1976); Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, 1995); and Goldman and Lee eds., *An Intellectual History of Modern China*.

⁸¹ Liu, 'Rethinking Culture and National Essence', in *Translingual Practice*, pp. 247–8.

⁸² Liu, 'Rethinking Culture and National Essence', *Translingual Practice*, pp. 251–2.

consolidated Nanjing Government provided a relatively stable political environment for the development of cultural and commercial activities. As China's first state-sponsored national exhibition, the First National Art Exhibition displayed the artistic accomplishments of modern artists from all over the nation. The exhibition featured a wide variety of art forms, including *guohua*, western-style painting, and sculpture—although among these, the number of *guohua* exhibits was the greatest, in a way suggesting that *guohua* had for the first time been officially identified as the representative art form of China.⁸³ Propelled by the First National Art Exhibition, *guohua* was undergoing further institutionalisation and professionalisation via modern art activities and institutions and regained its prestige on the art scene in the following decade, particularly in the host city, Shanghai.

Known for its capitalism, pre-1949 Shanghai was perceived, in the eyes of Westerners, as a 'city of sin', 'paradise of adventurers', a 'capitalists' paradise', a 'city for sale', and the 'site of China's modernism'.⁸⁴ Being regarded as the key to modern China and the birthplace of Chinese capitalism, Shanghai has been examined from the level of governance down to the mundane level of the everyday lives of common people—examinations which are able to bring to life many facets of the city.⁸⁵ In the realm of art,

⁸³ Li Yuyi 李寓一, 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui cangan ji yi' 教育部全國美術展覽會參觀記一, 'Viewing the First National Art Exhibition Presented by the Ministry of Education, Part 1', *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌, 'Ladies' Journal', 15.7 (1929), pp. 1-3

⁸⁴ Western writings about Shanghai in pre-1949 include, for instance, Hendrik De Leuw, *Cities of Sin* (New York, 1933); Ernest Hauser, *Shanghai: City for Sale* (New York, 1940); *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook* (Shanghai, 1934-5).

⁸⁵ Extensive scholarly literature is available on the study of Shanghai; selected important works include, Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner ed., *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds* (Stanford, 1974); Tang Zhengchang ed., *Shanghai shi* 上海史, 'History of Shanghai',

Shanghai played an unquestionably significant role in the transformation of modern Chinese art. In the late Qing period, the rise of Shanghai as a cultural hub paved the way for the development of a modern art world in the Republican era. Despite the fact that art historians have carried out extensive studies on the development of art in Shanghai, most scholarly enquiries have focused on ‘the Shanghai School’ of the late nineteenth century, while few have dealt with the contribution of art to the construction of a modern, urban Shanghai in the Republican period.⁸⁶ However, this situation has begun to change in recent years. Scholarly endeavours have begun to explore the visual culture of modern Shanghai through interdisciplinary studies, examining a wide range of issues pertaining to visual culture and Chinese modernity—including the art market, advertising, film, feminism, architecture, etc.—opening up a broad new vista of study for modern Chinese cultural

(Shanghai, 1989); Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Shanghai Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge, 1989); Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Wen-hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Sojourners* (Berkeley, 1992); Christian Henriot, *Shanghai, 1927–1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization* (Berkeley, 1993); Frederic E. Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai, 1927–1937* (Berkeley, 1995); Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley, 1995); Brian G. Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937* (Berkeley, 1996); Yingjin Zhang ed., *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943* (Stanford, 1999); Sherman Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945* (New York, 1999); Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, 2001); Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849–1949* (Cambridge, 2001); Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: the Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge, 2001); Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai’s News Media, 1872–1912* (Cambridge, 2004); Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Hong Kong, 2004); Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early-Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu, 2004); Catherine Vance Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850–1910* (Seattle, 2006); Wen-Hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843–1949* (Berkeley, 2007).

⁸⁶ Selected literature on the Shanghai School includes, James Han-hsi Soong, *A Visual Experience in Nineteenth Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840–1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting*, Ph.D. dissertation (Stanford University, 1978); Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou eds., *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China’s Empire, 1796–1911* (Phoenix, 1992); Ju-hsi Chou ed., *Art at the Close of China’s Empire* (Tempe, 1998); Wue, *Making the artist: Ren Bonian (1840–1895) and portraits of the Shanghai art world; Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji 海派繪畫研究文集*, ‘Studies on Shanghai School Painting’, (Shanghai, 2001); Lai, ‘Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian’s Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai’, pp. 550–72;

historians and filling in the gaps of our understanding of the contribution of visual culture to the process of culture-building in modern Shanghai.⁸⁷ However, the seemingly contradictory yet interwoven relationship between *guohua* and urban Shanghai has never been analysed thoroughly—particularly regarding the 1930s, when, as Lee Leo Ou-fan claims, a new urban culture developed, characterised by well-developed public spaces such as department stores, coffeehouses, and dance halls.⁸⁸ If urban culture is a revelation of modernity, then works of art produced within this context should also be read as an expression of modernism. Focusing on the flourishing period from 1929 to 1937—the pinnacle of urban culture—the present study seeks to examine the practice of *guohua* within the context of modern Shanghai.

The Stratification Order of the Shanghai Art World

As shown in the newspaper reports quoted at the beginning of this introduction, lists of names were arranged intentionally in accordance with a specific rule or logic, suggesting that the Shanghai art world was highly stratified according to the various types and amounts of capital inherited or accumulated by members of the artistic community in their struggle for symbolic legitimacy and recognition. As has been maintained by Pierre Bourdieu, a variety of cultural, social, and symbolic resources can be conceptualised as capital when they function as ‘social relations of power’—that is, when they become the objects of a struggle for valued resources. Bourdieu categorises these instances of capital into four generic

⁸⁷ Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum and Zheng Shengtian ed., *Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945* (Ostfildern-Ruit, c2004); Kuo Jason C. ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s–1930s* (Washington, 2007).

⁸⁸ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, pp. 3–42.

types: economic capital (money and property); cultural capital (cultural goods and services, including educational credentials); social capital (acquaintances and networks), and symbolic capital (legitimacy). Each type of capital can interconvert from one to another under certain conditions and exchange rates.⁸⁹ Therefore, members of the cultural community could be viewed as capitalists, whose form of capital is cultural; such individuals are in the dominant class because they enjoy the power and privileges that come along with the possession of considerable cultural and symbolic capital. In this regard, it will be interesting to discover what specific factors governed the stratification of the Shanghai art world, and what was regarded as cultural capital in the historical nexus of new, old, foreign, traditional, popular, and high cultures.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the 1905 abolition of the Civil Examination system and the concomitant establishment of new educational systems marked the beginning of the rise of the new intelligentsia in China. The literati—a class which had long served as the pillar of the monarchical-bureaucratic system and had occupied a pivotal position in traditional Chinese society—were to experience dramatic changes as a result of the increasing schism as the decline of the old system continued. However, the drastic changes in social structure did not disturb the prestige and respectability they had hitherto enjoyed. After the downfall of the Qing dynasty, some Qing officials—escaping from political changes—resided in places where shelter could be provided for them, particularly the treaty ports

⁸⁹ For a detailed discussion on the varied forms of capital, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, 1984).

such as Shanghai, Guangdong, and Tianjin. Due to their possession of immense symbolic, cultural, and economic capital, these Qing loyalists continued to hold high positions and became the most prominent leaders in the cultural community, continuing their dominance and influence in the art world during the early Republican era. Bearing the identity of a Qing loyalist (*yilao*, 遺老) after the collapse of the Qing dynasty, former Qing officials lost their official posts and were forced to sell their paintings, literature, and calligraphy, actively participating in cultural production for their own livelihood as well as in order to weather the various political upheavals and social changes. Shanghai was one of the most popular and safe havens for these loyalists fleeing the fallen Qing court. In her study of the calligraphy of the Qing loyalists, Zhang Huiyi points out that those who were labelled as *yilao* in fact enjoyed high social status within the cultural world due to their profound cultivation in Chinese classics, such as literature and art, and adds that most of them also possessed valuable private collections of rare books and works of art, including ancient paintings, calligraphy, bronzes, and stele rubbings.⁹⁰ The identity of *yilao* was thus viewed as a kind of symbolic capital, while cultivation in Chinese tradition and the possession of private collections were counted as cultural capital, which allowed the loyalists to continue to enjoy dominant positions in the Shanghai art world, notwithstanding the loss of their official positions in the Republican political field. Therefore, they became one of few authorities who were both powerful and qualified enough to consecrate newcomers. For instance, *yilao*

⁹⁰ For a thorough study of the influence of the Qing loyalists on the development of Chinese calligraphy and the cultural world, see Zhang Huiyi 張惠儀, *Minguo shiqi yilao shufa yanjiu* 民國時期遺老書法研究, 'A Study of the *Yilao* Calligraphy in Early Twentieth Century', Ph.D. dissertation (Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002), pp. 25–8.

were invited to set price-lists for young artists, to inscribe titles and compose prefaces for books, and to attend exhibition previews, all of which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. In the Shanghai art world, Wu Changshuo, Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 (1867–1920), Zeng Xi, and Zhu Zumei were some of the most prestigious and influential *yilao*. Due to their inclination toward canonical literati aesthetic traditions, these loyalists were profoundly cultivated in both calligraphy and painting and extolled the style of calligraphic painting, representing the very antithesis of the Shanghai School's populist realism and catering to the tastes of the middle-class.⁹¹ Also, these individuals became the tastemakers of the period; for instance, Zeng Xi, Li Ruiqing, and Wu Changshuo highly recommended the eccentric artist Shitao, who eventually became one of the modern icons embraced by young *guohua* artists in the early twentieth century.⁹²

Social valuations changed as the restructuring of social order occurred following the establishment of the Republic of China. New social and cultural celebrities came onto the scene in the Shanghai art world, including new elites and new merchants. As argued by Wen-hsin Yeh, a redistribution of social power and prestige was taking place against the backdrop of the rise of economism in the early twentieth century, in turn giving birth to the emergence of a new wealthier middle class with social legitimacy in Shanghai. During this period, when commerce and industry became concerns of the nation and the state, merchants and compradors became the new sources of wealth of modern China. The Qing government sponsored commercial

⁹¹ Fong, *Between Two Culture*, pp. 52–67.

⁹² For a discussion of the role played by Shitao in modern Chinese art history, see Wong, *Parting the Mists*.

enterprises bred in a new hybridised culture within the context of various endeavours to strengthen the nation through commerce—enterprises which inevitably created opportunities for officials and merchants to collaborate on mercantile projects, where new lines of wealth and old lines of prestige were allowed to blend together.⁹³ In the Shanghai art world, new celebrities rose to power and held high positions in both the social and art worlds, thanks to their possession of cultural and symbolic as well as economic capital. Perceived as one of the important factors that had led to the rise of the West, wealth became in China a means for social dominance. These new cultural leaders not only practised art but also used their wealth to financially support artistic events. Born in the last decades of the nineteenth century, most of these prestigious celebrities had undergone traditional training in Chinese classics, and some of them had received degrees and served on the Qing court. Unlike the *yilao*, who were proud to bear the identity of a Qing loyalist, these new celebrities described themselves using hybridised identities such as ‘merchant-official,’ ‘official-merchant,’ ‘merchant-artist,’ and ‘comprador artist.’

For instance, Li Pingshu 李平書 (1853–1927), Ha Shaofu 哈少甫 (1856–1934), and Wang Yiting were prominent merchants in Shanghai. Li had made considerable contributions to the construction of Shanghai’s infrastructure and was also a renowned art collector and dealer. Ha was an esteemed leader of the Muslim community in Shanghai and was also a successful and award-winning art dealer and collector. Wang was a

⁹³ For a detailed discussion of the contribution of this middle class in modern China, see Wen-hsin Yen, *Shanghai Splendour: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843–1949* (Berkeley, 2007).

successful comprador and a leading figure in the Shanghai commercial field. As recorded in *Who's Who in China*, the number of prestigious titles attached to Wang Yiting is overwhelming, including Chairman of the Chinese Electric Power Company, Chairman of the Shanghai City Chamber of Commerce, member of the board of directors for Shanghai city's Bureau of Municipal Affairs, and committee member for numerous charity organizations and forty educational institutions.⁹⁴ As members of the new merchant class, these men each possessed the new discipline of knowledge and information about commerce, which required further training beyond the classical Confucian educations and winning for these individuals not only wealth, but also social status and respectability. Furthermore, this new knowledge and wisdom were transferred to the art world, affecting the artistic practice of *guohua*. Li, Ha, and Wang were founders and influential committee members of some of the most prestigious art associations established at the turn of the twentieth century, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

In addition to the new merchants, members of the new intelligentsia and entrepreneur class—such as Huang Binhong, Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1881–1968),⁹⁵ Di Pingzi 狄平子 (1872–1940), and Pang Laichen 龐萊臣 (1864–1949)—also held high positions and played important roles in the Shanghai art world. With their extensive training in traditional education, these celebrities obtained degrees via the Civil Examination and served at the

⁹⁴ *Who's Who in China 5th ed.* (Shanghai, 1936), p. 249.

⁹⁵ For the art and life of Ye Gongchuo, see Max Yeh, *The Elegant Gathering: the Yeh Family Collection* (San Francisco, c2006); for Ye's life and writings, see Yu Chengzhi 俞誠之 ed., *Xia'an huigao: fu nianpu* 遐庵彙稿: 附年譜, 'Collection of Ye Gongchuo's Writings, with Chronology of Ye's Life', (Taipei, 1968); Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽, *Xia'an tanyi lu* 遐庵談藝錄, 'Collection of Ye Gongchuo's Art-related Writings', (Hong Kong, 1962).

Qing court. Huang Binhong came from a merchant background and obtained a *linsheng* degree in 1886. He joined the Shanghai art world in 1907 and became a prominent art editor as well as a prolific art theorist. Well-known for his expertise in authenticating ancient paintings and calligraphy, his broad cultivation in painting and Chinese classics won him a reputation in the cultural world. Ye Gongchuo was born into a gentry-scholar family. Having been a Qing official, he continued to serve the Republican government after the downfall of the Qing. As one of the key figures in the cultural world, Ye initiated and sponsored various important artistic events and activities in modern China, including the First National Art Exhibition, the establishment of the Painting Association of China and the founding of the Shanghai Museum. Di Pingzi and Pang Laichen were well-known for their private collections of ancient paintings and calligraphy. Pang's collection, *Xuzhai* 虛齋 was claimed to be the 'best of Jiangnan.'⁹⁶ The quality and quantity of his collection is revealed in the twenty volumes of records for the Xuzhai collection.⁹⁷ Di Pingzi was a renowned collector as well as a crucial figure in the publishing industry. In Di's collection, Wang Meng's *Recluse in the Qing and Bian Mountains* is the most remarkable masterpiece. Both Pang and Di obtained the *Juren* degree during the Qing dynasty and at the same time participated in the commercial field. Pang was a successful industrialist, while Di established the *Shibao* 時報 newspaper,⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Song Luxia 宋路霞, *Bainian shoucang 20 shiji Zhongguo minjian shoucang fengyun lu* 百年收藏: 20世紀中國民間收藏風雲錄, 'A Century of Collections: History of 20th Century Non-Imperial Collection' (Shanghai, 1999), pp. 182–8.

⁹⁷ Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 十六卷, 'A Record of the Xuzhai Collection, 16 volumes', (Shanghai, 1998); Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghua xu lu* 虛齋名畫續錄, 'Supplement of the Record of the Xuzhai Collection, 4 volumes', (Shanghai, 1995). For a brief introduction to the Xuzhai collection, see Song, *Bainian shoucang*, pp.182–8.

⁹⁸ For a study of *Shibao*, see Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: Shibao and the Formation of the Public Sphere in Late Qing China* (Stanford, 1996)

Mingbao 民報, and the Yu Tseng Book Depot (*Youzheng shuju*, 有正書局) and made use of print media to promote and preserve the national essence, particularly painting and calligraphy.

It is clear from the above discussion that these social and cultural celebrities possessed both cultural and economic artistic resources as well as the power of consecration, implying that they sat at pinnacle of the hierarchical art world. Therefore, building and maintaining a good relationship with such prestigious figures would certainly ensure and enhance one's competitiveness in the art world. As defined by Bourdieu, a 'field' is a 'space of relations between positions', a space made up of related individuals and institutions. In his study of the early twentieth-century Chinese literary field, Michel Hockx identifies these relations within the context of Chinese society as 'ties of allegiance' (*guanxi*, 關係) of two distinct types: vertical allegiance, referring to teacher-student relations (*shisheng guanxi*, 師生關係), and horizontal allegiance, referring to peer relations (*tongren guanxi*, 同人關係).⁹⁹ In the Shanghai art world, the same relationships also existed, which was to a certain degree one of the key factors that governed and determined the success of newcomers. Therefore, in order to stand out in this competitive art world, building appropriate relationships was a prerequisite, and joining art societies became one of the most effective ways of establishing both vertical and horizontal allegiances.

⁹⁹ Hockx, 'Introduction', in Michel Hockx ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-century China* (Surrey, 1999), p. 10–1. For a detailed discussion of the ties of allegiance in the Chinese literary field, see Michel Hockx, 'Playing the Field: Aspects of Chinese Literary Life in the 1920s', in Hockx ed., *The Literary Field of Twentieth-century China*, pp. 61–78.

Leading figures in the Shanghai art world—owing to their respectability and prestige in society as well as the art world, as demonstrated in the above discussion—possessed symbolic power which could be used for consecrating young artists, for illuminating artistic events, and for elevating the image and value of works of art as well as publications. Therefore, teacher-student relationships became a primary means of consecrating young artists. For a young artist, becoming a disciple of a renowned artist would not only provide protection for the artist, but could also increase his symbolic and cultural capital at the same time. As seen in twenty-seven detailed entries included in the section of ‘Records of Teacher-Student Relations’ (*Shicheng jilue*, 師承紀略) in the 1947 Art Yearbook of China, teacher-student relationships were perceived at the time to be as important as educational credentials.¹⁰⁰ For instance, cultural celebrities and Qing loyalists Zeng Xi and Li Ruqing taught the brothers Zhang Shanzi 張善孖 (1882–1940) and Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983);¹⁰¹ Zeng and Li made use of their social capital to establish a social and cultural network for the Zhang brothers, and they also used symbolic capital such as their brand name and calligraphy to introduce the

¹⁰⁰ ‘Shicheng jilue’ 師承紀略, ‘Records of Teacher-Student Relations’, *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian* 中華民國三十六年中國美術年鑑, ‘Art Yearbook of China 1947’, (Shanghai, 1947).

¹⁰¹ There is an extensive literature on Zhang Daqian, important selected works include, Li Yongqiao 李永翹, *Zhang Daqian nianpu* 張大千年譜, ‘The Chronology of Zhang Daqian’s Life’, (Chengdu, 1987); Fu Shen, *Challenging the Past: the Paintings of Chang Dai-chien* (Washington, 1991); Mayching Kao ed., *Meiyuntang cang Zhang Daqian hua* 梅雲堂藏張大千畫, ‘The Meiyun Tang Collection of Paintings by Chang Dai-chien’, (Hong Kong, 1993); National Palace Museum ed., *Zhang Daqian, Pu Xinyu shishuhua xueshu taolun hui: lunwenji* 張大千, 溥心畬詩書畫學術討論會：論文集, ‘International Conference on the Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting of Zhang Daqian and Pu Xinyu’, (Taipei, 1994); Ba Dong 巴東, *Zhang Daqian* 張大千 (Taipei, 1996); Bao Limin 包立民, *Zhang Daqian yishu quan* 張大千藝術圈, ‘The Art Circle of Zhang Daqian’, (Beijing, 1999); Fu Shen 傅申, ‘Zhang Daqian yu Shanghai huatan’ 張大千與上海畫壇, ‘Zhang Daqian and the Shanghai Art World’, in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji*, pp. 751 - 89; Law Suk-mun, Sophia, *Zhang Daqian’s (1899–1983) Place in the History of Chinese Painting*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Hong Kong, 2004).

brothers to the art world, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

The names and calligraphy of these leaders were brands in and of themselves, conferring a certain amount of symbolic value on anything that bore them. For instance, Ye Gongchuo was one of the most prolific cover-writers in the cultural world. He was invited to execute a calligraphic title for the cover of the 'Ci Scholarship Quarterly' (*Cixue jikan*, 詞學季刊) (figure 1.1) as well as a painting catalogue for Zhang Shanzi and Zhang Daqian (figure 1.2). Due to their cultivation in literature and art, these celebrities were also invited to compose prefaces for books in the hopes of elevating the symbolic value of the publications (figure 1.3). Also, the presence of these celebrities illuminated various artistic events such as exhibitions, banquets, meetings, etc., resulting in their names repeatedly appearing in newspapers and being placed in visible positions. In addition, their financial support was crucial. For instance, an interesting report published in the *Shenbao* listed in great detail the names as well as amounts donated to the Sino-Japanese Exhibition held in 1929:

4th December - at the 25th committee meeting of the Sino-Japanese Exhibition, attendees included Wang Yiting, Ye Gongchou, Di Pingzi, Li Zuhan, Zhang Shanzi, Yao Yuqin, Wang Jiyuan, Wang Sun, Wang Xiaojian, Li Qiujun, etc. The accountant, Wang Chaisun, gave the financial report as follows:

Financial Report of the Sino-Japanese Painting Exhibition

Total expenditure: 6154.43 *yang* dollars; income from selling coupons: 2789.51 *yang* dollars; there is still 3364.92 *yang* dollars of debt. Both

Chinese and Japanese members will share the debt equally. Our side, the Chinese, will be responsible for 1682.46 *yang* dollars, to be shared among our fellows, including Zhou Xiangyun, 200 dollars; Wang Yiting, Ye Gongchou, Di Pingzi, and Li Zuhan, 150 dollars each; Zhang Sanzhi, Yao Yuqing, Pang Laichen, Zhou Xiangling, Wu Zhongxiong, Jin Qianan, and Wu Dongmai, 100 dollars each; Huang Binhong and Wang Chaisun, 50 dollars each; and 160 dollars from sales of goods. Altogether, sums totalled 1760 dollars¹⁰²

This report not only shows that the names of Wang Yiting, Ye Gongchou, Di Pingzi, Huang Binhong, and Pang Laichen appeared yet again in the press, but also offers evidence of their financial contributions to the art world.

From *yilao* to the new celebrities, it is safe to say that traditional values—such as cultivation in painting and literature and possession of private collections of ancient works of art—were still seen as the essential constituents of cultural capital that could be converted into symbolic capital such as recognition and reputation in the art world. Also, under the rise of capitalism, wealth gained currency in the cultural world and became one of the determinative factors for gaining respectability and prestige. Despite reformers' attacks on traditional culture, on the level of everyday life, these social and cultural celebrities continued holding high positions, enjoying the privilege of being perceived as public celebrities in modern Shanghai.

This tripartite dissertation will not be arranged chronologically, but rather

¹⁰² Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 243.

will be organised along different trajectories. The first chapter focuses on the process of institutionalisation of *guohua* by exploring two main practices, namely organising art societies and publishing art journals. Acting as a crucial institute-like artistic establishment that gathered like-minded and sojourner artists in the immigrant city of Shanghai, art societies underwent modernisation at a time of high associational sentiment by appropriating new managerial concepts and artistic activities—eventually professionalising and institutionalising art as a profession and making available a new identity and position for young *guohua* artists. Regarded as one of the most significant societal activities, the publication of art journals offered a platform for public discussion, public announcements, network building, and the promotion of aesthetic ideologies—all of which in turn created a fresh public image for art groups and popularised the esoteric knowledge of *guohua*. Chapter 3 turns to the practice of the art exhibition, tracing the origins of exhibition culture and unveiling the practices and functions of art exhibitions via a thorough examination of two different forms of exhibition: namely, group exhibitions and solo exhibitions. Chapter 4 investigates the modern Shanghai art market. Thanks to the rise of new wealth, the boom in the publishing industry, and the introduction of western commercial culture, the Shanghai art market—overwhelmingly dominated by *guohua*—underwent the groundbreaking process of modernisation by adopting newly-introduced retailing tactics, advertising concepts, and exhibiting culture, becoming a battlefield for members of the art world competing for resources such as monetary return and recognition. Based on the large number of price-lists published during the period, this third chapter deals with the pricing logic of the art market, exploring how works of art were priced and received, and how

artists converted their special knowledge and skills into social and economic rewards in order to establish professional status and gain recognition in Shanghai. As the thesis deals with a huge number of people who held different positions and formed the network of relations within the Shanghai art world, brief biographies of those mentioned in the thesis will be attached in Appendix 1.

Chapter Two

Institutionalisation as Practice: Societies and Journals

During the Republican Period in China, drastic changes in political and social orders resulted in the emergence of a large number of modern social institutions. As defined by sociologists, social institutions are commonly understood to be the principal structures through which human activities are organized to serve basic human needs, and are distinguished from 'associations' by their larger size and greater complexity. Marked by neither membership nor location, social institutions are characterized by specific patterns of behaviour, by shared values and beliefs, and by certain types of physical equipment.¹ In the early twentieth century, the role of art as a social institution, as well as its relation to society in general, underwent significant changes. What was once a 'pastime' and private practice was brought to the public sector, undergoing a process of institutionalization and eventually becoming a systematised social institution. In line with this definition, the 'artistic field', as postulated by Pierre Bourdieu, could be regarded as a social institution, one of the important constituents of modern Chinese society. Based on the foundation of embryonic art institutions such as art clubs, fan shops and mounting shops developed in the late Qing period, modern Republican era artistic institutions were formed, and subsequently routinised the production and consumption of art, giving birth to the modern Chinese art world. In the past, little scholarly attention has been paid to the artistic institutions of modern China, even though much literature has focused on the role art schools played in the process of institutionalisation.² The creation of

¹ Milton C. Albrecht, 'Art as an Institution', in Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff ed., *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader* (London, 1970), p. 2.

² Mayching Kao's dissertation, the first PhD dissertation on modern Chinese art, focuses heavily

new artistic institutions in Republican China—whether physically, such as art schools and exhibition spaces, or conceptually, such as institution-like structures, art societies, and clubs—has recently become a central concern of art historians. This trend was reflected in the annual conference of the Association for Asian Studies in 2005, where a distinct session was devoted to modern Republican Chinese art institutions, exploring their role in the development of a wide variety of art forms such as *guohua*, folk art, oil painting, as well as woodblock prints.³

This chapter will explore the process of institutionalisation by looking at the *guohua* sub field of the Shanghai art world from 1929 to 1937, examining two categories—namely, art societies, and art journals. The structure and arrangement of the sequence of these categories is broadly based on the timeline of their noticeable emergence within the art community. The formation of public societies has been seen as marking the emergence of a public sphere in modern China.⁴ Within the artistic domain, the enthusiasm for organising artistic groups and societies could be also regarded as the beginning of an

on early twentieth century art education. Kao, *China's Response to the West in Art: 1898 - 1937*; also see Mayching Kao, 'The Beginning of the Western-style Painting Movement in Relationship to Reforms in Education in Early Twentieth-century China', *New Asia Academic Bulletin*, vol. IV (1983), pp. 373 - 397; Mayching Kao, 'Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement in China', in Andrews and Shen eds., *A Century in Crisis*, pp. 146-171; Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China*; Jane Zheng, 'The Shanghai Fine Arts College: Art Education and Modern Women Artists in the 1920s and 1930s', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 19. 1 (2007, Spring), pp. 192-235; Jane Zheng, 'A New Ladder Leading to Celebrity: The Shanghai Art School and the Modern Mechanism of Artistic Celebrity (1913 - 1937)', *Art Criticism*, 22. 1 (2007), pp. 1 - 27; Jane Zheng, 'Local Response to the National Ideal: Aesthetic Education in the Shanghai Art School (1913 - 1937)', *Art Criticism*, 22. 1 (2007), pp. 29 - 56.

³ See abstracts of the Association for Asian Studies Conference. <http://www.aasianst.org/absts/2005abst/china/c-77.htm>.

⁴ For discussions on the Chinese public sphere see, Mary Backus Rankin, 'The Origins of a Chinese Public Sphere: Local Elites and Community Affairs in the Late Imperial Period', *Études Chinoises*, 9. 2 (Autumn, 1990), pp. 13-60; William T. Rowe, 'The Public Sphere in Modern China', *Modern China*, 16. 3 (July, 1990), pp. 309-329; David Strand, 'Civil Society' and 'Public Sphere' in *Modern China: a Perspective on Popular Movements in Beijing, 1919-1989* (Durham, 1990).

autonomous, modern artistic field governed by its own rules, free from the intervention of the state. Journals were a product of both art societies and the newly flourished publishing industry, and so should be viewed not only as another facet of the artistic community, but also as a public forum for the exchange of ideas and network bonding. Based extensively on published primary materials, newspapers, and magazines in particular, this chapter will focus on the sub-field of *guohua*, to show how the new generations of *guohua* artists took advantage of indigenous valuations based on support from cultural and social elites, who possessed huge amounts of cultural, symbolic and economic capital. Together with modern practices, this support legitimised and elevated the status of *guohua* through modern artistic institutions. In doing so, this transformation institutionalised the former leisure pastime of *guohua* and retained its newly predominant position in the Shanghai art world.

Art Societies

The rise of public associations and interest groups in various forms and for a range of purposes is regarded as a crucial social phenomenon in modern Chinese history. To a certain extent, this movement reflects the drastic changes in the modernisation process that took place in Chinese society at the time, such as educational reform, the rise of a modern industrial economy, the proliferation of mass media, new patterns in career development, the new social position of a modern intelligentsia, and the impact of the West. Therefore, in order to understand the profound impact of this issue on the history of modern China, considerable scholarly efforts have been focused recently on public associations, exploring the evolution of traditional organizations into their twentieth-century incarnations—organizations such as private academies, professional associations,

urban gentry-merchant organizations, criminal gangs, literary associations, and native-place associations. Recent academic enquiry has focused on the time from the late Qing period to the Republican period, articulating the role that public associations played with regards to the emergence of a civil society or public sphere in modern China.⁵ Although focusing on different kinds of groups and organizations, the considerable body of literature converges at the point which evidently demonstrates that the prevalence of a rich associational life during the Republican period provides evidence for the Chinese experience of 'urban citizenship' and of the existence of social arenas with relative autonomy from state control in China, a model that Jürgen Habermas postulates as a bourgeois public sphere.⁶

Although art societies may seem familiar or 'traditional', particularly when they are viewed by most art historians in the light of their origins as traditional elegant gatherings (*yaji* 雅集),⁷ their practices and meanings in modern China

⁵ For private academies, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, 1990). For professional associations, see Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*. For merchant organizations, see Susan Mann Jones, 'The Ninpo Pang and Financial Power at Shanghai', Edward J. M. Rhoads, 'Merchant Associations in Canton, 1895-1911', Shirley S. Garrett, 'The Chambers of Commerce and the YMCA', in Elvin and Skinner eds., *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*; Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930* (Honolulu, 1985); Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911-1937*; Marie-Claire Bergère, 'The Shanghai Bankers' Association, 1915-1927: Modernization and the Institutionalization of Local Solidarities', in Wakeman and Yeh, eds, *Shanghai Sojourners*. For secret societies, see Jean Chesneaux ed., *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-1950* (Stanford, 1972); Wakeman Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937*. For native-place associations, see Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*. For literary associations see Hockx, *Questions of Style*.

⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiring into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁷ Huang Ke 黃可, *Shanghai meishushi zhaji* 上海美術史札記, 'Records of Shanghai Art History', (Shanghai, 2000); Zhou Fangmei 周芳美, 'Ershi shiji chu Shanghai huajia de jieshe yu qi yingxiang' 二十世紀初上海畫家的結社與其影響, 'The Formation and Impact of Art Associations among Shanghai Artists in the Early 20th Century', in Guoli lishi bowuguan bianji weiyuanhui 國立歷史博物館編輯委員會 ed., *1901-2000 Zhonghua wenhua bainian lunwenji* 1901-2000 中華文化百年論文集 I, 'Chinese Culture Centenary', (Taipei, 1999), pp. 16 - 50; Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬, 'Wanqing Shanghai diqu shuhua jia jieshe huodong tanxi' 晚清上

actually reflect a revolutionary transformation in the relationship between art and the changing society. In Xu Zhihao's survey 'Records of Art Societies in China' (*Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu*, 中國美術社團漫錄), one immediately notices that most of the art societies established in the early half of the twentieth century were located in urban cities such as Beijing, Nanjing, Guangdong, and Shanghai in particular, suggesting to some extent that by this time, art societies had become one of the major constituents of modern China's urban culture.⁸ Recently, more and more art historians have put efforts into analysing the role played by art associations in the development of modern Chinese art history. Wan Qingli has argued that the emergence of Shanghai art societies between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries testifies to the social transformation of the city through commercialisation and urbanisation.⁹ Scholars such as Huang Ke, Liu Ruikuan, Julia Andrews, Kuiyi Shen, and Zhou Fangmei are the pioneering art historians examining individual art societies.¹⁰ In their informative and insightful studies, the picture of artistic societal life in Republican China has been briefly sketched. Zhou Fangmei has maintained that the formation and function of art associations were expressions of 'modernity' and that as she describes them, the organisation of art associations in Republican Shanghai could be regarded as a way of popularising traditional art in order to

海地區書畫家結社活動探析, 'A Study of the Societal Activities of Painters and Calligraphers of Shanghai in the Late Qing Period', *Xingda lishi xuebao* 興大歷史學報, 'Academic Journal of History of the National Chung Hsing University', 3 (1993), pp. 109 - 27; Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 'The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: the Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai', in Kuo ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s - 1930s*, pp. 79 - 93.

⁸ Xu, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu*.

⁹ Wan, *Bingfei shuailuo de bainian shiji shiji zhongguo huihua shi*, pp. 114 - 129.

¹⁰ Also see Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬, 'Juelan she yu zhongguo xiandai meishu' 決瀾社與中國現代美術, 'The Storm Society and Chinese Modern Art', *Xingda lishi xuebao*, 6 (1996), pp. 109 - 23; Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 'Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 11. 1 (1999, Spring), pp. 1 - 30; Andrews, 'The Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianmahui*) and Chinese Landscape Painting'.

ensure its survival under the threat of western impact.¹¹ Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen have argued that the creation of art groups in the Republican period was in part a response to the threats brought about by the radically changed political and economic environment of modernity.¹² The Women's Calligraphy and Painting Association, for instance, bonded women artists together via their artistic pursuit and their gender, rather than by their city of origin, as was the way with most public associations—which in a way reflects Chinese feminism and modernity during this particular period.¹³ Andrews and Shen have also suggested, as in the case of the Painting Association of China, 'the choice of traditional painting as the preferred form of artistic expression could no longer be assumed.' To some important artists at that time, traditionalism was an active, not passive, theoretical position,' and the 'promotion of traditional Chinese art, artistic patterns, and, by implication native cultural patterns, might be described as a progressive activity for its time'.¹⁴ These impressive works evidently proved that within the Chinese public sphere, art had become one of the social characteristics that could draw like-minded professionals together through mutual goals (such as promoting art and constructing a reputation) and that practising art had become a collective public activity. However, these studies tell little about the relationship between art societies, the art world, and society at large, and they are still based on the 'impact-response' model, which sees Western impact as the major driving force behind the formation of modern art societies. Therefore, in order to better understand the relationship between art associations and the art

¹¹ Zhou Fangmei, 'Ershi shiji chu Shanghai huajia de jieshe yu qi yingxiang', pp. 17, 32.

¹² Andrews and Shen, 'The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: the Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai', pp. 79 - 93; Andrews and Shen, 'Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society', pp. 1 - 30.

¹³ Andrews and Shen, 'Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: the Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society', p. 6 - 8.

¹⁴ Andrews and Shen, 'The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: the Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai', p. 91.

world, as well as the changing society in general, my attempt is to draw attention to some of the less-often considered aspects of the practice of art associations and their impact on the Shanghai art world with regards to the concept of the artistic field and the public sphere.

In the process of artistic institutionalisation and the formation of an art world in modern China, the artistic community in Shanghai's treaty port played the foremost role in gathering both economic and human resources, consequently empowering the art community to strive for institutionalisation and simultaneously endowing artists with a professional identity. Since the opening of Chinese treaty ports, Shanghai had become the economic and cultural hub, which in turn attracted enormous financial as well as intellectual investment in this modern immigrant metropolis. Young artists seeking opportunities were drawn there, along with Qing loyalists, attempting to escape the tragedy of the empire's downfall. These former officials possessed enormous economic, cultural, and symbolic capital but were forced to settle in the treaty port and were able to help support the many professional artists, art teachers, editors and critics, etc. who had come there to earn a living. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the well-known modern Chinese artists, such as Zhang Daqian, Xu Beihong, and Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1894–1952),¹⁵ chose Shanghai as the point of departure for their artistic careers, despite their having originally come from areas far from that great city. The confluence of a considerable number of artists and cultural elites in Shanghai consequently fostered a more diversified,

¹⁵ For a thorough study on the artist, see Zhang Hanyun 張瀚云, *Zheng Wuchang yanjiu—jianlun minchu Shanghai meishu tuanti yu minchu meishu shi zhuzuo* 鄭午昌研究—兼論民初上海美術團體與民初美術史著作, 'A Study of Zheng Wuchang: Republican Art Groups and Republican Writings on Art History', M.Phil dissertation (Taiwan National Normal University, 1998); *Zheng Wuchang* 鄭午昌, 'Zheng Wuchang', (Shanghai, 2000).

dynamic, and prosperous cultural environment, and yet at the same time intensified the competitiveness and tension within the art world. Newcomer artists, particularly of the younger generation, struggled to take their positions and gain recognition within the Shanghai art world, and thus required financial as well as cultural support from senior members who were powerful enough to consecrate junior artists. Art associations certainly became the very first door into the Shanghai art world for newcomers, (particularly those who lacked the connections with leading cultural figures), offering support to those wishing to enter the art world and build ties of allegiance both vertically and horizontally. Thus to a large degree, art associations served as the main channel through which young new artists entered the Shanghai art world, not to mention one of the determinative constituents of artistic identity and a reflection of one's position in the art world. It therefore became common practice to include information about associational life in most published artists' biographies during the period, such as those contained in the '1947 Art Yearbook of China'.¹⁶

By the late nineteenth-century, more than half of Shanghai's population was made up of immigrants from other areas of China. Naturally, then, Shanghai became a hub of public associations which facilitated communication and provided mutual support among sojourner members. Referring to the 1923 'Guide to Shanghai: A Chinese Directory of the Port' (*Shanghai zhinan*, 上海指南), in the category of 'Public Enterprises' (*gonggong shiye*, 公共事業), public associations were divided into seven categories, according to their nature: 'Native-Place Organizations', 'Religious Organizations', 'Political Organizations', 'Autonomous Organizations', 'Academic Organizations',

¹⁶ *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian.*

'Industrial Organizations' and 'Clubs'. Evidently, public associations had become an integral social institution and common cultural practice in modern Shanghai's public sector.¹⁷ Despite the fact that voluntary associations of different sorts—such as trade guilds, labour gangs, native-place associations, secret societies, and gentry-merchant organizations—had long existed in imperial China and were clearly an important component of traditional Chinese society, their twentieth-century incarnations were run under new managerial and operational concepts. These new associations were situated mainly in urban areas of modern China, within a new classification system and social context, particularly in the treaty port of Shanghai. As in other Chinese cities, Shanghai had been home to various urban associations ever since she had become an important commercial centre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Xu Xiaoqun describes in *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*,¹⁸ before the Republican period, Shanghai had had a long and rich societal life. After its identification as a treaty port, migrants from other parts of China began to make up the majority of the Shanghai population, giving rise to the organisation of public associations created for the sole purpose of common interest and mutual support, such as native-place associations, merchant organizations, and trade guilds. As the city's economy began to flourish, the number of voluntary associations increased notably in order to meet societal needs. In 1912, the establishment of Republican China came hand-in-hand with an outpouring of popular enthusiasm for public action and political participation, further reinforcing the enthusiasm for organizing voluntary associations and coinciding

¹⁷ Lin Zheng 林震, *Shanghai zhinan* 上海指南, 'Guide to Shanghai: A Chinese Directory of the Port, 12th ed.' (Shanghai, 1923).

¹⁸ Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*, p. 87 - 106.

with a surge in their numbers.¹⁹

In the Nanjing decade (1927–1937), a change in the political environment resulted in a new wave of association building washing over Shanghai. A growing number of cultural and educational societies and professional associations came into being as well. In his well-researched 1934 article ‘Cultural Organizations in Shanghai’ (*Shanghai de xueyi tuanti* 上海的學藝團體), the Republican historian Hu Huaichen also regarded the growing number of public associations in Shanghai as a significant cultural phenomenon, and attributed the explosion to the following three factors: first, Shanghai was an attractive city for migrants, who subsequently felt the need to organize societies and associations for the purpose of networking and mutual benefit; second, as cultural development flourished, the number and scale of specific organizations increased and expanded; and third, organizing societies for academic research was a common practice in the West—Chinese intellectuals readily adopted this concept and appropriated the practice for modern Chinese society.²⁰ Being the first scholar to study modern public associations in Shanghai with any amount of effort, Hu not only pinpoints the importance of cultural organisations in the cultural development of Republican China, but also defines the contemporary scholarly view on modern public associations in Republican China.

Based on the practices of traditional elegant gatherings in imperial China,

¹⁹ Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*, p. 87. The Republican historian Hu Huaichen also observed the noticeable different in the growing number of voluntary associations before and after 1912. See Hu Huaichen, ‘Shanghai de xueyi tuanti’ 上海的學藝團體, ‘Academic Organizations in Shanghai’, *Shanghai tongzhi guan qikan*, 2. 2 (1934), pp. 823-946 (p.823).

²⁰ Hu, ‘Shanghai de xueyi tuanti’, pp. 823-946 (p. 823).

together with the concept of modern management and fuelled by the rich associational sentiments of the Republican period, the number of established modern art associations reached its zenith in terms of both quantity and scale during the Republican period.²¹ As Pierre Bourdieu maintains that every artistic statement or manifestation is a revelation on position-taking, a close examination of art associations in the Shanghai art world would certainly shed light on our understanding of its structure and valuations. Also, the very numbers of art associations and their shifting forms and practices demonstrate the traits of persistence and change, familiarity and changing meaning, which make the art world a crucial arena for understanding the texture of modern change in the *guohua* discourse.

With regards to Xu Zhihao's *Records of Art Societies in China, 1911-1949*, the first thing that is striking about art associations in the 1930s is their number. On average, more than five new art societies were established in Shanghai every year. (Appendix 2) Also, it had become common practice for art societies to issue statements or manifestos as declarations of their inauguration. These statements provide important information for our understanding of how art societies positioned themselves and gained success in the art world. Dealing with two representative *guohua* societies, the 'Bee Society' (*Mifeng huashe*, 蜜蜂畫社) and the Painting Association of China,²² the following discussion attempts to show how *guohua* societies evolved to meet members' needs while

²¹ See surveys in Huang, *Shanghai meishushi zhaji*; Xu, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu; Shanghai meishuzhi*.

²² The *Zhongguo huahui* was originally called the *Zhonghua huahui* (中華畫會, the Painting Association of China); therefore, in order to distinguish the English translation from the generic term 'Chinese painting,' I use the translation, 'Painting Association of China' instead of 'Chinese Painting Society'.

struggling to stand out in the competitive Shanghai art world. By comparing art societies established at the turn of the century with the two established *guohua* societies of the 1930s, the exploration aims to demonstrate how the young generation of *guohua* may have benefited from indigenous valuation, adopting artistic organisations as tools for gathering both economic and cultural capital in an effort to professionalise and retain the cultural status of *guohua* in modern China.

As was the case with most public associations, structured art societies established at the turn of twentieth-century were founded and managed mainly by social elites such as gentry-scholars and merchants. On the one hand, these societies continued some indigenous cultural practices of traditional elegant gatherings, during which painting, calligraphy and literary works were viewed and produced collectively. On the other hand, they introduced new practices, particularly modern managerial concepts adopted from the commercial world, to facilitate their own operation. Having long been perceived as essential cultivations of the literati, painting, calligraphy, poetry, and lyric writing were practiced privately as past-time hobbies among the gentry-elite in imperial China. However, as the commercialisation of painting had occurred, particularly in the immigrant metropolis of Shanghai, art societies dedicated specifically to promote the art trade came into being, catering to the demand for art at the turn of the twentieth century. Examples include the Shanghai Qingyiguan Painting and Calligraphy Association (*Shanghai qingyiguan shuhua hu*, 上海青猗館書畫會),²³ the Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association (*Yuyuan*

²³ For a brief introduction to the society, see Hu, 'Shanghai de xueyi tuanti', pp. 861 - 2.

shuhua shanhui, 豫園書畫善會),²⁴ and the Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China (*Zhongguo shuhua yanjiuhui*, 中國書畫研究會 or *Xiaohuayuan shuhua yanjiuhui*, 小花園書畫研究會, *Shanghai shuhua yanjiuhui*, 上海書畫研究會, which changed its name to *Haishang tijinguan shuhuahui* 海上題襟館書畫會 in 1911). These were among the most representative *guohua* societies that apparently functioned as agents of art trade promotion.²⁵ These groups were founded mainly by cultural celebrities, renowned artists, and merchants who held high positions in both the commercial and cultural worlds of Shanghai. The Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China, for instance, was found by Li Pingshu, Ha Shaofu, Mao Zijian 毛子堅 (Dates unknown), Ni Tian 倪田 (1855–1919), Di Pingzi, Wang Yiting, Pang Laichen, and Lu Hui 陸恢 (1851–1920), who formed a strong managerial board with a combination of merchant and cultural elites. In view of the background and social status of these founders—among whom Wang Yiting and Li Pingshu were important leading merchants in Shanghai, while Di Pingzi, Ha Shaofu and Pang Laichen were acclaimed art collectors, merchants and dealers in the Shanghai art world—the involvement of such prestigious figures undoubtedly was able to bring new managerial concepts to the art association while at the same time endowing the society with fame and symbolic value. Also, the combination of

²⁴ Differing from elegant gatherings, the society issued ordinances and attempted to run the society in a modern and systematic way. Relating its title to a charitable purpose, the society was in fact intended to provide mutual support by means of promoting and selling paintings and calligraphy. With regards to its ordinance, a large portion of it was related to the matter of selling paintings. Also, the society compiled the book, 'Shanghai's Forest of Ink' (*Haishang molin*, 海上墨林), which is the first written history of the Shanghai art scene and offers over seven hundred biographies of Shanghai artists from the Song dynasty to the late Qing period. For details on the society, see Hu, 'Shanghai de xueyi tuanti', 853-6; Zhou, 'ershi shiji chu Shanghai huajia de jieshe yu qi yingxiang', pp. 21-5.

²⁵ Wang Zhongxiu has conducted thorough research on the society, based on a large amount of primary material. For details, see Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀, 'Huang Binhong shishi kao' 黃賓虹十事考, 'Ten Examinations of Huang Binhong', *Rongbaozhai* 榮寶齋, 2 (2002), pp. 229 - 45; 3 (2002), pp. 216 - 35; 4 (2002), pp. 236 - 43.

merchants and artists among its founders in a way suggests a commercial purpose for the association as well as an inextricable link between art and commerce at the time, which as be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

By looking closely at the Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China, it is interesting to note that despite the fact that this early modern art society seemed to be more or less similar to traditional gentry-elite-run art groups, its managerial concepts and structure however foreshadowed a new development in artistic societal life in subsequent decades. As did most public associations, art associations established at the turn of the century began to issue mission statements, ordinances, and regulations—clear declarations of each society’s intended direction and position and their desire to systematise and routinise the once private leisure practice of elegant gatherings. The Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association, for instance, declared in its mission statement that it would help the poor, promote loftiness, and preserve the national essence, while the Shanghai Qingyiguan Painting and Calligraphy Association regarded preserving the national essence as well as studying painting and calligraphy as its aims.²⁶ Being one of the most representative *guohua* associations, the Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China also clearly declared both the mission and aims of the society in its ordinances and regulations, which state:

The association aims to promote research, collect and distribute. Gather like-minded artists in Shanghai to organize elegant gatherings at the ‘Little

²⁶ For the complete statements and ordinances, see Xu, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu*, pp. 14 - 5, 21 - 2.

Garden' (*Xiao Huayuan*, 小花園). Establish the club house and elect painters, calligraphers, collectors and connoisseurs to hold meetings at any time to promote exchange and mutual learning, giving a helping hand to preserve national essence.²⁷

From its mission statement, we can see that the association had set up a regular meeting place which functioned not only as a physical gathering place but also to enhance the organisational function of the association. Also, as a reaction to the concurrent political crisis (and similar to most public associations established in the early twentieth-century), the Association proclaimed explicitly in its mission statement its intention to help preserve the national essence through its artistic activities. In fact, one common practice in the Shanghai art community during the late Qing period was for artists to subsume the mundane purpose of making a living through practising art under the more sound title of 'preserving the national essence' or other such benevolent designation.²⁸ This suggests that selling paintings was still perceived as inappropriate, even then being bound by the materialism-free concept of literati discourse. Thus it is not surprising for associations to have presented such a grand and high-sounding mission in their ordinances. Take a closer look at the ordinances of most *guohua* societies established in the very beginning the twentieth-century, however, and a different and clearer function of art associations can be discerned. The following excerpt from the ordinance of the Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China clarifies the actual functions and activities of the society:

²⁷ Xu, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu*, pp. 19.

²⁸ Wue, 'The Profits of Philanthropy'.

- The society recommends Li Pingshu as chairman, Ha Shaofu and Mao Zijian as committee members, Zhao Yunfan as the chief manager in residence, Ni Mogeng as the assistant manager of general business. Also one assistant in charge of handling the business of paintings.
- Will elect twenty artists and collectors as board of trustees. Meet at any time. Regular meetings will be held at the beginning of every month.
- Members of the board of trustees should donate 2 dollars per month for the Association for the expenses on tea and drinks. Other expenses to be donated by member of the board of trustees.
- The Association spends 30 dollars on rent, 10 dollars on the salary of the assistant. Two workers of the teahouse each will be paid 6 dollars, with a total of 12 dollars. 10 dollars for lighting and fire. 20 dollars for cigarette, tea and miscellaneous. To sum up, each month needs 80 dollars for basic expense. To be donated by members of the board of trustees.
- The clubhouse opens from 2pm to 10pm. Members are welcome to study at the club house where brushes, ink stones and painting apparatus are provided for members. The final products whether painting or calligraphy should be sold through the Association. Prices will be set according to each member's price-list but 10% should be deducted for the Association and another 10% for papers, colours and materials consumed.
- The Association can help artists to sell works of art. Artists should give the works by deadlines. 10% will be deducted for the Association. Works should give out once the payment is settled.
- Non-member artists are welcome to join the meetings. However

those who attend frequently are obligated to donate two dollars as tea-and-water fee.

- Collective works by members should be handed to the society to sell and prices should be set. After sold, if it is a collective work by three artists, the total amount should be divided into four portions. One portion is kept by the Association.
- Collections of artists and collectors can be sold through the Association. However one must join the membership. Works will be displayed. If the works are sold, 10% will be deducted by the Association.
- Membership fees of members and the trustees should be paid on or before the fourteenth of every month. Monthly accounts will be counter checked by the committee, assistant committee and the trustees.
- Any other business can be discussed in irregular meeting.²⁹

These ordinances show explicitly that as an art association, its function was in fact to help artists and collectors to build networks for practical purposes, mainly selling paintings and trading art under the more socially palatable purpose of 'preserving the national essence'. Despite having put forth the goal of national essence, the above ordinance provides neither any specific activities nor actions pertaining to the implementation of this mission. Intriguingly, more than half of the ordinances are related to economic matters. Similarly, referring to the ordinances of the Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association and the Shanghai Qingyiguan Painting and Calligraphy Association, it is quite clear that the major concerns and activities of these societies are also about selling

²⁹ Hu, 'Shanghai de xueyi tuanti', pp. 857-860.

paintings. Under the directorships of merchants, art dealers, and collectors such as Li Pingshu, Ha Shaofu, Mao Zijian, and Zhao Yunfang 趙雲舫 (Dates unknown) in the case of the Painting and Calligraphy Research Association of China, these associations inevitably became organizations that mainly provided social opportunities for its members, who shared common interests in practicing painting, collecting works of art, promoting art trading, and exchanging market information—or, as Kuiyi Shen puts it, to promote *guohua* by controlling the prices and marketing methods.³⁰

An interesting description of the meetings of the Painting-and-Calligraphy Research Association of China documented in the 1947 Art Yearbook provides further evidence of the commercial nature of the Association, which is described as follows:

During the day, few people visited the Association; however, the number of visitors increased after dinner. People gathered at the Association, and each rectangular table could accommodate twenty to thirty people. The Association was always packed. People often left after ten o'clock. The topics they discussed included painting, calligraphy, seal carving etc. Many former Qing officials, the backbone members of the Association, also joined in and told stories of the past. Members always brought their precious collections and displayed them at the clubhouse, allowing others to appreciate them. Also, art dealers came and brought a lot of paintings, calligraphy, and antiquities, seeking buyers. Every member had his own

³⁰ Kuiyi Shen, 'Shanghai Society of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Shanghai School of Painting', *Studies in Art History*, 1 (1995), pp. 135–59.

price-list at the Association. The Association received orders on behalf of members. Newly arriving artists had to use their connections to obtain meetings with Association members, for the purpose of asking them to set their price-lists and make introductions.³¹

Obviously the Association held a high position in the hierarchy of the Shanghai art world and functioned as an authoritative institution which was powerful enough to provide social and symbolic capital to newcomers.

By nature, these *guohua* associations were more or less similar to traditional elegant gatherings, during which common interests were shared, information was exchanged, and networks were built. Despite this similarity, *guohua* associations developed within the context of modern societal sentiments. A strong directorship of cultural businessmen ran the *guohua* societies as businesses with modern managerial structures in order to meet the emerging requirements of modernization, professionalisation and commercialisation. In this sense, it is believed that early *guohua* societies actually took over the role of traditional guilds, regulating commerce and trade while at the same time taking up social responsibilities, for instance to provide food and famine relief. However in the case of art associations, they retained their influence and power within a completely new market and field: the art world.

The above discussion has briefly sketched out the societal life, functions, and position of *guohua* societies at the turn of the twentieth century, showing that prior to the first wave of returning overseas-trained art students, *guohua*

³¹ *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, shi 5.

societies—particularly those established by cultural elites and merchants—held a leading position in the Shanghai art world, modernising and institutionalising the practices of artistic groups by introducing modern managerial structures and concepts. The forms and purposes of art associations changed as the cultural and social environment of Shanghai changed. The transformation of these social institutions is therefore a crucial part of understanding not only the development of traditionalistic social practices in modern China but also yet another perspective on Chinese modernity. Since the late 1920s, competition between newly introduced western-style art forms and *guohua* gradually increased, due to more and more western or Japanese-trained artists' having returned and participated actively in the Shanghai art world.³² During this period, artistic societies of various forms and purposes came into being, concomitant with the rapidly increased artistic activity. Therefore, in order to compete for resources and to gain recognition in both the art world and to a large degree from society, artistic societies adopted modern practices such as organizing art exhibitions, publishing journals, and circulating catalogues, in order to promote their artistic pursuits through the now well-developed public sphere. Rejecting the elitist outlook of the older elegant gatherings, new *guohua* associations adopted the rituals of democratic populism and openness—publishing meeting minutes, correspondence, and financial accounts, revising their bylaws, and openly recruiting members. Intended not only to meet the economic needs of their members, these societies undertook the vital mission of promoting and legitimising their aesthetic ideologies in order to assure their position in the art world. Different from earlier *guohua* societies, those established in the 1930s were organized by the first generation of modern

³² Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, chapter 3 and 4, pp. 36–51.

Chinese artists, who were in their early thirties, educated under the new educational system and bearing the identity of art professional—and were thus willing to employ new concepts and visions in running the societies. Unlike their ancestors, the revered old ‘amateur artists’ (most of whom were former cultural celebrities and merchant-artists), the young artists regarded art as a profession and defined themselves as artists (*huajia*, 畫家). They strove to establish professional standards and obtain professional status and privileges that were recognized by society at large, demonstrating an increase in the sense of a self-conscious professional community. In this way, the organising of art societies had become a tool for young artists to gain recognition as well as to realise their goals of professionalisation and institutionalisation.

In the 1930s, the number of art societies being established increased rapidly (Appendix 2), suggesting a simultaneous intensification of competition within the art world. However, from the survey shown in Appendix 2, one can see that despite a clear surge in the number of art societies, most of these societies actually had a very short life span, providing further evidence for a highly competitive atmosphere within the art world. Therefore, in order to stand out and sustain themselves, artistic societies had to be operated more efficiently and strategically. Shanghai art societies adopted positions largely dependent on their own prior history in the field. With regards to the *guohua* sub-field, the newly-assumed directions and positions of various *guohua* societies were revealed explicitly through their societal statements and activities. For instance, the Yiguan Association (*Yiguan xuehui*, 藝觀學會) originally declared its mission in 1926 as ‘preserving the national essence, promoting national glory,

studying art, and enlightening the loftiness of mind',³³ but in the 1930s modified its mission statement to read, 'aiming at studying Chinese epigraphy, calligraphy, painting, western painting, sculpture, and other forms of art'.³⁴ This change in its mission statement from the cliché of preserving the national essence to focusing on studying a wide range of specific art forms is a significant shift from a generic and cliché objective to a more specialised artistic purpose.

Active artist and critic He Tianjian 賀天健 (1891–1977)³⁵ wrote an interesting article devoted to the *guohua* societies of the period, providing clues to the diverse styles and practices of painting-and-calligraphy societies (*shuhuahui*, 書畫會) in the *guohua* sub-field during the 1930s. In his article 'The Right-and-Wrongs of Painting-and-Calligraphy Societies and Their Styles' (*Shuhuahui yu zuofeng zhi shifei*, 書畫會與作風之是非), He Tianjian attempts to categorize *guohua* societies into five different types according to their purpose, function, and direction: 1, pleasure and entertainment; 2, research and study; 3, self interest and mutual compliments; 4, dominance in the art scene; 5, making a living.³⁶ He relates the first three categories to different age groups. Those who pursue pleasure and entertainment through art societies are usually in middle or old age, and prosperous in their material lives. Those who pursue serious

³³ *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, shi 45.

³⁴ The Yiguan association changed its name to the Art Association of China (*Zhongguo yishu xuehui*, 中國藝術學會) and modified its mission statement and ordinances in 1929. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 278; Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 220.

³⁵ For further discussion on He, see He Tianjian 賀天健, *Xuehua shanshui guocheng zishu* 學畫山水過程自述, 'Personal Explanation of the Process of Learning Landscape Painting', (Beijing, 1962); Yuan Chunrong 袁春榮 ed., *He Tianjian huaji* 賀天健畫集, 'Painting Catalogue of He Tianjian', (Shanghai, 1982); Shanghai zhongguohua yuan 上海中國畫院 ed., *He Tianjian jing pin ji* 賀天健精品集, 'He Tianjian Painting Collection', (Beijing, 2006); Han-yun Chang, *He Tianjian (1891 - 1977) and the Defense of Guohua*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California Santa Barbara, in progress).

³⁶ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Shuhua hui yu zuofeng zhi shifei' 書畫會與作風之是非, 'The Right-and-Wrongs of the Painting-and-Calligraphy Societies and Their Styles', *Guohua yuekan*, (1)1934, pp.20-2 (p. 21).

study and research through art societies are mostly young and aspire to study art through exhaustive discussions with like-minded artists. And finally, those who use art societies as tools to promote their own reputations are generally middle aged. Although He's comments were essentially based on his own observations as opposed to substantial empirical evidence, he offers an intriguing insight into the relationship between age and the prevalent styles of art societies in his time, illustrating a significant change in attitudes towards *guohua* from generation to generation.

As social age is closely related to biological age, changes in the styles of art societies to some extent reflect how artistic ideologies changed from generation to generation. Inheriting the traditional practices of elegant gatherings and perceiving art as pastime entertainment, older generations organized modern art societies based on old practices. These sorts of leisure art groups continued to play their role in the Shanghai art world, with one case in point being the *Hanzhiyou she* 寒之友社.³⁷ Established in 1928 by the high former Qing official and cultural celebrity Jing Hengyi, the society organised casual meetings and gatherings and was an 'unorganised organisation' as described by the Republican art educator Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1885–1962).³⁸ Lacking formal regulations, the society allowed like-minded artists to gather, socialise, and practise their common interests of painting and calligraphy. Generally this kind of *guohua* society continued the practice of traditional elegant gatherings, having memberships restricted to a small number of artists and short life spans, due to a lack of formal management. Although members of the younger generation of

³⁷ Detailed information of the society see *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 287.

³⁸ *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, shi 23 - 7.

guohua artists also joined these relatively casual art societies, their directorship and decision-making remained in the firm control of the founders, who most likely belonged to the gentry-elite. Therefore, the operations and practices of these societies remained more or less similar to elegant gatherings. Although these kind of *guohua* societies existed throughout the Republican era, they never gained a dominant position in the public sector due to their lack of proactive and progressive strategies—strategies which in the modern art world had become the most determinative factors in an art society’s success or failure in competing for recognition and legitimacy. Alongside the ‘unorganized’ art societies, the modernised and systematic ones emerged to hold leading positions, exemplifying the diversity and dynamic nature of the art world during the process of transformation and institutionalisation in modern China.

He Tianjian perceived that the younger generations organised art societies for the pursuit of serious study and research on *guohua*, differentiating them from the casual ‘pastime’ approach of the older generation. The shift in attitude towards organising art societies reveals the aspirations of the younger generation to professionalise a field that was once considered entertainment, and in doing so not only to endow the younger generation of *guohua* artists with a professional identity, but also to elevate *guohua* to an academic standard in modern China. As a member of the *guohua* younger generation, He Tianjian—together with Zheng Wuchang, Wang Shizi 王師子 (1883–1950), Zhang Shanzi, Xie Gongzhan, Lu Danlin 陸丹林 (1896–1972), and Sun Xueni 孫雪泥 (1889–1965) etc.—established an important *guohua* society, the Bee Society, in the winter of 1929. The society set up a permanent clubhouse which was located in the commercial area of Shanghai, on Tibet Road. On 22nd February

1930,³⁹ the Bee Society organised its inaugural dinner party, during which committee members were elected and ordinances drafted and issued. Intermingling the leisurely form of elegant gatherings with the formal and democratic function of a societal election, the dinner party was attended by more than thirty artists (as reported in the newspaper, *Shenbao*), including most of the active *guohua* artists in the Shanghai art world—for instance, Zhao Banpo, Wang Shizi, He Tianjian, Ma Mengrong 馬孟容 (1890–1932), Zheng Wuchang, Xie Gongzhan, Zhang Shanzi, Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1896–1967), Lu Dalin, Li Zuhan, Zheng Manqing 鄭曼青 (1902–1975), Sun Xueni etc.⁴⁰ As discussed in the introductory chapter, names of established *guohua* artists appeared frequently in news media, implying that acclaimed *guohua* artists were well-known to newspaper readers and were newsworthy. These established *guohua* artists and cultural celebrities possessed considerable symbolic, cultural, and economic capital, and their collective participation in the dinner party certainly lent to the creation of a prestigious image for the Bee Society with regards to both quantity and quality in terms of human resources—while at the same time securing its operation financially and strengthening its competitiveness and dominance in the Shanghai art world. After its inauguration, the Bee Society was frequently covered by the news media and quickly became one of the most prominent *guohua* societies of its kind, as described in the press. Some examples of quotations from newspaper reports illustrating how the Bee Society was perceived by the public at the time are as follows:

³⁹ Many sources have claimed without supportive evidence that the Bee Society was established in the winter of 1929. Based on the date provided in the newspaper *Shenbao*, I would set 1930 as the date of the inauguration of the Bee Society.

⁴⁰ 'Shuhua xun' 書畫訊, 'News on Painting-and-calligraphy', *Shenbao*, 1930. 2.23(+2).

The Bee Society was established by the celebrities of the *guohua* field of Shanghai.⁴¹ *Shanghai Pictorial*

For art societies in Shanghai, after the Tijinguan Society, the Bee Society is the only one that enjoys the greatest reputation. Its members are prominent and their works are elegant and aloof.⁴² *Shenbao*

The Bee Society is one of the most prominent artistic groups in Shanghai.⁴³ *Shenbao*

Art societies have sprung up like mushrooms in Shanghai, however, it is only the Bee Society which was established by renowned artists such as Zheng Wuchang, Li Zuhan, Sun Xueni, and Qian Shoutie, etc., which has already attracted over two hundred members and generated an influential power in the Shanghai art world.⁴⁴ *Shenbao*

The impressions given by these descriptions vividly illustrate the image of the Bee Society as it was perceived by Shanghai society at the time. Undoubtedly, any society receiving such recognition from the media was successfully placed in a position as one of the representative Shanghai *guohua* societies during the 1930s. It is clear that just as competition within the Shanghai art world was

⁴¹ Yu Yu 俞俞, 'Mifeng huazhan duhua ji' 蜜蜂畫展讀畫記, 'A Record of Appreciating Paintings at the Exhibition of the Bee Society', *Shanghai huabao* 上海畫報, 'Shanghai Pictorial', 567 (1930.3).

⁴² Xi Yanzi 奚燕子, 'Yiyuan zhenxie' 藝苑珍屑, 'Some Rare News About the Art Circle', *Shenbao*, 1931.4.17 (13).

⁴³ 'Painting-and-Calligraphy News', *Shenbao*, 1931.1.1 (+2).

⁴⁴ Xi Yanzi 奚燕子, 'Mifeng zhuzhen ji' 蜜蜂助賑記, 'A Record of Raising Fund For Relief Aid by the Bee Society', *Shenbao*, 1931.9.12 (17).

becoming more intense in the 1930s, the Bee Society came to its prominence and gained its dominant position in the art world.

As discussed above, *guohua* associations in the early Republican period played a role as agents facilitating the trade in art and providing support for sojourning artists. However, in the 1920s, a significant shift in societal activities took place from casual gatherings to artistic activities such as exhibitions, seminars, and publications. The Heavenly Horse Association, for instance, was one of the pioneers in introducing these practices to the Shanghai art world. In its mission statement, the Heavenly Horse Association rejected practising art in a casual and playful manner, which was the prevailing attitude in *guohua* art clubs at the turn of twentieth century. Instead, it advocated using a serious manner to study art and making use of exhibitions to promote aesthetic ideologies. Julia Andrews has argued that despite the Heavenly Horse Association's being the most prominent society devoted to promoting Western-style art, it in fact also contributed significantly to assuring the survival and development of *guohua* by introducing to the Shanghai art world modern artistic activities such as exhibition, publication, cooperation, and patronage, laying the foundation for later artistic groups to follow.⁴⁵ After the 1920s, it became a significant trend for art associations to appropriate such new artistic activities to promote their own art and gain legitimacy.

Established within this context, the Bee Society borrowed many practices from Western-style art societies and launched an inaugural exhibition—which

⁴⁵ Andrews, 'The Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianmahui*) and Chinese Landscape Painting', pp. 557 - 8.

will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3—also publishing the *Bee Journal* to declare its establishment and promote its own aesthetic ideology. In the first issue of the journal, the ordinances of the society were published, beginning with a brief explanation for the society's name:

Bees are tiny insects. They like to work collectively and systematically. They collect nectar to serve human beings. Tired but never give up. Work hard but do not claim credit. Have enormous righteousness. We gather our tiny effort to research art and pick the best essence for the public. That is our mission.⁴⁶

A mission statement follows, stating that 'the society aims at promoting and developing research in Chinese art'. Quite different from the mission statements of *guohua* societies established at the beginning of the twentieth century—which clung tightly to the slogan 'preserving the national essence'—the Bee Society revealed its aspiration to refresh *guohua*'s image by presenting itself in a more open and progressive way. Eschewing the cliché wording of 'preserving the national essence' in both its name as well as its mission statement, the society deliberately chose a neutral image for itself. The name 'Bee Society' tells little about the art form that the society focuses on. Also, its brief explanation of the name emphasised the society's attitude towards art rather than art forms, stating that the society would study art seriously and collectively in an open and progressive manner. Obviously the founders chose to take a proactive role in the art world rather than the reactive one their ancestors had chosen, striving to

⁴⁶ 'Mifeng huashe jianyue' 蜜蜂畫社簡約, 'Brief Ordinances of the Bee Society', *Bee Journal*, 1 (1930), p. 5.

create a new image for *guohua* groups that was modern enough to contend with other new artistic groups in the public sector. Emphasising the collectiveness of their works and their willingness to accept new artistic wisdom, the society also laid out a broad vision in its mission statement, using the generic term ‘Chinese art’ (*Zhongguo meishu*, 中國美術) instead of *guohua* to show that the society was not confined to *guohua* artists. All these attitudes suggest the deliberate intention of the society was to redefine the position of *guohua* in the Shanghai art world, one which is neither in line with the *guocui* artists nor following the path of the reformers.

Shifting from economic engagement, which most previous *guohua* societies did, the Bee Society put more effort into promoting its aesthetic ideologies through newly introduced art activities such as publications, seminars and exhibitions. For instance, the structure and major concerns of the society are clearly listed in its societal ordinance, which states:

- Those who are interested in this society can apply for membership through introduction by three existing members. This society has two kinds of members: core member and general member.
- The number of core members is limited to forty. Core members are obligated to subscribe at least one share, which costs 50 dollars each. The number of general members is not limited. General members should pay membership fees, which cost two dollars per member annually up to three years. After that, the membership fee can be waived but the members will enjoy the same benefits and rights.
- The society will organise a gathering banquet monthly and a general

meeting will be held at the gathering to discuss ways of carrying out Society business.

- Nine committee members, who are responsible for executing the society's plans and affairs, will be selected at the first annual general meeting. One chief committee member will be elected by committee members.
- Every half year, the chief committee member will present the account reports in general meeting.
- The society will publish a periodical entitled the *Bee Journal*, which will be given free to members and sold to the public. Special issues will be published when it comes to the birthdays of core members whose age are over forty, as well as other special occasions.
- The society will organise a members' exhibition around the Flower Festival (12th of 2nd month in lunar calendar), and members should take responsibility for providing works of art.
- The Society provides a clubhouse which is available for members to hold gatherings at any time.
- The Society will buy and collect ancient and contemporary works of fine art at the clubhouse for members' viewing.
- Members should take up social responsibility and donate paintings and calligraphy for philanthropy.
- The Society will compile a members' directory annually, which will be given free to members and sold to the public.
- If there is anything to be revised in the ordinances, two core members

should raise the issue in the semi-annual meeting.⁴⁷

Given the above ordinances, it is clear that the structure of the society was not complex, including only a small group of committee members who were responsible for carrying out the society's business and making decisions. Although the ordinance suggests nine committee members should be elected, the list of committee members published in 1930 counts eleven names of well-known *guohua* artists, including Zhang Shanzi, Xie Gongzhan, Lu Danlin, Xu Zhenbai 許徵白 (1887 - ?), Li Zuhan 李祖韓 (1891 - ?), Qian Shoutie, Sun Xueni, Zheng Manqing, Ma Mengrong, He Tianjian, and Zheng Wuchang.⁴⁸ Unlike the boards of previous *guohua* societies, which consisted of gentry elites and merchants, the committee members of the Bee Society were mainly art professionals, most of whom were among the first generation of modern *guohua* artists in their thirties—for instance, Zhang Shanzi, Xie Gongzhan, Xu Zhengbai, He Tianjian, Qian Shoutie, Zheng Manqing, Ma Mengrong, and Zheng Wuchang were all professional artists, art teachers, critics, and editors. Therefore, under the directorship of a group of professional artists, the society would certainly have functioned differently from traditional ones.

Inheriting some managerial practices from previous *guohua* societies of the early Republican period, the Bee Society had a graded hierarchy of membership types. As described in its ordinances, core members might contribute as much as fifty dollars in a year, while general members joined for as little as two dollars. Given that most of the short-lived art societies collapsed due largely to a lack of

⁴⁷ 'Mifeng huashe jianyue', p. 5.

⁴⁸ Names of committee members were published on the cover of issue four of the *Bee Journal*.

financial support, financial security had become the most important criteria for sustaining the life of an art society. Therefore, in order to accumulate economic capital, the Bee Society (like most academic public societies) set up formal structures and arranged membership fees, securing its operations and independence. Also, adopting a practice from the commercial world, the society collected financial capital through requesting that its core members buy shares to support the society financially. According to the ordinance, core members were obligated to subscribe to at least fifty dollars shares. Its core members included Zhao Banpo, Zhang Shanzi, Zhang Hongwei 張紅薇 (1879 – 1970), Li Qiujiu 李秋君 (1899 – 1973), Sun Xueni, Xie Gongzhan, and Shi Yupeng 施翀鵬 (1908–?), whose photos were then published in the *Bee Journal* together with a brief biography as an acknowledgment (Figure 1). Other than membership fees, the society's major income came from exhibitions, art journals, and art catalogues.

With strong support from wealthy and famous core members, the Bee Society was thus able to carry out certain artistic activities free from financial constraints. From the ordinances, it is clear to see that the society paid special attention to artistic movements (*yishu yundong*, 藝術運動) through which they were able to promote and legitimise their own aesthetic ideology, in addition to reconstructing the image of *guohua* in the modern era, when traditional culture was being challenged by modern thoughts and was perceived as old and backward. In the ordinance, it can be noted that new artistic activities such as exhibitions, art education, and journal publications were added to strengthen the society's proactive role in promoting *guohua*. Inheriting the tradition of early *guohua* societies, the Bee Painting Society also took up social responsibility and

considered philanthropy to be part of the society's business. Also, in order to make its membership more accessible to the general public, the Bee Society included an application form in its inaugural journal for readers to apply openly for membership. Although the Society endeavoured to professionalise itself, the social functions of its gatherings remained largely intact. For instance, as described in He Tianjian's report, the regular meeting of the Bee Society was held at a restaurant, where members dined together and created collective works such as painting and poetry.⁴⁹

As most of its founding members were teachers and students of the Professional College of Literature and Art of China (*Zhongguo wenyi xueyuan*, 中國文藝學院, which later changed its name to the 'Professional College of Art and Literature of China' *Zhongguo wenyi zhuanke xuexiao*, 中國文藝專科學校 as requested by the Ministry of Education),⁵⁰ the society also showed its interest in art education by setting up a research division, offering painting courses taught by members. An announcement about student recruitment was published in both newspapers and the *Bee Journal*, as follows:

Recruitment of non-member researchers for the Research Section of the Bee Society:

Aim to conduct research on *guohua*

All those who have knowledge of *guohua* are qualified to enroll as

⁴⁹ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Yunzheng Xiawei zhi Mifeng huazhan' 雲蒸霞蔚之蜜蜂畫展, 'Glamorous Exhibition of the Bee Society', *Shenbao*, 1930.3.18(17).

⁵⁰ Established in 1930, the college was the first art college in China devoted to *guohua* education. Its faculty included most of the renowned *guohua* artists and cultural figures, such as Ye Gongchuo, Huang Binhong, Zheng Wuchang, Zheng Manqing, Zhang Shanzi, Xie Gongzhan Wang Shizi etc.. It was closed in 1932 due to the Sino-Japanese war. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 288.

researchers

Tuition fee is 5 dollars per month and should be paid according to schedule

Subjects:

a) Theories:

- i) general art history
- ii) art treaties
- iii) colophons and inscriptions;

b) Practical:

- i) learn from ancient paintings (*mogu*, 摹古)
- ii) free-style (*xieyi*, 寫意)
- iii) portrait painting (*chuanzhen*,) 傳真
- iv) composition (*goutu*, 構圖)

Application: 1st May -10th May

Research start on 15th May

Time: 7pm to 9pm daily

Venue: The Society Clubhouse at 92, Pingle Avenue, Xizang Road.

Contact person: Committee member Sun Xueni

Tutors in residence: Wang Shizi, Xu Zhengbai, Sun Xueni, He Tianjian,
ZhengWuchang, Qian Shoutie

Tutors: Wang Geyi, Zhu Rongzhuang, Ren Jinshu, Li Zhuhan, Hu Dinglu,
Ma Mengrong, Ma Qizhou, Zhang Shanzi, Shang Shengbo, Xiong
Songquan, Zheng Manqing, Xie Gongzhan.⁵¹

The setup of teaching programmes shows the society's desire to promote *guohua*

⁵¹ 'Mifeng huashe yanjiu bu zhengqiu shewai yanjiuyuan jianyue' 蜜蜂畫社研究部徵求社外研究員簡約, 'Recruitment of Researchers for the Bee Society' in the *Bee Journal*, 7(1935), p. 54; *Shenbao*, 1930.5.1 (19).

through education. Also, the programme helps members to have a teaching post, earn a living, recruit students, and therefore secure their economic capital. Although the programme itself may actually be run in a way similar to evening hobby classes, which provided neither professional training nor education credentials, the Society choose to describe the programme in terms of 'research' (*yanjiu*, 研究) in order to create a more serious and professional image for the Society.

From March to September 1930, as the lists of members published on the cover of the *Bee Journal* indicate, the Bee Society had developed a very impressive membership whose numbers had reached one hundred and fifty within just a few months. However, it was in its heyday that political crisis and war threatened and eventually halted the development of the Bee Society. In 1931, Japan launched her invasion of northern China, and the leading committee member of the Bee Society, Zheng Wuchang, abandoned his artistic career to join the army and participate in the anti-Japanese war. As the backbone of the society, his absence inevitably led to the termination of the societal journal's publication and not long after, cessation of all societal activities.⁵² Following the cessation of activities in the Bee Society, its other founding members established another more representative *guohua* society, the Painting Association of China, in 1931. An active art critic and literary man, Xi Yanzi, reported the story in *Shenbao*, fleshing out the details as follows:

Since the Japanese occupation of Liao and Jin, our country fellowmen were provoked in great anger. As most of the artists settled there

⁵² Xi 'Mifeng zhuzhen ji'.

(Shanghai) are members of the Sino-Japanese Friendship Association, they resigned their membership in light of the national crisis—including He Tianjian, Sun Xueni, Zheng Wuchang, Xie Gongzhan, Xiong Songquan etc. Together with Zhang Shanzi, Qian Shoutie, Ma Qizhou, Yan Ganyuan, Ma Mengrong, Wang Shizi, Ye Weishen, Li Zhuhan etc., they proposed to organize the Painting Association of China and participated collectively in the anti-Japanese war. He Tianjian and Zheng Wuchang were nominated to make a draft on this matter. On the 'Double Tenth' Festival, the inaugural meeting was held. During the meeting, Zhang Daqian, Sun Xueni, Zheng Wuchang, Qian Shoutie, Lu Danlin, He Tianjian, and Ma Qizhou were elected to the committee for the preparation. Xiong Songquan, Li Zhuhan and Wang Shizi were elected to the vice committee. Zhang Shanzi has invited Xiong Songquan as his representative because of absence due to his mother's illness. The meeting was closed at seven. Sun Xueni was very enthusiastic about anti-Japanese activities, so he proposed to publish an anti-Japanese calendar. Tian Qingquan were invited to provide the paintings and He Tianjian to select the phrases. Everyone was stunned by the calendars and made orders to buy.⁵³

Triggered by the rise of nationalism, the idea of creating a more representative national art association was laid out in Ye Gongchuo's speech at the closing

⁵³ Xi Yanzi 奚燕子, 'Duanxun' 短訊, 'Short News', *Shenbao*, 1931.10.17 (11). According to the Art Year Book of 1947, it is suggested that the Painting Association of China is the continuation of the Bee Society; however, as primary materials indicate, they are two independent art societies, though they were founded by the same group of *guohua* artists. After the establishment of the Painting Association of China, the Bee Society organised a memorial service for Ma Mengrong. See 'Mifeng huashe zhuidao Ma Mengrong' 蜜蜂畫社追悼馬孟容, 'The Bee Society Holds A Memorial Service for Ma Mengrong', *Shenbao*, 1932.10.2 (16).

ceremony of the First National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929, in which he had expressed his desire to elevate national culture by uniting artists nationwide.⁵⁴ In July 1930, Ye Gongchuo had reiterated the necessity of establishing a national art society and proposed the formation of an art association tentatively named the Painting Association of China (*Zhonghua huahui*, 中華畫會). Ye then enlisted the prominent art critic Lu Danlin to draft an announcement, which was publicised through the *Bee Journal*. Entitled, ‘*Guohua Artists Must Unite*’, the manifesto urged the *guohua* field to unify to rescue the nation from its humiliating situation.

The manifesto begins with a brief introduction, trying to situate the position of Chinese art against a backdrop of national and cultural crisis. It states that art is the epitome of a society and that the artist is the vanguard who leads the world towards a bright future. However, under the tremendous pressure of current political upheavals, wars, and difficult circumstances, the artists who actually bear this responsibility had hidden themselves away. Although a few artists still took part in art activities and movements, mostly they were fascinated by European cultures and tempted by Western art, to the extent that they steadfastly advocated carrying out wholehearted westernisation. In addition, Japan, China’s neighbour, had proclaimed herself to be the centre of Oriental art, diminishing China’s artistic status and elevating Japan’s overall position as the dominant power in Asia—demonstrating Japan’s ambition to invade China not only militarily but also culturally. Espousing the belief in the ‘spiritual East’ and ‘material West’, Lu reasserted the importance of rescuing and enlivening Chinese

⁵⁴ ‘Quanguo meizhan bimu dianli jisheng’ 全國美展閉幕典禮紀盛, ‘The Closing Ceremony of the First National Art Exhibition’, *Shenbao*, 1929.5.3 (12).

art, pointing out that the 'spiritual East' was one of the alternative paths to save China (and possibly even the 'material West') from the destructive forces within Western civilization. Proved by the fact that more and more Western scholars had carried out in-depth studies on Oriental art, Lu urged to revive the national painting form, *guohua*. With regard to its recent situation, Lu states that he was happy to see the hope of reviving *guohua*. He states, 'the class of intellectuals have gradually shifted their focus and attention to art. Regardless of the quality of modern art, the growth in numbers of institutes, books, journals, magazines, and public exhibitions devoted to art have proved that our nation's people are paying more respect to art, and also are the heralds of the future of Chinese art. However, there is still little unified research and few unified associations'.⁵⁵ Therefore, in order to meet the needs of the new era and to uplift nationalistic spirit, artists must unify nationwide, organize seriously, gather manpower and strength, conduct profound research openly, and in doing so, promote national treasures and re-establish the foundation of Oriental art. He then urged people to unite the art world through establishing a national art association for expanding the boundary of *guohua*, uniting different *guohua* schools, participating in international art movements, and elevating *guohua*'s status on the international art stage.⁵⁶

As one of the important discursive essays on *guohua*, Lu's article shows how *guohua* was perceived and positioned within the political context of modern China. Dramatically, the value of *guohua* can be assessed via a thorough

⁵⁵ Lu Danlin 陸丹林, 'Guohuajia jiying lianhe shang' 國畫家亟應聯合(上), 'Guohua Artists Must Unite, 1', *Bee Journal*, 12 (1930), p. 94.

⁵⁶ Lu Danlin 陸丹林, 'Guohuajia jiying lianhe xia' 國畫家亟應聯合(下), 'Guohua Artist Must Unite, 2', *Bee Journal*, 13 (1930), p.102.

evaluation in light of nationalism and global art trends. Triggered by China's vulnerable political situation—threatened as it was by the expansion of Western and Japanese imperialism—the *guohua* community believed that by elevating the position of Chinese painting on the international art stage, they could rescue China from her humiliating global position. Embracing the mission of uniting artists nationwide and elevating the national art to an international level, the establishment of a national Chinese art association was analogous to the attempts to unite the nation and give birth to a strong and unified China. Therefore, the move towards viewing *guohua* in a global context undoubtedly brought a more compelling mission and broader vision to the Chinese art world. Under the crescendo of nationalism, strengthening China was the common goal and mission of every citizen; therefore, when it came to a comparison between *guohua* and western-style painting, *guohua* was undeniably the only art form that could represent China in the international art scene. Furthermore, during the modern era, *guohua* was linked to the project of cultural construction and was embedded into modern Chinese cultural discourse. Therefore, the Association was eager to attract artists with different pursuits from across the nation to join its membership, which included the radical reformists Xu Beihong, Lu Haisu, and Gao Jianfu 高劍父 (1879 - 1951).⁵⁷ The inclusion of artists with different aesthetic ideologies supports the claim that the association was indeed able to unite the art world as indicated in its mission statement, becoming the most representative artistic association in Shanghai and nationwide.

⁵⁷ Further discussions on Gao, see Wong Shiu Hon 黃兆漢, *Gao Jianfu hualun shuping* 高劍父畫論述評, 'Kao Chien-fu's Theory of Painting', (Hong Kong, 1972); *Gao Jianfu de yishu* 高劍父的藝術, 'The Art of Kao Chien-fu', (Hong Kong, 1978); Ralph Croisier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: the Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906 - 1951* (Berkeley, 1988); Chen Ying 陳澄 ed., *Gao Jianfu huaji* 高劍父畫集, 'The Art of Gao Jianfu', (Guangzhou, 1999).

After publishing Lu's announcement, it was not until 1932 that the idea of the establishment of a national art association was realized. The Painting Association of China became the first and the only officially registered art society in modern China, reflecting its aspiration to cooperate with the state's policy and wholeheartedly support the government through artistic activities. In 1928, the Guomintang government issued the Regulations on the Registration of Mass Association (*Minzhong tuanti dengji tiaoli*, 民眾團體登記條例), stipulating detailed requirements for any association to be eligible to register with the government: any association must support the Guomintang government and the Three Principles of the People; furthermore, certain materials must be submitted to the government for registration, including the organisation's bylaws, curricula vitae of its leaders, and a list of its members including their personal information. After registration, associations were required to give monthly reports on changes in leadership and membership, financial status, internal affairs, and any usual situation concerning the organisation.⁵⁸ As the first registered art society, the Painting Association of China became under the relatively tight control of the Nanjing government a formal art society that was managed under a formal and modern administrative structure and managerial concepts in accordance with state policy. However, probably due to the unexpected losses during wars and political upheavals, official managerial records of the association have never been found. Fortunately, some scattered information in published materials provides enough evidence for us to reconstruct the structure and activities of the Association.

According to the Republican historian Hu Huaichen's record, the Painting

⁵⁸ Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*, p. 102.

Association of China's mission statement declared the purpose and direction of the society in fine detail:

In the current situation of comparison between the cultures of the world, there is nothing that fails to give us a feeling of indignation and shame. Particularly, the decrepit state of our art world makes us feel that our responsibility toward the future is even greater, and we cannot shirk it by shifting this burden to others. Regardless of which country in Europe or America, there is not one that does not promote and develop its (national) culture for the purpose of displaying its national character. Painting is certainly the most valuable way of displaying culture. By its basic nature, it is the site where the most elevated aspects of human morality may be lodged. Because of this, in most civilized nations, which are driven by their heaven-bestowed characters, there is no one who doesn't know to seriously promote their tradition of painting, so as to develop in the people harmonious sentiments.

Japan is the descendent of our nation's culture, although because of differences of natural character it never fundamentally resembles us. It, however, presents itself to the world as the patriarch of Oriental art. This should be enough to arouse us to reproach ourselves. Originally our nation's art, such as painting and sculpture, was by the Six Dynasties era acknowledged as reaching greatness. And this greatness expressed the genius and subjective feelings of its makers; this resembles in some ways the

symbolist art that is current today. But there is lack of concrete systematic research, and to this point it has never been made clear and promoted. People today advocate a new culture that absorbs foreign thought, but have not established any goals, and without any selection they follow, in a daily increasing flood, trends such as 'mechanization' (*chanye zhuyi*, 產業主義) and 'rationalism' (*lizhi zhuyi*, 理智主義). Our nation's people suffer the constraints of mechanization, and lose their inherent human freedom; this blind following of foreign thought is one reason for the decline of our nation's painting. In recent decades, we have suffered continuous civil war and constant political coups, those in power were always concerned with solving these problems and never paid attention to art. This is the influence of politics on our nation's art, and why it has not been actively promoted. Another reason, from the point of view of society, is that today, when material power surpasses all else, the life of the masses gradually has lost the stable bonds that tied it together; the taste and appreciation for art cannot correspondingly increase, and the situation of art, with its subjective expression, cannot avoid suffering direct setbacks. From the point of view of the painters themselves, most suffer the constraints of their surroundings, and thus divine genius and human effort cannot come to fruition. Add to this another reason, that there are no permanent organizations to unify the artists, then the very survival of art has lost its foundation. If we thus know the harmful causes, but do not try to put them right, we have failed in our responsibilities.

We have heard that there is not a single country in Europe, to say nothing of our eastern neighbour, Japan, that does not have painting organizations; among them, there are groups of different natures, some public some private, some organized by painters with supplemental assistance from the government, some organized at governmental behest by painters, or in some the painters are given the opportunity to unite by society's power, or some in which the painters simply take action to organize themselves. Therefore, they are able to solve appropriately questions of international status and specialized professional problems. Reflecting on the situation of our painters, although there are a few organizations, their characters and goals are little different from clubs or entertainment centres; as for 'the whole organization' or 'united development', as in countries east and west, this has not yet been seen. How can we not feel shame? We thus feel, based on this observation, that in order to respond to this practical need of today, organizing the Painting Association of China cannot be delayed. The mission of the association is: 1. to develop the age-old art of our nation; 2. to publicize it abroad and raise our international artistic statures; 3. with a spirit of mutual assistance on the part of the artists, to plan for a financially secure living. Our capabilities are limited, but with human help and the grace of heaven, there is nothing that cannot be accomplished. To do this with people of like mind and to promote the development of our nation's art, this is our common aspiration.

(English translation quoted from Julia Andrews and Kuiyi Shen)⁵⁹

Unlike the Bee Society, which summarized its mission statement in a few vague sentences, the Painting Association of China offers a more comprehensive mission statement, positioning itself in the context of the national and international art scenes. Its manifesto is, as Julia Andrew has maintained, ‘far more ideological than any that preceded it’.⁶⁰ Describing the current situation as a cultural war between China and Japan—not to mention Europe and America—the introductory statement gives a brief review of the status of Chinese art. By positioning *guohua* within a broader vision, it attempts to relate art to morality, offering the grand concept of a nation’s art as the manifestation of its culture and the cultivator of a good society. Condemning reformists who welcomed foreign influences, the statement at the same time criticises existing *guohua* societies for failing to take art seriously. In this way, the Painting Association of China introduced a new perspective on *guohua*: it should be regarded as a serious subject, the representation of Chinese culture, and the only art form that reflects the Chinese national character. Despite the fact that most of its founders came from the same group of artists as the Bee Society’s, the association defined a new position for *guohua* associations, rejecting both the reformists and existing *guohua* societies—similar to Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘double rupture’, a position taken against both established positions and their occupant.⁶¹ In addition, with regards to Japan, Europe, and America, the statement also calls

⁵⁹ Hu, ‘Shanghai de xueyi tuanti’, pp. 823-946 (pp. 902-903). English translation from Andrews and Shen, ‘The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai’, pp. 83 – 5.

⁶⁰ Andrews and Shen, ‘The Traditionalist Response to Modernity: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai’, p. 83.

⁶¹ Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, pp. 77–81.

attention to the crucial roles of art societies in these advanced and civilized countries. The statement recommends new, grander functions for Chinese art societies in order to elevate the international status of national culture, professionalise art as a career, and relate the role of art societies to both nationalism and the society at large.

The manifesto is then followed by a list of the society's missions, focusing on three in particular: 1) to glorify and promote our national art; 2) to promote and elevate our international artistic stature abroad; and 3) to embrace the spirit of mutual support to improve the living conditions of artists. Compared with the Bee Society, the Painting Association of China provided more comprehensive and substantial directions in its objective. Although few details on the artistic activities or structure of the association were included in the mission statement, the revised bylaws of the Association of 1947 provide evidence of its activities carried out in order to realise the association's missions.⁶²

Association Affairs

1. Organise exhibitions
2. Establish an art museum
3. Organise art lectures
4. Establish an art research institute
5. Compile art books and journals
6. Build member accommodation

⁶² The original ordinance of the Painting Association of China cannot be found, but this revised version more or less provides clues to reconstructing the original one. The revised version is a thorough, comprehensive and systematic ordinance, revealing that the Painting Association of China continued to revise its ordinance in order to meet the needs of the society and run it efficiently. For the complete ordinance, see *Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, history section p. 7.

7. Preserve works of epigraphy, painting, and calligraphy by deceased artists
8. Document and revise historical documents on artists of epigraphy, painting, and calligraphy
9. Organise any beneficial business for members

The above information shows that art activities were the focus of the endeavours of the Association, which played a proactive role in promoting its own aesthetic ideology and in reaching out the public. It is obvious that in comparison with the Bee Society, the Painting Association of China expanded its proportion of modern artistic activities and institutions such as exhibitions, publications, public lectures, museums, and research institutes—even to the extent that these activities were regarded not only as tools for the implantation of the association's mission, but also the society's primary *raison d'être*.

With a well-defined position and a clear stance, the Association soon became a prestigious and recognized *guohua* society in the Shanghai art world. Here I provide excerpts from some descriptions in the news media, in an attempt to more clearly illustrate the association's image at the time:

The Painting Association of China was initiated by prominent artists of Shanghai.⁶³ *Shenbao*

[The Painting Association of China] is a powerful cultural society which

⁶³ 'Zhongguo huahui kai chengli dahui' 中國畫會開成立大會, 'The Painting Association Holds An Inaugural Meeting', *Shenbao*, 1932.6.27 (11).

has registered with the state.....The association promotes the spirit of mutual assistance. Recently, it has made a significant contribution in organising the Chicago Exposition The art field of China now has such unification, it is certain that Chinese art will have a prosperous future.⁶⁴ *Shenbao*

[The Painting Association of China] is established by art organizations of the nation.’⁶⁵ *Shenbao*

The Painting Association of China was established by *shuhua* artists from all over the nation and was the only association established with the mission of glorifying and elevating our nation’s art and culture.⁶⁶
Shenbao

The Painting Association of China is the largest organization in the Chinese art world, and its members are from all over the nation.⁶⁷
Shenbao

Evidently, the Painting Association of China was acclaimed as the most representative art association in China, contributing considerably to the organisation of various art activities and acting as a bridge between the art world and society in general.

⁶⁴ Quoted from Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 320.

⁶⁵ ‘Zhongguo huahui zhai Hang zhanlan zhi shengkuang’ 中國畫會在杭展覽之盛況, ‘The Spectacular Exhibition of the Painting Association of China in Hangzhou’, *Shenbao*, 1934.5.4 (11).

⁶⁶ ‘Zhongguo huahui juxing disanjie huiyuan dahui’ 中國畫會舉行第三屆會員大會, ‘The Painting Association of China Holds Its Third Member Meeting’, *Shenbao*, 1935.1.12 (16).

⁶⁷ ‘Zhongguo huahui gaixuan disijie zhijian weiyuan’ 中國畫會改選第四屆執監委員, ‘The Painting Association Elects the Fourth Committee Member’, *Shenbao*, 1936.4.1 (18).

The inaugural meeting of the Painting Association of China was held on the 25th of June, 1932 at the Art Appreciation Society (*Meichu xinshang she*, 美術欣賞社), where dozens of artists attended and committee members were elected.⁶⁸ Half a year later, the Association held its inaugural ceremony at its clubhouse located in Lunghua Road. Within six months, more than one hundred and fifty artists had joined its ranks, and thus the Association planned to expand its membership and activities.⁶⁹ As a registered association, the Painting Association of China had to be run systematically in accordance with governmental policy. Therefore, it established a clear structure in terms of committee members, including Executive Committee Members (*Changwu weiyuan*, 常務委員) and Advisory Committee Members (*Jiancha weiyuan*, 監察委員). In addition, regular annual meetings were held for electing new committee members as well as for revising the annual plan. Although official records of the association have not been found, some interesting associational meeting minutes were published in newspapers, mainly in the *Shenbao*—which allow us to sketch out a picture of the Association's structure as well as its operations.

A year after its inaugural ceremony, the Association held its annual meeting, during which it was suggested that two regular activities should be added in order to facilitate communication and connections between and amongst members: a dinner party and a tea party. As reported in the *Xinwenbao*, over fifty members attended the meeting, during which 'members not only exchanged their views on

⁶⁸ 'Zhongguo huahui chengli dahui, *Shenbao*, 1932.6.27 (11).

⁶⁹ 'Zhongguo huahui chengli dianli' 中國畫會成立典禮, 'The Inaugural Ceremony of the Painting Association of China', *Shenbao*, 1932.12.19 (10).

art creation, but also discussed the association's affairs thoroughly', including several resolutions: 1) to recruit members openly; 2) to compile a membership directory and conduct annual elections in the following month; 3) to publish books of Chinese fine arts collections as well as a Chinese art exhibition catalogue.⁷⁰ Although it seems that the associational meeting continued to be held during dinner, this gathering differed from those held by the Bee Society in that substantial associational affairs were discussed during the dinner meeting.

In January 1935, *Shenbao* published another detailed meeting record of the Association, reporting that this annual meeting was held at the Association's clubhouse and that over one hundred members both from Shanghai and beyond were in attendance. A separate dinner party was held at the Guansheng Garden restaurant after the meeting. It was perhaps a new practice for a *guohua* society to split its regular membership meeting from the annual dinner party, suggesting that the Association had begun to take membership meetings seriously and was willing to spend time and effort on associational business. With this new attitude towards societal management, the Association was able to implement its societal plans more efficiently and successfully. For instance, the report detailed the minutes for this meeting as follows:

The meeting started at two. He Tianjian was the chairman and Ding Lianxian was the secretary.

A. Reports:

- i) The Progress of the second committee's work;
- ii) The third issue of *Guohua Monthly* could be published in days;

⁷⁰ The *Xinwenbao* 新聞報, 1933.11.28, in Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 320.

- iii) The new membership directory is being printed;
 - iv) The financial report was presented in written form;
- B. Decisions:
- i) Revision of the Association's regulations;
 - ii) Determination of the annual plan for the third committee members;
 - iii) Continuation of the employment of Li Yishi as the chief executive officer;
 - iv) Organisation of a travel tour⁷¹

Together with the meeting minutes, the 1935 voting result was also published in detail, including the names of nine executive committee members (*Zhixing weiyuan*, 執行委員), such as Sun Xueni, He Tianjian, Zheng Wuchang, and Lu Danlin; six vice committee members (*Houbu weiyuan*, 後補委員), such as Zhang Daqian, Wang Yachen, Wang Shizi, and Ding Nianxian 丁念先 (1906 - ?); five advisory committee members (*Jiancha weiyuan*, 監察委員), such as Wang Yiting, Huang Binhong, Chen Shuren, Zhang Shanzi, and Jing Hengyi; and four vice advisory committee members (*Houbu jiancha weiyuan*, 候補監察委員).⁷²

In 1936 and 1937, meeting details of the Painting Association of China were once again published in *Shenbao*. For 1936, it reports the names of new committee members in detail,⁷³ while the 1937 report includes minutes as follows:

⁷¹ 'Zhongguo huahui disanjie huiyuan dahui', *Shenbao*, 1935.1.12 (16).

⁷² 'Zhongguo huahui disanjie huiyuan dahui', the *Shenbao*, 1935.1.12 (16).

⁷³ 'Zhongguo huahui gaixuan disijie zhijian weiyuan', *Shenbao*, 1936.4.1 (18).

Reports:

1. New members from other provinces joined the membership with great enthusiasm.
2. This year will continue to use mail voting for the annual election.
3. Re-compile the members' directory and those who have any changes in their address should inform the Association promptly.
4. The preparation of the autumn exhibition will begin soon, and members are advised to prepare their works.
5. Financial report for the previous year.
6. Welcome the return of Qian Shoutie.

Decisions:

1. The annual autumn exhibition will be staged at Nanjing. Members should make full preparation of their best works.
2. Will compile the first *Guohua Yearbook*, which includes artist biographies along with small photos and price-lists. Zheng Wuchang was nominated as the chief editor and coordinator.⁷⁴

Since its establishment, the publication of meeting minutes in the newspaper had become a usual practice of the Association, reflecting the fact that as a registered public association, the Association was obligated to operate as a formal organisation, differentiating itself from previous *guohua* groups or even art groups by publicly demonstrating its facilitation of numerous substantial artistic activities and events. From this published information, we can see that the Association's committee board included two grades of members: executive and

⁷⁴ 'Zhongguo huahui choubei qiujì huazhan' 中國畫會籌備秋季畫展, 'The Painting Association of China Prepares the Autumnal Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1937.4.17 (12).

advisory members. As of 1935, Executive committee members comprised nine active *guohua* artists of the younger generation, such as Zheng Wuchang, He Tianjian, and Lu Danlin, while the advisory committee members consisted of five prestigious and acclaimed cultural figures, such as Wang Yiting, Huang Binhong, and the politician-artist Chen Shuren. This combination suggests that the composition of the advisory committees contributed to the creation of the Association's prestigious image through their symbolic value, which was then transformed by the Association into symbolic capital. It is believed that the Association's directorship was controlled by the executive committee members, experienced art professionals with profound knowledge of the rules and logistics of the modern Shanghai art world—where new artistic activities were regarded as new cultural capital in terms of the competition for legitimacy and recognition. The involvement of these professionals in the Association's directorship thus transformed its purpose and function from one of social and economic engagements to one in which more attention was paid to artistic events and activities.

From its establishment until 1936, the Association organised six group exhibitions of its members, all of which were tremendously successful. For instance, in 1934, it launched its Hangzhou exhibition, displaying 'over two hundred of the best works of its members, featuring both delicate styles and free styles. The provincial government of Hangzhou obviously appreciated the importance of the event and arranged boats as free transportation. The venue was packed, and a large number of paintings have already sold,' as was reported

in one newspaper.⁷⁵ In October 1936, the Association staged its Sixth Painting and Calligraphy Exhibition at Daxin Company, comprising five hundred and twenty three works by one hundred and eighty six artists, even including *guohua* works of prominent westernised artists such as Xu Beihong, Xu Langxi 徐朗西 (1885/81–1961), Sun Fuxi 孫福熙 (1898–1962), Wang Shengyuan 汪聲遠 (1889–1969), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894–1983) etc. As was reported in the newspaper, the exhibition attracted twenty thousand visitors and was extended for three days, as requested by visitors from outside of Shanghai.⁷⁶ Accompanying the exhibition, a set of painting catalogues was published in postcard size and form. (figure 2.1) (figure 2.2)

In addition, the published minutes also indicate that the Association held democratic elections for its committee members every year. Throughout its existence, regular annual meetings were held during which members elected committee members. It is surprising that the right to vote was extended not only to members who attended the meetings, but also to those outside Shanghai, who were allowed to take part in voting through the mail (as reported in the meeting minutes from 1937, quoted above). This practice in a way demonstrates the democratisation taking place in artistic society at the time. Also, the Association made its plans annually and would actually follow up on their progress. As a result, its plans and activities would eventually be accomplished; for instance, the Association successfully published the art journal *Guohua*, the ‘Collection of Famous Contemporary Chinese Painting’ (*Zhongguo xiandai minghua huikan* 中

⁷⁵ ‘Zhongguo huahui zhai Hang zhanlan zhi shengkuang’, *Shenbao*, 1934.5.4 (11).

⁷⁶ ‘Zhongguo huahui huazhan jiuri shengkuang’ 中國畫會畫展九日盛況, ‘Nine Spectacular Days of the Exhibition the Painting Association of China’, *Shenbao*, 1936.11.2 (2).

國現代名畫彙刊),⁷⁷ and a membership directory. (figure 2.3) It also organised a series of public lectures with its members being invited as speakers, including Chen Dishan's 'Schools of *Guohua*', He Tianjian's 'The Method of *Guohua*', and Ding Nianxian's 'Calligraphy in the Past Three Hundred Years'—which attracted an audience of over ten thousand people, as reported in *Shenbao*.⁷⁸

From its establishment to 1936, the Association's membership grew from 150 to 279. The 1936 directory of members provides interesting information on this aspect of the Association.⁷⁹ (figure 2.4) As indicated in the meeting minutes, publishing and distributing a membership directory was one of the crucial annual events. Looking closely at the 1936 directory, one may notice that the directory provides not only the names and *hao* of the 279 members, but also their places of origin (*jiguan*, 籍貫), gender, and age, as well as their active address. (figure 2.5) Furthermore, members are categorised as being either from Shanghai or from outside Shanghai, and the directory reveals that the number of members from Shanghai is almost the same as the number of outsiders—proving that the Association had in fact accomplished its mission of uniting artists nationwide. However, it is intriguing that despite its membership being inclusive of artists outside Shanghai (such as Xu Beihong from Nanjing and Gao Jianfu from Guangdong), most of its members were natives of Jiangsu and Zhejiang—two

⁷⁷ Zhongguo huahui bianyi bu 中國畫會編譯部, *Zhongguo xiandai minghua huikan* 中國現代名畫彙刊, 'Collection of Famous Contemporary Chinese Painting', (Shanghai, 1935).

⁷⁸ 'Meishu jiangzuo jinri kaishi' 美術講座今日開始, 'Art Seminar Begins Today' *Shenbao*, 1935.3.15(14); 'Zhongguo huahui zhuban meishu jiangzuo' 中國畫會主辦美術講座, 'The Painting Association of China Holds Art Seminar', *Shenbao*, 1935.3.22(13); 'Zhongguo huahui disanci meishu jiangzuo' 中國畫會第三次美術講座, 'The Third Art Seminar of the Painting Association of China', *Shenbao*, 1935.3.29 (14).

⁷⁹ *Zhongguohuahui huiyuan lu* 中國畫會會員錄, 'Member Directory of the Painting Association of China', (Shanghai, 1936). I am in debt to Prof. Michel Hockx for inspiring me to use a new approach to analyse the membership directory, in his book. Hockx, *Questions of Style*.

provinces that had previously been the cultural and artistic centres of China since the Ming dynasty and which supplied a large proportion not only of *guohua* artists but also private collectors. Only 20 female artists are numbered among the members, but as Michel Hockx maintains in his analysis of modern Chinese literary groups, the dominance of men in the Association was similar to that seen in the elite groups under the old system.⁸⁰ In addition, the age of individual members shown in the directory suggests that the Association was dominated by the first generation of *guohua* artists, who were born at the turn of the century and had been educated under the new-style educational system. In the early Republican period, *guohua* training had in fact been developed outside the new-style educational system, so it is believed that these *guohua* artists may have received *guohua* training either from private tuition or books. For instance, one of the Association's backbone figures, Zheng Wuchang, was described as a self-taught artist who learnt from old masterpieces.⁸¹ Therefore, the dominance of artists from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces provides further evidence for the strong cultural influence of the Jiangnan area, which had played a crucial role in maintaining *guohua's* survival and nurturing the new generation of modern Chinese *guohua* artists.

Apart from its grand mission of promoting Chinese art, the Painting Association of China considered the practical needs of its members to be its major concern. Although regarding art as a profession had long been despised in literati cultural discourse in Imperial China, a new conception of art

⁸⁰ In Michel Hockx's study of literary societies in modern China, his analysis of the membership of the Literary Association shows some similarity with that of the Painting Association of China: the society is dominated by (1) the first educated generation of modern China; (2) male intellectuals; and (3) those with a native origin of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Hockx, *Questions of Style*, pp. 77–9.

⁸¹ Zhang, *Zheng Wuchang yanjiu*, p. 90.

professionals had developed in the Republican Period. As the commercialisation and professionalization of art had been taking place since the very beginning of the twentieth century, the rise of the professional art community eventually granted a new social status to art professionals. Therefore, one significant mission of the Association was to secure the living of artists. In its societal journal, the *Guohua Monthly*, an article written by backbone member He Tianjian, entitled 'Theoretical Discussions on the Painting Association of China' (*Zhongguohuahui lilun shang zhi yanshu*, 中國畫會理論上之演述), provides a thorough discussion of how this mission could be implemented through the Association.⁸² He points out that in order to achieve the grand mission of reviving and enlivening Chinese art, one should first of all investigate the factors that led to its deterioration. Two kinds of artists, according to his accounts, should be blamed for this decline: those who live in stability and prosperity, and those in an unsecure position. Those in the first category practiced art for leisure and refused to abandon the concept of the literati artist, and in doing so also refused to socialise with people. Therefore, they neglected their responsibility for promoting the national culture in favour of a reclusive life-style. Artists in the second group, due to their difficult living conditions, practiced art for pragmatic reasons, and so had to sacrifice their artistic creativity in order to satisfy the market. As a result, their works of art could never reach a high aesthetic standard but instead fell into the trap of commercialisation. Suggesting that the proportion of the first group to the second group was one to a thousand, he further claims:

⁸² He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Zhongguohuahui lilun shang zhi yanshu' 中國畫會理論上之演述, 'Theoretical Discussions on the China Painting Association', *Guohua yuekan*, 1 (1934), pp. 36.

Therefore, for the development of national culture, we should give support and help to those who live in unsecure conditions. Our Association provides support for artists' livings, for instance providing accommodation, loans, and savings account etc., and in doing so, supports sojourner artists by giving them economic safety and security. During a distressing period, artists can exchange their works of art for a cash loan and can deposit their money into the savings account of the Association. After the establishment of regional divisions, members can then use a paper certificate to withdraw money at the regional divisions nationwide. If their livings are secured, then everyone can concentrate on their studies and on practising their techniques. However, due to the lack of appropriate facilities, artists would still have no resources for conducting research and study. Therefore, I would suggest that the Association display ancient works of art on their premises for viewing and collect books for reference. Also, a studio should be established so that artists can work together, facilitating the exchange of ideas and experiences. An art college should be established to nurture the younger generation. For the society, an art museum should be established. If all these ideas could be realised, our art will have a bright future.⁸³

Although it is only a theoretical discussion, the idea itself shows how the Painting Association of China defined its function with regards to the pragmatic issue of making a living by painting. The proposed suggestions give the impression that the Association functioned more or less as an occupational organisation which

⁸³ He, 'Zhongguohuahui lilun shang zhi yanshu', pp. 3-4.

provided support and mutual benefits to its members. Seemingly, from this perspective, a new and respectable professional status was conferred on professional artists, allowing them to share a social status equivalent to that of other modern intellectuals such as university professors, lawyers, doctors, and editors.⁸⁴ In this sense, selling paintings or making a living by practising art was no longer perceived as an indignity to be disguised.

From the *guohua* societies of the early Republican period to the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China, the nature of *guohua* societies shifted significantly, from having mainly economic purposes to promoting aesthetic ideologies through modern artistic activities. As the involvement of professional artists in the directorship grew over time, the social and commercial elements of the society weakened—and at the same time, the role played by art societies as institutions within the process of institutionalisation and professionalisation of art became ever more significant.

Art Journals

In addition to art societies, another development that facilitated institutionalisation and networking in the Republican era art world was the tremendous growth in publishing opportunities via journals and periodicals, which created unprecedented public forums and channels for not only the promotion of aesthetic ideologies, but also the exchange of ideas. The rise of the publishing industry in modern China has been regarded by historians as

⁸⁴ The *Guide to Shanghai* provided useful and practical information for readers, especially tourists and sojourners—painters and calligraphers (*shuhua*家, 書畫家) were grouped together in the same section with the new professionals such as doctors and lawyers. Ling, *Shanghai zhinan*. Lawyers and doctors were the newly-defined established professionals in Republican China. For details see Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*.

evidence for the Chinese experience of a 'public sphere'.⁸⁵ In the early twentieth century, the introduction of Western publishing technologies was definitely one of the most significant catalysts for the emergence in China of new forms of cultural production and modes of circulation. As claimed by the Republican man of letters Lin Yutang in his 1937 book *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, periodicals and journals at the time were 'the best indication of a country's cultural progress' functioning 'as a medium for educating the public, surveying the most important tendencies in domestic and foreign situations, introducing or advocating new movements of art and literature and thought, and constantly guiding the currents of thought and rectifying its errors.'⁸⁶ In this sense, it is safe to say that by Lin's time, periodicals and journals had become one of the most important public platforms for differing opinions and views, often generating public debates. Therefore, one might easily conclude that during the Republican period in modern China, these newly-created public spaces were where most cultural debates took place, influential ideas were first published, and new thoughts were circulated. In the 1930s, periodical and magazine publication reached its peak in specialisation, with periodicals devoted to a wide variety of specific subjects, such as art, photography, women, literature, movies, and international affairs.⁸⁷ Shanghai was the centre of the modern Chinese publishing industry, seeing the publication of over two hundred and twelve magazines published in the year 1934 alone—'the year of periodicals' (*Zazhi nian*, 雜誌年)—as shown in a survey

⁸⁵ Judge, *Print and Politics*; Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's New Media, 1872-1912*; Rudolf G. Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Images, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (New York, 2007).

⁸⁶ Lin Yutang, *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (Oxford, 1937), p. 150.

⁸⁷ Lin, *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, pp. 151-2.

found in the *Shanghai Year Book of 1935*.⁸⁸

The rise of the publishing industry also fostered the development of art journals and periodicals within the Shanghai art world. Xu Zhihao's 'A Study of Chinese Art Journals: 1911-1949' (*Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyanlu: 1911-1949* 中國美術期刊過眼錄: 1911-1949) was the first thorough survey of Republican art journals, documenting relevant information on over four hundred publications during the period.⁸⁹ This astonishing figure in a way suggests that journals not only had been appropriated by the art world to function as one of the major channels for evaluating competing resources, gaining legitimacy, and promoting different aesthetic ideologies, but also had become an important constituent of modern Chinese cultural discourse. Referring to a survey of art journals published in the years 1929 to 1936 (Appendix 3), one can see that basically, the number of new art journals increased gradually throughout the period; however, at the same time, a very large proportion of these journals were able to produce no more than one or two issues after their initial launch. This trend suggests that although Shanghai's well-equipped publishing industry provided a favourable environment for the launching of new journals, at the same time, the growing number of art journals inevitably intensified competition in the field. In other words, art journals were easily established but difficult to maintain. It is also safe to say that almost all *guohua* journals were published by *guohua* societies, which suggests that a printed journal had become a necessary aspect of a *guohua* society's public image. As discussed in previous parts of this chapter, publication was regarded as one of the primary functions of modern *guohua*

⁸⁸ Lin, *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, p. 152.

⁸⁹ Xu, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyanlu: 1911-1949*.

societies, in that societal journals were regarded as one of the main tools for reaching the public and facilitating art societies' social networks.

Despite the fact that art journals clearly played a significant role in the development of modern Chinese art, not much scholarly attention has been paid to the subject. Huang Ke has done some research on individual journals such as 'Art' (*Meishu*, 美術), 'Art Education' (*Meiyu*, 美育) and 'Art World' (*Meishujie*, 美術界) etc., demonstrating how art journals were used to present different artistic stances and aesthetic ideologies in the Shanghai art world.⁹⁰ Caroline Lynne Waara's *Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912-1937* is the first attempt at profound exploration and examination of art journals from a sociological perspective. Through a thorough analysis of the 'True Pictorial' (*Zhengxiang huabao*, 真相畫報) and 'Art and Life' (*Meishu shenghuo*, 美術生活) Waara points out that 'the Chinese assimilation of Western cultural paradigms in these art periodicals does indeed create "fractures" in both "Western" and "traditional" Chinese cultural hegemony', and that 'both Western and Chinese styles were reformulated to serve the interests of the Chinese nation. Chinese artists transformed the Western models in response to market and audience demands for both the most advanced culture and for the popular, traditional Chinese aesthetic'—illustrating the fact that periodical publishing had become a new means of gaining legitimacy which played an important role in the discourse of modern Chinese culture.⁹¹ Thus, the

⁹⁰ Huang Ke 黃可, 'Zhongguo diyi ben meishu zhuanxing zazhi: meishu' 中國第一本美術專業性雜誌, 'The First Specialised Art Magazine in China: Art'; 'Ershi niandai he shanshi niandai de liangben meiyu zashi' 二十年代和三十代的兩本《美育》雜誌, 'Two Meiyu Magazines in 1920s and 1930s'; 'Gudao shiqi de shanghai meishujie' 孤島時期的上海《美術界》, 'Meishujie during the "Isolated Island" Period of Shanghai', in Huang, *Shanghai meishushi zhaji*, pp. 26 - 31; 32 - 38; 39 - 15.

⁹¹ Caroline Lynne Waara, *Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals*,

following discussion is aimed at exploring how this new type of cultural capital was appropriated by the Shanghai art world in general, and the *guohua* sub-field in particular, in the competition for recognition and legitimacy.

As Republican China witnessed the revolution of the publishing industry, the emergence of magazines and journals provided a liberal and public forum for polemic debates and ideological exchange. From Xu Zhihao's survey of art journals, it is worth noting that it was not until the late 1920s that art journals containing essays devoted to *guohua* had come into being.⁹² During the May Fourth period, most *guohua* journals focused on publishing visual content instead of essays, and most of the important essays on *guohua* were published mainly in the journal 'Painting Scholarship Magazine' (*Huixue zazhi*, 繪學雜誌), as described in Xi Zhihao's *Zhongguo meishu qikan guo yanlu*.⁹³ However, it was not until the First National Art Exhibition that the journal medium was further adapted by the *guohua* sub-field by employing the format of long essays, for the dual purpose of promoting their aesthetic ideologies as well as defending against

1912-1937, Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Michigan, 1994), p. 270; Caroline Lynne Waara, 'Invention, Industry, Art: The Commercialization of Culture in Republican Art Magazines', in Sherman Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945* (New York, 1999), pp. 61-90; Caroline Lynne Waara, 'The Bare Truth: Nudes, Sex, and the Modernisation Project in Shanghai Pictorials', in Kuo ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s - 1930s*, pp. 163 - 203.

⁹² According to Xu Zhihao's survey, before the mid-1920s, most of the journals devoted to Chinese painting published mainly images of ancient and contemporary of painting. It is after the mid-1920s that art journals with important essays gradually emerged. These figures reflect the fact that those who practiced Chinese painting had adopted new forms and modes for expressing their thoughts and ideas after the mid-1920s.

⁹³ 'Painting Scholarship Magazine' (*Huixue zhazhi*, 繪學雜誌) was published by the Painting Research Institute, Beijing University (*Beijing daxue huafa yanjiu suo*, 北京大學書法研究所), and Hu Peiheng was the chief editor. Important essays about *guohua* published in the magazine include Xu Beihong's 'Discuss the Reforms of *guohua*' (*Zhongguohua gailiang lun*, 中國畫改良論), Hu Peiheng's 'A Study of Spirit Resonance in Chinese *shanshuihua*' (*Zhongguo shanshuihua qiyun de yanjiu*, 中國山水畫氣韻的研究), Chen Hengke's 'The Value of Literati Painting' (*Wenrenhua de jiazhi*, 文人畫的價值), Cai Yuanpei's 'The Evolution of Art' (*Meishu de jinhua*, 美術的進化) etc. See Xu, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guo yanlu 1911-1949*, pp. 13-4.

ruthless attacks from reformers. Two journals were published coinciding with the First National Art Exhibition in 1929—namely, Art Exhibition (*Meizhan*, 美展) (figure 2.6) and Art Weekly (*Meizhou*, 美周), (figure 2.7) which eventually came to dictate trends in art criticism, debate, and discussion in Shanghai, particularly in the *guohua* sub-field. In this newly-established public forum, controversial issues were discussed publicly, including the well-known debate on Realism between Xu Beihong and the renowned poet and cultural celebrity Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897 - 1931).⁹⁴ In the inaugural issue of *Meizhou*, editors clearly expressed their opinions and defined their positions regarding writing articles on art, stating:

The art of China has long been in a chaotic situation, in that it has never been analysed accurately or criticised openly. Although occasionally there have been certain ‘boasting’ articles, composed of phrases with various combinations of cliché wordings such as *shen* 神, *yun* 韻, *neng* 能, *yi* 逸, which could never offer lively comments or fresh ideas! Despite their being collectors of ancient arts or successful modern artists, the authors are overconfident and unwilling to accept each other’s comments and critiques. In an attempt to avoid offending others, those critics who are not confident enough can only dare to offer flattering comments. Thanks to the First National Arts Exhibition, the three-day journal *Meizhan* has asserted the importance of art critics. Our heartfelt thanks go out to the contributors who commented and criticised

⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion about the debate, see David Der-wai Wang, ‘In the Name of the Real’,. For an English translation of the essays, see Xu Beihong, ‘I Am Bewildered (1929)’, in Jo-Anne, Ken and Zheng eds., *Shanghai Modern 1919 - 1945*, pp. 373-4; Xu Zhimo, ‘I Am “Bewildered” Too - A Letter to Xu Beihong (1929)’, in Jo-Anne, Ken and Zheng eds., *Shanghai Modern 1919 - 1945*, pp. 374 - 7.

moderately out of friendship, creating room for discussion. However, *Meizhan* is only an exhibition journal with a time limit. It will cease to be published after issue ten. Not only will the readers be disappointed, but the editors and contributors will likewise feel regret. Therefore, in order to perpetuate the spirit of this journal, we have gathered its fellows in order to establish another art journal, *Meizhou*. Although this new journal has the same editorial contributors as *Meizhan*, it is nonetheless hoped that readers will not confine themselves to the same topics as were covered in *Meizhan*. We hope that every reader will take up the responsibility of promoting the new journal and introducing it to the general public. Let the journal become as popular as the daily newspaper!⁹⁵

Regarding the above statement, obviously the contributors were not satisfied with the old rhetorical style of the art critics and aspired to open up new channels and styles for art critiques and discussion. The number of *guohua* artists contributing to *Meizhou*—including Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶 (1897–1989),⁹⁶ Zheng Wuchang, Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894 – 1968),⁹⁷ He Tianjian, and Yu

⁹⁵ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1929.6.21 (19).

⁹⁶ Neglected by art historians, Chen Xiaodie's contribution to modern Chinese art history was recently evaluated by Wan Qingli, see Wan Qingli, 'Meishu jia, qiye jia Chen Xiaodie —minguo shiqi Shanghai huatan yanjiu zhiyi' 藝術家、企業家陳小蝶—民國時期上海畫壇研究之一, 'Chen Xiaodie: An Artist and An Entrepreneur', in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji*, pp. 9 – 29; for Chen's writings, see Chen Dingshan 陳定山, *Chunshen jiuwen* 春申舊聞, 'Old Stories of Shanghai' (Taipei, 1967); Chen Dingshan 陳定山, *Chun Shen xuwen* 春申續聞, 'Supplement in Old Stories of Shanghai' (Taipei, 1976).

⁹⁷ Further discussions on Wu Hufan, see Pedith Chan, *Chuantong de fuxing: Wu Hufan (1894 – 1968) shanshuihua yanjiu* 傳統的復興：吳湖帆 (1894 – 1968) 山水畫研究, 'Revival of the Great Tradition: A Study of Wu Hufan's (1894 – 1968) Landscape Painting', M.Phil dissertation (Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002); Dai Xiaojing 戴小京, Wu Hufan: xiandai shanshuihua dashi 吳湖帆：現代山水畫大師, 'Wu Hufan: Modern Great Master of Landscape Painting', (Shanghai, 2000); Dai Xiaojing 戴小京 and Zhang Chunji 張春記 eds., *Wu Hufan Shuhua ji* 吳湖帆書畫集, 'Calligraphy and Painting of Wu Hufan', (Shanghai, 2001); Liang Ying

Jianhua—immensely outweighed the number of western-style artists.⁹⁸ This proportion may be in part due to the dominance of *guohua* in the First National Art Exhibition,⁹⁹ reflecting the appropriation of new rhetorical styles in artistic writings about the *guohua* sub-field. In a total of twelve issues,¹⁰⁰ *guohua* artists demonstrated the use of new rhetorical styles for writing art critiques, recreating a progressive and modern public image for *guohua* artists through the medium of journals.

In issues one and two, Chen Xiaodie presented a critical article entitled ‘Chaos in the Schools of Modern Painting’ (*Xiandai huapai zhi wenluan*, 現代畫派之紊亂).¹⁰¹ Focusing on the discussion of the current situation of *guohua* development, the article is written in vernacular Chinese and includes many newly invented words and phases, such as ‘art is a form of philosophy’ (*hua shi yizhong zhexue*, 畫是一種哲學) and ‘natural selection’ (*tianran de taotai*, 天然的淘汰). These neologisms clearly demonstrate the writer’s intention to distinguish his writing from classical artistic commentaries and modernise the image of *guohua* critics. In the article, Chen describes the state of *guohua* development at the time as a ‘sleeping stage’ which urgently needed to be revitalised through construction (*jianshe*, 建設) and reorganisation (*zhengli*, 整理). Furthermore, he condemns the *guohua* field as hidebound (*baoshou*, 保守)

梁穎 ed., *Wu Hufan wengao* 吳湖帆文稿, ‘Collection of Wu Hufan’s Writings’, (Hangzhou, 2004); Clarissa von Spee, *Wu Hufan: A Twentieth Century Art Connoisseur in Shanghai* (Berlin, 2008).

⁹⁸ Regarding the contributors to each issue, over two-thirds of the articles were written by *guohua* artists.

⁹⁹ For a thorough discussion on the content of and ideas for exhibit selection for the First National Art Exhibition, see Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ Xu Zhihou states that *Meizhou* has altogether eleven issues, but I have accessed the complete collection and find that the correct number is twelve.

¹⁰¹ Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶, ‘Xiandai huapai zhi wenluan’ 現代畫派之紊亂, ‘Chaos in the Schools of Modern Painting’, *Meizhou* 美週, ‘Art Weekly’, 1. 2 (1929).

and superstitious (*mixin*, 迷信), while criticising the modern creators (*xiandai chuanguo jia*, 現代創作家) for blindly opposing *guohua* and lacking knowledge. In this way, he offered a new direction and perspective for artist fellows: imitating old masterpieces without losing their creative passion, while at the same time expanding their own knowledge of art from *guohua* to the wider art world.

Utilising the journal as a forum for public debate and discussion, Zheng Wuchang then wrote an article to respond to Chen Xiaodie's argument. Entitled 'The Awareness That Modern Artists Ought to Have' (*Xiandai huajia yingyou zhezhong juewu*, 現代畫家應有這種覺悟), in the article, Zheng urged modern *guohua* artists to humble themselves and dispose of their bias against learning western art. He condemns those who disparage western art as 'self-conceited' and looks back throughout history to prove persuasively that China's past ability to assimilate foreign cultures had demonstrated that the acceptance and adoption of foreign cultures was the way to enliven *guohua*. He reasons:

Recently, Western art has been introduced to China. The gentlemen who stand firm for preserving the national essence are worried that western art will gain the dominant position in China, so they condemned western art without hesitation as anti-progressive. However, they are overreacting, and their worries are unnecessary. From a historical and national perspective, the introduction of western art will not reject or wipe out Chinese art but will in fact give it a new and refreshing sense of hope. Therefore, we who care very much about art should try to approach problems such as 'how to research art' and 'how to promote art' with

humility and honesty. In order to avoid being corrupted by the prevailing illnesses of narrow-mindedness and arrogance, we should develop art without prejudice and bias, should not criticise blindly, and should not denounce heartlessly. Apparently, the last paragraph of (Chen) Xiaodie's article could portray him as a traitor to *guohua*. However, being a traitor is not easy, so I am ready to cry out with him.¹⁰²

The writings quoted above exemplify and vividly demonstrate the public conversations taking place between and amongst *guohua* artists, showing that the new generation of *guohua* artists was eager to make use of the modern Chinese language—particularly the critical rhetorical style and ‘modern’ vocabularies—to articulate and advocate their ‘modern’ thoughts on *guohua*. Also, the topics and titles of the writings demonstrate the artists’ urgent concerns about their present position in the long history of Chinese painting as well as in the modern art world. They presented their revolutionary thoughts on *guohua* at a time when China was experiencing a national and cultural crisis, establishing a new stance between the polarised extremes of ‘conservatives’ and ‘reformers’. Similar public discussions and conversations continued through the medium of journals and magazines during the Republican period and played a crucial role in inspiring and eliciting both intellectual discussions and ideological exchanges in the discourse about *guohua*.

Although *Meizhou* lasted only for two months and produced a total of only twelve issues, most of its contributors continued in the 1930s to use the power of

¹⁰² Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, ‘Xiandai huajia yingyou zhezhong juewu’ 現代畫家應有這種覺悟, ‘Awareness That Modern Artists Ought to Have’, *Meizhou*, 5. 6 (1929).

language and publication as a kind of cultural capital, with the aim of legitimising their aesthetic ideologies through the medium of art journals. In this decade, two societal art journals dedicated especially to *guohua*—namely, the *Bee Journal* and the *Guohua Monthly*—were launched by two representative *guohua* societies, the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China, respectively. As discussed in the previous parts of this chapter, both of these modern art societies understood the power of the press and expressly included the publication of an art journal as one of their stated objectives. Thanks to their founding members, each of whom had several substantial years of experience in editing and publishing—for instance, Zheng Wuchang joined the China Press (*Zhonghua shuju*, 中華書局) in 1921 and established the Press of Chinese Clerical Script (*Hanwen zhengkai yin shuju*, 漢文正楷印書局) in 1925, while He Tianjian joined the China Press in 1911 and worked for the editorial section of the First Press of Republican Shanghai (*Shanghai minguo diyi shuju*, 上海民國第一書局) in 1912—these *guohua* journals were able to stand out among numerous short-lived art journals.

Adopting the insightful methodology towards magazine and books put forth in Gerard Genette's theory of paratext,¹⁰³ I would like in the following discussion to examine the textual 'threshold'—including the title, table of contents, prefaces, other commentaries, and any other publishing details of these *guohua* journals—and in doing so, to construct a more comprehensive image of the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China.

¹⁰³ Gerard Genette, translated by Jane E. Lewin, *Paratexts: the Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1997).

As an announcement of the Bee Painting Society's establishment, the inaugural issue of the *Bee Journal* was published on 11th March 1930. Offered at the affordable price of four cents, the journal was published every ten days, resulting altogether in fourteen issues over the span of half a year. At first glance, it is hard to tell what exactly the journal is about. Adopting the format of the popular pictorial newspapers (*huabao*, 畫報) that prevailed in Shanghai, such as the Shanghai Pictorial (*Shanghai huabao*, 上海畫報), (figure 2.8) the *Bee Journal* was printed and bound with only two sheets of paper folded to yield eight pages in total: the front and back covers, two pages for advertisements, and four pages for main content.¹⁰⁴ (figure 2.9) As Gerard Genette has claimed, format is 'the most all-embracing aspect of the production of a book' and 'the materialisation of the text for the public use'¹⁰⁵; thus, the pictorial-newspaper-like form to some extent reveals the impression of that the editorial board had hoped to make. Also, the unique properties of the Chinese language—which can be read either vertically or horizontally and from either right to left or left to right—also provides clues about the reading habits of the journal's intended audience. For the *Bee Journal*, its typography suggests that it catered to readers with a preference for reading vertically from right to left, resembling classical Chinese typography and suggesting that the journal was aimed at readers with a preference for pictorial newspapers and classical books (probably the same people who read pictorial newspapers). Based on elements such as these, it is safe to say that the *Bee Journal* intentionally presented itself as a popular leisure magazine within the entertainment publishing market.

¹⁰⁴ For a thorough discussion of the entertainment publishing industry, see Catherine Vance Yeh, 'Shanghai Leisure, Print Entertainment, and the Tabloids, *xiaobao* 小報', in Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public*, pp.201 - 33.

¹⁰⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 17.

As the cover design always makes the first impression on a potential reader, the words, icons, and contents for each cover were carefully selected to represent the publisher or the organisation accurately. The cover design for the first issue of the *Bee Journal* comprises three parts: a title executed in calligraphy by the revered member of the cultural elite, Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲 (1858–1934), (figure 2.10) is placed vertically, alongside a horizontal English title and a small printed subtitle; a list of a total of fifty members appears in the middle of the cover; and a portrait of the leading cultural figure, Zeng Xi, (figure 2.11) is the only image on the cover, alongside a caption reading ‘the portrait of Zeng Nongran at the age of seventy’. While the primary function of a title is precise designation,¹⁰⁶ the title of the Bee Society’s journal seems to fail in fulfilling this role. The journal’s title and subtitle (‘the Bee Society’), even in combination with the cover design, do not suggest the idea of art. However, these elements do suggest, to a certain degree, what the editor regarded as the most important thing: building up the image of this newly-launched journal—or more precisely, creating the Bee Society’s public image in printed form. It also suggests an awareness of which factors would tempt potential readers who were knowledgeable enough to recognise and perceive the meaning of the messages conveyed by all these elements combined. Understanding well the rules and values of the Shanghai art world, the editor chose the Bee Society’s most valuable elements to include on the journal’s cover. Pan Feisheng was a revered cultural figure, excelling in song lyrics, literature, calligraphy, and seal-carving—a typical literati model of imperial China. His calligraphy and name were definitely perceived as a brand in Shanghai, so the title executed by Pan would certainly illuminate and add a

¹⁰⁶ Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 79.

very specific symbolic value to the journal. Zeng Xi was a cultural icon in Shanghai; thus, the inclusion of his portrait on the cover not only pays tribute to this cultural celebrity, but also takes advantage of his symbolic capital to elevate the status of this newborn publication. Likewise, the cover designs of the following two issues continue the practice by presenting portraits of other prestigious cultural figures, such as Wang Yiting (figure 2.12) and Ha Shaofu (figure 2.13). Among fourteen images on the fourteen covers, only five of them are works of art, but a large proportion of them are portraits—including the deceased but revered artist Wu Changshou (figure 2.14) and surprisingly, four active women artists and celebrities: Feng Wenfeng 馮文鳳 (1906–?), (figure 2.15) Wu Qingxia 吳青霞 (1910–?), (figure 2.16) Wu Lezhi 吳樂之 (Dates unknown),¹⁰⁷ (figure 2.17) and Gu Qingyao 顧青瑤 (1896–1978). (figure 2.18) This well-calculated strategy in a way suggests that such celebrities were highly valued by the journal's editors. As an emblem of the Bee Society, the cover of the *Bee Journal* certainly demonstrated the society's strength, in addition to gaining exposure for the society in the public sector. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the Bee Society was well known for its inclusion of renowned artists in its membership, so the inclusion of the portraits of celebrities and members of cultural elite on the cover further enhanced and shaped a prestigious image for the Society. Also, these cultural celebrities were newsworthy figures in the entertainment publishing industry; thus, the cover design helps to secure the Bee Journal's position in the print market.

In addition to the images, a list of members was published on the covers of

¹⁰⁷ Biography is not known.

issues one to seven, as well as nine,¹⁰⁸ suggesting that the society wanted to exhibit its strong membership to the public, including almost all the prominent top-ranking *guohua* artists from the Shanghai art world, such as Zhang Shanzi, Zheng Wuchang, Wang Shizi, Zhao Banbo, Xie Gongzhan, Xu Zhengbai, Li Qiujun, and Zhang Hungwei. In fact, these prominent *guohua* artists were also on the teaching staff of the newly established art school, the College of Art and Literature of China. Therefore, inevitably, quite a large proportion of the journal's content was related to *guohua* education. For instance, two particular issues were especially dedicated to the College of Art and Literature of China (figure 2.19) and the Bright Professional College of Art (*Changming zhuanke xuexiao*, 昌明專科學校). (figure 2.20) Thus, the journal's close relationship with the art colleges also suggests that its readership would have included quite a number of young students.

From the journal's format to its cover, it is without doubt that the journal attempted to exhibit characteristics fitting in with the perceived interests of its intended audience. Cultural figures, female celebrities, and renowned artists were perceived in the Shanghai print market as newsworthy elements. Thus, the strategy of presenting these recognised icons on the covers could certainly ensure the journal's sales and help establish its position in the new print market of entertainment.

Positioned as a leisure journal, the *Bee Journal* was not structured as systematically as were formal journals. It has no table of contents, and the

¹⁰⁸ The number of members listed in issue one comes to 50, issue two 39, issue three 9, issue four 6, issue five 6, issue six 13, issue seven 11, and issue nine 9.

selected articles seem to be arranged randomly, without any clear editorial direction. In the first issue, the first article is 'The Sound of the Bee', written by the chief editor Zheng Wuchang, which functions more or less as a statement of purpose :

The Sound of the Bee: although we are just a tiny periodical, it is our honour that we were born with hundreds of flowers today. However, we know that we are too young and powerless and only have the ability to make sweet food for mankind. We hope you can forgive us. Also we hope that one day in the future our wings will grow stronger day by day so that we can fly to a large garden, collecting essence from rare and precious flowers to serve you with sweetness and honey.¹⁰⁹

Without offering any concrete editorial plan, concept, or strategy, Zheng Wuchang's statement compares the journal to a bee flying among flowers to make honey, expressing his desire to use the journal to broaden the vision of the *guohua* sub-field. The journal's contents can be classified into three main categories: essays, casual literary notes, and illustrations of works of art. Also, among fourteen issues, there came to be three special issues dedicated to women artists and two about newly established *guohua* colleges, in a way exemplifying the journal's intention of expanding its readership to women and students by covering topics related to female artists and art education.

In the first issue, articles selected include He Tianjian's 'Find a Way Out'

¹⁰⁹ Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, 'Feng sheng' 蜂聲, 'The Sound of the Bee', *Bee Journal*, 1(1930), p. 2.

(*Xun chulu*, 尋出路), in which He offers his defence in response to the criticisms that condemned *guohua* for its lack of scientific analysis and individuality. He points out that in terms of modern Western artistic trends, artists had moved towards irrational description and naturalism. Also, he celebrated the spiritual expression in *guohua* as a means of individualistic expression. However, he does not deny the critical situation of *guohua*'s fate and urges those bound by ancient styles to pay more attention to and promote the modern spirit. He concludes:

Nowadays, art critics always conceive of ghosts in their minds. Those who see western ghosts definitely extol the virtues of western art; those who see trendy ghosts promote individuality; those who see ancient ghosts cry out for the Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming..... Our *guohua* field will soon become a world of ghosts. How can we escape from this destiny? There is only one way. That is to find a way out immediately.¹¹⁰

Writing in a new and vivid rhetorical style, He Tianjian was one of the active art critics who understood and was able to utilise the power of language to advocate aesthetic ideology. Perpetuating the critical spirit of the *Meizhou* contributors, his article exemplifies the roles of the group of young *guohua* artists in the modern Shanghai art world—artists who neither agreed with westernisation nor were enslaved by the burden of tradition—striving to redefine the traits of modern *guohua* artists by writing modern-style essays on art. In order to demonstrate the journal's openness and progressive pursuits as well as the

¹¹⁰ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Xun chulu' 尋出路, 'Find a Way Out', *Bee Journal*, 1(1930), p. 6.

modern spirit of new *guohua* artists, the journal included some critical articles such as Chaigong's 薑公 'The Position and Responsibility of Artists of China' (*Zhongguo huajia zhi diwei yu zeren*, 中國畫家之地位與責任),¹¹¹ Zhang Xueyang's 張雪楊 'The Mission of the Bee Society' (*Mifeng de shiming*, 蜜蜂的使命),¹¹² Qiucong's 秋叢 'The Blending' (*Tiaohe*, 調和),¹¹³ Yu Jianhua's 'The Reasons for Promoting *Guohua*' (*Tichang Zhongguohua zhi liyou*, 提倡中國畫之理由),¹¹⁴ Lu Danlin's 'Guohua Artists Ought to Unite' (*Guohuajia jiyong lianhe*, 國畫家亟應聯合),¹¹⁵ and Li Qiuju's 'Raise Funds for Establishing A Museum of Chinese Arts' (*Choumu jianshe zhongguo yishuguan jijin qi*, 籌募建設中國藝術館基金啓).¹¹⁶ The articles' titles clearly suggest that the editor had intentionally selected serious essays written with an ideological focus on current issues pertaining to *guohua*. In doing so, the editors were attempting to redefine the position of *guohua* artists and to find a means of developing *guohua* through open discussions and advocacy in the newly-established public forum of the art journal.

Apart from critical essays, the *Bee Journal* also included a large number of articles dedicated to traditional casual advice pertaining to pragmatic and mundane concerns and daily life within the art world, including anecdotes and literary or lyrical works. For instance, an interesting column entitled 'Basic

¹¹¹ Chaigong 薑公, 'Zhongguo huajia zhi diwei yu zeren' 中國畫家之地位與責任, 'The Position and Responsibility of Artists of China', *Bee Journal*, 3 (1930) p. 18.

¹¹² Zhang Xueyang 張雪楊, 'Mifeng de shiming' 蜜蜂的使命, 'The Mission of the Bee Society', *Bee Journal*, 3 (1930) p. 18.

¹¹³ Qiucong 秋叢, 'Tiaohe' 調和, 'The Blending', *Bee Journal*, 3 (1930) p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Tichang Zhongguohua zhi liyou' 提倡中國畫之理由, 'The Reasons for Promoting *Guohua*', *Bee Journal*, 11(1930) p. 82; 12 (1930), p.90; 13 (1930), p. 98.

¹¹⁵ Lu, 'Guohuajia jiyong lianhe'.

¹¹⁶ Li Qiuju 李秋君, 'Choumu jianshe Zhongguo yishuguan jijin qi' 籌募建設中國藝術館基金啓, 'Raise Funds for Establishing A Museum of Chinese Arts', *Bee Journal*, 13 (1930) p. 99.

Knowledge of Art Circles' (*Yilin changshi*, 藝林常識) served as conduits for the exchange of personal experiences, offering very practical information for *guohua* artists. Here is an example quoted from an article written by a female artist, Tan Yuese 談月色 (1891–1976):

- Removing bubbles from colour: When working with certain mineral colours, such as azurite, malachite, hematite, and white lead powder, it is easy to generate bubbles while mixing with glue. Putting some earwax in the colour can help remove the bubbles.
- Soaking white lead powder in water: White lead powder will be rough if it is not ground before using. Therefore, it is better to grind it before mixing with water. After using water to remove the glue in the powder, one should use a glass container with a cover to store the powder and soak it in clear water keep it from drying up.
- Removing ink marks from silk: If one writes the wrong word on silk and wants to remove the ink marks from it, one should use chewed almonds to remove it.¹¹⁷

These notes provided very detailed information and step-by-step procedures, sharing with readers some personal tips on how to tackle certain problems encountered during the practice of painting. Similar articles also included 'Methods of Making Rongzhai Seal Powder' (*Rongzhai babao yinfen zhi za*, 容

¹¹⁷ Tan Yuese 談月色, 'Yilin changshi' 藝林常識, 'Basic Knowledge of Artistic Circles', *Bee Journal*, 8 (1930), p. 59.

齋八寶印粉之製法),¹¹⁸ ‘Methods of Cooking Paper’ (*Zhuzhi fa*, 煮紙法),¹¹⁹ and ‘Methods for Repairing Paper’ (*Huazhi xiubu fa*, 畫紙修補法).¹²⁰ Obviously, these articles were tailor-made for readers who were less experienced in the practice of *guohua*.

Since the societal journal was expected to be circulated not only among the association’s members but also to the wider public, its editors would certainly have taken into consideration the tastes and interests of the general public, who would have had no basic knowledge of *guohua*. Therefore, in order to cater to the interests of both art professionals and the general public, the journal included lightly penned pieces with a more general appeal, such as the column ‘Anecdotes on Artistic Circles’ which serialised Ban’an’s 半盦 article ‘Life is Like That’ (*Ruci shengya*, 如此生涯),¹²¹ Zizai’s 自在 ‘Tall Tales About Art Circles’ (*Yiyuan guaitan*, 藝苑怪譚), and poetry¹²²—offering interesting, leisurely, and readable articles aimed at a wider audience. Also, the chief editor, Zheng Wuchang, penned a long serialised article entitled ‘Explanations on the Terminologies of *Guohua*’ (*Guohua shuyu shiyao*, 國畫術語釋要), which in a way exemplified an attempt to popularise esoteric knowledge about *guohua*.¹²³ In the article, Zheng tries to articulate some of the artistic terminology related to *guohua* by surveying and analysing commentaries from historical documents and

¹¹⁸ ‘Rongzhai babao yinfen zhi za’ 容齋八寶印粉之製法, ‘Methods of Making the Rongzhai Seal Powder’, *Bee Journal*, 1 (1930), p. 3.

¹¹⁹ ‘Zhuzhi fa’ 煮紙法, ‘Methods of Cooking Paper’, *Bee Journal*, 2 (1930), p. 15.

¹²⁰ ‘Huazhi xiubu fa’ 畫紙修補法, ‘Methods for Repairing Paper’, *Bee Journal*, 3 (1930), p. 22.

¹²¹ Ban’an 半盦, ‘Ruci shengya’ 如此生涯, ‘Life Likes That’, *Bee Journal*, 1-9 (1930).

¹²² Zizai 自在, ‘Yiyuan guaitan’, 藝苑怪譚, ‘Tall Tales About Art Circles’, *Bee Journal*, 3 (1930), p. 19.

¹²³ Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, ‘Guohua shuyu shiyao’ 國畫術語釋要, ‘Explanation on the Terminologies of *Guohua*’, *Bee Journal*, 5 (1930), p. 39; 6 (1930), p. 47; 9 (1930), p. 71; 10 (1930), p. 75; 11 (1930), p. 87.

representing them in a logical and systematic way using modern Chinese language. For those who possessed cultural capital, these aesthetic terminologies were the basic and frequently-used vocabularies in classical art commentaries and critics; however, for the average reader—i.e., those targeted by the *Bee Journal*—these were abstract and unintelligible words. Therefore, Zheng's attempt to explain *guohua's* basic yet specific terminologies demonstrates one of the functions of the journal in transmitting knowledge and educating readers, and echoes the Bee Painting Society's mission of studying and developing Chinese art.

Last but not least to consider are the visual elements utilised in the journal. From covers to main content, visual images are one of the most important and essential criteria for judging the quality and constructing the image of an art journal. During the Republican Period, the flourishing publishing industry had sparked the trend of collecting ancient painting reproductions. The introduction of advanced western printing techniques—such as photomechanical processes for plate-making—had enabled printers to reproduce artists' stylised forms *en masse* both vividly and economically, consequently increasing popular access to art and culture hitherto reserved only for elites.¹²⁴ In the early Republican period, the publication of several monumental series on traditional Chinese painting—such as 'Brightness of China' (*Shenzhou guoguangji*, 神州國光集) and 'Famous Chinese Paintings' (*Zhongguo minghuaji*, 中國名畫集)—had offered to the general public reproductions of ancient Chinese paintings and calligraphy from

¹²⁴ Waara has pointed out that there are two important consequences for the representation and transmission of culture through periodicals: 1. the appropriation of powerful advanced techniques enabled the Chinese people to enter the 'city' of modern civilisation; 2. modern mechanical reproduction increased popular access to hitherto elite art and culture. See Waara, *Arts and Life*, p. 80.

previously inaccessible private collections—an epochal event for the majority of people, who were poor in terms of cultural capital.¹²⁵ For the first time, the general public had the opportunity to enjoy the pleasure of collecting through buying these affordably-priced reproductions of ancient paintings. In this sense, images of antique paintings had become a selling point for potential readers and also a new form of cultural capital for art journals.

One of the best examples of how art reproduction was perceived in this way can be seen in the inaugural edition of the *Bee Journal*. The notice states, ‘Notice of pictures to be published in issue two: Ni Mogeng’s 倪墨耕 (Ni Tian) *Portrait of Xue Daikuai* (figure 2.21) and numerous works of other renowned artists and female artists from respectable families.’¹²⁶ This notice strongly suggests that readers at the time would be anxious to see and possess the reproduction of this painting by Ni Mogeng, the leading artist of the Shanghai School. Also, works of art by female artists from respectable families were also perceived to be popular enough to draw readers’ attention. Therefore, the *Bee Journal* also included coverage of certain women artists’ biographies, portraits, works of art, and writings.¹²⁷ In the inaugural issue, there are altogether seven illustrations, including the cover portrait of Zeng Xi, a photo of the young female artist Wen Bingdun 文秉敦 (Date Unknown), (figure 2.22)¹²⁸ a photo of the society’s core member Zhao Banbo (figure 2.23), and four images of *guohua* and calligraphy. Issue two contains seven illustrations, including the cover portrait

¹²⁵ Li, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, p. 62.

¹²⁶ *Bee Journal*, 1 (1930), pp. 4–5.

¹²⁷ Apart from four portraits of women artists published on the covers, the photos of seven women artists with brief biographies were also published in the journal, including Li Qiujun and Tan Rongrong. Li Qiujun and Tan Rongrong also contributed to the journal by writing articles. In addition, the journal dedicated issue seven as a special issue dedicated to women artists.

¹²⁸ Biography is not known.

of Wang Yiting, a photo of the young female artist Xu Yunxuan 徐筠軒 (Dates Unknown) (figure 2.24),¹²⁹ a photo of the society's core member Zhang Shanzi (figure 2.25), and five images of works of art. The artists' photos undoubtedly served as an introduction to the Bee Society's members, its core members in particular.¹³⁰ Also, these photos could be seen as a kind of symbolic capital for the journal. Likewise, the images of works of art in some ways reflect the journal's attitude towards *guohua*. The four pieces of paintings and calligraphy selected for the first issue are *Monochrome Outlined Bodhisattva* by the monk Yuehu of the Yuan dynasty (figure 2.26); *Landscape* (figure 2.27), by the late Ming eccentric master Shitao; *Horse* (figure 2.28), by eleven-year-old artist Wang Hongzhi; and a piece of calligraphy by Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374) of the Yuan dynasty (figure 2.29). Five reproductions appear in issue two, including *Landscape* by Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248–1310) (figure 2.30); a number of paintings by members of the Bee Society (figure 2.31); *Portrait of Fu Qingzhu* (figure 2.32); *Calligraphy* (figure 2.33), by the Ming poet Gao Qi 高啓 (1336–1374); and the highlighted *Portrait of Xue Daikuai* by Ni Tian. These images were presented independently as pictures rather than as supplementary illustrations to the text in the journal—demonstrating the journal's editorial concept, which was not professional enough to meet the standards of today's serious art journals. Within fourteen issues, eight landscapes of the eccentric late Ming artist Shitao (figure 2.34) and three landscapes of the leading Ming literati painter Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) were selected (figure 2.35), surpassing the number of works by any other artist in terms of quantity. It is even more intriguing that none of the Qing masters of the dominant orthodox

¹²⁹ Biography is not known.

¹³⁰ Photos of core members are published in every issue.

school was included. As Shanghai was the hub of private Qing orthodox school collections (particularly the Four Wangs) the exclusion of works by the Four Wangs—and the simultaneous exaltation of the eccentric artist Shitao—to a large extent reflects the journal's preference for and stance towards different *guohua* traditions. In the Republican Period, Shitao was perceived as an eccentric artistic force who possessed the traits of modernity; thus, the journal's emphasis on his works could be regarded as a manifestation of the clear stance taken by the journal.¹³¹ The Four Wangs, despite their significant influence in the Republican art world and particularly in the Shanghai art world, were viewed by reformers—and even by contemporary *guohua* historians in cultural debates at the time—as key figures in the decline of Chinese painting.¹³² Therefore, in order to dissociate the journal from the Four Wangs' tradition—which was perceived as backward, old, and feudalistic—the editor deliberately rejected publishing any work by them in the *Bee Journal*.

As a magazine's success or failure is not determined solely by circulation, advertisement is to some extent another factor that should be considered. In the 1930s, periodical publication blossomed and eventually diversified and specialised within the industry. For instance, one periodical specialising in *ci* poetry, the *Song Lyric Scholarship Quarterly* (*Cixue zazhi*, 詞學季刊), was launched in 1933. Therefore, in order to reach specific audiences, advertisers naturally would target those periodicals whose readership might include potential clients. As in the case of the *Bee Journal*, advertisements relevant to art were certainly included, such as those for art books (figure 2.36), price-lists (figure

¹³¹ Wong, *Parting the Mist*, pp. 68 - 76.

¹³² Typical examples are Kang Youwei, Xu Beihong and Chen Duxiu, whose ideas of reforming Chinese painting by ridding it of the Four Wangs have been discussed in the introductory chapter.

2.37), and art materials (figure 2.38). However, due to its being positioned as a leisure journal as well, the *Bee Journal* also included advertisements for cigarettes (figure 2.39), soaps (figure 2.40), toothpaste (figure 2.41), medicine (figure 2.42), silk (figure 2.43), honey (figure 2.44), etc. These advertisements for ordinary items used in everyday life seem to have been particularly aimed at adult females, which to some extent suggests that the periodical's readership included a large proportion of women.

In spite of the fact that the journal was positioned in the nature of leisure pictorial-newspapers, it is clear that the Bee Society used its journal's format, from the cover to the content, to enhance its competitiveness within the art world, with the intention of promoting and democratising the art of *guohua* as well as redefining its stance within the Shanghai art world. In the winter of 1930, the *Bee Journal* ceased publication because its chief editor, Zheng Wuchang, had left Shanghai and joined the army to fight against Japan.¹³³ It was not until November 1934 that the major contributors to the *Bee Journal* launched a new *guohua* journal, the 'Guohua Monthly' (*guohua yuekan*, 國畫月刊). As the societal journal of the Painting Association of China, the *Guohua Monthly* boasted a strong editorial board, including chief editors He Tianjian and Xie Haiyan 謝海燕 (1910–2000), along with editors Huang Binghong, Wang Yacheng, Zheng Wuchang, Lu Danlin, Xie Gongzhan, Yang Qingqing 楊清磬 (1895–1857), Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885–1968), Sun Xueni, Ding Nianxian, Yu Jianhua, Qian Shoutie, Li Yishi 李綺石 (Dates unknown),¹³⁴ and Dai Yunqi 戴雲起 (Dates unknown).¹³⁵ The journal was published and printed by the

¹³³ Xi, 'Mifeng zhuzhen ji'.

¹³⁴ Biography is not known.

¹³⁵ Biography is not known.

Press of Chinese Clerical Script, a printing and publishing house owned by Zheng Wuchang, Chen Xiaodie, and Sun Xueni. Supplementing the educational and professional backgrounds of the contributors, the editorial board included nearly all the professional and experienced artists, art editors, and critics in Shanghai. For instance, Huang Binhong, Lu Danlin, and He Tianjian had contributed enormously to the editorial board of a popular art periodical, 'Art and Life' (*Meishu Shenghuo*, 美術生活). Huang Binhong was also a pivotal figure in the Shanghai art publishing industry. In the early Republican period, he had worked on revolutionary patriotic periodicals such as *Guocui xuebao* 國粹學報 and *Cuocui congshu* 國粹叢書, through which traditional and national learning was promoted and preserved. Huang had also served as an art editor for the Commercial Press, the Yu Tseng Book Depot and the *Shibao*, and had established and been heavily involved in numerous art journals such as *Zhenxiang huabao*¹³⁶ and 'Art View' (*Yiguan*, 藝觀) through either his paintings or his writings. Certainly, such a strong editorial board would ensure the ascendancy of this new journal and secure its livelihood within the competitive art world. Beginning with the fourth issue, the *Guohua Monthly* expanded its distribution outside Shanghai to twenty-eight cities all over the nation, a clear demonstration of its growing popularity, influence, and wide-ranging readership.

Unlike the *Bee Journal*, which was presented in the format of a pictorial magazine, the *Guohua Monthly* was formatted as a formal periodical (figure 2.45). Bound in A4 size, the journal has sixteen pages of main content, suggesting that the number of articles and items included is four times that included in the *Bee*

¹³⁶ The art periodical was run by Gao Jianfu and Gao Qifeng. For a thorough discussion on the periodical, see Waara, *Arts and Life*, Chapter 3.

Journal. Also, the cover design is simple and direct, with only the title and a blurred image of various works of art, giving a very clear indication of what the journal is about. The title, *Guohua Monthly*, states quite simply that the journal is specifically devoted to *guohua* and is published monthly. Inheriting the tradition of *guohua* publications, the title on each cover is executed in calligraphy by various prominent figures in the art world, including He Tianjian (figure 2.46), Ye Gongchuo (figure 2.47), Wang Yiting (figure 2.48), and Ding Nianxian (figure 2.49). Adopting the prevailing standardised structure and layout of formal journals and magazines of the period, a detailed profile of the journal is provided on the first page, which includes a table of contents along with information about the editorial board, publisher, contributors, selling agents, price, and prices for and details about advertisements—showing not only how the journal was organised editorially, but also how it was managed and distributed. (figure 2.50) In the inaugural issue, an article entitled the ‘Opening Statement’ (*Fakanyu*, 發刊語) clearly states the purpose and direction of the journal as follows:

From the standpoint of the Painting Association of China, this journal has the mission to: 1, promote rules and methods for painting, remedying the current trends; 2, facilitate communication between members, promoting the Association’s affairs. The explanation of the first mission: if one wants to remedy the current trends, one should know very well what the weakness is. Therefore, methods and rules are very urgent needs. This journal will do its best to collect and publish famous ancient and modern paintings that embody these rules and methods. On the one hand, it provides textual evidence for tracing and explaining the evolutionary process of the spirit of these

rules and methods; on the other hand, with regards to the purpose of rectifying the current trends, the journal will focus on directing the paths of remedying and guiding. The explanation of the second mission: as the membership of our society has been expanding continually and our members are from around the nation, in order to tackle problems that may occur in communication, a column dedicated to members' news is included in every issue. We will collect information from the art world, so members can have a glimpse into the situation in the field, which will then propel the development of our associational affairs. In addition to working towards these goals, the journal also carries the greatest responsibility for our national culture: that is to promote the spirit of our national art, elevating its position on the international art stage.¹³⁷

In this statement, the editors declare that the journal will use both images and text as tools to restore rules which, it is claimed, have fallen into decline and been lost. Additionally, owing to its wide-ranging membership, the journal will also function as a conduit for information exchange, facilitating communication between members nationwide. Therefore, the journal's contents should to a large degree focus on these missions. As the societal journal of the relatively systematic and formal Painting Association of China, the *Guohua Monthly* aimed to present itself as a formal and serious periodical on art and, in doing so, to create a more professional and serious image for the journal as well as for the association itself.

¹³⁷ 'Fakanyu' 發刊語, 'Opening Statement', *Guohua yuekan*, 1 (1934), p. 2.

Regarding its content, the *Guohua Monthly* was arranged in a fairly standard format, with few variations. The inaugural issue, for instance, begins with a highlighted ancient painting from a private collection, which is followed by the main content, which is basically divided into seven categories, including: 'Essays' (*Lunshu*, 論述); 'Short Critics' (*Duanping*, 短評); 'Writings' (*Zhuzuo*, 著作); 'Casual Conversations' (*Mantan*, 漫談); 'Literary Garden' (*Wenyuan*, 文苑); 'Members' News' (*Huiyuan xiaoxi*, 會員消息); and 'Plates' (*Chatu*, 插圖). These divisions reveal a more clear and systematic editorial concept when compared with the *Bee Journal*.

In the section devoted to essays, a certain number of high-quality critical essays were geared towards raising discussions about current issues related to *guohua*—for instance, Zheng Wuchang's 'The Responsibility that Modern China's artists Should Bear' (*Xiandai Zhongguo huajia yingfu zhi zeren*, 現代中國畫家應負之責任),¹³⁸ He Tianjian's 'The Right-and-Wrong of Painting And Calligraphy Associations and Their Styles' (*Shuhuahui yu zuofeng zhi shifei*, 書畫會與作風之是非),¹³⁹ Chen Xiaodie 'No Painting in the Qing Dynasty' (*Qingdai wu hua lun*, 清代無畫論),¹⁴⁰ Yu Jianhua's 'Primary and Secondary Schools Should Teach *Guohua* in Art Lessons' (*Zhongxiaoxue tuhua ke yi shou guohua yi*, 中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議),¹⁴¹ and Shi Chongpeng's 'Discussion about the Value of *Guohua*' (*Guohua jiazhi zhi shangque*, 國畫價值之商榷).¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Zheng, 'Xiandai Zhongguo huajia yingfu zhi zeren'.

¹³⁹ He Tianjian, 'Shuhuahui yu zuofeng zhi shifei', p. 20–22.

¹⁴⁰ Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶, 'Qingdai wu hua lun' 清代無畫論, 'No Painting in the Qing Dynasty', *Guohua yuekan*, 2 (1934), pp. 18 - 9.

¹⁴¹ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Zhongxiaoxue tuhua ke yi shou guohua yi' 中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議, 'Primary and Secondary School Should Teach *Guohua* at Art Lesson', *Guohua yuekan*, 5 (1935), pp.142–144; 6 (1935), pp. 160–162.

¹⁴² Shi Yupeng 施狷鵬, 'Guohua jiazhi zhi shangque' 國畫價值之商榷, 'Discussion about the Value of *Guohua*' *Guohua yuekan*, 6 (1935), pp. 130 - 1.

Issues four and five were special issues especially dedicated to the genre of landscape painting. Entitled *Special Issue for the Idea of Landscape Painting in China and the West* (*Zhong xi shanshui sixiang zhuankan*, 中西山水思想專刊), these special issues were a groundbreaking attempt to invite both *xihua* and *guohua* artists to exchange views through writing essays focusing on the central theme, landscape painting. The collaboration of the allegedly polarised *xihua* and *guohua* artists created a new relationship between the two groups, showing that the editors of this progressive journal were willing to collaborate and conduct open discussions with their ‘rivals’ who practiced and espoused different aesthetic ideologies—thereby playing a role in enlightening and broadening the vision and horizons of *guohua* artists. Besides critical essays, articles written in traditional rhetorical styles and classical Chinese were also included, such as Huang Binhong’s ‘Essential Methods of Painting’ (*Huafa yaozhi*, 畫法要旨),¹⁴³ which was serialised over four issues and exemplified the traditional written style of evidential scholarship within the realm of art.

As an art journal, the *Guohua Monthly* interestingly dedicated a column especially to literary works, particularly the genre of poetry. From the *Bee Journal* to the *Guohua Monthly*, literary works seem to have been necessary inclusions in an art journal. Curiously enough, a literary journal entitled *Song Lyric Scholarship Quarterly* established in 1933 also included works of art as one of the categories of its content. Specifically dedicated to *ci* (song lyrics), the journal nonetheless also had a section dedicated to works of art and even commissioned artists to paint its covers (figure 2.51) and illustrations (figure

¹⁴³ Huang Binhong 黃賓虹, ‘Huafa yaozhi’ 畫法要旨, ‘Essential Methods of Painting’, *Guohua yuekan*, 1 (1934), p.8–10, 2 (1934), p. 22–24, 3 (1934), p. 39–40, 5 (1935), p. 122–124.

2.52). The crossover between artists and poets in these journals leaves a very faint trace demonstrating how literati culture was sustained, practised, and transformed in modern China in spite of the separation of art and literature into two different subjects under the new educational system. In the *Guohua Monthly* column 'Literary Garden', a large portion of the poetry selected is 'Poetry dedicated to painting' (*Tihua shi*, 題畫詩). By looking at the titles of the poems included—for instance, Chen Xiaodie's 'Touring at the Five Waterfalls, for He Tianjian' (*You Wuxie ji He Tianjian*, 遊五洩寄賀天健),¹⁴⁴ Yu Gongchuo's 'Hand-scroll of Red Tree Studio (Lu Danlin's studio)' (*Hongshu shi tujuan*, 紅樹室圖卷),¹⁴⁵ and Wu Hufan's 'Lady Xindan's Portrait, Zhang Daqian Painted for Lu Danlin' (*Xindan nüshi yixiang Zhang Daqian wei Lu Danlin zuo*, 心丹女士遺像張大千爲陸丹林作)¹⁴⁶—it is interesting to note that these poems not only record the inextricable link between the literary and artistic fields, but also proved that literary works were still perceived as an essential constituent of *guohua*.

Being as it was the journal of the Painting Association of China, the *Guohua Monthly* dedicated a column ('Recent News of Members') to report news and even some trivial matters of members' daily lives, acting as a channel to facilitate communication between members nationwide. The following quotation is an example from issue one¹⁴⁷:

¹⁴⁴ Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶, 'You Wuxie ji He Tianjian' 遊五洩寄賀天健, 'Touring at the Five Waterfalls, for He Tianjian', *Guohua yuekan*, 3(1934), p. 42.

¹⁴⁵ Yu Gongchuo 葉恭綽, 'Hongshu shi tujuan' 紅樹室圖卷, 'Handscroll of Red Tree Studio (Lu Danlin's studio)', *Guohua yuekan*, 4 (1935), p. 93.

¹⁴⁶ Wu Hufan 吳湖帆, 'Xindan nüshi yixiang Zhang Daqian wei Lu Danlin zuo' 心丹女士遺像張大千爲陸丹林作, 'Lady Xindan's Portrait, Zhang Daqian Painted for Lu Danlin', *Guohua yuekan*, 4 (1935), p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ 'Huiyuan xiaoxi' 會員消息, 'Members' News', *Guohua yuekan*, 1 (1934), p. 15.

- Huang Binghong has moved to Westgate Road.
- Wang Yiting has suffered from an external injury.
- Chen Xiaodie has toured Lao Mountain and Tai Mountain. His poems inspired by the trip have been published by *Club Magazine*.
- Xu Beihong has returned and joined the Fine Arts Department of the Central University with a professorship.
- Peng Gongpu, Wu Hufan, Zhang Shanzhi, and Zhang Daqian held a joint exhibition in Beijing. Wu has returned to Shanghai and Zhang has travelled to Hua Mountain.
- Huang Gongzhu has been appointed to teach at the Department of Sinology at Ji'nan University from the coming academic semester.
- Ms Chen Shixuan of Fuzhou will hold a solo exhibition at the Shanghai Continental bazaar from 25th December for four days, presenting her finest landscape and bird-and-flower works.
- Wang Qi, *zi* Huaijun will exhibit three hundred of his best works and over a hundred of his collection of ancient paintings at Wu Zhe, at Guizhou road in Shanghai. It will be a great exhibition.

The above information provided the readers with the recent activities and future plans of some of the most active members of the Association in detail, ranging from changes of address to exhibition information and the career moves of individual artists. The wide dissemination of such trivial information about

members in a way suggests that the journal's readers in fact were interested in and keen for such information. Therefore, owing to its well-established social network within the field, the *Guohua Monthly* was able to collect up-to-date information about its members, which consequently facilitated information exchange within the field.

Also benefiting from its well-established social network, the journal was able to gather and publish reproductions of some high-quality precious works of art from acclaimed private collectors—such as Wu Hufan, Huang Binhong, Zhang Daqian, and Chen Xiaodie—which were then transferred to the journal as a kind of cultural and symbolic capital. As the assessment of works of art, particularly ancient masterpieces, was perceived to be the privilege of only the cultural elite, the publication of these private collections could be regarded as a calculated strategy for enhancing the competitiveness of the journal within the field, which would certainly have elevated the journal's overall status. The works of art published in the *Guohua Monthly* were obviously carefully selected with regard to both quality and quantity. For instance, in the inaugural issue, the first image appearing in the journal is a section of Wu Zhen's 吳鎮 (1280–1354) hand-scroll *Fisherman* (figure 2.53). Despite severe attacks on traditional Chinese painting, it was the consensus that the Song and Yuan paintings were the glory of Chinese art, not only highly regarded by European art scenes but also acclaimed by reformers within China, such as Kang Youwei and Xu Beihong.¹⁴⁸ Wu Zhen was one of the Four Masters of the Yuan Dynasty, and his *Fisherman* had once appeared in the imperial collection before entering the private collection

¹⁴⁸ Kang Youwei and Xu Beihong extolled the Song dynasty as the golden age of Chinese painting. See Kang, *Wanmu caotang canghua mui*; Xu, 'Zhongguohua gailiang lun'.

of Wu Hufan in 1933.¹⁴⁹ Regarding its rarity and significant cultural value, the inclusion of *Fisherman* in the inaugural issue would certainly in some ways have elevated this new journal's status among other art journals. It is believed that the reproductions of ancient paintings were in high demand during the Republican period, so it is not surprising that readers of the *Guohua Monthly* even wrote to the editor requesting that more paintings be published there. In a postscript to issue two, the editor Xie Haiyan writes that the journal had received comments from its readers requesting the publication of additional essays as well as paintings. In response to these requests, he states, 'the number of plates has already increased as requested in the recent issue; for instance, Qiu Ying's 仇英 (circa 1509–1551) *Playing Zithers in the Style of Li Gonglin* (figure 2.54) is a valuable and remarkable work.' He also promised that 'if possible, the journal would publish one or two more three-coloured plates in every issue, or every two or three issues.'¹⁵⁰ Evidently, the reproductions published in the *Guohua Monthly* were very popular and cherished by its readers; thus, as the editor had promised, the number of paintings published increased from six in issue one to eight in issue two. Looking at the paintings selected for the journal, it is interesting to find that the editors continued the *Bee Journal's* insistence on excluding the Four Wangs tradition and showing preference for eccentric artists such as Shitao (figure 2.55) and Bada (figure 2.56), and Southern School artists such as Dong Qichang (figure 2.57), Wang Meng 王蒙 (circa 1308–1385) (figure 2.58) and Wu Zhen. However, there is a significant difference from the *Bee Journal* regarding the organisation and arrangement of illustrations and plates in the *Guohua Monthly*.

¹⁴⁹ Liang, *Wu Hufan wengao*.

¹⁵⁰ Xie Haiyan 謝海燕, 'Bianhou menhua' 編後漫話, 'Postscript', *Guohua yuekan*, 2 (1934), p. 32.

Just after publishing the special issue on landscape painting, the editors Xie Haiyan and He Tianjian wrote an interesting article in issue seven attempting to explain the journal's editorial concept of the selection and arrangement of illustrations and plates. Entitled 'Evaluation on the Illustrations Selected in the Special Issue on the Idea of Landscape Painting in China and the West' (*Zhong xi shanshui sixiang zhuankan chatu zhi jiandian*, 中西山水思想專刊插圖之檢點), this important article gives us a clear picture of the use and function of visual images in Republican *guohua* journals.¹⁵¹ In the article, the editors outline two editorial concepts with regard to the illustrations' selection and arrangement in the special issues. They state:

1. Placing illustrations and text side by side; e.g. when one mentions a school of painting in one's writing, relevant works of art are placed alongside the relevant text as theoretical, historical, and technical evidence to support the textual argument.
2. Novelty; for instance, new and unseen paintings are selected for publication, not only catching readers' interest but also upgrading the status of the journal.

Regarding the first of the above selection criteria, it seems that figures serve as supplementary pictorial evidence, in a way strengthening points made in the text. However, in the second case, figures seem to be independent from the text and carry their own value as works of art. In view of these editorial concepts, the

¹⁵¹ Editor, 'Zhong xi shanshui sixiang zhuankan chatu zhi jiandian' 中西山水思想專刊插圖之檢點, 'Evaluation on the Illustrations Selected in the Special Issue on the Idea of Landscape Painting in China and the West', *Guohua Monthly*, 7 (1935), pp. 163 - 6.

editors then catalogue thirty-seven selections, explaining how each illustration was judged and chosen. Here I quote two examples, one for a Chinese painting and the other a western painting,

Huang Gongwang's 黃公望 (1269–1354) *Boating in Autumn Mountains*: the painting bears only Ziji's (Huang Gongwang) personal seal, no inscription, painted in hemp paper, has many seals at the four corners, and was once in Zhang Daqian's collection. Viewing the harmonious unity in brushwork, it is sure that the Ming could not have achieved such a result. This would be a work done in Huang's old age. (figure 2.59)

Da Vinci's *Landscape*: it was done by the great Italian Renaissance master Da Vinci in 1473 (the 9th year of Chenghua, Ming dynasty). It was the oldest pure landscape painting in the West. Its brushwork is free and vigorous, similar to that of *guohua*. It is in the Uffizi Museum, Florence, Italy. (figure 2.60)

These examples clearly show how works of art were studied and viewed by the editors. It is interesting to note that the editors viewed the works of art through the lens of traditional art appreciation, whether for Chinese or Western painting, and focused on the achievement and accomplishment of the brushwork. After a brief explanation of all the selected figures, the editors explain how they arranged the illustrations and plates in the special issues. As it was described, although they had attempted to follow the first rule mentioned above of using plates and figures as visual evidence supplementing the text, due to technical problems, in

the end they were not be able to achieve this. Despite the fact that the editors could not actually put the editorial concept into practice, the mere attempt constitutes a huge leap in the organisation and arrangement of the visual images in the journal.

A quarrel between He Tianjian and Xie Haiyan halted publication of the *Guohua Monthly* after issue twelve. Xie Haiyan was dissatisfied with the practices of He, whom he accused of using the journal as a channel for the pursuit of personal interests.¹⁵² However, upon the earnest request of its readers, the Painting Association of China eventually launched another journal entitled *Guohua* 國畫 in 1935 as a continuation of the *Guohua Monthly*. (figure 2.61) In the opening issue, Zheng Wuchang gives a full explanation of the transition from *Guohua Monthly* to *Guohua* as follows:

After the announcement of the ceasing of the publication of the *Guohua Monthly*, those who heard the news from far and near asked me about the matter, thinking that I was the editor responsible for the journal. In fact, *Guohua Monthly* is one of the publications of the Painting Association of China, so every member has responsibility for it. However, it could not be denied that in terms of editorial work, Haiyan did the most, while Tianjian was responsible for soliciting writings. In the early stage of the journal, I lent money to cover the expenses of its publication. However, as sales and the number of subscribers

¹⁵² In the editor's note of the inaugural issue of the *Guohua*, Xie Haiyan accused someone (He Tianjian) of using the *Guohua Monthly* as an advertising board for self-promotion and selling paintings. Xie Haiyan 謝海燕, 'Bainyu xiaoji' 編餘小記, 'Postscript', *Guohua* 國畫, 1 (1936), p. 23.

increased, the return was enough to cover the journal's expenses, while other journals were finding themselves unable to sustain themselves due to a lack of money. Later on, because of a quarrel with Tianjian, Haiyan left the journal after issue eight, and Tianjian took up the editorial work by himself, continuing the journal until issue twelve. Lu Dalin, Yu Jianhua, and Xie Haiyan had great hopes for the journal and felt sorry for the ceasing of its publication. After a thorough discussion, we decided to continue the journal. However, He Tianjian claimed credit for the journal as his own, even though the Journal is in fact the societal journal of the Association. Therefore, we could not use the title *Guohua Monthly* without paying Tianjian a fee. His claim is unusual, but we should respect it. For us, the publication of the journal is not for profit, but for promoting and studying *guohua*. *Guohua Monthly* was like a shining light on the dull sea of art, guiding our fellows to a brighter future. Therefore, we have decided to use another title for the journal in order to persevere in the mission of the *Guohua Monthly*. *Guohua* will continue the work of the *Guohua Monthly*, and we hope those who loved the *Guohua Monthly* will also love *Guohua*.¹⁵³

Zheng's explanation offers a brief story of how the new journal, *Guohua*, was born and also reiterated the journal's mission of 'studying and promoting *guohua*'. As a continuation of the *Guohua Monthly*, *Guohua* not only echoed the format and editorial concept of the *Guohua Monthly*, but also enjoyed its fame and

¹⁵³ Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, 'Guohua yuekan yu Guohua' 國畫月刊與國畫, 'The *Guohua Monthly* and *Guohua*', *Guohua*, 1 (1935), p. 2

readership. Despite a slight change in the editorial board, the now simplified board remained a strong combination of experienced and acclaimed art editors, critics, and theorists, including chief editor Xie Haiyan and editors Huang Binhong, Yu Jianhua, Xie Gongzhan, and Lu Danlin. In the opening issue, a postscript written by Xie Haiyan elucidates the direction and mission of the journal as follows:

After the establishment of the Republic of China and twenty years after the launch of the new art movement in our nation, we still have no significant accomplishments. This is not only because of the instability of the social environment, but also because of the loose and disorganised art field, and the lack of a healthy and long-lasting periodical for uniting and promoting the field. Therefore, the rebirth of this journal is aimed at doing our humble best to fill in these gaps. Thereafter, the mission of this journal is not only to continue the spirit of the *Guohua Monthly*, but also to attempt to take a leap forward. To assert the new attitude of new art, to reorganise the old, and to accept the new, the crystal amalgam of nationalism and periodical spirit is our most valuable treasure. In addition, this journal will publish systematic lecture notes on *guohua* methods as an introduction for beginners and as a reference for learned artists. We have already commissioned various renowned artists to take part in this endeavour, the results of which will be published in future issues. The column 'Artists and Artists' Statements' (*Huaren huayu*, 畫人畫語) will publish the works of a contemporary artist as well as biography in each issue. The journal will continue to publish one special issue for every three or

four regular issues. As a common publication of the *guohua* field, the journal will try to fulfil the needs of modern age from the reader's standpoint.¹⁵⁴

This statement in some ways suggests that the readers of *Guohua* were most likely members of the art world, which is different from those of the *Bee Journal*. It seems that *Guohua Monthly* and *Guohua* had narrowed down their readers from the general public to a specified audience. Therefore, the contents of these journals also tended to focus specifically on *guohua*.

Referring to its table of contents, one can see that the journal is basically divided into seven categories, including: 'Artists and Artists' Statements' (*Huaren huayu*, 畫人畫語); 'Essays' (*Lunshu*, 論述); 'Guohua methods' (*Guohua jifa*, 國畫技法); 'Art criticism' (*Piping*, 批評); 'Casual Literary Notes' (*Suibi*, 隨筆); 'Miscellaneous' (*Zazu*, 雜俎); and 'Illustration/ Plates' (*Chatu*, 插畫). Two new columns, 'Artists and Artists' Statements' and 'Guohua Methods' had been added. In the 'Artists and Artists' Statements' column, one contemporary artist was introduced in each issue. Five of these revered artists included Huang Binhong, Xia Jingquan 夏敬觀 (1875 – 1953), Wang Yiting, Xie Gongzhan, and Wang Shizi. Seemingly, *Guohua* had shifted the focus of its attention from ancient masters to contemporary artists. This is seen in the essays and critical columns; for instance, Lu Danlin penned an article on his contemporary Zhang Daqian entitled 'My Knowledge of Zhang Daqian's Painting' (*Duiyu Zhang Daqian de hua zhi renshi*, 對於張大千的畫之認識).¹⁵⁵ Also, a column on

¹⁵⁴ Xie, 'Bianyu xiaoji'.

¹⁵⁵ Lu Danlin 陸丹林, 'Duiyu Zhang Daqian de hua zhi renshi' 對於張大千的畫之認識, 'My

Guohua methods was introduced in response to readers' earnest requests, providing step-by-step methods for *guohua* beginners such as 'Fourteen Lessons of *Guohua* Methods' (*Guohua jifa sishi ke*, 國畫技法四十課) penned by a Guangdong artist, Huang Bore (Wang Bo-yeh) 黃波若 (1901–1968).¹⁵⁶ (figure 2.62)

From the *Bee Journal* to the *Guohua Monthly* and *Guohua*, the position of the journal was shifting significantly from that of a leisurely entertainment magazine to that of a serious professional publication. The new generations of artists were showing their relentless endeavours to construct a fresh, new, and professional image of *guohua* by appropriating the format of the journal and employing text and images to raise discussions and debates in the public sector. Not only was the format of periodical appropriate as a new form of cultural capital, but also the new critical rhetorical writing style was adopted by *guohua* artists as a way of gaining legitimacy in the art world. Functioning like an authoritative institution that shaped the public's understanding of *guohua*, these journals played a crucial role in *guohua* discourse by reproducing selected artworks and promoting public discussions and debates on the art form.

Conclusion

The shifting forms of *guohua* institutions, the changing of institutional structures over time, and the various ideological justifications for these forms

Knowledge of Zhang Daqian's Painting', *Guohua*, 3 (1935), pp. 16 - 7; 5 (1935), p. 8.

¹⁵⁶ Readers of the *Guohua Monthly* had complained to the journal about the inclusion of too many articles on theory, and requested more articles on basic methods. Xie Haiyan 謝海燕, 'Bianji lingyu' 編輯零語, 'Editor's notes', *Guohua*, 6 (1935), p. 145. Huang's article was serialised in issue 2, 3, 5 and 6 of *Guohua*. For a further discussion on Huang, see *Huang Bore* 黃般若, 'Wong Po-yeh' (Hong Kong, 1969); Mayching Kao and Li Shuyi ed., *Huang Bore de shijie* 黃般若的世界, 'The World of Wang Po-yeh' (Hong Kong, 1995).

compel us to acknowledge the fact that the driving forces behind these transformations are not inherently 'traditional' or 'modern,' but rather are the positions held in the art world and their relationship to the society. The above discussion clearly demonstrates that the practice of art became a collective and public activity in modern China. Within this newly-established public sphere and the subsequent opening of structures for the exchange of public ideas, the discourse of *guohua* became institutionalised by means of art societies, journals, and colleges. Also, it can now be seen that a group of young *guohua* artists came together as a new force, ushering in *guohua* development in modern China and shaping the public's understanding of *guohua* through their appropriation of new artistic activities and new forms of cultural capital. From the *guohua* societies established in the very beginning of the twentieth-century to the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China, the function of art societies obviously shifted from engaging the public, to facilitating the economic prosperity of its members, and finally to the promotion of collective aesthetic ideologies. With support from the older generation of cultural and merchant elites, who had a preference for traditional art forms, these young artists gathered enough symbolic and cultural capital to enhance their competitiveness in the art world. In order to gain recognition from the public, they refreshed the image of the traditional art form and introduced a new stance for *guohua*, one which was in line neither with the 'conservatives' nor with their rivals, the 'reformers.' Benefiting from the flourishing printing culture, the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China made use of well-developed public forums such as newspapers and journals for reaching out to the people and shaping their public images by publishing societal journals. Progressive ideas and debates over current *guohua* issues were published and circulated via these journals, creating a

more serious and professional image for *guohua*, one that had never been enjoyed by the art form in imperial China.

Chapter Three

The Appropriation of New Cultural Capital: Art Exhibitions

Exhibitions, as discussed in the previous chapter, were one of the new modern artistic activities appropriated by *guohua* societies in the Shanghai art world for the dual purpose of gaining exposure and reaching out to the public. The rise of exhibition culture in modern China is unquestionably one of the most significant cultural changes impacting daily life in modern China, ranging from the level of state government down to the general public. In the late Qing period, the Chinese government took part in several international expositions, not only for diplomatic and commercial purposes, but also to a large degree, as Wang Zhenghua argues, to recreate and represent 'China' on the world stage through the medium of exhibition.¹ In the National Product Movements, the exhibition was regarded by patriotic intellectuals as an important tool for educating the public about the traits of national products.² At the mundane level of everyday life, exhibition culture also prevailed in the retail industry as a successful marketing method, with material modernity being on display in every public space, such as museums, parks, advertisements, and shops.³ Against the backdrop of the rise

¹ For a detailed discussion see, Zhao Youzhi 趙祐志, 'Yueshang guoji wutai: Qing ji Zhongguo canjia wanguo bolanhui zhi yanjiu (1866 - 1911)' 躍上國際舞台：清季中國參加萬國博覽會之研究(1866 - 1911), 'Jump to the World Stage: A Study of China's Participation in World's Fair in the Qing Period', *Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue lishi xuebao* 國立台灣師範大學歷史學報, 'History Journal of the Taiwan National Normal University', 25 (1997.6), pp. 287 - 344; Wang Zhenghua 王政華, 'Chengxian Zhongguo: wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo bolanhui zhi yanjiu' 呈現「中國」：晚清參與 1904 年美國博覽會之研究, 'Representing China: A Study of the Participation of the Qing Government in the America World's Fair in 1904', in Huang Kewu 黃克武 ed., *Huazhong you hua: jindai Zhongguo de shijue biaoshu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話：近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖, 'When Images Speak: Visual Representation and Cultural Mapping in Modern China', (Taipei, 2003), pp. 421 - 475.

² For a detailed discussion of the role of exhibitions in the National Product Movement, see Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of Nation* (Cambridge, 2003).

³ For a thorough discussion of how Chinese retail industries adopted the Western commercial practice of displaying goods, see Sherman Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial*

of exhibition culture, it is the aim of this chapter to examine how the public display of works of art changed the developmental course of modern art in Shanghai, particularly during the 1930s, when the number of art exhibitions reached a record high.

Unarguably, the art exhibition is a relatively new artistic practice that was introduced and predominated at the very beginning of the twentieth century. Looking at the standard history of modern Chinese art, it can be seen that the art exhibition has since become an inextricable part of the narrative of modern Chinese art history.⁴ As Mayching Kao points out in her essay 'Xin shidai de tiaozhan yingxiang xiandai zhongguo yishu fazhan de jige yinsu', the art exhibition is 'a new product of new era', playing a significant role in promoting art, educating the public in the process of art popularisation, and creating a new channel for direct communication between artists and their audiences.⁵ In this regard, the emergence of art exhibitions not only eventually narrowed the gap

Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945 (New York, 1999). For a discussion of the impact of exhibiting culture on everyday life see, Frank Dikötter, *Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China* (London, 2007).

⁴ For general discussions of exhibitions, see Kao, *China's Response to the West: 1898-1937*, pp. 130 - 135, 191 - 200; Kao, 'The Beginning of the Western-style Painting Movement in Relationship to Reforms in Education in Early Twentieth-Century China', pp. 373 - 397; Mayching Kao, 'Xin shidai de tiaozhan yingxiang xiandai Zhongguo yishu fazhan de jige yinsu', 新時代的挑戰—影響現代中國藝術發展的幾個因素, 'New Challenges of New Era: Some Factors that Affect the Development of Modern Chinese Art', in *Xianggang zhongwen daxue yishu xi xiyou hui yijiu basan huikan* 香港中文大學藝術系系友會一九八三會刊, '1983 Issue of the Fine Art Department Alumni Association of the Chinese University of Hong Kong', pp. 7-18 (pp. 13-4); Li, *Trends in Modern Chinese Painting*, pp. 7 - 8; Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, pp. 58-62. For discussions on specific exhibitions, see Craig Clunas, 'Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France, 1924 - 25', *Arts Asiatiques*, 44 (1989), pp. 100 - 106; Shelagh Vainker, 'Exhibitions of Modern Chinese Painting in Europe, 1933-1935', in Cao and Fan eds., *Ershi shiji Zhongguohua zhuantong de yanxu yu yanjin guoji xue zhu yantaohui lunwenji*, p. 554-561; Shelagh Vainker, 'Modern Chinese Painting in London, 1935', in Jo-Anne, Ken and Zheng eds., *Shanghai Modern*, pp. 118-123; Andrews, 'The Heavenly Horse Society (Tianmahui) and Chinese Landscape Painting'; William Cohn, 'Contemporary Chinese Painting: On the Exhibition at the Prussian Academy of the Arts, Berlin 1934', in Jo-Anne, Ken and Zheng eds., *Shanghai Modern*, pp. 112 - 7; Wong, *Parting the Mist*, pp. 100-21.

⁵ Kao, 'Xin shidai de tiaozhan yingxiang xiandai zhongguo yishu fazhan de jige yinsu', p.13 - 4.

between artists and the public, but also became one of the integral factors in the adjustment and alteration of hitherto prevalent artistic practices. In imperial China, the circulation of paintings and calligraphy had taken place mainly within the private realm; consequently, the audiences and readers of these art forms were limited to a small group of people, and the paintings were displayed and viewed in an intimately close fashion. Due to this close relationship between artists and their audiences, works of art would be created from the perspective of their readers, focusing on details such as brushwork in addition to content. However, the introduction of the modern Chinese concept of exhibition, in a way, brought works of art to the public sector, changing not only the mode of art distribution, but also artistic practices as well as the daily life of the general public. For the first time, paintings were hung on walls and viewed by strangers, the general public—bringing for the first time a sense of distance into the once-intimate relationship between works of art and their readers, artists, and audiences. Art production was inevitably bestowed with new meanings, and artists' views on practicing painting changed as well. This chapter aims to explore how exhibition culture was appropriated as a new type of cultural capital by the *guohua* sub-field in Shanghai—particularly during the 1930s, when exhibition activities climbed to their apex—via a thorough analysis of two major elements of these activities: namely, group exhibitions, and solo exhibitions.

The Rise of Exhibition Culture

First appearing during modern China's intensive contact with the West in the early twentieth century, displaying (*chenlie*, 陳例) works of art in public was quickly adopted as a new artistic practice and concept. The emergence of the neologism 'exhibition' (*zhanlanhui*, 展覽會) clearly marks the appropriation of a

new concept and format for presenting products—including cultural products—and works of art in the public sector. In the very early twentieth century, the number of exhibitions increased rapidly and the neologism appeared frequently in published materials such as newspapers and magazines, suggesting that the general public had already familiarised themselves with the new term and the new concept. This new form of presenting works of art thus had not only changed the mode of art distribution, but also redefined the identity and position of art within society. Having been perceived previously as a means of personal cultivation, the practice of art in Imperial China was proclaimed to be a ‘pastime’ or kind of ‘leisure entertainment’ and was practiced almost solely among educated intellectuals. Therefore, works of art were produced above all for personal fulfilment, serving for instance as birthday gifts or commemorations of special events, and were circulated within the social circles of like-minded groups of upper classes elites. As a Sino-Japanese-European loanword which was frequently used in early twentieth century print media, the word ‘exhibition’ provides evidence for a trajectory that explicitly suggests the route through which the concept of exhibition was introduced.⁶

Within the realm of modern Chinese art history, attempts at tracing the origins of art exhibitions in China have been made by scholars such as forerunner Takeyoshi Tsuruta, who drew attention to the role played by art exhibitions in the development of modern Chinese art history.⁷ In his article ‘Nationwide Art

⁶ Liu, *Translingual Practice*, p. 284.

⁷ Takeyoshi Tsuruta 鶴田武良, 民国期における全国規模の美術展覧会—近百年來中国繪画史研究—, ‘Nationwide Art Exhibitions During the Republican Period: A Study of the History of Chinese Painting in the Past One Hundred Years’, *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, ‘Art Research’, 349 (1991), pp. 18–42; also see Edwin Lai 黎健強 and Jack Lee 李世莊, ‘1900 - 1930 nian Xianggang shijue yishu huodong nianbiao’ 1900 - 1930 年香港視覺藝術活動年表, ‘The Chronology of Visual Art Events in Hong Kong, 1900 - 1930’, *Zuoyou* 左右, ‘Besides’, 1 (1997), pp. 135 - 230;

Exhibitions During the Republican Period: A Study of the History of Chinese Painting in the Past One Hundred Years', Tsuruta provides detailed information on art exhibitions held during the Republican period, particularly focusing on the First National Art Exhibition. He traces the origins of art exhibitions in modern China, identifying the Exhibition of Suzhou Education Academy's Achievements (*Suzhou jiaoyuhui xuetang chengji zhan*, 蘇州教育會學堂成績展) of 1909 as the first art exhibition held in modern China. However, I would argue that as an inextricable thread in the fabric of society, the art exhibitions and their development should not be viewed separately from their social context. In other words, the appropriation and implications of the 'exhibition' concept within the art world should not be viewed separately from the contemporaneous social context. In the early twentieth century, the notions of exhibition and exposition outside the art world had already become dominant in Chinese society, suggesting that by that time, exhibition culture in general had already been adopted and had deeply penetrated various social sectors, classes, and fields. Thus, the expansion of art exhibitions in the early twentieth century could be regarded as one of the revelations of this newly-adopted social practice.

Having been introduced to China via industrial exhibitions from Europe, America, and Japan, the concept of exhibition was quickly appropriated by the art world and used as an important tool for individual artists or artistic groups to declare their ideological positions and gain recognition. Originating in France with an explicit central aim of selling products, the practice of the industrial exposition helped to mark and expand the golden period of industrialization of

Wang Zheng 王震 ed. , *1900 - 2000 Shanghai meishu nianbiao* 1900 - 2000 上海美術年表, 'The Chronology of Art in Shanghai, 1900 - 2000', (Shanghai, 2005).

the Western worlds. In 1851, the launch of London's Crystal Palace Exhibition (The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations) further intensified the impact of expositions, expanding their influence from a national to an international level, and the number of international expositions increased notably afterwards.⁸ The Great Exhibition displayed not only works of industry, but also works of art. It gathered works from all over the world and provided specific spaces and times for each nation to construct its identity through the display of goods and products. Despite her vulnerable situation at the time, the Qing government participated in numerous expositions held in Europe.⁹ By the end of the Qing dynasty, 'exposition fever' (*Saihui re*, 賽會熱) had swept over China,¹⁰ and news about expositions (*Saihui*, 賽會) was widely covered by local newspapers, sparking discussions of their cultural and financial impacts on China.¹¹ From Shanghai, *Shibao* 時報 even sent correspondents to St. Louis to report on the Universal Exposition there,¹² and among its long essays, *Shenbao* included certain relevant discussions, for instance the 'Discussion of the Advantages of Holding Expositions to Local Economies' (*Lun bolanhui youyi yu difang shengyi*, 論博覽會有益於地方生意),¹³ 'Same Name but Different Content: Discussion of the Differences between Chinese and Western Expositions' (*Lun Zhongxi saikuai mingtong er shiyi*, 論中西賽會名同而實

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the Great Exhibition, see Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Heaven, 1999).

⁹ Wang, 'Chengxian Zhongguo: wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo bolanhui zhi yanjiu'.

¹⁰ Historian Ma Min has termed the enthusiasm for supporting and participating in the activities of expositions in the late Qing dynasty as 'exposition fever', see Gerth, *China Made*, p. 223.

¹¹ The event was called an 'exhibition' in Britain, an 'exposition' in France and a 'world fair' in America. In order to distinguish the differences in translation, I will use 'exposition' to refer to the translation of *saihui* and 'exhibition' to refer to *zhanlanhui*

¹² Wang, 'Chengxian Zhongguo: wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo bolanhui zhi yanjiu', p. 475. For thorough research on the newspaper *Shibao*, see Judge, *Print and Politics*.

¹³ 'Lun bolanhui youyi yu difang shengyi' 論博覽會有益於地方生意, 'Discussion of the Advantages of Holding Expositions to Local Economies', *Shenbao*, 1880.1.8 (1)

異),¹⁴ and ‘Discussion of the Benefits of Organising Expositions in China’ (*Lun Zhongguo kaishe bolanhui zhi yi*, 論中國開設博覽會之益).¹⁵ With regards to these public discussions, expositions had evidently become one of the hottest issues of the day, provoking intense public concern and debate. Also, the core enterprise of expositions—gathering ‘genius goods and special products’—was described as a beneficial activity that would eventually boost local economies and commerce, as it had done in European countries and Japan.

In 1910, the first attempt to hold a local industrial exposition was made with the Nanyang Industrial Exposition (*Nanyang quanye hai*, 南洋勸業會, or South Seas Exhibition) held in Nanjing. Sponsored by the Chinese government and supported by the newly-established Chambers of Commerce, the exposition displayed products from all over the nation and also imitated the western practice of setting up an art pavilion for displaying handicrafts and paintings.¹⁶ However, as Li Yuyi states, ‘most of the exhibits in the art pavilion were handicrafts, with only a small amount of fine art on display.’¹⁷ In this exposition, artists taking part included the pioneer of the Western-style Painting Movement (*Yanghua yundong*, 洋畫運動) Yan Wenliang 顏文樑 (1893–1988) and the first-generation educator of locally-trained art, Jiang Danshu. Displays in the exposition were placed into one of four categories: contemporary calligraphy-and-paintings, carved lacquers, embroidery, and oil paintings from

¹⁴ ‘Lun Zhongxi saihui mingtong er shiyi’ 論中西賽會名同而實異, ‘Same Name but Different Content: Discussion of the Differences between Chinese and Western Expositions’, *Shenbao*, 1886.6.9 (1).

¹⁵ ‘Lun Zhongguo kaishe bolanhui zhi yi’ 論中國開設博覽會之益, ‘Discussion of the Benefits of Organising Expositions in China’, *Shenbao*, 1886.7.10 (1).

¹⁶ Artists participating were mainly oil painters, including Yan Wenliang and Jiang Danshu. Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China*, p. 32-3.

¹⁷ Li Yuyi, ‘Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui canguan ji yi’, p. 3.

Guangdong.¹⁸ Despite the fact that the goal of this exposition was to promote commerce instead of art, it did eventually inspire the organisation of local and regional competitions and stimulate the establishment of subsequent exhibitions in the following decades.

According to the standard interpretation of modern art history, art exhibitions were first introduced to China by overseas-trained artists returning to the Chinese art world, particularly those who continued to practise western art forms. Mayching Kao has related the rise of the exhibition to the Qing government's advocacy of industrial and educational reformation,¹⁹ demonstrating that exhibitions were adopted by westernised artists as a tool for promoting new art and new ideas.²⁰ Michael Sullivan goes further to link the new *xihua* art movement to the rise of exhibitions.²¹ However, in looking at the issue from a broader perspective, one should not be surprised to find that exhibiting culture had in fact already been adopted in the commercial world and had then been introduced to the cultural world by cultural celebrities and merchants—laying a substantial foundation for the development of art exhibitions in the following decades, well before the first wave of returning artists arrived in the 1920s. Interestingly, the first local exhibition of art objects held in Shanghai was in fact organised by a group of traditional social elites and merchants. In 1908, a permanent exhibition space devoted especially to the display of goods was established by prominent Shanghai celebrities from both the cultural and commercial worlds, including Li Pingshu, Wang Yiting, Di Pingzi, and Mao

¹⁸ Kao, 'The Beginning of the Western-style Painting Movement in Relationship to Reforms in Education in Early Twentieth-century China', p. 381.

¹⁹ Kao, 'Xin shidai de tiaozhan', p. 13.

²⁰ Kao, *China's Response to the Western Art*, pp. 130–5, pp. 192–200.

²¹ Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, pp. 58 – 62.

Zijian.²² This combination calls to mind the founding of the Chinese Painting and Calligraphy Research Association, discussed in the previous chapter. Under the leadership of a strong alliance of cultural elites and merchants, the establishment of this permanent exhibition space marked the beginning of the greater project of constructing exhibition complexes in modern China, as well as the rise of exhibiting culture in the Shanghai art world. As reflected not only in its name—the Chinese Product Displaying Institute (*Zhongguo pinwu chenlie suo*, 中國品物陳列所)—but also in the social background of its founders (most of whom were art collectors or dealers), this institution was intentionally founded to operate for commercial purposes by appropriating the exhibition format for the pursuit of monetary profit and the promotion of art as a trade. The commercial purpose of the institute is further evidenced by its location as well as its regulations. Situated within the relatively stable International Concession, the institute was located on the Fourth Avenue (*Simalu*, 四馬路, now Fuzhou Road)—an area known as ‘Culture-and-Education Street’ (*Wenhuaajie*, 文化街), which housed major retail outlets, journal publishers, trade associations, and shops selling traditional literature and antiquarian books²³—and near the commercial district of Nanjing Road. It consisted of eighty exhibition spaces used mainly for displaying the goods of the institute and its tenants. According to the publication ‘The Regulations of the Chinese Product Displaying Institute’ (*Zhongguo pinwu chenliesuo zhangcheng*, 中國品物陳列所章程),²⁴ one can see that the institute’s business included three major components: merchandising, consigning for sale, and consigning for display. The publication states that those

²² ‘*Zhongguo pinwu chenliesuo zhangcheng*’ 中國品物陳列所章程, ‘The Regulations of the Chinese Product Displaying Institute’, *Shenbao*, 1908.7.20 (4/2).

²³ Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, p. 17.

²⁴ ‘*Zhongguo pinwu chenliesuo zhangcheng*’.

products fulfilling the criteria of being “fine” (*jingliang*, 精良) or “special” (*tese*, 特色) from all over the nation were welcome to be displayed at the institute. In the regulations regarding consignment for display, it is of particular note that ‘collectors who are willing to put their collections of paintings, calligraphy, epigraphy, rubbings, and any special and rare objects on public view’ were welcome to make an application to show their precious collections at the institute. Intriguingly, in western expositions, the main criterion for selection was novelty; thus, even works of art were displayed under the communal heading of ‘inventions’.²⁵ However, in the case of the Chinese Product Displaying Institute, such old cultural products were perceived as ‘fine’ and ‘special’, even deserving to be mentioned especially as such in the regulations. The especial emphasis placed on these items implicitly reveals a different valuation of cultural products as well as an indigenous interpretation of Chinese expository exhibits. In China, the commercial value of old paintings and antiques was quite high, so even her neighbour Japan included a certain number of Chinese collectable items in expositions; for instance, in the Nagasaki Exposition of 1887, ancient Chinese antiques, calligraphy, and paintings were included.²⁶ Furthermore, as most of the institute’s founders were members or committee members of the newly-established Southern Shanghai Commerce Association (*Shanghai nan shanghui*, 上海南商會)—as well as prominent antique dealers and collectors, such as Li Pingshu and Wang Yiting—they were willing to borrow the concept of expositions from western models. The new concept was then applied to the local commercial environment, the nature of which was, however, different from

²⁵ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 1988), p. 7.

²⁶ ‘*Ji changqi bolanhui shi* 紀長崎博覽會事’, ‘A Record of the Nagasaki Exposition’, *Shenbao*, 1887.3.31 (1).

the temporary character of foreign expositions in terms of the provision of a permanent exhibiting venue for a long-term business—suggesting that exhibition was regarded as a valuable means of enhancing sales and business.

In January 1909, the Chinese Product Displaying Institute organised ‘The Chinese Epigraphy, Painting and Calligraphy Exposition’ (*Zhongguo jinshi shuhua saihui*, 中國金石書畫賽會) dedicated exclusively to old paintings, calligraphy, and epigraphy.²⁷ This may be the first large-scale exhibition organised by Chinese in modern Shanghai for displaying of ‘works of art’. As was the practice in western expositions, a regulation calling for exhibits was drafted and published by a committee, which included most of the prominent private collectors and artists of the day, such as Lu Hui, Ha Shaofu, Ni Tian, Di Pingzi, and Sasaki.²⁸ Among these figures, it is worth noting that Sasaki was an experienced exhibition organiser who had coordinated three previous exhibitions of old Chinese paintings and calligraphy before participating in this exposition.²⁹ Following the practice of western expositions, procedures for organising the exposition included assembling, selecting, displaying, and returning the exhibits. On 22nd February, the eight-day-long exposition was launched at the Yu Garden (*Yuyuan*, 愚園) with an admission fee of 30 cents. The exposition received full support from private collectors and achieved great success, with an extension even being requested in order to satisfy public demand. The newspaper *Shibao* printed consecutive reports on the event, spanning from 22nd to 28th February.³⁰ Despite the fact that the exhibits in this exposition were ancient Chinese paintings

²⁷ ‘Zhongguo jinshi shuhua saihui zhangcheng’ 中國金石書畫賽會章程, ‘Regulations of The Chinese Epigraphy, Painting and Calligraphy Exposition’, *Shenbao*, 1909.2.17 (1/1).

²⁸ The regulation was published in both the *Shenbao* and *Shibao*.

²⁹ Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 411.

³⁰ Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 411.

and calligraphy, this was the first attempt to display traditional visual artistic forms in the public sector, opening up a new channel for the distribution of works of art and reinforcing the inextricable linkages between exhibition, commerce, and art.

Group Exhibitions

The enthusiasm for expositions, coupled with the return of overseas-trained artists who had experienced the impact of art exhibitions in Europe and Japan, resulted in a catalytic effect on the development of Chinese art exhibitions in the second decade of the twentieth century. During the 1910s, exhibitions of contemporary art organised by local artists (particularly those who had obtained art training overseas) began to be seen. However, it was only in late 1919 that the most influential and remarkable exhibition of contemporary artists was launched by a newly-established art society, the Heavenly Horse Association. Founded by six artists who had close connections to the Shanghai College of Fine Arts—including Jiang Xiaojian 江小鶴 (1894–1939), Ding Song 丁悚 (1891–1969), Liu Yanong 劉亞農 (dates unknown),³¹ Zhang Chenbo 張辰泊 (1893–1949), Yang Qingqing and Chen Xiaojiang 陳曉江 (?–1925)³²—the Heavenly Horse Association was established in September 1919.³³ Despite the fact that its founders were mainly artists practicing new forms of art, the association's inaugural exhibition comprised a wide variety of exhibits on the subject of various artistic forms, including 'national essence painting' (*guocui hua*, 國粹畫), 'western-style painting' (*xiyang hua*, 西洋畫), 'synthesised

³¹ Biography is not known.

³² Biography is not known.

³³ 'Tianma hui faqi' 天馬會發起, 'The Establishment of the Heavenly Horse Association', *Shenbao*, 1919.9.29 (10). For a detailed discussion of the association, see Andrews, 'The Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianmahui*) and Chinese Landscape Painting'.

painting' (*zhezong hua*, 折衷畫) and 'decorative painting' (*tu'an hua*, 圖案畫). Call for submitting exhibits was published in the *Shenbao* under a self-explanatory heading, 'Announcement of Painting Exhibitions' (*Zhanlanhui de xiansheng*, 繪畫展覽會的先聲).³⁴ (figure 3.1) With regard to practical aspects of the event, the *Tianmahui* exhibition set up a board of judges responsible for the selection of exhibits, a board which included celebrated figures from the art world and acclaimed collectors, such as the venerable painter Wu Changshuo and the cultural figure Li Pingshu; Wang Yiting, Fei Longding 費龍丁 (1880–1937) and Hua Ziwei 華子唯 (dates unknown)³⁵ in the category of *guohua*; and Liu Haisu, Jiang Yinnian 江穎年 (dates unknown),³⁶ and Ding Muqin 丁慕琴 (dates unknown)³⁷ for 'western-style painting' (*xihua*, 西畫). The board members invited to choose exhibits for the *guohua* category were well-known social celebrities; obviously, the choice to include these prestigious and revered figures as jury members was a purposeful act intending to show the exhibition's wide range of coverage, not to mention a clever consideration aimed at promoting the exhibition via their symbolic value. At the time of the exhibition, 'western-style painting' was regarded as a novel artistic form by the general public, for whom it was hard to appreciate on the same level as *guohua* in terms of monetary and cultural value.³⁸ Therefore, the 1919 inaugural Heavenly Horse Association exhibition included a number of works by prominent *guohua* artists, such as Wu Changshuo and the prestigious elderly female *guohua* artist Wu Shujuan 吳淑娟 (1853–1930). The

³⁴ 'Huihua zhanlanhui zhi xiansheng' 繪畫展覽會之先聲, 'Announcement of Painting Exhibitions', *Shenbao*, 1919.12.3 (11).

³⁵ Biography is not known.

³⁶ Biography is not known.

³⁷ Biography is not known.

³⁸ The Shanghai art market was dominated principally by *guohua* during the Republican period. For a detailed discussion on the Shanghai art market, see chapter 4.

participation of two of the renowned 'Three Wus' (*Sanwu* 三吳) (three *guohua* artists of the same surname who were allegedly the most popular Chinese artists in Japan at the time) certainly enhanced the appeal of the exhibition and helped to ensure its success.³⁹

The exhibition was staged from the 20th to the 25th of December, 1919 at the Jiangsu Primary Education Building and was subsequently extended until the 29th.⁴⁰ During the ten-day exhibition, the *Shenbao* newspaper gave the exhibition wide coverage via reports and reviews, including an article penned by the renowned reformist Lingnan School painter Gao Jianfu, entitled 'Gao Jianfu's Comments on the Exhibition of the Heavenly Horse Association' (*Gao Jianfu duiyu Tianmahui zhi pingyu*, 高劍父對於天馬會之評語).⁴¹ Judging from the news coverage, the exhibition was a success, laying a strong foundation for the development of a flourishing exhibiting culture in the more complex decades to follow.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the number of art exhibitions increased rapidly, and reached a record high in the early 1930s. According to a survey of art exhibitions, (see Appendix 4), the figures (although not fully comprehensive in that they include only those exhibitions which were reported or advertised in the *Shenbao*) provide some meaningful and significant insights into the development

³⁹ Zheng Yimei 鄭逸梅, 'Sanwei Wuxing huajia' 三位吳姓藝術家, 'Three Artists Surnamed Wu', in *Sanshi nian lai zhi Shanghai* 三十年來之上海, 'Shanghai in the Past Three Decades', (Shanghai, 1984), pp. 55 - 7.

⁴⁰ For a thorough discussion of the Heavenly Horse Association's exhibitions, see Andrews, 'The Heavenly Horse Society (*Tianmahui*) and Chinese Landscape Painting'.

⁴¹ Gao Jianfu 高劍父, 'Gao Jianfu duiyu Tianmahui zhi pingyu' 高劍父對於天馬會之評語, 'Gao Jianfu's Comments on the Exhibition of Heavenly Horse Association', *Shenbao*, 1919.12.16(11).

of the Shanghai art world under the newly fashionable exhibition culture that had been appropriated from abroad. Firstly, exhibitions became a new form of entertainment or social activity in daily life; secondly, a new consumer culture of purchasing works of art developed through the medium of exhibitions; and thirdly, artists and artistic groups used exhibitions as channels for pursuing a range of different interests. The fact that most of the exhibitions held in Republican Shanghai were in fact private enterprises not supported by the state suggests three main points: that the art world was able to maintain its autonomy from the intervention of the state; that the exhibits selected to some extent represented the predominant aesthetic values of the art world; and that exhibitions provided business opportunities that were able to finance the art world independently.

During the early twentieth century, when the culture of exhibitions first evolved and intermingled with indigenous values and practices, a new exhibitionary nexus with Chinese characteristics was developed. Perhaps surprisingly, this newly-introduced artistic practice was immediately adopted by the *guohua* sub-field of the art world, and the number of *guohua* exhibitions increased rapidly to the point where the practice became predominant even in Shanghai. In the 1930s, the number of exhibitions held reached its peak, and the format of exhibition became schematised to correspond with the needs of the market: the duration of exhibitions was generally between three to seven days, and the number of exhibits was generally in the range from one hundred and two hundred for solo exhibitions and over two hundred for group exhibitions. (figure 3.2 and figure 3.3) These facts strongly suggest that the process of art production had been inevitably speeded up by the impact of exhibitions. Also, in order to fulfil visitors' desires for novelty, each artist endeavoured to produce

works of art with a wide range of variation and grand size, (figure 3.4) and struggled to establish a discernable personal style which would allow his or her works to stand out in group shows. Moreover, these flourishing exhibition activities also gave birth to new work opportunities within the art world, such as employment for art critics, exhibition agents, and exhibition co-ordinators. In order to facilitate the rapid growth of exhibition culture, new permanent venues were provided to accommodate the demand, including the 'Lili Art and Literature Company' (*Lili wenyi gongsi*, 利利文藝公司) at Qipan Street on Sijing Road; the 'Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai' (*Ningbo tongxianghui*, 寧波同鄉會) on Xizang Road (figure 3.5); The New World Hotel; the 'Hu Society' or Huzhou Sojourners Association (*Hushe*, 湖社, also known as the *Huzhou liuhu tongxianghui*, 湖州旅滬同鄉會) at the intersection of Guizhou Road and Beijing Road; and the 'Daxin Company' (*Daxin gongsi*, 大新公司) on Nanjing Road (figure 3.6). Located mainly in the International Concession near or in the commercially prosperous Nanjing Road (where Chinese commercial culture was invented and developed), (figure 3.7) these exhibition spaces became ephemeral showcases for the art trade, and in so doing developed a new system for the distribution of works of art.⁴²

In an article entitled 'A Retrospective of the Chinese Art Scene in the Seventeenth Year of the Republic of China' (*Shiqi nian Zhongguo huatan zhi huigu*, 十七年中國畫壇之回顧) published in the 'Art World' (*Yishujie*, 藝術界) column of the newspaper *Shenbao*, the editor commissioned the otherwise unrecorded writer Jiang Pingwu 蔣平五 (dates unknown) to write a

⁴² For the symbolic meaning of Nanjing Road in modern China, see Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road*.

retrospective essay.⁴³ It is intriguing that as the central element of his review of the art scene of China in 1928, Jiang principally chronicles a list of exhibition reviews. He begins with the First National Art Exhibition, which was to be held a few months after the publication of his article, and follows with a discussion of the records of ‘western-style painting’ exhibitions, including the exhibitions held by art colleges over the period. After that, under the subtitle ‘The Return to Antiquity Movement’ (*Fugu yundong*, 復古運動), Jiang claims that in the Exhibition of the Shanghai Art Association (*Shanghai yishu xiehui zhanlanhui*, 上海藝術協會展覽會), the category of *guohua* was also included, a move which aroused some doubts among members of the society. He points out that the association most likely had its reasons for making this decision. However, what he claims to remember is that after this association’s exhibition, *guohua* exhibitions bloomed as rapidly as mushrooms. According to his memories, the exhibitions held in the relatively brief period between October and December of 1928 were as follows: The Exhibition of the Jiyun Painting Association (*Jiyun huahui zhanlanhui*, 集雲畫會展覽會), held in Nanjing; the First Exhibition of the Qiuying Association (*Qiuyinghui diyici zhanlanhui*, 秋英會第一次展覽會), held at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai and at the instigation of Xie Gongzhan; ‘Liu Haisu’s Exhibition on Going Abroad’ (*Liu Haisu quguo zhanlanhui*, 劉海粟去國展覽會), held at the same venue; the ‘First Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Association of China’ (*Zhongguo shuhuahui diyijie zhanlanhui*, 中國書畫會第一屆展覽會), also held at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai; ‘The Two Yus, One Zhang and One Wang *Guohua* Exhibition’ (*Er Yu Zhang Wang guohua zhanlanhui*, 二俞張王國畫展覽

⁴³ Jiang Pingwu 蔣平五, ‘Shiqi nian Zhongguo huatan zhi huigu’ 十七年中國畫壇之回顧, ‘A Retrospective of the Chinese Art Scene in the Seventeenth Year of the Republic of China’, *Shenbao*, 1929.1.25 (5).

會), (figure 3.8) promoted by Yu Jifan 俞寄凡(1891–1968), Yu Jianhua, Zhang Shanzi, and Wang Taomin 王陶民 (1894–1940); and the ‘Friends of the Cold Season First Calligraphy and Painting Exhibition’ (*Hanzhiyou di yi jie shuhua zhanlanhui*, 寒之友第一屆書畫展覽會), (figure 3.9) promoted by Jing Hengyi, Chen Shuren, and He Xiangning. The popularity of the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai as a venue is seen in the last five exhibitions, all having taken place there. By focusing only on exhibitions, Jiang’s article reflects the fact that ‘art exhibitions’ had already gained a dominant position in the art world and that they played a crucial role in the movement for the revival of *guohua*, just as the Republican historian Hu Huaichen observed in his essay on the *Guohua* Resurrection Movement.⁴⁴ This is true even to the extent that a review essay such as Jiang’s regarded exhibitions as the most important representative event in the art scene at the time.

Evidence for the predominant influence of exhibitions on the art world can be further seen in art reviews published in the *Shenbao*. In the late 1920s, an art review on a joint exhibition of four *guohua* artists described the number of art exhibitions held in Shanghai as ‘piling up one after one to the extent that visitors are not able to cover all of them’.⁴⁵ Also, a review of the *guohua* exhibition of the Xinhua College of Art states, ‘recent years in Shanghai could be claimed as the blooming era of art; the city has been inundated with painting exhibitions that have provided much pleasurable entertainment for the public. Although due to the devastating effect of wars, the number of art exhibitions held had dropped

⁴⁴ Hu, ‘Shanghai xueyi gaiyao san’.

⁴⁵ Zuyi 祖貽, ‘Er Yu Zhang Wang guohua zhanlanhui xiaozhi’ 二俞張王國畫展覽會小誌, ‘A Brief Introduction to the *Guohua* Exhibition of Two Yus, Zhang and Wang’, *Shenbao*, 1929.11.26 (19).

slightly, Chen Shuren's painting exhibition began a revival, which has triggered artists to hold exhibitions such as the exhibition of the Xinhua College of Art.⁴⁶ Evidently, art exhibitions received great popularity and were adopted by the *guohua* sub-field in Shanghai as a means for gaining recognition from the public during the late 1920s and early 1930s.

The appropriation of the format of art exhibitions in the *guohua* sub-field was further intensified after the remarkable First National Art Exhibition. In 1929, just after the re-establishment of a relatively centralised political authority in 1927–28, this most remarkable and influential of art exhibitions was staged in Shanghai. As John Clark has maintained, the newly-established national art exhibitions in Asia 'provide[d] new sites for the discourse of works as much as new codes for the authentication of those works and the artists who made them. The very creation of such sites for authentication opens the discourse of interpretation in that it provides more public and less personalized standards for the judgement of works. But it also closes it since such institutionalization is simultaneously the concentration of the power to make such judgements determinative for a society in fewer hands.'⁴⁷ The First National Art Exhibition became an event that opened the discourse of interpretation, drawing public attention to and initiating public discussions of art. Attracting enormous news coverage as one of the most important national artistic events in modern China, the exhibition was both a result and a reflection of the collaboration between the art world and the state, proclaiming and offering a legitimized direction for the

⁴⁶ Zhou Ding 周鼎, 'Du Xinhua yizhuan jiaoshou zhi guohua hou' 讀新華藝專教授之國畫後, 'After Viewing the *Guohua* by the Professors of the Xinhua College of Art', *Minbao* 民報, 1932.10.10 (3,2).

⁴⁷ John Clark, 'Introduction', John Clark ed., *Modernity in Asian Art* (Broadway, 1993), pp. 1 – 17 (p. 11).

artistic reform of new China through the format of exhibition.⁴⁸ Organised by various members of the artistic field—including avant-garde artists, *guohua* artists, cultural celebrities, etc., and supported politically and financially by the Nanjing Government⁴⁹—the exhibition was in fact organised mainly by the members of the Shanghai art world including prestigious revered figures such as Wang Yiting, Di Pingzi, Ye Gongchuo, Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885–1968), and young artists including Liu Haisu, Jiang Xiaojian, Xu Zhimo, Wang Jiyuan, Chen Xiaodie, Wu Hufan, Zhu Yingpeng 朱應鵬 (1895 – ?), and Li Zuhan.⁵⁰

Inspired by the Paris Salon and the Japanese Imperial Exhibition, the idea of organising a national art exhibition was first proposed by the Minister of Education, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868 – 1940)⁵¹ and Liu Haisu in 1922.⁵² Aimed at promoting China's national culture through works of art, the purpose of the exhibition was described as reclaiming China's central position in the Asian

⁴⁸ The minutes of the committee of the First National Art Exhibition were posted in the education column of the *Shenbao* from January till April 1929.

⁴⁹ The budget of the exhibition was twenty thousand dollars but the Ministry of Education could fund only one thousands dollars as the report indicated in the *Shenbao*. The remaining expenses are believed to have been sponsored by private donors. 'Quanguo meishu zhanlanhui zhi liang huiyi' 全國美術展覽會之兩個會議, 'Two Meetings of The National Art Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1929.4.9 (11)

⁵⁰ For a full list of committee members, see 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui zuzhi dagang' 教育部全國美術展覽會組織大綱, 'The Organisational Structure of the National Art Exhibition by the Ministry of Education', *Shenbao*, 1929.1.11 (11); 'Quanguo meishu zhanlanhui zongwuhui chengli' 全國美術展覽會總務會成立, 'The General Affairs Department of the National Art Exhibition Was Established', *Shenbao*, 1929.1.17 (12).

⁵¹ For Cai's philosophy on art education, see William J. Duiker, *T'sai Yuan-p'ei: Educator of Modern China* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 15 – 52. For the role of Cai Yuanpei in the development of art education in modern China, see Wan Qingli, 'Cai Yuanpei he Zhongguo jindai meishu jiaoyu' 蔡元培和中國近代美術教育, 'Cai Yuanpei and Modern Art Education in China', Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu* 二十世紀中國美術教育, 'Twentieth Century Chinese Art Education' (Shanghai, 1999), pp. 1 – 7; Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌, 'Cai Yuanpei yu Shanghai huatan' 蔡元培與上海畫壇, 'Cai Yuanpei and the Shanghai Art World', in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji*, pp. 833 – 53; for the relationship between Cai Yuanpei and the Shanghai Art School, see Zheng, 'Local Response to the National Ideal: Aesthetic Education in the Shanghai Art School (1913 – 1937)', pp. 29 – 56.

⁵² 'Chuangshe minguo meishu zhanlanhui jianyi' 創設民國美術展覽會建議, 'A Proposal for Establishing a Republican Art Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1922.6.16 (15).

art world from Japan. In a proposal published in the *Shenbao*, the committee points out that Chinese art emphasised subjectivity, which coincidentally echoed the concepts advocated by modern Western art. Seeing art as the revelation of national character, they asserted that organising a national art exhibition, in the spirit of the French Salon, thus not only would elevate the general public's level of art appreciation, but also would provide an opportunity for foreign countries to understand the accomplishments of Chinese art.⁵³ Obviously, these instigators regarded a national art exhibition as a bold move with in the cultural competition against China's political rival, Japan for the leading position in Oriental art. However, due to the instability of the period, it was not until 1928 (after a stable state government was formed) that the idea of organising a national art exhibition was actually put into practice.

In 1929, a committee for the national art exhibition was formed, and the objective of the exhibition was drawn up and published, stating that the mission of the exhibition was to 'gather and display works of art from all over the nation, arouse people's interest in art, and enhance the development of art as a profession.'⁵⁴ The exhibition was first planned to be housed in Beijing, but due to the lack of suitable exhibition space, the committee eventually decided to stage the event in Shanghai.⁵⁵ The exhibition was housed at the New Puyu Benevolent Association (*Xin Puyutang*, 新普育堂) (figure 3.10), a venue located on National Products Road (*Guohuolu*, 國貨路) in the Chinese City of Shanghai,

⁵³ 'Chuangshe minguo meishu zhanlanhui jianyi', *Shenbao*, 1922.6.13(15).

⁵⁴ 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui zuzhi dagang', *Shenbao*, 1929.1.11(11).

⁵⁵ A news report states that the change of location was due to Shanghai's having a large venue which was able to accommodate the grand scale of the exhibition, not to mention its very good lighting facilities. See 'Jiaoyubu meishu zhanlan jianyi Wu juxing' 教部美術展覽將移滬舉行, 'The National Art Exhibition by the Ministry of Education will be Staged in Shanghai', *Shenbao*, 1928.12.8 (12)

where the Ministry of Industry and Commerce's Chinese National Products Exhibition (*Gongshangbu Zhonghua guohuo zhanlan*, 工商部中華國貨展覽) had just closed. Beginning on the 1st of November 1928, the National Product Exhibition conveyed through the medium of exhibition its central message of using national products instead of choosing superior foreign ones, to show one's patriotism. The exhibition received full support from the government, the Chamber of Commerce and the general public. Within two months, millions of visitors had strolled through the exhibition. Therefore, as it followed the National Products Exhibition, visitors would inevitably associate the First National Art Exhibition with the nationalistic sentiments of the National Product Campaign—particularly as one of the art exhibition's core organisers, Cai Yuanpei, had just delivered a speech at the opening ceremony of the National Product Exhibition expressing his desire to rectify the problem of how to distinguish and recognise national products by displaying national products in the exhibition.⁵⁶ Therefore, the process of selecting exhibits for the First National Art Exhibition became an exercise in determining what notable visual traits modern national Chinese art should possess, and the jury, including Chen Shuren, He Xianni, Wu Hufan, Wang Jiyuan, Di Pingzi, Li Zuhan, Chen Xiaodie, Li Yishi, Qian Shoutie, Jiang Xiaojian, and Ye Gongchuo, was collectively responsible for carrying out this process.

The exhibition was widely covered in the local media, among with a very detailed reported penned by Li Yuyi, offering an informative and vivid description of the event.⁵⁷ According to Li, the exhibition venue had been

⁵⁶ Gerth, *China Made*, p. 252.

⁵⁷ Li Yuyi offers a vivid description of the exhibition space. See Li, 'Jiaoyubu quangguo meishu zhanlanhui canguan ji yi', pp. 1-3

newly renovated after the National Product Exhibition and was decorated with the exhibition's flag (Figure 1). In an attempt to combine art with pleasure and business, the comprehensive scope of the exhibition comprised three sections, namely: exhibition, music, and sales.⁵⁸ The music section was located in the central grand hall, which was spacious enough to accommodate four thousand visitors and also served as the venue for the performance of drama during the opening ceremony, and throughout the exhibition. The sales section was located downstairs in both the west and east wings of the venue, and participants included the Commercial Press, the Chinese Press, the Shenzhou guoguang she, and numerous antiques shops and art dealers. Books and publications pertaining to art—for instance, exhibition catalogues, postcards, and *Meizhan* (the art journal dedicated to the First National Art Exhibition)—were also sold there.

Li then recorded in detail the number of exhibits and how they were laid out. The exhibition section was located on the second and third floors of both the west and east wings and was divided into seven categories:

1. Painting and Calligraphy: all together, one thousand two hundred and thirty-one pieces were displayed in nine rooms. Small pieces were displayed in eight small rooms, and large pieces were displayed in the grand hall on the second floor.
2. Epigraphy: all together, seventy-five pieces.
3. Western Painting: all together, three hundred and fifty-four pieces were

⁵⁸ Apart from selling publishing products, parts of the exhibits were also for sale. Some exhibits were priced. For a complete list of prices, see '1929 nian jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui chupin biao' 1929 年教育部全國美術展覽會出品標價, 'The Marked Prices of the Exhibits of the First National Art Exhibition 1929', in Wang, *Jinxiandai jingshi shuhua jia runli*, pp. 358 - 62.

displayed in four rooms.

4. Sculpture: all together, fifty-seven pieces.

5. Architecture: all together, thirty-four pieces.

6. Handicrafts: all together, two hundred and eighty pieces.

7. Artistic Photographs: all together, two hundred and twenty-seven pieces.

Also, exhibits included works of art from Japanese participants, which were displayed in two rooms. Selected works by deceased artists were displayed in two other rooms, while ancient paintings were displayed for reference in one room and works by foreign artists currently resident in China (all together seventy pieces) were displayed alongside Western Paintings. The exhibits numbered over three thousand, and five hundred and forty-nine artists participated in the event. Also, the invited artists numbered three hundred and forty-two and provided approximately one thousand and three hundred exhibits between them.⁵⁹

Looking at the number of exhibits selected, the proportion of *guohua* to western painting is self-evident, showing explicitly that *guohua* was perceived by both the jury and the government as modern China's representative and authentic art form, legitimising the traditional art forms that had been criticised harshly in the early twentieth century by reformers. Interestingly, the exhibition also included a very large number of works by Japanese artists, and even a Japanese diplomat from the embassy was invited to deliver a speech during the opening ceremony.⁶⁰ This act seems to contradict the National Product Campaign, which

⁵⁹ Li, 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui cangan ji yi', pp. 4-5.

⁶⁰ 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meizhanhui zuori kaimu' 教育部全國美展會昨日開幕, 'The National Art Exhibition Presented by the Ministry of Education Was Opened Yesterday', *Shenbao*, 1929.4.11

regarded Japan as one of China's rivals in the commercial war. However, considering the close relationship between the Japanese and Chinese art worlds, and the fact that the National Product Campaign had never denied that Japan was a model for China to follow,⁶¹ the inclusion of Japanese and foreigners' works of art demonstrates openness and, to some extent, the aspiration to elevate Chinese art to an international level.

The grand opening of the exhibition took place on the 10th of April, and over one thousand guests including politicians, cultural celebrities, Chinese artists, collectors, and foreign artists and diplomats were in attendance. The opening speeches for the event to a certain degree reveal the central messages that the Chinese Government hoped to convey through the exhibition. In his speech, the vice director of the Ministry of Education, Ma Xulun 馬敘倫 (1885–1970), expressed the government's desire to revive national art, and the expectation that the exhibition might 'promote and develop a kind of universal art ... On the one hand to restore and revive Chinese art, and on the other hand to assist and promote a new kind of education in China'.⁶² Lasting for twenty-two days, the exhibition experienced great success, being visited by approximately one hundred thousand visitors and having an overwhelming impact, particularly on the host city, Shanghai. In the closing ceremony, representatives from the art world,

(11).

⁶¹ Gerth, *China Made*, p. 252. For discussions on the relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese art world, see Julia F. Andrews and Shen Kuiyi, 'The Japanese Impact on the Republican Art World: the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field', *Twentieth-Century China*, vol. 32 no. 1 (November, 2006), pp. 4–35; Wong, *Parting the Mist*.

⁶² It was generally believed that Chinese art had declined since the Qing dynasty. See Lang Shaojun 郎少君, 'Huashi yanjiu — 20 shiji de Zhongguohua yanjiu' 畫史研究—20世紀的中國畫研究, 'A Study of Art History: A Study of the 20th Century Chinese Painting', in Lang Shaojun 郎少君, *Shouhu yu tuojin— ershi shiji Zhongguohua tancong* 守護與拓進—二十世紀中國畫談叢, 'Protect and Progress: Essays on Twentieth Century Chinese Painting', (Beijing, 2001), pp. 140–1. For the complete opening speech of Ma see, 'Jiaoyubu quanguo meizhanhui zuori kaimu'.

including Ye Gongchuo and Xu Zhimo, delivered speeches in which they unabashedly urged the government to invest more resources and make a commitment to promote art—which, as they argued, had already proven itself to be a powerful tool for regaining China’s fame and position on the world stage.⁶³ The exhibition closed on the 2nd of May, but its printed materials continued to circulate all over the nation, even outside China, perpetuating the exposition’s impact.⁶⁴

After the First National Art Exhibition, the exhibition format was further adopted in the Shanghai art world, particularly by *guohua* artists, and the number of exhibitions grew. Local coverage of current exhibitions in *Shenbao* increased significantly. Advertisements, news, critiques, and reviews of local exhibitions became regular features in the newspaper, showing that visiting exhibitions had become a common daily activity for the general public.⁶⁵ The fact that exhibition news was published mainly in the supplement to the *Shenbao* suggests that art exhibitions were perceived as a kind of entertainment. As a collective activity, exhibitions appear to have been mainly employed by artistic groups and art colleges for the pursuit of various common goals, for instance, charitable purposes, promotion of artistic ideologies, showcasing the educational accomplishments of art institutes, and raising funds for art societies. After the Heavenly Horse Association’s Inaugural Exhibition, it became a common practice for exhibitions to be held as declarations of the establishment of new art societies

⁶³ For the speeches, see ‘Quanguo meizhan bimu dianli jisheng’.

⁶⁴ An overseas edition of the exhibition catalogue was published by the Youzheng Publishing House. *Jiaoyubu quanguo meishu zhanlanhui tekan* 教育部全國美術展覽會特刊, ‘The National Art Exhibition of 1929’ (Shanghai, 1929).

⁶⁵ The *Shenbao* dedicated a specific column ‘Painting-and-Calligraphy News’ (*Shuhua Xun*, 書畫訊) to covering news of the *guohua* sub-field in general, and exhibitions in particular.

and as major annual activities of Shanghai art groups. A closer examination of the most prominent *guohua* society established in the late 1920s, the Bee Society (discussed in the previous chapter), will allow us to understand how exhibitions functioned and how they benefited new artistic groups struggling to take their positions in the art world.

The Bee Society organised five exhibitions within a one-year period in 1930-31. It launched its inaugural exhibition from 11th to 16th March, 1930, shortly after its establishment. Hoping to rectify current artistic trends, committee members of the society were determined to hold an exhibition comprising well-selected, high-quality contemporary and ancient paintings from prominent *guohua* artists and private collectors in Shanghai. The exhibition was housed in the Paris Dancing Hall, an interesting choice of venue near the Tibet Road in a popular urban entertainment area, attracting many trendy and fashionable new urbanites to the exhibition, which included displays that, as the newspaper described, 'are very exquisite and fine'. An admission fee of 40 cents was charged; however, the entry fee could be applied as a 40 cents credit towards the purchase of paintings or a year's subscription to the newly-established *Bee Journal*.⁶⁶ Curiously enough, exhibits were changed every day, and new artists and collectors joined the exhibit list even during the exhibition period. Obviously, this strategy was devised to bring visitors back after their first visit, with the promise that a return visit would present the opportunity to see something new. In addition, a catalogue was published and given free of charge to all visitors. This calculated marketing move certainly attracted visitors who would view the catalogue as a windfall, even though a

⁶⁶ 'Shuhua xun' 書畫訊, 'Painting-and-Calligraphy News', *Shenbao*, 1930.3.11 (+2).

40-cent admission fee would have been paid. Exhibition reviews were written by society members, including He Tianjian and Yanzi (Xi Yanzi, 溪燕子), freelance writers for the *Shenbao* newspaper.⁶⁷ As can be seen from the exhibition's simple but effective marketing strategy, it is safe to say that the society targeted visitors who could afford to pay the admission fee and might even buy something during the visit.

Intriguingly, preparation for the exhibition took only four days. The exhibition's chief co-ordinator, Zheng Wuchang of the Bee Society, described the difficulties encountered during the preparations in an article published in the *Bee Journal* entitled, 'Trials and Lessons' (*Shiyan yu jiaoxun*, 試驗與教訓). He places a good deal of blame on private collectors for their selfishness in not being willing to loan out their collections for the exhibition. He fumes, 'during the preparations for the exhibition, the hardest task was to persuade private collectors to loan out their own collections for public viewing.' However, in response to the society's earnest persuasion, collectors such as Zeng Xi, Zhang Daqian, and Chen Xiaodie showed their generosity in lending their collections to support the exhibition.⁶⁸ As a prestigious *guohua* society, the Bee Society had invited most of the prominent Shanghai *guohua* artists and collectors to participate in the event, including Wang Yiting, Zheng Wuchang, Xu Zhengbai, Zeng Xi, Sun Xueni, Li Zuhan, Zhang Shanzi, and Ha Shaofu—all of whose symbolic values certainly enlivened the exhibition and guaranteed its quality.

⁶⁷ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Mifeng huazhan kaimuji', 蜜蜂畫展開幕記, 'The Opening of the Exhibition of the Bee Society', *Shenbao*, 1930.3.14(19); Yanzi 燕子, 'Mifeng huazhan zhi di er ri' 蜜蜂畫展之第二日, 'The Second Day of the Exhibition of the Bee Society', *Shenbao*, 1930.3.15(21); He, 'Yunzheng Xiawei zhi Mifeng huazhan'.

⁶⁸ Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, 'Shiyan yu jiaoxun' 試驗與教訓, 'Trials and Lessons', *Bee Journal*, 2(1930), p.10.

The exhibition attracted an enormous number of visitors. Zheng Wuchang reports, 'despite the rain, the number of women from all fields and students from different schools visiting the exhibition increased gradually. They not only viewed the exhibits but also bought catalogues, subscribed to the journal, and made sketches and copies based on the exhibits'.⁶⁹ In addition, He Tianjian's exhibition review includes this vivid description: 'today, one hanging scroll in a set of four created by one of our fellow members, Xie Gongzhan, was reserved by Mr. Lin; however, another visitor, Mr. Yang, scrambled to reserve the whole set. The incident is a testament to the value of Xie Gongzhan's works. Another fellow member, Xu Zhengbai's, hanging scroll landscape was bought by the director of the Post Office, Zhaoxun—a westerner, who even requested a meeting with Xu to express his admiration. Zhang Daqian's lotus was bought by Song Lanshu.'⁷⁰ The review gives the impression that the exhibition attracted a huge crowd including foreigners and successfully sold out members' works, and it does so in a way suggesting that these elements were regarded at the time as criteria for judging an exhibition's success. By the end of the inaugural exhibition, the two ambitions of the Bee Society had been realised: fame and profit. Through the exhibition, the newly-established Bee Society had been introduced and promoted to the public, and newly-subscribed readers of its journal had become potential buyers and future exhibition visitors. Secondly, the catalogue, journal, and exhibits had been transformed into economic capital which was thus able to sustain financially not only the Society itself, but individual members as well.

⁶⁹ Zheng, 'Shiyan yu jiaoxun'.

⁷⁰ He, 'Yunzheng Xiawei zhi Mifeng huazhan'.

Shortly after the inaugural exhibition, the Bee Society held another exhibition, dedicating especially to fan paintings. Entitled 'The Bee Society Fan Painting Exhibition', it was launched in early May of 1930 at the Bee Society's clubhouse, comprising hundreds of fan paintings by its members. Owing to the inextricable linkage between commerce and art exhibitions, most of the exhibitions held in the Republican period functioned in some ways as temporary showcases for the promotion of trade; even the First National Art Exhibition published the marked price of each selected exhibit publicly. Therefore, *guohua* artists were wise enough to use exhibitions as temporary showcases restricted to selling the indigenous art form of fan paintings. Compared with hanging scrolls, fan paintings are relatively small and inexpensive and are therefore more easily accommodated, displayed, and sold. Consequently, in the 1920s and 1930s, fan painting exhibitions became fashionable (figure 3.11) and popular during the hot southern summers in Shanghai, where a huge demand for fans arose as a result of their being so practical, disposable, and collectible. (figure 3.12) As a by-product of exhibition culture, fan exhibitions bloomed remarkably to the extent that in the summer of 1930, the *Shenbao* records two fan exhibitions, a number which then increased rapidly to eight in 1931 and ten in 1932. Evidently, it is safe to say that fan exhibitions were considerably profitable and successful, so they began to be organised not only by art societies, but also by commercial companies such as the famous food supplier and restaurant *Guanshengyuan* 冠生園.⁷¹ (figure 3.13) Traditional letter-paper and fan shops such as *Jiuyutang* 九裕堂 also appropriated the new method of boosting its business. It began to sell fans in the summer through exhibitions in 1931,⁷² and

⁷¹ Guansheng Garden Restaurant held a fan painting exhibition at its farm for ten days in the summer of 1935. *Shenbao*, 1935.6.2 (+6).

⁷² 'Jiuyu tang shanmian huazhan shengkuang' 九裕堂扇面畫展盛況, 'The Grand Fan

within three years, the *Jiuyutang* had organised eleven fan exhibitions—the shop even proudly proclaimed itself in an advertisement published in the *Shenbao* as, ‘the precursor of fan exhibitions, which has the finest collections and is the most successful of its kind’.⁷³ Not only is the sheer number of fan exhibitions astonishing, but the number of exhibits in each exhibition is similarly overwhelming. For instance, in the summer of 1935, the prominent *guohua* society the Painting Association of China held a fan exhibition which comprised four thousand exhibits.⁷⁴

As a newly established *guohua* society, the Bee Society also held a profitable fan exhibition at its clubhouse, where it was able to provide an exhibition space more economically, enabling the exhibition to span a twenty day period. The exhibition was open from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., and exhibits were renewed every five days. All the fans were priced. Also, members painted collectively at the exhibition venue as a gimmick to attract visitors.⁷⁵ The exhibition is believed to have been successful, and in the summer of 1931, the Bee Society launched another fan exhibition. The exhibition featured collaborative works by members, and other fans were specially designed by one of the society’s core members, Sun Xueni. As a member of the first generation of art entrepreneurs in modern China who aspired to promote the marriage of commerce and traditional art forms, Sun had set up the Shengsheng Art Company in 1912, and its business included reproducing and publishing famous paintings

Exhibition of the Jiuyu Studio’, *Shenbao*, 1932.6.25 (16).

⁷³ ‘Jiuyu tang di shier jie shan zhan kaimu’ 九裕堂第十二屆扇展開幕, ‘The Opening of the 12th Fan Exhibition of the Jiuyu Studio’, *Shenbao*, 1934.6.30 (15).

⁷⁴ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1935.5.3 (15).

⁷⁵ ‘Mifeng huashe Shanmian zhanlan’ 蜜蜂畫社扇面展覽, ‘The Fan Exhibition of the Bee Society’ *Bee Journal*, 6 (1930).p.43; ‘Shuhua xun’, *Shenbao*, 1930.5.7(+5).

in the format of calendars and fans. Early in 1919, Sun initiated an exhibition of contemporary art for the purpose of selling art products through exhibition,⁷⁶ and he was renowned in Shanghai for his newly invented type of fan.⁷⁷ Therefore, he was responsible for supplying all the blank, unpainted fans for the artists in the Bee Society's Fan Exhibition.⁷⁸ The Bee fan exhibition was a success, so shortly after the exhibition, Sun Xueni invited most of the society's members to launch yet another fan exhibition.⁷⁹ Obviously, a fan exhibition was one of the fastest and easiest ways to earn money through art, so most of the *guohua* artists and societies were eager to take part in them, and new equipment had even been invented for facilitating the process of painting fans.⁸⁰

If summer is the best time to hold a fan exhibition, then autumn, spring and early winter are the most suitable for displaying large size paintings, because during these seasons, the weather is relatively appropriate for outings and activities, and during these months, some important festivals such as the New Year and the Mid-Autumn Festival provide opportunities for gift-giving (and, therefore, gift-buying). As Craig Clunas points out, in the Ming period, 'the seasonal round was punctuated, even for the very poorest, by annual occasions that required a distinctive material and visual manifestation: by special foods to

⁷⁶ 'Meishu zhanlanhui zhengqiu quanguo meishu jianzhang 美術展覽會徵求全國美術簡章', 'Regulation to Call for Exhibit for the National Art Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1919.5.27 (12).

⁷⁷ In May of 1931, shortly after the Bee Society's fan exhibition, Sun initiated another fan exhibition and invited renowned *guohua* artists to participate. He also provided artists with fans he had invented. In an art review written by the critic Xi Yanzi, it is said that Sun was renowned for making fans. Xi Yanzi 奚燕子, 'Shankao' 扇考, 'A Study of Fans', *Shenbao*, 1931.5.25 (12).

⁷⁸ Xi, 'Yiyuan zhenxie'.

⁷⁹ The exhibition was staged at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai for three days, and participating artists included Xie Gongzhan, He Tianjian, Wang Shizi, Zheng Wuchang, and Ma Mengrong etc. Yanzi 燕子, 'Duanxun' 短訊, 'Short News', *Shenbao*, 1931.5.28 (11).

⁸⁰ An advertisement was published in the *Bee Journal*, stating that Ma Mengrong had invented a new panel for facilitating the process of fan painting. Advertisement, *Bee Journal*, 12 (1930), p. 96.

mark the New Year certainly, but special imagery too.’⁸¹ This traditional practice was carried forward into the Republican period. Paintings and calligraphy with festival images and themes were regarded as appropriate seasonal gifts, and in this sense, exhibitions again functioned as a showcase and temporary shop where buyers could browse for gifts. In a departure from the traditional disdain for displaying paintings in shops, clients were now able to choose their preferred paintings based on artists’ price lists provided by agents (a topic which will be dealt with in the next chapter); exhibitions had all goods from the price lists on display, and clients could freely choose their desired paintings after seeing the actual product. In October 1930, the Bee Society held another group exhibition entitled the ‘Autumn Exhibition of the Bee Society’ at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai, one of the most popular exhibition venues during the 1930s. Not long afterwards, in 1931, a societal meeting was held to discuss the content and purpose of the Bee Society’s next exhibition. At the meeting, members agreed to organise an exhibition of collaborative paintings by its members. In addition, in order to elevate both the economic and symbolic value of the exhibits, it was suggested that all of them be inscribed with poems written by members renowned for their song lyrics, including Xie Yucen 謝玉岑 (1899 – 1935) and Xi Yanzi.⁸² On 25th January, only twenty days after this meeting, the exhibition was launched; it ran for only three days and featured collaborative paintings done by twenty of the society’s members, including Zheng Wuchang, He Tianjian, Sun Xueni, and Qian Shoutie. *Mountains After Rain* (figure 3.14) is a collaborative landscape painting by Sun

⁸¹ Craig Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368 – 1644* (London, 2007), p. 28.

⁸² ‘Yishujie xiaoxi’ 藝術界消息, ‘News of the Art World’, *Shenbao* 1931.1.13 (17); ‘Shuhuajia hezuo zhanlanhui’ 書畫家合作展覽會, ‘The Collaborative Exhibition of Painters and Calligraphers’, *Shenbao*, 1931.1.25 (16).

Xueni, Zheng Wuchang, He Tianjian, and Xi Yanzi, and is the best visual record of this event. The exhibition was reported in the *Shenbao* as follows:

A gathering for the relief of cold (*Xiaohan hui*, 消寒會) has been organised by the members at the New World Hotel for days. Everyone has done his best to paint landscapes, figures, bird-and-flowers, insects, and animals, and eventually more than five hundred paintings were done. Among them, the two hundred finest works were selected or display in a three-day exhibition at the hotel.⁸³

Astonishingly, over five hundred works of art were specifically painted for the exhibition within the space of just twenty days. Therefore, as was also the case with *Mountain After Rain*, it is believed that the exhibits were done in a fast and casual manner, one to some extent similar to a mechanised mass production. Despite the quality of the exhibits, the exhibition achieved its success by applying a carefully calculated marketing plan. Collaborative paintings were popular and relatively expensive (as will be discussed in Chapter 4), so an exhibition devoted especially to collaborative paintings by renowned *guohua* artists would certainly have ensured the success of the exhibition as well as the sale of the artworks themselves.

From the content of the Bee Society's exhibitions, it is clear that the purposes and achievements of exhibitions were in fact, to a large degree, monetary gain (a detailed discussion of the economic and practical aspects of exhibitions will be explored in chapter 4). During its existence, the Bee Society

⁸³ 'Shuhujia hezuo zhanlanhui'.

organised altogether five exhibitions, each of which provided an opportunity for its members to present their works of art to the public and at the same time sell their paintings to make a profit. However, in Shanghai, artists—particularly *guohua* artists—possessed membership in not only one art society, but instead took part in several artistic groups simultaneously, allowing their work to be displayed in various art exhibitions presented by different groups. Therefore, becoming a member of an art society would not only help to build up an artist's social network, but would also to some extent increase the number of opportunities for showing their works at assorted exhibitions.

Apart from exhibitions taking place under the names of an assortment of art societies, group exhibitions with other purposes also emerged during this period. As an exhibition's direct result was money and fame, members of the Shanghai art world understood and were able to maximise this utilitarian function for pursuing a range of interests. In September 1931, in response to the devastating floods taking place in various provinces, and demonstrating the artists' sense of social responsibility, numerous group exhibitions were held in Shanghai to raise money in the name of 'relief aid' (*zhuzhen*, 助賑). Whether organised by art groups, charity associations, or private coordinators, professional marketing strategies were applied to raise funds for various causes. For instance, a 'lucky draw' was one of the most popular tactics for promoting these group exhibitions. Since art exhibitions were perceived as social entertainment activities, they would certainly have been expected to offer opportunities not only for appreciating works of art, but also for pleasure and fun. Therefore, the tactic of the lucky draw was borrowed from the retail industry in an attempt to increase sales at art exhibitions. For charity exhibitions such as the exhibition organized by the Jiazi

ju Society 甲子菊社, the lucky draw might provide four hundred lottery tickets priced at five dollars each.⁸⁴ Another charity exhibition organised by Qian Huafu 錢化佛 (1884–1964) claimed to provide four kinds of lottery tickets, ranging from ten to twenty five dollars each.⁸⁵ Initiated by two female artists, Yu Tanhan 虞澹涵 (Dates unknown) and Tang Guanyu 唐冠玉 (Dates unknown),⁸⁶ another charity exhibition announced that it would raffle off works by numerous eminent *guohua* artists, including Wang Yiting, Wu Hufan, Feng Chaoran 馮超然 (1882–1954), Huang Binhong, and Zhang Shanzi. It offered up two hundred lottery tickets, with each priced at fifty dollars.⁸⁷ These exhibitions employed alternative means of raising charity funds, departing from traditional practices that had prevailed in the late Qing dynasty.⁸⁸ The success of these charity exhibitions also suggests that ready-made *guohua* was in great demand in the market, and that *guohua* artists were perceived as celebrities who possessed the charisma necessary to elicit donations. (figure 3.15 and figure 3.16) Over the history of China, the changes in the nature of charity in a way reflect changes in social values. In recent years, for instance, charity shows have shifted their focus more towards famous singers, movies stars, and actors, who have recently become the celebrities who are able to bring forth donations most effectively.

In 1931, as a result of the Japanese invasion of the northern part of China, He Xiangning initiated a grand-scale exhibition entitled the ‘Nation Salvation

⁸⁴ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1931.9.20 (6).

⁸⁵ ‘Qian Huafo fohua zhuzhen hui shengkuang’ 錢化佛佛畫助賑會盛況, ‘The Great Event of the Charitable Exhibition of Buddha Paintings by Qian Huafu’, *Shenbao*, 1931.10.13 (15).

⁸⁶ Biography is not known.

⁸⁷ ‘Gujin shuhua zhuzhenhui ji’ 古今書畫助賑會記, ‘A Record of the Charitable Exhibition of Ancient and Contemporary Painting’, *Shenbao*, 1931.10.8 (13) and 1931.10.14 (11).

⁸⁸ Wue, ‘The Profits of Philanthropy.

Painting and Calligraphy Exhibition' (*Jiuji quonan shuhua zhanlanhui*, 救濟國難書畫展覽會) with the goal of raising money to support the work of those opposing the invasion. Preparation for the exhibition began on 6th December 1931, when a board of committee members was formed including He Xiangning, Ye Gongchuo, Di Pingzi, Zhang Shanzi, Liu Haisu, Qian Shoutie, Li QiuJun, Li Zuhan, He Tianjian, and Sun Xueni. This committee gathered most of the key figures in the Shanghai art world to facilitate the work of assembling exhibits which included both ancient and contemporary paintings from Shanghai, Guangdong, and Beijing. On 12th December, He organized a tea party to call for the donation of works of art. More than fifty artists attended—including the renowned artists Wang Yiting, Zhang Shanzi, He Tianjian, Liu Haisu, and Xie Gongzhan—and over one thousand works of art were committed to the exhibition. Celebrities such as Wang Yiting, He Xiangning, and Zhang Hongwei not only donated works of art but also purchased two hundred vouchers (*xiaoshou juan*, 銷售券) costing six thousand dollars in total. An exhibition manifesto was delivered during the gathering, at which the initiator urged artists to show their patriotism by generously donating their paintings and calligraphy. The exhibition opened on 28th December and lasted for one week, comprising more than seven hundred exhibits. (figure 3.17) Three kinds of lucky draw lottery tickets (thirty dollars, two dollars, and one dollar) were on sale. The thirty-dollar tickets were for ancient painting exhibits, and the rest were for contemporary painting exhibits. Subsequently, the exhibition raised altogether twenty-two thousand dollars. From its preparation to its closing, it spanned a period of only one month, but a considerable amount of money was raised.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Wang, *1900 - 2000 Shanghai meishu nianbiao*, p. 309.

In late 1932, an exhibition committee was formed and the Painting Association of China launched an exhibition dedicated especially to raising money to support the army in northeastern China. An exhibition announcement was published in the *Shenbao*, urging artists to support the exhibition by donating their works of art.⁹⁰ In January 1933, the committee announced its last call through an advertisement published in the *Shenbao* (figure 3.18) under the heading, 'Saving the Nation by Art' (*Yishu jiuguo*, 藝術救國) along with images of brush, frame, and colour palettes together with guns, bullets, and artillery. The advertisement states, 'artists are the representatives of the nation's culture and at the same time bear the responsibility of "Saving the Nation by Art"'. The committee urged artists, celebrities, and debutantes to donate their masterpieces in the media of painting, calligraphy, sculpture, photography, embroidery, western painting, etc.. Also, collectors were implored to donate generously from their beloved collections of antiquities and ancient paintings.⁹¹

Such activity was fully supported by the Shanghai art world. In demonstration of their patriotism and national pride, members of the art world donated generously in response to the slogan 'saving the nation by art'. A huge number of works were donated, and the donors' names were continually published and acknowledged in the *Shenbao*. The exhibition became a public event, proclaiming the social responsibility of modern artists and the role of art in the project of constructing national culture. It opened on 12th February 1933 at the Chen Yingshi Memorial Hall and the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in

⁹⁰ The committee members included Wang Yiting, Sun Xueni, Yu Jifan, and Wang Yacheng. 'Quanguo yizhanhui zhengshi chengli' 全國藝展會正式成立, 'The Committee of the National Art Exhibition Was Officially Established', *Shenbao*, 1932.11.29 (11).

⁹¹ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1933.1.7 (14).

Shanghai, comprising over four thousand exhibits. Although we have no record of how much money in total the exhibition raised, judging from the scale of the exhibition as well as the number of top-ranking artists who participated, it is believed that its achievement certainly surpassed any of its kind from the past.

Various exhibitions for relief aid and two large-scale exhibitions with patriotic themes demonstrate the close relationship between the art world and society. Artists, particularly *guohua* artists, actively participated in social activities, creating a sense of community and differentiating the Republican artists from those in the artistic tradition of imperial China. Also, these exhibitions for the purpose of raising money testify to the idea of the role of celebrated *guohua* artists being similar to that of today's celebrities or movies stars, whose symbolic value might persuade their admirers to participate in charity activities. Through the power of the art world, patriotic activities were financially supported, and through the power of exhibitions, artists were united and nationalism was promoted. Therefore, the contribution of the art world to these historical phenomena cannot be underestimated.

Alongside the rapid development of exhibition, commercial exhibition organisers joined the art world in seeking business opportunities, particularly during the 1930s, when the number of exhibitions held reached a record high. The Art Department of the Lili Company (*Lili gongsi wenyi bu*, 利利公司文藝部) is one of these commercial organisers which had held fourteen assigned exhibitions up to 1932.⁹² Department stores such as the Hezhong Emporium (*Hezhong shangchang*, 合眾商場) and the National Product Emporium (*Guohuo*

⁹² Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1932.11.12 (15).

shangchang, 國貨商場) also organized their own exhibitions.⁹³ For instance, in the summer of 1932, the stationery department of the Hezhong Emporium organised an exhibition of the works of famous painters and calligraphers. The exhibition coordinator was the active art educator and critic Yu Jianhua, who was able to spare some of his time to organise the exhibition during the summer holiday.⁹⁴ These exhibition organisers were undoubtedly commercially-based, running exhibitions in pursuit of monetary returns. They not only made available exhibition space for others (as most of them were shopping malls) but also housed their own exhibitions to maximise their revenue. Private art dealers also participated in this lucrative business by selling and exchanging goods through exhibitions. It was during the 1930s that exhibitions held by private collectors increased notably nationwide, including Manfu Studio (*Manfu tang*, 曼福堂), Luying Studio (*Luying tang*, 六瑩堂), Xuegu Studio (*Xuegu tang*, 學古堂), and Chunrong Studio (*Chunrong tang*, 春融堂). For instance, the Luying Studio launched its fifth exhibition at the Huzhou Sojourner Association in 1936. In an advertisement published in the *Shenbao*, the owner penned an introduction to the exhibition, stating that as an art lover, he had collected a large number of precious ancient paintings. However, he says that he had been forced to sell his old collection in exchange for money to fund new works.⁹⁵ The exhibition included ancient (*gu*, 古) and contemporary (*jin*, 今) paintings and calligraphy, suggesting that certain contemporary paintings had already been circulating among private collections and that their monetary and symbolic value had already been asserted.

⁹³ Wang, *1900 – 2000 Shanghai meishu nianbiao*, p. 367.

⁹⁴ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1932.7.13 (17).

⁹⁵ 'Luying tang cang gujin mingren shuhua diwuci zhanlanhui' 六瑩堂藏古今名人書畫第五次展覽會, 'The Fifth Exhibition of Luying Studio's Collection of Painting and Calligraphy by Ancient and Contemporary Celebrities', *Shenbao*, 1936.9.11 (12).

Solo Exhibitions

Alongside group exhibitions, solo exhibitions also underwent unprecedented development in the Republican Period. From a survey of solo exhibitions held in Shanghai from 1919 to 1936 (see Appendix 4), one can see that most of the solo exhibitions held during the late 1910s and early 1920s were organised by Japanese artists and staged at the Japanese Club. However, as the number of solo exhibitions gradually increased and reached its peak in the 1930s, Chinese artists in general, and *guohua* artists in particular, showed their willingness to appropriate the exhibition as a way of pursuing fame and wealth. Despite the fact that by nature, solo exhibitions displayed mainly the work of one individual artist, their success and accomplishments to a large degree required both the support and the collaboration of other members of the art world. Two prominent young artists will be examined thoroughly in the following discussion—namely, Zhang Daqian and Yu Jianhua—with a goal of appreciating the values and practices of exhibition within the Shanghai art world. As budding artists in the first generation of *guohua* practitioners in modern China, Zhang and Yu exemplified how newcomers struggled within the art world to gain recognition by appropriating the newly-flourishing exhibiting culture. From the late 1920s to mid 1930s, Zhang Daqian participated in five solo or small-scale group exhibitions, while Yu Jianhua organised nine solo exhibitions. Their artistic personas as well as their success were to a large degree shaped and constructed through the public display of their work.

Zhang Daqian (1899 - 1983) joined the Shanghai art world in the early 1920s. As a newcomer, he participated in a joint exhibition with his brother

Zhang Shanzi and Ding Luyang 丁六陽 (Dates unknown)—a fellow artist from his native Sichuan—in February 1929. The exhibition was housed at Zhang's home, Dafeng Studio (*Dafeng tang*, 大風堂), probably to save the cost of hiring an exhibition venue. Lasting for five days, the exhibition had advertisements, reports, and reviews published in the *Shenbao*. Among these items is a detailed review written by the revered artist Xie Gongzhan, which provides valuable information on the exhibition with regard to its setting and content.⁹⁶ The exhibits were displayed in three rooms. Surprisingly, despite its being a joint exhibition of three contemporary artists, it also included ancient paintings from the Zhangs' collection, which were intentionally displayed near the entrance. Hand scrolls by the artists with the leading cultural celebrity Zeng Xi's colophons were placed next to the ancient paintings and were fully opened to show not only the paintings, but also the colophons following the main body. It is intriguing that the hand scroll had once been a personal artistic format designed to be shared between friends, and colophons attached at the end had traditionally acted as a record of the close relationship between the artists, owners, and viewers. However, on this occasion, the hand scrolls were displayed in public view, including the colophons inscribed by the leading cultural celebrity and veteran member of the Shanghai art world, Zeng Xi. Therefore, two important arrangements were deliberately made in the first room to act as welcoming messages and symbolic capital: ancient paintings and hand scrolls with Zeng Xi's colophons. Zeng's colophons were obviously perceived as a preface or introduction to the exhibition as well as to the artists, which would certainly have illuminated and consecrated the works of the young artists via the revered cultural

⁹⁶ Xie Gongzhan 謝公展, 'Dafeng tang guanhua ji' 大風堂觀畫記, 'A Record of Viewing Paintings at the Dafeng Studio', *Shenbao*, 1929.2.25 (21), 1929.2.26(17).

figure's symbolic power. The drawing power of the ancient paintings not only would attract visitors curious to see the once-inaccessible private collection, but also would certainly elevate the exhibition's value as well as the social status of the Zhang brothers. Possession of a private collection of ancient paintings was, to some extent, perceived as a reflection of an artist's cultivation in ancient paintings, which could be regarded as a kind of cultural and symbolic capital in Republican Shanghai. Therefore, presenting the collection of ancient paintings and Zeng Xi's colophons in the exhibition not only added cultural and symbolic capital to the Zhang brothers, but also created a positive public image for Zhang Daqian, a young *guohua* artist possessing knowledge of ancient paintings and receiving high comments from prestigious members of the cultural elite.

In the first room, four walls were covered with ancient paintings from the Zhangs' collection. At the centre of the room, a long table was placed for the display of hand scrolls, including Ding's pocket-sized hand scroll of delicate-style landscape painting with an inscription of Zeng Xi's comments. Zeng praised Ding's work, saying that the painting 'could be viewed as a piece of literary work. This scroll by Luyang daoren (Di Luyang) is extremely exquisite and fine, such that no one can compare to him'.⁹⁷ Also, two long hand scrolls by Zhang Shanzi, along with one hand scroll of Shitao-style landscape painting by Zhang Daqian were on display. Zhang Shanzi's hand scroll was again inscribed with Zeng Xi's comments, and Zhang Daqian's was inscribed with the colophons of Zeng Xi, Huang Binhong, Lou Xinhu, Liu Jingchen 劉景晨 (1881–1960), and Zheng Manqing. Through a narrow corridor hung couplets of calligraphy by the Qing calligraphers He Zizhen 何子貞 (1799–1873) and Qian

⁹⁷ Xie, 'Dafeng tang guanhua ji', 1929.2.25 (21).

Nanyuan 錢南園 (1744–1795), and then there were two rooms devoted to works by the artists themselves.

The strategy applied in this exhibition was in fact a prevailing practice in the Shanghai art world. Two interesting yet satirical articles written by the art critic Lu Danlin are the best materials allowing us to reconstruct different aspects of the exhibiting culture at the time. In the article entitled ‘An Introduction to the Future of Painting and Calligraphy’ (*Shaojie shuhua zhi jianglai*, 紹介書畫之將來), Lu points to the importance of a prestigious figure’s introduction (*jieshao*, 介紹) to the Shanghai art world. Echoing the indigenous practice of issuing price-lists, it was a common practice of Republican artists to establish price lists or organise exhibitions by requesting prestigious, revered members of senior generations from the field of painting and calligraphy to compose signed introductions. For instance, Zeng Xi, Li Ruiqing, and Wu Changshuo were well known as the most popular and revered figures commonly invited to set price lists and write introductions for exhibitions. In this regard, young artists needed to be led by the hand by members of the revered generations, who were already acclaimed for their artistic achievements in painting and calligraphy. The general public put their trust in introductions penned by these revered figures and believed what these celebrities recommended, relying upon their profound knowledge and judgement. Therefore, for the newcomers, the path to success was to use all available means to convince revered figures to write introductions and recommendations. However, Lu observed that there was a significant change in the Shanghai art world after the establishment of the Republican government. The change in political structure in China had brought into play a new social class: the politicians. Their names, then, were also used as a kind of

symbolic capital to enhance the appeal of exhibitions. Some artists even invited politicians to inscribe words on their exhibition catalogues in order to add value to their works of art.⁹⁸

Another article by the same author, Lu Danlin, published in the art journal *Guohua*, entitled 'A Reply to Someone Who Wants to Come to Shanghai for Exhibition' (*Fu moujun yu lai Hu huazhan*, 復某君欲來滬畫展), states,

Shanghai is a place for selling paintings. Every year, a huge number of exhibitions are held, among which the most profitable could earn thousands of dollars and the least hundreds of dollars. It is only your art and your social activities that determine the outcome. If you are good at art but not in social activities, it is useless. This is because selling paintings requires help from friends, as well as proper promotion and social networking. The quality of the works of art is secondary in importance. In the case of friendships, some artists give painting vouchers to friends to sell. Therefore, some may claim that half or even all of the exhibits are sold out before the opening of the exhibition. What is left to do is draw lots and take the paintings. For promotion and social networking, one must use banquets and publications as a means of promotion and network building before the launch of the exhibition, so that your exhibition will be well known to everybody.... In addition, some exhibitors invite the rich and famous to visit their exhibitions, to inscribe their paintings, to introduce the

⁹⁸ Lu Danlin 陸丹林, 'Shaojie shuhua zhi jianglai' 紹介書畫之將來, 'An Introduction to the Future of Painting and Calligraphy', *Mingbao* 民報, 1935.1.14 (3,2).

exhibitions, and in doing so make a stunning impact...Or you could spend money to publish advertisements in praise of yourself. However, in this way you will be regarded only as a commercial artist.⁹⁹

These articles evidently show that the success of exhibitions in the Republican period depended largely on how much symbolic and social capital an artist possessed rather than merely on their artistic achievement. Renowned people, whether cultural figures, politicians, or merchants were seen as symbolic capital when it came to exhibitions—capital which could add symbolic and cultural value to the artist and the exhibition as well. Therefore, it is hardly surprising to see that names of celebrities appeared frequently in the press and became, to some extent, an index for the success of various exhibitions.

In this regard, the case of Zhang Daqian's early exhibition is the best example to show how the names of cultural celebrities such as Zeng Xi were valued in the art world of Republican Shanghai. The mention of Zeng Xi, teacher of both the Zhang brothers and Ding, obviously acted for members of the general public as a brand name, ensuring the artistic value of the young artists. This calls to mind Lu Danlin's claim that the general public trusted more in the comments of celebrities than in the work itself, suggesting that in spite of the fact that *guohua* had been popularised as a common art form no longer confined to the elite groups, the general public was not yet knowledgeable enough to judge its quality. Therefore, in order to assert the value of Zhang's painting, even the

⁹⁹ Lu Danlin 陸丹林, 'Fu Moujun yu lai Hu huazhan' 復某君欲來滬畫展, 'A Reply to Someone Who Wants to Come to Shanghai for Exhibition', *Guohua*, 2 (1936), p. 13.

exhibition review published in *Shenbao* redundantly mentioned Zeng Xi's inscriptions. Unquestionably, Zeng Xi was, as Lu Danlin has pointed out, a very well-known figure not only within the art world but also to the general public and readers of newspapers. Therefore, it is not surprising that the names of social celebrities and politicians appeared frequently in exhibition reports, advertisements, reviews, and critiques, all of which characterised the rhetorical styles of the art-related writings in newspapers and magazines of the time, as quoted in the introductory chapter.

After the small group exhibition, Zhang Daqian launched his first solo exhibition in 1930. Advertisements, news reports, and two commissioned exhibition reviews written by He Tianjian and Yu Jianhua were published in the *Shenbao*,¹⁰⁰ offering clues allowing us to reconstruct the ways in which Shanghai *guohua* artists worked collectively for competing resources and recognition. Housed at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai, the exhibition began on 21st May, lasting for three days and comprising over one hundred paintings, including twenty collaborative fan paintings by the Zhang brothers.¹⁰¹ The exhibition was proclaimed a success in a short article published in the *Shenbao*, which reported that 'yesterday was the second day of Zhang Daqian's solo exhibition held at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai. From nine in the morning to the closing in the afternoon, over a thousand people have visited the show, as the guest book recorded. It is indeed a grand and successful exhibition which has attracted various group visitors, such as female students from the Wuben School led by the artist Yang Qingqing and other celebrities such

¹⁰⁰ Generally exhibition reviews were paid, otherwise they were indicated as 'no commission' (*mianchou*, 免酬).

¹⁰¹ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1930.5.21 (+2).

as Huang Binhong, Xiong Songquan 熊松泉 (1884–1961), and Wu Dongmai 吳東邁 (1885–1963).¹⁰² Again, such celebrated artists were specifically mentioned as having been present at the exhibition, strongly suggesting to readers that the show was worth a visit.

After the close of the exhibition, two reviews were published simultaneously in the *Shenbao*, focusing on the artist's three key selling points: firstly, that Zhang Daqian was one of the most popular artists in the art market; secondly, that Zhang excelled in imitating ancient masters' styles, particularly the style of Shitao; and lastly, that Zhang admired travelling and was able to capture natural scenes in his landscape painting. These reviews not only promoted the exhibition in retrospect but also shaped the artistic persona of the young artist.¹⁰³ Extolling the two Zhang brothers as an analogue of the two ancient Lus (Lu Ji 陸機 and Lu Yun 陸雲) of Luoyang, He Tianjian provided a background story for the exhibition published under the impressive, yet to certain degree contradictory title, 'Exhibition Devoted to Commemorate Zhang Daqian's Decision to Give Up His Profession' (*Zhang Daqian toubi jinian huazhan*, 張大千投筆紀念畫展). He states that Zhang Daqian had been overwhelmingly popular in the art market since his departure as a professional artist. However, due to his untrammelled, forthright, and generous personality, he was reluctant to paint under the many restrictions insisted upon by clients. Therefore, he had gone into deep debt with regards to his painting. As a great man, Zhang said that he understood when was the best time to yield and when not, so he decided to 'give up his profession'

¹⁰² 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1930.5.23 (+2).

¹⁰³ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Daqian zhi toubi jinian zhanlan' 大千之投筆紀念展覽, 'Exhibition Devoted to Commemorate Daqian's Decision to Give Up His Profession', *Shenbao*, 1930.5.23 (11); Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Ji Zhang Daqian huazhan' 記張大千畫展, 'A Record of Zhang Daqian's Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1930.5.26 (17).

(*toubi*, 投筆) in order to achieve great relief from his painting debts. His teacher, the revered cultural figure Zeng Xi, heard of the news and said, 'Zhang has gained recognition, and he should be commemorated now that he has decided to give up his profession.' He Tianjian then concludes, 'People are often disappointed when they fail to gain recognition and fame, but Zhang has been famous and would rather give up what he has achieved. What does Daqian actually desire? Being a slave of painting debts is of course not a great man's pursuit, but Daqian shows his extraordinary character through his different attitude towards fame and wealth.'¹⁰⁴ Despite the fact that the article offers a contradictory and unrealistic story of the artist, it attributed an extraordinary personality to Zhang Daqian and successfully created a liberated and lofty scholarly persona for the artist.

Three days later, another review written by Yu Jianhua was published in the *Shenbao*, examining another facet of Zhang Daqian's character from a different perspective. Regarding the exhibition, Yu states,

[Zhang Daqian's] Landscape paintings are the best, with regard to both quality and quantity. Surprisingly, his landscape paintings in the style of Shitao number as many as twenty, and all of them were executed exquisitely. Surely, if Shitao were resurrected and saw them, he would bow down on his knees. Fifteen pieces of life-paintings of the Jingang Mountains in Korea were particularly impressive. Daqian is fond of travelling. He has been to the E'mei Mountains, the Wuxia Mountains, the Lingyin Mountains, and the Tai Mountains—from the very north to the very south of China. Last

¹⁰⁴ He, 'Daqian zhi toubi jinian zhanlan'.

year, he visited Japan and Korea and transferred the beautiful scenes of the Jingang Mountains to paintings, so the quality of his brushwork could reach the very level of excellence..... Daqian has a free and untrammelled mind, so he may not paint a single stroke for ten days. However, once he is in a good mood and has inspiration, he will paint as fast as heavy rain and intense wind, to the extent that he could paint dozens of pieces within the space of a single day. He is indeed a real genius on the art scene.¹⁰⁵

Focusing on Zhang's landscape painting, Yu underlined the traits that Zhang, as a landscapist, possessed: he was a master in capturing both the skills and spirit of the admired eccentric artist Shitao; he was an experienced traveller who had visited numerous renowned mountains and was willing and able to capture the spirit and essence of the natural world; and he possessed an untrammelled personality, a character of real genius which thus enabled him to extend his artistic pursuits beyond convention. Furthermore, Yu dramatised the process of Zhang's art creation, highlighting the 'eccentric' and 'genius' (*qicai*, 奇才) persona of the artist.

Curiously enough, two years after his high-profile declaration of abandoning the artistic profession, Zhang launched another exhibition to display his family's collection of ancient paintings. A long article entitled, 'Discussion of the Exhibition of Dafeng Studio's Collection' (*Tantan Dafeng tang soucang shuhua zhanlanhui*, 談談大風堂所藏書畫展覽會) written by Gu Luan 孤鸞 (Dates unknown) was published in the *Shenbao*, reasserting the identity of Zhang Daqian

¹⁰⁵ Yu, 'Ji Zhang Daqian huazhan'.

as a connoisseur.¹⁰⁶ In the article, Gu points out that ‘it is hard to find fellows in the Shanghai art world who excel in both connoisseurship and painting-and-calligraphy,’ and, ‘I have been in Shanghai for a decade, and have become acquainted with many artist friends; however, only Di Pingzi, Huang Binhong, Wu Hufan, and the two Zhang brothers (Zhang Shanzi and Zhang Daqian) can in fact fulfil the criteria that I mentioned above.’ He appreciates the philosophy applied by Zhang in building his private collection. Also, he praised Zhang for being generous enough to sell his precious collection when he was in need. Gu claimed that ancient paintings should not be possessed by private collectors and that Zhang, therefore, sold his collection as a demonstration of his generosity and should not be blamed. Moreover, although the exhibition was allegedly organised with the intention of selling paintings, its true purpose was in fact to raise money to fulfil Zhang’s earnest hope to visit famous mountains and rivers. At the end of the article, Gu promised that ‘when one sees the finest collection of the Dafeng Studio, one will surely understand the beauty of the art of the Zhang brothers.’ Although this exhibition was designed to transform part of Zhang’s collection into economic capital, Gu’s article not only blurs the commercial purpose of the event but further intensifies the portrait of Zhang Daqian’s untrammelled character. In addition, Gu accentuates Zhang’s expertise in connoisseurship and elevates his status as being equivalent to acclaimed connoisseurs such as Di Pingzi, Huang Binhong, and Wu Hufan. Last but not least, Gu emphasises the fact that Zhang’s collection was itself evidence of his accomplishments in artistic creation. It was a widely-held belief in the Republican period that an artist’s accomplishments were closely related to his

¹⁰⁶ Gu Luan 孤鸞, ‘Tantan Dafeng tang suo cang shuhua zhanlan hui’ 談談大風堂所藏書畫展覽會, ‘Talk About the Exhibition of the Collection of the Dafeng Studio’, *Shenbao*, 1932.10.29 (11).

ability to access ancient paintings, so building up a collection of ancient paintings would certainly have been considered a means of enhancing one's art abilities.

Shortly after the ancient painting exhibition, Zhang organised a joint exhibition with Xiang Zhegong 向蔗公 (Dates unknown) in December 1932. Housed at the New World Hotel, the exhibition featured collaborative works by Zhang and Xiang.¹⁰⁷ In December 1933, another solo exhibition of Zhang's work was staged at the Lili Art Company, and a short news report published in the *Shenbao* introduced Zhang Daqian as 'the brother of Zhang Shanzi, disciple of Zeng Xi, and his works as "worth much".'¹⁰⁸ In the early Republican period, the young Zhang Daqian introduced himself to the Shanghai art world as one of the 'Zhang brothers'. As a newcomer, he attempted to assume a professional position with the help of his brother, Zhang Shanzi, who was seventeen years older and had already gained fame and recognition in Shanghai. Although Zhang Shanzi has been neglected and overlooked by standard modern Chinese art history, his role in the success of Zhang Daqian should not be underestimated. For this exhibition, Zeng Xi was once again mentioned in the news report as a brand to ensure the value of Zhang's art. Lastly, the news report states that Zhang's works were valuable in the market.

In late April of 1934, the Zhang brothers held another exhibition of their recent paintings as well as their collection of ancient paintings. Housed at the Huzhou Sojourner Association (a popular exhibition venue at the time) and

¹⁰⁷ 'Zhang Daqian Xiang Zhegong hezuo shuhua zhan' 張大千向蔗公合作書畫展, 'The Joint Exhibition of Zhang Daqian and Xiang Zhegong', *Shenbao*, 1932.12.3 (14).

¹⁰⁸ The exhibition spanned from 15th to 17th December 1933. 'Zhang Daqian shuhua zhan kaimu' 張大千書畫展開幕, 'The Opening of the Exhibition of Zhang Daqian', *Shenbao*, 1933.2.15 (12).

lasting for four days, the exhibition also included works by their students.¹⁰⁹ After the opening, a news report was published in the 'Painting-and-calligraphy column' of the *Shenbao*, describing the first day of the exhibition: 'the artistic excellence and expertise in the connoisseurship of the Zhangs are already well-known in society, so the hall was crowded and packed. Over half of the paintings have already been reserved, and ancient paintings such as a landscape by Yun Nantian 憚南田 (1633–1690), etc., were sold. It is indeed one of the greatest exhibitions in recent years.'¹¹⁰ Obviously, the exhibition was warmly received by the public and achieved great success with regard to the Republican standard, as measured by the number of paintings sold as well as the number of visitors. Gu Luan once again penned an article about Zhang Daqian, which was published in the *Shenbao* a day before the closure of the exhibition.¹¹¹ The article, entitled 'Discussion of Zhang Daqian's Painting' (*Lu Zhang Daqian hua, 論張大千畫*), describes Zhang's artistic accomplishments as follows:

Daqian is renowned for his painting in the style of Shitao and Bada. However, he does not confine himself only to the narrow scope of two ancient masters. He relentlessly studies all the ancient masterpieces through various periods from the Tang and Song dynasties onward. In order to understand thoroughly, he embraces and picks up the best from a wide variety of ancient styles, including the Huangshan School's novelty (*gui*, 詭), the Xin'an School's elegance (*ya*, 雅), the Wu School's gracefulness (*xiu*, 秀), the Huating School's smoothness (*xun*,

¹⁰⁹ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1934.4.27 (12).

¹¹⁰ 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1934.4.29 (13).

¹¹¹ Gu Luan 孤鸞, 'Lu Zhang Daqian hua 論張大千畫', 'Discussion of Zhang Daqian's Paintings', *Shenbao*, 1932.4.30 (12).

馴), Mi Fu's thickness (*hou*, 厚), Zhao Mengfu's aloofness (*gao*, 高), Fang Fanghu's wet brush, Dai Xi and Cheng Sui's dry brush, Zhang Dafeng's spirit (*fengsheng*, 風神), Li Fangying's inspiring look (*qi*yu, 氣宇), and Yun Shouping's simplicity (*shujian*, 疎簡).

Gu's flattering commendation of Zhang's versatility helps to shape an all-round artistic persona for Zhang. Furthermore, he supplements Zhang's artistic achievements with his accomplishments in calligraphy as well as his travel experiences.

From 1929 to 1934, Zhang Daqian successfully elevated his position from that of a newcomer to that of an established artist who was able to employ his symbolic capital to consecrate his students. By 1935, Zhang Daqian had already been recognised in the Shanghai art world and was prestigious enough for the Lili Art Company confidently to hold a solo exhibition for him. Presented by the company, the exhibition was staged at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai and was advertised through an advertisement in the *Shenbao*, which appeared a day before the opening (figure 3.19). In the advertisement, a few sentences explain that Zhang Daqian had travelled to Xuannan, Tianhua, and the Jingang Mountain and wished to present his recent works of art to the public. The title was written in Zhang Daqian's recognisable calligraphy. Seemingly, the name of Zhang Daqian and his typical calligraphic style had already become symbolic capital and a brand powerful enough to draw readers to the exhibition.¹¹²

¹¹² Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1935.5.23 (8).

In contrast with Zhang Daqian—who was able to make use of the revered figure Zeng Xi’s fame and symbolic capital, as well as that of his prominent brother Zhang Shanzi, in order to achieve artistic recognition—Yu Jianhua (1895 - 1979) came to the Shanghai art world from a humble family with only his educational credentials and his identity as a student of Chen Hengke, a leading figure in the Beijing art world. An active artist and critic in Republican Shanghai, Yu’s case provides details about how an artist might have used mainly exhibitions, advertisements, and criticism to establish fame and gain a reputation. Beginning in the mid-1920s, Yu organised nine solo exhibitions within a decade. He began in 1926 with a solo exhibition entitled ‘Landscape Painting by Yu Jianhua, Ready for Sale Exhibition’ (*Yu Jianhua shanshui jimai zhanlanhui*, 俞劍華山水即買展覽會), an exhibition which took place in the artist’s home. (figure 3.20) Characterised by a selling method in which visitors could take home their purchased exhibits immediately, the exhibition had a design similar to that of a bazaar market.¹¹³ In this regard, exhibits could be taken away the moment a buyer materialised. In addition, several publications were displayed and sold at the exhibition venue, including Chen Shizeng’s book ‘The Value of Literati Painting’ (*Wenrenhua de jiazhi*, 文人畫的價值);¹¹⁴ Yu’s own ‘Information About Decorative Patterns’ (*Tu’an ziliao*, 圖案資料); a periodical, the ‘Hanmoyuan Half-Monthly’ (*Hanmoyuan banyuekan*, 翰墨緣半月刊); and ‘Yuyu’s Paintings’ (*Yuyu huajian*, 玉愚畫箋).¹¹⁵ As a student of the recently deceased leading artist Chen Hengke, the young newcomer Yu Jianhua had

¹¹³ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1926.9.17 (6).

¹¹⁴ Chen’s idea of the value of literati painting was influential and circulated widely in China. Adopting Japanese interpretation of literati painting and Eastern art, he reaffirmed the value of literati painting in the modern era. For detailed discussion, see Wong, *Parting the Mist*, Chapter 3, pp. 54 - 76.

¹¹⁵ ‘Shuhua xun’, *Shenbao*, 1926.9.17 (+2).

introduced himself to the Shanghai art world in the *Shenbao* two months prior to his first solo exhibition, describing himself as ‘an artist from Shandong province, the best disciple of Chen Hengke. He will include a hundred of his own works of art and dozens of pieces from his private collection of Chen’s works in an exhibition in Shanghai in July. Also, he has decided to settle in Shanghai to make friends all around the Shanghai art world.’¹¹⁶ Two weeks later, another introduction was published in the newspaper, providing more information about the artist and mentioning that Yu Jianhua ‘has taught at the Beijing National College of Fine Arts and established the Hanmoyuan College of Fine Arts in Ji’nan as well as a popular periodical. Recently he is working on a book entitled ‘Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Artists’ (*Zhongguo huajia renming da cidian*, 中國畫家人名大辭典).¹¹⁷ The exhibition did not have a predetermined closing date and was promoted through an advertisement published in the *Shenbao* offering a discount to visitors. Little was known about what the exhibition achieved in the end, but it was reported in the *Shenbao* that it saw a large number of visitors and buyers. After the exhibition, Yu’s name was still little known within the Shanghai art world, and it was not until 1930 that he successfully established his reputation through an exhibition.

Obviously, due to geographical differences, the Beijing artistic leader Chen Hengke seems not to have been as influential as Zeng Xi was in Shanghai art world and therefore was unable to posthumously consecrate his young student Yu Jianhua. This example demonstrates that symbolic and cultural capital is not

¹¹⁶ ‘Shandong huajia jian lai Hu kai zhanlanhui’ 山東畫家將來滬開展覽會, ‘A Shandong Artist Will Hold An Exhibition in Shanghai’, *Shenbao*, 1926.6.30 (+1).

¹¹⁷ ‘Huajia Yu Jianhua lai Hu kai zhanlanhui’ 畫家俞劍華來滬開展覽會, ‘The Artist Yu Jianhua Will Hold An Exhibition in Shanghai’, *Shenbao*, 1926.7.17 (+1).

mobile and that its value would have varied according to the logic of different nations, and even of different regions within the same nation. Therefore, for Yu, it was via the print media, innovative marketing strategies, and exhibitions that he was finally able to enhance his own cultural capital and gain recognition.

In 1930, Yu launched a solo exhibition that he claimed to be his debut. Beginning on 15th November and running for three days at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai, the exhibition comprised one hundred exhibits, including ten works of calligraphy, ten bird-and-flower paintings, and eighty landscapes. Open from nine in the morning to six in the afternoon, admission to the exhibition was free, and all the exhibits were priced at a very attractive fixed price of 10 dollars.¹¹⁸ News about the exhibition began to appear in the *Shenbao* on 9th November, six days before its opening. A report by the Lanman society (*Lanman she*, 爛漫社) gives an introduction to the young artist Yu Jianhua, saying, '(Yu) is fond of painting and calligraphy, having inherited this knowledge from his family at an early age. He excels in painting and has lived in Beiping, studying under the deceased great painter Mr. Chen Shizeng (Hengke). He is also fond of travelling and has visited the entire nation from north to south.' The report states further that he 'excels in writings and has published extensively. He is also good in western painting and decorative art. He is the head of the *guohua* division of the Xinhua College of Art. Yu is passionate in teaching, so his students are able to achieve great success. He is also a part-time head of the art division of the Patriotic Women College (*Aiguo nüxue*, 愛國女學). Yu is young and energetic, so his future accomplishments should not be

¹¹⁸ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1930.11.14 (2).

underestimated.¹¹⁹ Different from Zhang Daqian, Yu presented himself as an artist as well as an art educator who excelled in theories, teaching, writing, and research. As the birth of art education in modern China had transformed the societal role played by art and adjusted the art world's values and rules by introducing to the field a new form of cultural capital: educational credentials, teaching experience was regarded as a new kind of cultural capital which would certainly have added value to the young artist's image.¹²⁰

After only four days, another news item about the exhibition written by 'Juan' 鵠 (probably Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵠 (1895 - 1968)) was published in the *Shenbao*, describing the preview party of Yu's exhibition as follows:

The renowned calligrapher and painter, Mr. Yu Jianhua, will hold his solo exhibition for three days from 15th to 17th November on the fourth floor of the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai in Tibet Road. On 9th of November, he especially invited celebrities, calligraphers, painters, and journalists of Shanghai for a lunch party at the Xinghualou Restaurant (figure 3.21) and at the same time held a preview exhibition displaying some of the works from his solo exhibition. The pieces are great with regard to both quality and quantity, to the extent that they dazzle the eyes. Guests competed ruthlessly against one another to buy the paintings. One hundred

¹¹⁹ 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.9 (+11).

¹²⁰ As demonstrated in Jade Zheng's essay 'The Shanghai Art School and the Modern Mechanism of Artistic Celebrity', art schools such as the Shanghai College of Fine Arts provided artists with 'short-cuts' to fame and recognition by promoting upward social mobility, increasing their public exposure, and developing an effective group effect. Zheng, 'The Shanghai Art School and the Modern Mechanism of Artistic Celebrity', pp. 7 - 28.

exhibits were shown, among which seventy pieces have already been sold. For myself, I reserved one landscape painting in the style of Shitao entitled *Viewing the Waterfall* in which the brushwork is soft and bright—breaking away from the routine and conventional trends—and is indeed a great work of art. It is said that tickets for new orders are sold at the Hezhong Company in the Fifth Avenue.¹²¹

This article provides evidence for the successful use of the prevailing marketing strategies mentioned in Lu Danlin's article, as quoted in the previous part of this chapter. Banquets, inclusion of celebrities, and publications had by now become the most useful tools for promoting fame and gaining recognition.

Shortly after the lunch party and just a day before the exhibition's opening, two advertisements were published side-by-side on the second page of the *Shenbao* (figure 3.22).¹²² One provides general information about the exhibition (e.g., date, place, price of exhibits, and opening time), but surprisingly, half of this advertisement is devoted to an announcement issued at the bottom of a long list of sixty-three names, including revered social celebrities such as Ye Gongchuo, Cai Yuanpei, Yu Youren, and Wang Yiting. In the announcement, these famous people request that Yu Jianhua organise another solo exhibition, because the first show had already run out of stock. The intention of publishing a mass of names is not difficult to grasp. Just as Lu Danlin's article has pointed out, celebrities from various fields—including the influential politicians Ye Gongchuo, Cai Yuanpei, and Yu Youren; renowned merchant and social

¹²¹ 'Yishujie xiaoxi' 藝術界消息, 'News of the Artistic Field', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.13 (11).

¹²² Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1930.11.14 (2).

celebrities Wang Yiting and Huang Binhong; top-ranking *guohua* artists Zheng Wuchang, Zhang Shanzi, and Zhang Daqian; and key figures from the publishing industry such as Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888–1979) and Zhou Shoujuan—were used as a kind of symbolic capital to elevate Yu’s status and to install confidence in readers regarding this young artist.

Curiously enough, another advertisement placed next to the first one was astonishingly entitled, ‘Yu Jianhua Expresses His Thanks’ (*Yu Jianhua daoxie*, 俞劍華道謝) and states:

I always like sketching casually. Although I could achieve great things, I do not dare to be conceited. Therefore, I plan to launch an exhibition displaying one hundred of my works in order to hear people’s comments. This will be not only a practice in elegance, but also a way to popularise art. Regarding this endeavour, all the exhibits are marked at very reasonable prices, and so are affordable to everyone. I extend my heartfelt thanks for the support I have received from senior fellows as well as friends, who, despite the inferiority of my brushwork, have bought them. So all the exhibits have been sold out before the exhibition has opened. Henceforward, I will endeavour to work better to meet the expectations of those who have bought my paintings, but at the same time I am also afraid of failing to meet their expectation. They have also requested that I hold a second solo exhibition as a continuation of the first one. I could not disappoint my fellows’ warm friendly wishes, so I have decided to hold my second solo exhibition at the same venue during

the Lunar New Year. The number of exhibits is expected to be around one hundred; all will be mounted with silk, marked at a per-unit price of ten dollars, and can be ordered in advance only at the exhibition currently taking place.¹²³

Once again this advertisement reveals Yu's mastery of strategic self-marketing via the print media. He created an impression that his paintings were in great demand and that buyers should reserve them and make their orders in advance. In addition, he used yet another strategy to ensure the success of his second solo exhibition. By briefly reminding the readers to make orders for his second exhibition in advance during the first exhibition, he was undoubtedly able to minimise the risk of a sales slump.

On the day of the opening of the first solo exhibition (figure 3.23), freelance writer Yu Jianhua penned an article entitled 'A Record of the Preview at the Xinghualou Restaurant' (*Xinghualou yuzhan ji wen*, 杏花樓預展紀聞) in the supplement to the *Shenbao*.¹²⁴ In the article, not only was the story of his preview party retold, but guests who had attended the lunch as well as the inscriptions they provided were listed in minute detail, including Huang Binhong, Zhang Daqian, Zhang Shanzi, Zheng Wuchang, Zhou Shoujuan, and Xu Zhengbai. All the guests listed were well-known and prestigious artists and

¹²³ Yu also mentions that those who live outside Shanghai but want to buy his works could send a mail order to the Patriotic Women's College by 25th November. Specifications for mail order works are given as follows: calligraphy - size within 5 feet, couplets, hanging scrolls, and sets of four hanging scrolls are priced as one unit at the price of 10 dollars; landscape and bird-and-flower - size from 3 to 5 feet are priced at 10 dollars for each piece. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Yu Jianhua dao xie' 俞劍華道謝, 'Yu Jianhua Expresses His Thanks', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.14 (2).

¹²⁴ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Xinghualou yu zhan ji wen' 杏花樓預展紀聞, 'A Record of the Preview at Xinghualou Restaurant', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.15 (17).

members of the cultural elites of Shanghai; their participation and words of praise would certainly further increase the value of Yu's works and elevate his status in the Shanghai art world. For those readers who knew nothing about the young artist and had no idea of what works of art were worth buying, these names and comments were undoubtedly perceived as excellent sources of professional advice and guidance.

After a series of advertisement and reviews, the exhibition was opened on 15th November. It was reportedly crowded, and all exhibits were sold out before the opening. Showcasing not only Yu's paintings and calligraphy, but also his essays, the exhibition once again intensified the scholar-artist persona of Yu Jianhua. The exhibition's unprecedented success as well as the huge number of orders it generated triggered the artist's holding of his second solo show at the same venue within the span of just a few months. Visitors made their reservations for the next exhibition and, incredibly, the press reports that every individual exhibit received at least ten order requests.¹²⁵ Traditionally, the value of a work of art is largely a result of its singularity; however, in this case, the artist received more than ten orders for copies of the same painting—which would inevitably degrade the monetary value of the work. The strategy applied is an obviously commercial tactic that would ensure a quick return within just a few months. Surely, Yu Jianhua was successful in that his exhibition not only made a good profit, but also sparked a hot discussion within the art world, a discussion that subsequently increased his fame. Furthermore, his revenue was guaranteed; even the second show would not entail any risk on his part.

¹²⁵ 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.16 (+4).

After the first and before the second show, Yu Jianhua wrote a long article as a brief reminder to readers.¹²⁶ The article opens with a dramatic tragedy: overwhelmed by the tremendous changes within his family, Yu had found no way to express his grief and bitterness, so he expressed these emotional sentiments in his art. After years of practicing, his painting had improved significantly, so he was holding a solo show to seek advice and comments from fellow artists. After a brief introduction, Yu recalls the story of the preview and then recounts his first solo show in detail as follows:

After three days of exhibition, not only have one hundred exhibits been sold, but one hundred and seventy new orders have been received. The number of visitors so far is approaching thirty thousand; even members of the senior generation of artists such as Cheng Yaosheng 程瑤笙 (1869–1936) have made unprecedented visits. In order not to disappoint everyone's expectations of me, and despite my own worries about my inferior brushwork and lack of talent, I will endeavour to work harder and will not dare to be conceited. In this exhibition, exhibit no. 33 *Verdant Range in Southern Mountains* and no. 86 *Crossing Autumn River at Night* have received the most orders. On the first day, fourteen people made orders for each of the two exhibits, and on the second day, no. 33 received eighteen orders while no. 86 rose rapidly to twenty-four orders. On the third day, no. 33 increased to twenty-nine orders while no. 86 received forty-five orders—the two works seemingly competing with each other to reach the apex. Friends of mine even playfully described the situation as being

¹²⁶ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, 'Ge zhan ji qu' 個展紀趣, 'A Record of Something Interesting of My Solo Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1930.11.28 (11).

analogous to *Daxiangbin* (Grand Champagne) horse racing. Mr. Tianqian Jiding ordered one for no. 33, while the German Fang Hale no. 86; the two works were equally popular. Following them is no. 65 *Study at the Pine Studio*, which received nineteen orders. *Three Mountain Peaks in the First River* received eighteen orders, among which two orders were placed by Zhang Shanzi, one by Zhang Daqian, and one by Huang Binhong. Intriguingly, these three men also live in the same house, which shows that the taste and judgment of great masters is not the common sort. On the morning of the second day, just after setting up and with only a few visitors in the exhibition hall, I discovered that an album that had not been put up for sale had gone missing. I could not understand why. On the third day, a friend of mine came back from a tea party for antiquities and told me that someone had tried to sell him the album for two hundred dollars. This thief's method is quite impressive. Unfortunately, my painting is not worth much money, so he is indeed making unnecessarily great efforts towards trivial goals.

Dramatically reporting the daily sales from his first exhibition and supplementing with a curious (but almost certainly exaggerated) story, Yu vividly emphasised the value and popularity of his paintings, and thus once again reminded readers to visit the exhibition and place their orders in advance for his second show.

His second show opened on 7th February 1931 and ran for only two days. Yu published an advertisement in the *Shenbao* one day before the opening (figure 3.24). The advertisement is informative, providing not only general information about the exhibition but also details of how to collect and order the exhibits,

together with a long list of buyers' names. It states:

Those who have placed orders please come with valid receipts to collect the paintings on the evening of 8th February, or no more than three days after the exhibition's end at the Hezhong Company in Fifth Avenue. Buyer's names are listed on the left side for your reference [a long list of clients' names and the number of paintings they ordered]. In addition, for those whose orders have not yet been painted [another long list of client's names and the number of paintings they ordered], your orders will be included in the third exhibition. At the present exhibition, people can place their orders in advance for the third exhibition. Besides the fifty orders that have already been made, the number of orders is limited to one hundred. Order exceeding this limit will be delivered during the fourth exhibition and will have a higher price than those from the third exhibition.¹²⁷

The second exhibition was successful, and it is reported that around one hundred and thirty works were ordered for the third exhibition in advance. Driven by buyers' orders, dull repetition was unavoidable; for instance, the painting *Crossing the Autumn River at Night*—which has been highlighted as the most popular in his first exhibition—received forty-five orders and had to be reproduced forty-five times. Regarding this concern, an article was published, trying to pacify the public's worries about repetition, stating, 'despite the fact that each exhibit has received at least ten orders, every painting is executed with variation to avoid the dullness of repetition.'¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1931.2.6 (2).

¹²⁸ 'Yu Jianhua dierci gezhan shengkuang' 俞劍華第二次個展盛況, 'A Record of the 2nd Solo Exhibition of Yu Jianhua', *Shenbao*, 1931.2.4 (14).

Shortly after the second solo show, the number of orders received was enough to make a third solo show possible. An advertisement for the third solo exhibition was published in the *Shenbao* on the exhibition's opening day with the bold title, 'The Third Solo Exhibition of Yu Jianhua for Relief Aid'¹²⁹ (figure 3.25). The exhibition comprised one hundred paintings, including Yu's student Xu Peiji's 徐培基 (Dates unknown) landscape paintings, and it was planned to donate all the returns to relief aid in response to the devastating floods that had taken place in Jiangsu province. Just three months later, Yu launched his fourth solo exhibition at the grand hall of the New World Hotel. Priced at only a quarter of his normal price (as reported in *Shenbao*), the exhibits numbered one hundred and ten, plus twenty-two landscape paintings by Xu Peiji. As usual, an advertisement and several reports were published in the *Shenbao*¹³⁰ (figure 3.26). In addition, Zhang Shanzi was commissioned to write an exhibition review, which was published in the *Shenbao* two days after the exhibition closed.¹³¹ Zhang points out that,

Yu is a native of Shandong and has the generous and courageous character typical of the province. He excels in both painting and calligraphy and has become well-known in Shanghai. He holds solo exhibitions frequently, which has recently caused heated public debate.

This autumn, he held an exhibition for relief aid, showing his

¹²⁹ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1931.9.5 (5).

¹³⁰ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1931.12.11(11); 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1931.12.12 (+3); 'Yu Jianhua disici shuhua ge zhan' 俞劍華第四次書畫個展, 'The Fourth Solo Exhibition of Yu Jianhua', *Shenbao*, 1931.12.13 (20).

¹³¹ As mentioned at the end of the review, the article was paid for, and Zhang had donated all the payment to relief aid. Zhang Shanzi 張善子, 'Zhi Yu Jianhua shuhua ge zhan' 志俞劍華書畫個展, 'A Record of Yu Jianhua's Solo Exhibition', *Shenbao*, 1931.12.16 (11).

righteousness. He is fond of travel. He visited the Yandang Mountains with his student Xu Peiji in this summer. So his albums of actual scenes are riveting. His paintings of the Dalong Waterfalls are admirable; all of these paintings include waterfalls that are depicted vividly as the water pours and strikes the ground with vigour. The Dalong Waterfall is a special one, pouring from a very steep cliff. It has a very elegant movement and is very attractive. It sounds like playing flutes and blowing pipes, but falls as rapidly as lightning and thunder. It changes as smoky fog or in five colours; it bends like a dragon and curves like a rainbow. It is indeed a very astonishing scene. Recently, Jianhua has presented his finest works, around one hundred, at the New World Hotel for his fourth solo exhibition. Among the exhibits, the landscape paintings of the Yandang Mountains are the best, particularly those depicting the astonishing waterfalls. He is also good with figures as well as flower-and-bird paintings. His works are elegant and forceful with very striking composition. Also, he excels in and has mastery of various forms of calligraphy. Yu is an all-round artist.

This review overflows with abstract flattering praise of Yu's work. Based on the review, it is hard for the average reader to ascertain exactly what Yu's works look like. Nevertheless, the fame of Zhang Shanzi would certainly have enhanced the image of Yu's exhibition, and the review would certainly have raised the prices and artistic value of Yu Jianhua's paintings, particularly those of actual landscape scenes, even though the article was published after the exhibition had closed. Zhang Shanzi's review reveals that Yu Jianhua had already stood out as

a prominent artist in the Shanghai art world and that his frequent solo exhibitions had become one of his trademarks, bringing him both monetary rewards and an enhanced reputation.

From 1932 to 1936, Yu had held altogether four more solo exhibitions, with each of them having been promoted using different selling points. For the one launched in June 1932, dozens of mini-size hand scrolls just one or two inches high numbered among the one hundred and twenty exhibits.¹³² Five months later, he held another exhibition featuring bird-and-flower paintings. He claimed in the advertisement that he wanted to shift his artistic focus to the genre of landscape, and would therefore like to offer his bird-and-flower paintings at very good-value prices. Prices on the first day of the exhibition were the cheapest but increased by twenty percent on the second day and fifty percent on the third day. After the exhibition, he announced, all the prices would once again rise to their normal prices.¹³³ In 1934, Yu staged an exhibition at his home, offering a free fan painting to each visitor.¹³⁴ In May of 1936, a selling point focused for the first time on his artistic creation. This exhibition featured seventy landscape paintings of actual scenes, ten landscape paintings in the styles of ancient paintings, thirty creative landscape paintings, ten bird-and-flower paintings, and forty life-sketch albums. Also, a large-scale painting entitled *Grand View of Yandang* was highlighted (figure 3.27)—a painting which was overpriced with an exaggerated price tag of one thousand dollars—and the profits were allegedly planned to be donated to charity.¹³⁵

¹³² Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1932.6.11 (12).

¹³³ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1932.11.2 (11).

¹³⁴ 'Shuhua xun', *Shenbao*, 1934.6.30 (15).

¹³⁵ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1936.5.14 (4).

The above examples demonstrate how artists used the exhibition as a tool for gaining professional recognition and shaping artistic personas in Republican Shanghai. The case of Zhang Daqian illustrates how a young artist made use of symbolic and cultural capital to introduce himself to the art world and to gain recognition through exhibitions, while Yu Jianhua's case vividly illustrates how commercial tactics were blended with exhibiting culture to benefit an artist purely in terms of money and fame. John Clark has claimed that art exhibitions opened the channels of discourse on the topics of artistic interpretation and judgement; in the same way, the emerging role of the art critic and art journalist became more and more significant within the art world. The success of Zhang Daqian's exhibitions depended largely on the contributions of art reviewers and critics, while Yu Jianhua, also an art critic, used the power of the media to promote his exhibitions by posting advertisements, reviews, and criticism in newspapers. As we can see in both cases, the contribution of art critics and art journalists in shaping and promoting artists' public image and fame is another aspect of the Shanghai art world worth further investigation, however due to the limit of this study it will not be dealt with in this dissertation.

Conclusion

Having been introduced by the commercial world to the Shanghai art world in the very early twentieth century, the art exhibition as a new form of presenting works of art eventually brought the judgement of art to the public sector. Intertwined with commercial objectives, exhibitions—particularly *guohua* exhibitions—became a popular means of social entertainment, not to mention a tool for gaining reputation and fame and a temporary showcase for selling

paintings. On the one hand, the popularity of *guohua* exhibitions in some way increased the public's exposure to the works of *guohua* artists, and on the other hand, they eventually had an edifying effect on the general public with regard to this esoteric art form. Despite the fact that the concept of the art exhibition had been inherited from Europe and Japan, the practice of art exhibitions in Shanghai—as has been demonstrated in the above discussion—reflects the fact that indigenous values continued to enjoy a state of privilege and power in the Shanghai art world. For instance, cultural celebrities Wang Yiting, Ye Gongchuo, and Zeng Xi possessed the power of consecration via writing introductions to exhibitions or simply by attending one. The domination of these cultural celebrities within the Shanghai art world governed to some extent the interpretative codes for accessing works of art offered by the exhibitions. Through both group and solo exhibitions, *guohua* regained its dominance and contemporaneity within the art world. Also, in the 1930s the art exhibition was further employed by the Chinese government at an international level, since by that time exported Chinese international exhibitions had already been increasing in frequency.¹³⁶ In 1930s, Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu organised two overseas exhibitions of contemporary Chinese paintings and simultaneously selected *guohua* to represent and help construct the visual cultural identity of China on the international art stage which, in turn confirmed the value and elevated the status of *guohua* within the Chinese art world.

¹³⁶ Art exhibitions were used as a diplomatic tool during the turbulent period of 1930s. Warren Cohen, Chapter Four, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York, 1992), pp. 103 - 26. For detailed discussion of the overseas exhibitions of contemporary Chinese painting held in 1930s see, Vainker, 'Exhibitions of Modern Chinese Painting in Europe, 1933-1935'; Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, 'Shanghai Modern', in Jo-Anne, Ken and Zheng eds., *Shanghai Modern*, pp. 18 - 72; Vainker, 'Modern Chinese Painting in London, 1935'.

Chapter Four

The Business of Art: The Art Market

As discussed in the previous chapter, art exhibitions held during the early Republican Period illustrate somewhat the inextricable link between art and commerce. The popularity and success experienced by art exhibitions at the time are to a large degree a reflection of the existence of a huge demand for *guohua* in Shanghai. It is the aim of this chapter to address the issues of how *guohua* works were consumed and how *guohua* artists made their livelihoods via the practice of painting. By exploring both the practice of selling paintings and changes in price-list terms, it is possible to discern trends in *guohua* tastes, to trace the cultural values of the period, and to appreciate various economic pressures on those in the business of painting in general.

In the study of Chinese art history, a mythical narrative has been shaped of artists, particular the literati artists, being free from material rewards and practicing painting purely for their own enjoyment and leisure. However, the recent disclosures of abundant evidence and thorough research on this issue have shed new light on another, previously unmentioned aspect of this myth.¹ In the book *The Chinese Scholar's Studio*, scholars have redirected the focus of their attention with regards to the literati from works of art to social ambience and personal networks, unveiling the social aspects of literati life and challenging the idealised reclusive image of these artists, as had been narrated in previous

¹ Major scholarly literature discussing the economic aspects of Chinese painting includes, Chu-tsing Li and James Watt eds., *The Chinese Scholar's Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period* (New York, 1987); Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-century Yangchow* (Stanford, 2001); Li ed., *Artists and Patrons*; Cahill, *The Painter's Practice*; Clunas, *Elegant Debt*.

discourse on the subject. Wai-kam Ho touched upon the relationship between art and commerce, pointing out that the emergence in the late Ming era of a modern society based on both commerce and the money economy had in turn transformed the attitude of the literati towards amateurism. The late Ming scholars were no longer ashamed to make their living by selling the products of their intellectual and creative labours.² This aspect of Chinese painting was then thoroughly explored in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, a book which offered a framework for the history of art patronage, ranging from the Imperial era to that of private patronage. Dealing especially with the regions of Suzhou and Jiangnan, the selected essays briefly sketch out the trends of patronage activities in Chinese history, showing the role played by merchants in later Imperial China, particularly in the Jiangnan region.

Recently, more and more scholarly literature has focused closely on the economic perspectives of individual artists. James Cahill's *The Painter's Practice* readjusts our image of Chinese artists by focusing on their more practical concerns and constructs a framework for the art market in Imperial China.³ Jonathan Hay's *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* offers two chapters discussing Shitao's 'art business' and the inextricable link between his creative process and the art market.⁴ The myth was further contradicted by Craig Clunas's *Elegant Debts: The Social Art of Wen Zhengming*, which brings to light the role of works of art within the tradition of gift exchange and social obligation, challenging the traditional image of the disinterested

² Wai-kam Ho, 'Late Ming Literati: Their Social and Cultural Ambience', in Li and Watt eds., *The Chinese Scholars' Studio*, pp. 23–36 (pp. 30–1)

³ Cahill, *The Painter's Practice*.

⁴ Hay, *Shitao*, pp. 144 – 198.

amateur scholar-artist.⁵ The publication of the 2004 book ‘Remuneration Rate of Modern and Contemporary Seal-Cutters, Calligraphers and Painters’ (*Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, 近現代金石書畫家潤例) was another obvious breakthrough. Convincingly revealing the economic aspects of artistic practice, the author assembles published price-lists from the print media, ranging from the late nineteenth century to the early half of the twentieth century, bringing this issue to the surface and proving that economic concerns and influences should be taken in consideration in the study of modern Chinese art history.

The abundance of published price-lists in a way suggest that painting had become a kind of commodity, circulated in an open and free market. In this regard, I would like to suggest that art objects be approached by going beyond the traditional boundaries of art history, directing the focus of investigation momentarily away from the art object and towards the components—or, towards what Arjun Appadurai has termed ‘commodity context,’ which ‘refers to the variety of social arenas, within or between cultural units, that help link the commodity candidacy of a thing to the commodity phase of its career’.⁶ According to Appadurai’s definition, a commodity is any thing intended for exchange. It is the dynamic of exchange, the situation and social context rather than the thing itself, that generates the item’s value. With this in mind, it is the aim of this chapter to explore how works of *guohua* circulated and were exchanged as commodities within the social and historical context of Republican

⁵ Clunas, *Elegant Debts*.

⁶ According to Arjun Appadurai, the ‘commodity phase’ is a biographical aspect of a thing, which moves in and out of the commodity state; ‘commodity candidacy’ refers to the standards and criteria that govern the exchange of things in any particular social and historical context. Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: commodities and the politics of value’, in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 13–6.

Shanghai.⁷

Reaping the benefits of the commercialised art market of the late Qing dynasty,⁸ the art market underwent a groundbreaking change in Republican Shanghai due to the rise of the middle class, the boom in the publishing industry, and the introduction of western commercial cultures—which in turn offered favourable social conditions for the establishment of an open market for art, a market that was particularly dominated by traditional forms of art such as *guohua* and calligraphy. The selling and buying of paintings operated systematically and publicly, bringing these transactions (which had up to that point taken place only in private) to the public sector. As described in a satirical article published in a magazine in 1944, painting had been further commoditised in the Shanghai art market. In the article, the author describes the commercial practices of Shanghai artists as follows:

If one could collect and display the price-lists of acclaimed artists, it would be magnificent! It is also true that the more famous the artist, the more magnificent his price-list. Some prepare rulers for measuring papers. Others give a twenty percent discount for close friends. Money is a must-have; otherwise, please stay away from the

⁷ Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', p. 13.

⁸ For discussion of the Shanghai art market in the late Qing period, see Yu Lee, 'Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century', Li Chu-tsing ed., *Artists And Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, pp. 223 - 231; Wue, *Making the Artist*; Wang Zhongxiu 王中秀, 'Lishi de shi yi yu shiyi de lishi' 歷史的失憶與失憶的歷史, 'The Lost Memories of History and the Forgotten History', in Wang ed., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, pp. 1 - 12; Lai, 'Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai'; Kuiyi Shen, 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai', in Kuo ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s - 1930s*, pp. 13 - 27.

artists. Some even double the price for a named inscription executed by the Court Historians (*Taishigong*, 太史公), special request orders, ready-made orders, colouring works, splashing ink, side inscriptions on seals, seals with delicate red characters or full white characters..... What you need to do is pay money, and then you can be pleased as your heart desires.⁹

The author then accuses acclaimed Shanghai artists of ‘raising prices on every festival occasion, and marking up their prices on every New Year’. The author’s views of such commercial behaviours within the Shanghai art market briefly highlight some of the pricing concepts and practices of the period, pinpointing the close relationship between art and business in Republican Shanghai. This chapter will investigate the process of art consumption, ranging from selling outlets to pricing logic and marketing strategies.

Selling Outlets

In classical economics, the single most important source of productivity in an expanding market is the division of labour. In the art market in Republican Shanghai, the most immediate and significant consequence of this description emerged through a process of marketing innovation brought about to improve the efficiency of exchange, and which took the form of division of labour, separating the production of art from the marketing of the finished product. As a

⁹ Lin Fashan 林髮山, ‘Tan runbi’ 談潤筆, ‘On Price-lists’, *Gujin banyue kan* 古今半月刊, 42 (1944), pp. 24 - 7 (p. 25).

commercial urban city, Shanghai's prosperity and wealth drew new wealth and entrepreneurs there to settle, creating opportunities for developing a new patronage system through an open art market. Having evolved from their former role as middlemen within the traditional patronage system, professional art dealers soon began to play a significant role in the process of institutionalising the modern Chinese art market. In their facilitation and improvement of the flow of artistic products from producers to consumers, they quickly became specialised art professionals within the new patronage system. The shift of patronage from the social elite to the merchant-bourgeoisie presented the art economy with new opportunities which its participants proceeded to seize, and the market expanded as a result. These new patrons focused their investments on contemporary paintings that required no special knowledge or connoisseurship of old painting styles, and they bought the goods they desired through dealers rather than contacting the producers directly, as was the traditional practice. Therefore, it is interesting to examine exactly who these middlemen were and how they promoted the art trade in Republican Shanghai.

In Imperial China, three means of obtaining a painting from an artist existed, as is discussed in James Cahill's *The Painter's Practice*, namely: through commissions and letters; through go-betweens and agents; and via markets and studios. In these transactions, artists were paid either in cash or through the exchange of gifts, services, or hospitality. The diverse ways of acquiring and paying for a painting in some ways reflect the positions of the artists and the clients within the socioeconomic sphere.¹⁰ As discussed in the preceding

¹⁰ Cahill, *The Painter's Practice*, pp. 35–67. Also see James Cahill, 'Types of Artist-Patron Transactions in Chinese Painting', in Li ed., *Artists and Patrons*, pp. 7–20 (pp. 11–8).

chapters, the emergence of a modern art world in Shanghai had bestowed artists with a new professional status, establishing a new hierarchical order within the art world as well as a new relationship between the art world and society as a whole. Therefore, the professionalisation and institutionalisation of the art world in turn led to the systemisation of the transaction modes in the Shanghai art market.

In fact, it is not hard to see that owing to her prosperous economy and opulent material life, Shanghai had historically been a hub of the Chinese art market, serving a wide customer base from different provinces as well as tradesmen from Japan, since it had taken over the place of Yangzhou as cultural and commercial centre in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Regarding commercial practices, environment, and infrastructure, Stella Lee, Jonathan Hay, Roberto Wue, Yu-chih Lai, and Kuiyi Shen have carried out informative and insightful research into the late Qing Shanghai art market.¹² In 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai', Kuiyi Shen argues that two institutional structures—namely, painting societies and fan-and-paper shops (*Shanjian zhuang*, 扇箋莊) (figure 4.1)—developed in the late Qing period and consequently transformed the earlier trade of art into modern organisational and commercial structures, creating a more accessible art market for foreign as well as anonymous clientele.¹³ The emergence of these modern art agents in a way suggests that further professionalisation and commercialisation had taken place in the Shanghai

¹¹ Lee, 'Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century', p. 226.

¹² Lee, 'Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century'; Wue, *Making the Artist*; Hay, 'Painters and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai'; Wue, 'The Profits of Philanthropy'; Lai, 'Remapping Borders'; Shen, 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai'.

¹³ Shen, 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World in Late Qing Shanghai', pp. 13 – 27.

art world. Roberta Wue's research into the contexts of artistic commerce and society in late Qing Shanghai sheds light on commercial practices involving the newly established press media as well as the introduction of commercial tactics in the late nineteenth century. Referring repeatedly to advertisements and literary pieces published in the *Shenbao*, Wue has demonstrated that advertisements and charity announcements placed in newspapers opened up a new channel for reaching potential anonymous clients, in addition to creating a public discussion space for the art community.¹⁴ All these developments in the late Qing period thus laid a substantial foundation for the development of a more prosperous and institutionalised modern art market in the Republican period.

In Republican China, some traditional modes of artistic transactions remained in play; for instance, paintings were still bartered for a wide variety of services and goods. Republican seal carver Chen Julai 陳巨來 (1905–1984) recalled that the prominent artist Wu Zheng 吳徵 (1878–1949) never paid for food or groceries, but exchanged paintings of equal value for everything he needed.¹⁵ Zhang Daqian received Li Zuhan's hospitality during his stay in Shanghai. After that, Li requested that Zhang paint one hundred and twenty fans as gifts for his friends. However, after Zhang's leaving, Li sold the fans at the price of fifty dollars each as compensation for the expenses he had incurred during Zhang's stay.¹⁶ Also, in the diary of the prominent artist and connoisseur Wu Hufan, we find a preponderance of evidence that the artist created works of art as payment

¹⁴ Wue, *Making the Artist*, pp. 128–203.

¹⁵ Chen Julai 陳巨來, 'Ji Wu Daiqiu yu Feng Chaoran 記吳待秋與馮超然', 'A Record of Wu Daiqiu and Feng Chaoran', in *Wanxiang* 萬象, 'Panorama Monthly' (date unclear), (pp. 42 – 6) p. 43.

¹⁶ Chen Julai 陳巨來, 'Jige pengyou' 幾個朋友, 'About Some Friends', in *Wanxiang* (date unclear), (pp. 120 – 3) p. 123.

for different kinds of services or everyday favours. According to his diary, Wu visited the dentist Xu Xiaofeng with a toothache on 2nd May of 1931, and three days later, Wu painted a fan for Xu.¹⁷ In 1933, Wu painted a golden fan for Chen Julai as ‘thanks for Chen’s carving appearing on his studio’s seal *Shuangxiu ge* 雙修閣’.¹⁸ In 1935, Wu painted a blue-and-green hanging scroll landscape to celebrate the politician and poet Wang Jingwei’s 汪精衛 (1883–1994) birthday. (figure 4.2) Inscribed with two colophons, song lyrics composed by the renowned orthodox poet Zhou Bangyan 周邦彥 (1056–1121), and Wu’s own comments on the history of blue-and-green landscapes, this painting was done with a great deal more effort than the fan paintings mentioned above, giving it a much higher value. Obviously, *guohua* paintings in different styles and formats were valued at different market prices and could be exchanged accordingly for different kinds of goods and services.

Alongside the more traditional modes of acquiring paintings through personal networks, a more systematic and institutionalised open public market for trading art had developed in Shanghai beginning in the late nineteenth century in order to satisfy the increasing demand for works of art. In early 1909, before the fall of the Qing dynasty, the guidebook *Shanghai Zhinan* (which was introduced in previous chapters) offers some clues allowing us to discern one of the ways professional artists reached their anonymous clients.¹⁹ The guidebook consists of nine volumes, each devoted to useful information about newly-established professionals such as doctors and lawyers, but interestingly, artists as well.

¹⁷ Liang ed., *Wu Hufan wengao*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Liang ed., *Wu Hufan wengao*, p. 32.

¹⁹ Lin, *Shanghai zhinan*.

Under the category of ‘Calligraphers and Painters’, the names and contact details of calligraphers (*shujia*, 書家), painters (*huajia*, 畫家), and portraitists (*xiezhēn*, 寫真) are listed respectively. By looking closely at the Painters section, thirty-two names and contacts are on the list in the 12th edition (1923), including the revered merchant-artist Wang Yiting, acclaimed artist Wu Changshuo, Wu Zheng, Wu Shujuan, Feng Chaoran, and Cheng Yaosheng.²⁰ In the 23rd edition (1930), the list of painters includes Zhang Xiaolou 張小樓 (1875–?), Wang Shizi, Kuang Youhan 況又韓 (1904–?), Zhou Lianxia 周鍊霞 (1906–2000), Xie Gongzhan, and Gu Qingyao. The guidebooks simply provide names and contact details for the artists; for instance, under the name of Wang Yiting, three points of contact along with detailed addresses are provided, such as those of the Nissin Company (*Riqing gongsi*, 日清公司) and the Shengsheng Art Company. The Nissin Company was a Japanese shipping and transportation company where Wang worked, and the Shengsheng Art Company was owned by art entrepreneur Sun Xueni. This information suggests that clients could contact Wang either directly or through art agents such as the Shengsheng Art Company. For most of the artists on the list, the contacts might be dealers or agents, such as the Jiuhuatang Paper and Fan Shop (*Jiuhuatang baoji jian shan dian*, 九華堂寶記箋扇店); artistic societies, such as the Town Temple Painting and Calligraphy Charitable Association (*Yimiao shuhua shanhui*, 邑廟書畫善會) and the Art Garden Art Appreciation Society (*Yiyuan zhenshang she*, 藝苑真賞社); and even the home addresses of artists. Most of the artists listed were the most prominent and popular *guohua* artists at the time. For instance, Wang Yiting, Wu Changshuo, and Wu Shujuan were the most acclaimed and prestigious artists for Japanese customers, while Wu Zheng, Feng Chaoran, and Cheng Yaosheng were

²⁰ Lin, *Shanghai zhinan* (12th ed.), pp. 39.

the most highly priced artists in Shanghai (a fact that will be discussed in detail later). Considering that the targeted readers of the guidebooks were non-resident tourists or sojourners from outside Shanghai, the information clearly proves that artists had become one of the most popular professionals sought out by tourists beginning in the late nineteenth century—further suggesting that a well-developed and open art market for both local and non-local clients had already been established and by that time was in full operation in Shanghai.

As opposed to the art market in Imperial China—where artists had hesitated to present and publicise themselves as professional painters who made a living selling their work—the celebrated painters listed in the *Shanghai Zhinan* were unashamed to sell their services directly to the public through the guidebooks, reflecting a different attitude towards selling painting. As discussed in Chapter 2, *guohua* artists had striven to achieve professional status through the organisation of professional art societies and the bestowal of a new, respectable professional image to artists who made a living selling their professional skills; as a result, selling paintings had become a professional practice for artists. Furthermore, the information in the guidebooks provides clues allowing us a glimpse into the ways that paintings were sold and through what outlets artists could reach potential buyers in the Republican period.

In fact, by looking at the print media, such as newspapers and magazines, it is not hard to see that the burgeoning mass media had gradually been adopted by artists as an outlet for publicising their price-lists as well as constructing their public identities. As Roberta Wue has argued, artists in late nineteenth century Shanghai actively engaged with the press, *Shenbao* in particular, to publicise

announcements of sales of their products or services to raise money for charitable purposes—activities which clearly straddled the line between philanthropy and self-promotion, providing artists with the opportunity to attract new clients and at the same time enhance their own reputations.²¹ However, an obvious change took place in the mid 1920s, when most of the advertisements pertaining to selling paintings began to be published under unadorned and inconspicuous titles, such as ‘price-list’ or ‘selling painting’ (*yuhua*, 鬻畫). This shift suggests that artists had finally been freed from the traditional social and moral constraints on exchanging their artistic skills for money.

The change in the attitude toward selling painting thus fed the growth in the publication of artists’ price-lists in the press. In the mid 1920s, the classified advertisement section in the *Shenbao* included a special category entitled ‘Painting and Calligraphy’ (*Shuhua*, 書畫) devoted to the sale of art products. (figure 4.3) This feature made available a specific page and column for readers who wanted to buy paintings but required a more convenient and systematic way of finding such goods. Taking the classified advertisement section from 14th May 1927 as an example, under the section ‘Painting and Calligraphy’, a cluster of eight advertisements for the sale of paintings were grouped together. Placed on a supplementary page devoted to advertisements related to the sale of goods such as cigarettes, sporting equipment, and bathroom fixtures, the placement itself suggests that the social value of painting and calligraphy was regarded as similar to that of basic commodities used in daily life. Among these advertisements appears one for the young artist Zhang Daqian (who has been

²¹ Wue, ‘The Profits of Philanthropy.’ Also see price-lists collected in Wang ed., *Jingxiandai jinshi shuhuaajia runli*.

discussed in chapter 3), stating:

Zhang Jiyuan 張季媛 [Zhang Daqian] Sells Paintings

Yuan has studied painting since an early age. I dare not to be self-conceited. Despite the inferiority and dullness of my brush and ink, many people ask me for my paintings, pursuing me relentlessly, which has caused me to fall into great debt. Therefore, I have been forced to set my price-list for neither fame nor wealth. From now on, will those who want Yuan's paintings please pay in accordance with the price-list shown at any fan-and-paper shop in Shanghai. Paintings can be found at: The Fuji Bookstore, Yishou Avenue, Park Road, Shanghai. Contact Address: 169 Xicheng Avenue, West Gate, French Concession, Shanghai.²²

Within the space of a small advertisement, the artist promotes his artwork in just a few sentences, saying that so many orders have been received that he cannot satisfy the demand. Therefore, he argues, the establishment of a price-list was necessary because it would discourage people from asking for his paintings. In fact, this was at the time a common excuse, or more precisely, a socially acceptable way for an artist to set up a price-list. In the very early twentieth century, most advertisements for the sale of paintings stated that the sale was allegedly for some charitable purpose. However, the change in public attitude toward selling paintings had consequently resulted in the readjustment of the rhetorical style of such advertisements. Obviously, social responsibility was no longer the only acceptable disguise for the true financial purpose of selling

²² 'Zhang Jiyuan maihua' 張季媛賣畫, 'Zhang Jiyuan Sells Paintings', *Shenbao*, 1927.5.14 (+1).

paintings. New market-oriented tactics took the place of the previous one. For instance, Zhang Daqian claimed that setting up a price-list was for the purpose of escaping his admirers' requests. On the one hand, the advertisement creates an impression of the artist as being very popular, and on the other hand it attempted to portray the artist as being undesiring of material reward. However, it is not difficult to apprehend that this is in fact an advertisement with the very plain purpose of facilitating sales. Although the advertisement does not provide a detailed price-list, it offers information about where the readers can find one, as well as how to contact the artist directly. Similar information was provided in other advertisements on the same page as Zhang's, including the one for Zhang Shanzi and another for Ding Liuyang. Evidently, newspapers had continued to be used as an outlet for artists' extending their market and reaching a new class of customer: urbanites who were knowledgeable enough to read and rich enough to buy.

As discussed in the previous chapter, owing to the rise of exhibiting culture, art exhibitions had become a new outlet for selling paintings, and this practice had further triggered the division of labour in the art world. The new professions of art dealer and exhibition organisers had come into being, gradually taking on the crucial role of facilitating transactions between artists and anonymous buyers. Despite the fact that the practice of publishing advertisements in newspapers continued, more and more artists chose to distribute their price-lists through art agents who specialised in promotion and advertising. In the Shanghai art market, both old and contemporary paintings were distributed and sold through two separate systems and outlets. In the *Guide to Shanghai*, under the category of art products (*Meishu pin*, 美術品), two

kinds of art agents are listed: paper-and-fan shops and antique shops (*Guwandian*, 古玩店).²³ The paper-and-fan shops were the primary dealers in contemporary paintings, while antiques shops dealt mainly in old paintings. Therefore, it is not surprising that some painters listed in the *Shanghai Zhinan* listed in their contacts 'every paper-and-fan shop'. Having emerged in Shanghai during the late Qing period, paper-and-fan shops had soon become the principal agents within the new patronage system of the contemporary art market. These indigenous fan shops sold many luxury goods, such as paintings and calligraphy, high-end stationery, letter papers, fans, and birthday couplets; in addition, they provided services such as customised inscriptions on certain gift items, and working on behalf of clients to acquire paintings from artists.²⁴ A vernacular poem entitled 'Paper-and-Fan Hall' (*Jianshan tang*, 箋扇堂) describes the character of these shops in this way: 'Painting and calligraphy by celebrities are hoisted side-by-side/ round fans are hung on high/ folding fans are not on display / five-colour poem papers are decorated with ten different scenes / half of these shops are from Suzhou and Hangzhou'.²⁵ Twenty-five fan shops are listed in the *Shanghai Zhinan* of 1930, including the renowned shops *Jiuhuatang*, *Duoyunxuan* 朵雲軒, and *Xihongtang* 戲鴻堂.²⁶ By 1909, there were one hundred and nine fan shops in Shanghai (according to the figures provided by the Record of Shanghai Chinese Companies [*Shanghai huashanghang minglu*, 上海華商行名錄]), and new shops continued to open, particularly during the

²³ The roles played by fan shops and antique shops were well-defined in Republican Shanghai. The former was responsible for dealing in contemporary artists' works, while the later dealt with the works of deceased artists. Wang, 'Lishi de shiyi yu shiyi de lishi', pp. 3 - 4.

²⁴ Wang Zhongxiu has a thorough discussion on the rise of fan shops in Shanghai during the late Qing dynasty. See Wang, 'Lishi de shiyi yu shiyi de lishi', pp. 1 - 12. Also see Wue, *Making the Artist*, pp. 135-144.

²⁵ Gu Bingquan 顧炳權 ed., *Shanghai yangchang zhuzhici* 上海洋場竹枝詞, 'Vernacular Poems about Shanghai', (Shanghai, 1996), p.137.

²⁶ Lin, *Shanghai zhinan*, pp. 416 - 7. Also see Shen, 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World', pp. 14 - 9.

Republican Period.²⁷ The continued growth of the business, to a certain extent, reflects the commercial potential and economic revenue of the contemporary *guohua* market. Simultaneously, the success of the fan shops also implies that their position within the hierarchy of the Shanghai art market had been strengthened as a result of their new role as active players in the process of selling paintings.

In an interesting article entitled 'Selling Painting' (*Maihua*, 賣畫) published during this period, the author offers clues that allow us better to understand the role played by these agents in the art market. Consider the following extract as an example:

The paper shops [*Nanzhi dian*, 南紙店; in Shanghai, these were called paper-and-fan shops] are responsible for selling and assembling paintings for sale. In the Liulichang 琉璃廠 of Beijing, shops such as the Rongbao Studio 榮寶齋, the Songhua Studio 松華齋, and the Mingquan Studio 銘泉閣 regard 'selling paintings and calligraphy by prominent artists' as their major business because they are not able to cover costs if they sell papers only. These shops possess influential power, so new artists always suffer losses as a result of transactions carried out through them. Despite the fact that a ten percent commission is taken on each sale by the agents, these shops require newcomers to pay an additional ten percent commission and to offer

²⁷ Here I quote from Shan Guolin 單國霖, 'Haipai huihua de shangyehua tezheng' 海派繪畫的商業化特徵, 'The Characteristics of Commercialisation in the Shanghai School', in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji*, pp. 559 – 573 (p. 565). Also see, Shen, 'Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World', pp. 15.

discounts. In this calculation, that is a twenty percent discount, which means that for each sale at one dollar per inch, the artist receives only eighty cents and, incredibly, is required to offer a further discount.²⁸

Although the article describes the practices of paper shops in Beijing, it still offers some clues allowing us to understand the roles and practices of agents in the modern Chinese art world. It is believed that paper shops had become institutions that possessed the power to promote young newcomers. As pointed out by Kuiyi Shen, in the late Qing period, ‘fan shops offered clients easy places to buy painting, free of the stresses of personal obligation involved in many pre-modern transactions. At the same time, they helped establish the artist’s fame and price structures and thus also a celebrity might lead to direct business between patrons and artists.’²⁹ Therefore, despite the high commission rate, these traditional art agents were the most popular outlets for young newcomers seeking opportunities for both fame and clients.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the crucial role played by fan shops in facilitating the art trade became even more significant, and ambitious strategies were used to promote the business within the competitive art market. For instance, promotional advertisements were used, and, as discussed in chapter 3, exhibitions were organised for the purpose of increasing sales. An advertisement for a newly-established fan shop was published on the front page of the *Shenbao*, describing the business as follows (figure 4.4):

²⁸ A’su 阿蘇, ‘*Maihua* 賣畫’, ‘Selling Paintings’, in Lin Yutang 林語堂 ed., *Renjianshi xuanji* 人間世選集 (一), ‘Selected Literary Works’ (Taipei, 1978), pp. 123 – 25 (pp. 123-4).

²⁹ Shen, ‘Patronage and the Beginning of a Modern Art World’, p. 15.

The opening advertisement for the Xinghua Tang paper-and-fan shop

The shop acts on behalf of clients to acquire the paintings and calligraphy (*daiqiu mingren shuhua*, 代求名人書畫) of renowned artists and offers skilfully-made letter paper; fashionable, elegant fans; specially-made western and Chinese books and albums; ink; screen; silk; satin; hanging scrolls; mounting; couplets; stationary; purified colour; and seal ink. All goods from the shop are fine and exquisite, encompassing a wide variety of styles which are not able to be fully listed here. To celebrate the opening of the shop, all goods will be sold at a special discount. Please come and visit our shop. ³⁰

Another example is one renowned Beijing fan shop, the Rongbao Studio, which in 1932 opened its Shanghai branch in the Henan Road, near the heart of the city's commercial centre in Nanjing Road. The shop's inaugural advertisement gives a clear introduction to the business as follows (figure 4.5):

Our shop has been established in Beijing for over one hundred years and specialises in selling paintings and calligraphy done by celebrities, letter-paper in archaic styles, authentic old rice papers, fashionable fans, birthday and wedding couplets, seal ink, colours, white copper ink boxes, seals, etc.—every stationary item required by men of letters. The shop also provides a mounting service for new and old paintings and sells the precious brushes of the Daiyue Studio and Lifushou. Goods are too numerous to list here. Our products are of good

³⁰ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1927.7.3 (1).

quality and are reasonably priced.³¹

These advertisements reveal what goods and services were sold and offered in the Shanghai fan shops, as well as how they were classified. Obviously, basic materials for painting such as colours, rice paper, and mounting silk as well as ready-made products such as fans and letter papers were grouped together with ready-made art products such as 'paintings and calligraphy by famous artists'. These classifications show that fan shops served as a bridge between art producers and art consumers. They not only regarded art producers as targeted customers but also acted as outlets for selling their final products to the public. Therefore, it is believed that fan shops had become places where customers could commission works to be painted by their preferred artists (whose price-lists were provided by the shop), functioning primarily as department stores dealing in not only ready-made painting and calligraphy, but also commissioned art.

Furthermore, the sequence of the advertised listings of services offered also suggests that the primary business and source of income for fan shops was, just as A'su's article indicates, 'on behalf of clients to acquire renowned artists' paintings and calligraphy'. Therefore, to satisfy the diverse tastes of a wider public, a wide variety of art products was offered; the more artists a shop might include, the more revenue might be ensured. In this regard, contemporary artists themselves could unquestionably be regarded as the economic and symbolic capital possessed by fan shops, having to a large degree become one of the primary decisive factors in determining the extent of any one shop's direct profits.

³¹ 'Rongbaozhai shuhua shandian' 榮寶齋書畫棧扇店, 'Rongbaozhai Painting-and-Calligraphy Fan Shop' *Shenbao*, 1932.6.26 (+6).

Therefore, in order to stand out in the competitive art market, fan shops gradually became more and more professional. Benefiting from both the publishing industry and the new commercial culture, these shops invented new practices designed to enhance sales. Collective price-lists of artists were grouped together and printed in book form, similar to product catalogues, from which customers could choose their desired products by considering the detailed information provided, such as styles, formats, sizes, and the most important factor: price.

An interesting and yet rare copy of the collective price-list catalogue of one fan shop, the Youmei Studio (*Youmeitang*, 有美堂), has survived for our examination. Published in 1925, the catalogue epitomises the general practice of fan shops and provides insights into the prevailing commercial culture in the art market of Republican Shanghai (figure 4.6). As with most fan shops, the *Youmeitang* was situated in the heart of the Shanghai commercial centre, the Nanjing Road. Its business comprised publishing, mounting, and introducing, in addition to the sales of gifts, stationery, books, letter papers, etc. The first volume of 'The Collection of the Price-lists of Seal Carvers, Calligraphers, and Painters' (*Jinshi shuhua jia rundan huikan*, 金石書畫家潤單彙刊) was published in 1925 with a second volume later. Including altogether over four hundred price-lists of contemporary artists, the catalogues were given to customers free of charge.³² Artists were requested to submit their price-lists to the shop, who agreed to act as an agent and intermediary in the matter of selling paintings. Artists who submitted their price-lists to the *Youmeitang* were then charged one

³² In an advertisement, the agent responsible for distributing the two volumes of price-lists published by the *Youmeitang* claims that there were over four hundred artists included in the two volumes, covering almost all the artists of Shanghai. Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1927.5.10 (13).

dollar.³³ In the first volume, altogether one hundred and forty eight price-lists were assembled. (figure 4.7) A one-page advertisement for the shop itself again offers evidence allowing us to understand the reasons customers came to the shop, and how contemporary paintings were perceived and functioned in the Republican era. The advertisement states (figure 4.8):

You understand that gift-giving is an annoying matter.

If one wants to solve this problem, the best way is to visit the *Youmeitang* to select and prepare gifts. This is because the gifts from the *Youmeitang* are the most comprehensive, decent, dignified, and fashionable.

Gift Products of *Youmeitang* include hanging scrolls, scrolls, scroll sets, couplets, and horizontal tablets. We accept ready-made orders, and provide on behalf of the client services such as the composition and writing of inscriptions, as well as painting.³⁴

As the advertisement indicates, contemporary paintings and calligraphy were perceived as popular and fashionable gifts during the Republican Period, which witnessed a further acceleration of the commoditised potential of painting via the open market. Due to flourishing commercial activity as well as the rising numbers of new entrepreneurs in the city, the growth of the art market was eventually encouraged by Shanghai's rapidly-developed commercialism. Buyers could not only purchase ready-made paintings as gifts, but could also chose the artists, formats, genres, and themes in accordance with their preferences;

³³ *Jinshi shuhua jia rundan huikan* 金石書畫家潤單彙刊, 'Price-lists of Seal Carvers, Calligraphers and Painters', (Shanghai, 1925), back cover.

³⁴ *Jinshi shuhua jia rundan huikan*, p. 149..

transactions took place via agents, who then represented the clients in dealing with the selected artists and ensured the transactions' successful completion. An interesting and rare commission contract preserved from 1912 is the best existing example of how such transactions had been systematised, standardised, and institutionalised. The contract is presented in a standard printed form, which lists all the stipulations for the commission order:

Commission Order (Weituoshu, 委託書)

(No.) 220, one horizontal scroll; priced at two dollars. (Invite Mr.) Huang Binhong to paint landscape. (Dedicated to) Huasheng. (Request by the Jiuhua Studio) on 17th August.³⁵

The form demonstrates that buyers were able simply to fill in the required information, such as the size, name of preferred artist, genre, etc., and then the fan shop would do the rest by sending the order form to the commissioned artist. This practice implies that by this point in time, the process of selling paintings had been standardised under new commercial practices. Artists were commissioned to produce works of art following the detailed stipulations given on the order forms. Most of these types of orders were commissioned by anonymous clients, but even a traditional dedicatory inscription could be requested by providing on the form the name of the intended receiver of the piece. In Imperial China, the dedicatory inscription had long been regarded as a discernible indication of the close relationship between the artist and the receiver; however, in the highly commoditised art world of metropolitan Shanghai, the

³⁵ As Wang Zhongxiu described, the original sizes were 19.5 cm in length and 4.7 cm in width, and bracketed words were printed in red. Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p.4.

tenor of such inscriptions likewise had become a valuable and customisable luxury item which was capable of bringing in an additional fee.

Apart from fan shops, art societies were alternative outlets for selling paintings. As discussed in chapter 2, art societies established at the turn of the twentieth century played an imperative role in introducing modern commercial practices and managerial concepts to the art world, with societal activities being focused mainly on promoting the trade in art and acting as intermediaries between clients and artists. The Yu Garden Painting and Calligraphy Charitable Association, for instance, is a case in point, the society's having possessed the power to introduce newcomers to the Shanghai art market. The commercial aspect of the society was discussed in chapter 2; however, the extent to which the society was rewarded for its role as agent is intriguing. An interesting and important financial report on the society was published in 1909 in the *Shibao* newspaper, showing that over eighty percent of the society's income came from its commissions on the sales of paintings. This interesting and rare material provides a breakdown of the societal financial report as follows:

Income received: 1. July, received 34.64 dollars. 2. August and September, membership fees, 17 dollars, 25 cents. For details, see attached. 3. Income from selling paintings in August, 50 dollars; September, 143.6 dollars.³⁶

It also includes a detailed breakdown of expenses, which reads:

³⁶ 'Shanghai shuhua shanhui diqi ci baogao' 上海書畫善會第七次報告, 'The seventh meeting report of the Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Charitable Association', *Shibao* 時報, quoted from Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 72.

Outgoings: 1. two portions of 4-foot rice paper in August and one portion of 5-foot rice paper in September, total 11.6 dollars; printing five membership fee booklets and five price-lists booklets, total 1.5 dollars; colours, 1.9 dollars; seal stones, 0.2 dollars; frames for mounting photos, 2 dollars; five brushes, 0.46 dollars.³⁷

These data help us to understand clearly the actual economic function and purpose of the Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association. It is clear that most of the association's expenses were for basic art materials and equipment, such as brushes, colours, and rice paper. Also, five copies of each of two kinds of booklets were printed: namely the membership booklet and price-lists booklet. Seemingly, the association functioned as an outlet for distributing the price-lists of its members, which further indicates the commercial objectives of the art society. The commercial aims of this art society had become further specialised and professionalised, having developed in parallel with art societies that emphasised artistic activities in the flourishing 1930s.

Although the community aspect of *guohua* societies was discussed in Chapter 2, it is worth a shift in our attention here if we are to fully appreciate the role of art societies as agents. In the mid 1920s, although *guohua* societies generally tended to pay more attention to art activities than to the promotion of sales, some art societies acted solely as agents, operating under modern managerial concepts, and as a result, more advanced retailing tactics soon emerged. A typical example is the United Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association (*Shanghai*

³⁷ 'Shanghai shuhua shanhui diqici baogao', p. 72.

shuhua lianhehui, 上海書畫聯合會). Established in 1925 with a purely commercial purpose by a less well-known professional artist, Cha Yangu 查煙谷 (Dates Unknown), the society positioned itself as an art agent in Shanghai, operating systematically and professionally. The society provided comprehensive services for artists, including introducing students to established artists, publishing price-lists, setting price-lists, and organising exhibitions for sales. These activities and functions reveal the society's unmistakable commercial foundations. Also, the majority of regulations in its societal ordinance were specifically related to trading art. For instance, the following extract from the ordinance provides details of how deals were carried out. It reads:

- Introduce artists: the association will try its best to introduce and promote members' works to others. For consigned or commissioned orders, the association will deduct 20 % as a commission fee. Special assignments will be calculated separately.
- Exhibitions: the association will hold at least two societal exhibitions each year. After the Fifth Anniversary Exhibition of 1929, it was agreed that the society would hold a memorial exhibition in November of the western calendar and a fan exhibition in May of the western calendar.
- Organisational Structure: the Chairman will be in charge of all the associational affairs. Members and representatives of painting-and-calligraphy societies will be assembled for special meetings if there is any urgent and important matter that needs to be discussed.
- Teaching: for all those who aspire to and want to learn art, the

association will introduce renowned teachers for supervision either through distance teaching or face-to-face teaching. Tuition fees will be negotiated. After graduation, the student will be upgraded to full membership in the association.

- Promotion: those who have studied art and have significant accomplishments but have not yet set price-lists can send sample works to the association. The association will request that renowned masters set the price-lists. The administration fee for this service is 3 dollars. Sample works will be kept by the association.
- Other business: the association introduces painting and calligraphy and carving, even those works of recognised members who have not yet paid membership fees or donated their works to the association. We invite experts in authentication to collect and sell authenticated paintings and calligraphy, rubbings, bronze, jades, stones, ivories, and bamboos. Also, we can assist in buying colours, paper, silk, couplets, hanging scrolls, and stationery.
- To make an agreement: the association can, on behalf of the client, request paintings and calligraphy and seal carvings, ensuring that the products are fine and reasonably priced. The buyer should make a full payment, and the seller will be paid once the product is finished. If the seller cannot finish the work within the space of two months, another month will be allowed for postponement. A letter will be sent to the seller as a reminder. However, if the transaction cannot be completed within this time period, the order will be cancelled.³⁸

³⁸ 'Haishang shuhua lianhehui jianzhang' 海上書畫聯合會簡章, 'Brief Ordinance of the Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting United Association', *Mohaichao*, 1 (1930), p. 1.

This extract demonstrates that the primary business of this association was similar to that of fan shops, including requesting paintings, setting up price-lists, and making agreements between buyers and artists. In the absence of a permanent gathering place, the address of this society was in fact the personal address of its founder and director, Cha Yangu. Obviously, the association functioned not as an art society but in fact as a professional agent. Unlike art societies discussed in Chapter 2, in which the managerial board eventually became democratised, the United Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association was governed by its founder and only committee member, Cha Yangu. Its emphasis likewise leaned towards offering professional support for artists by distributing their price-lists and organising regular exhibitions for selling paintings.

In 1930, to celebrate the sixth anniversary of its establishment, the society launched its societal journal, 'Tide of the Ink Sea' (*Mohaichao*, 墨海潮), eventually publishing three issues. Surprisingly for an art journal, it included an enormous number of price-lists, which constituted altogether five out of the twenty-eight pages in the whole journal. This large number of price-lists was even proudly regarded as the highlight of the journal's content. In the inaugural issue, the editor commented specifically on the matter of the price-lists included in the journal as follows:

In Shanghai, there are thousands of painters and calligraphers, and tens of thousands of art college students, and our art association is proud of being able to assemble over eight hundred price-lists, which will be published in

the associational journal accordingly. However, due to the inaugural issue's being done in a rush and the press for publication, we could only publish those price-lists that had been already collected. It is expected that the remainder will be published in issues two and three, respectively.³⁹

Despite the fact that most art journals established in the Republican period (such as the *Bee Journal* and the *Guohua Monthly*) set aside some pages for the publication of price-list advertisements, it is safe to say that the journal *Mohaichao* was especially dedicated to the publication of price-lists. (figure 4.9) As an intermediary between art producers and the public, the society was able to ensure its profits through the introduction and promotion of its members. Apart from publishing the journal, the society also organised exhibitions to showcase and sell its members' works. In 1931, the society's sixth anniversary exhibition was organised. Housed at the Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai, the sole purpose of the exhibition was to sell paintings. Exhibitions, as discussed in the previous chapter, were used as a temporary showcase for selling paintings. The aim of the current discussion is to closely examine a rare and detailed set of exhibition regulations issued by the chairman, Chao Yangu, and in doing so to have a better understanding of the practical aspects of the commercial group exhibition. The detailed regulations cover all possible issues related to a commercial group exhibition. (figure 4.10) It states:

- Exhibits should have been executed within the past year and should never have never been exhibited before.

³⁹ 'Zhubianzhe fushi' 主編者附識, 'Supplementary note by the Chief Editor', *Mohaichao*, 1 (1930), p. 28.

- Each member can submit a maximum of six exhibits, and each will be charged 20 cents as a displaying fee. However, the not-for-sale replacement charge for those that have been sold will be 60 cents.
- Except for invited artists, non-members wishing to display their works in the exhibition should become members of the society.
- Exhibits should be framed and mounted by the owners and submitted to the association by 30th November for inclusion in the exhibition catalogue.
- Exhibitors have the right to judge and select exhibits.
- If too many works of art are submitted for display, exhibits will be changed every day accordingly.
- Payment in full is due in advance, and works of art should be collected within five days after the close of the exhibition.
- If someone wants to buy an exhibit that has already been marked as sold, an additional charge (of at least 10% but of an unlimited maximum amount) should be added to the original price. The association will inform the first buyer and refund him the full payment. If third, fourth or fifth buyers wish to compete for the purchase of an exhibit, an extra amount should be added to the original price before the close of the exhibition.
- All exhibits sold and the exhibits having received the most votes from juries will be included in the associational journal's sixth anniversary special issue. The price of this issue will be confirmed later. (Subscribers to *Mohaichao* will receive a copy free of charge).
- Profits from all exhibits sold should be reduced by 20% of the original price, which should be paid to the association as a commission.

- Profits from all exhibits sold through competition should be reduced by 50% of the original price, which should be paid to the association as a commission.
- Exhibition fees will be waived for works donated in exchange for their societal membership joining fees. However, if the works are not already mounted, they should be submitted to the association for mounting and selection before 20th October.
- All orders for coping any exhibit will be considered ‘special request’ orders.
- If members are willing to lower their prices, to price special request orders at normal prices, or to give discounts on normal prices for the associational anniversary, they should state this clearly in advance. The allowable period for such reductions is three months from 1st of December onwards. A 20 % commission will be deducted by the association for such sales.
- For all the exhibits, the highest price paid should not be more than double the original price, and the cheapest price should not be less than half of the original price. Prices should be clearly marked by exhibitors.
- Unsold exhibits should be collected within five days of the exhibition closing by providing a valid receipt at Cha’s home, no. 7, Sanxing Avenue, Xilin Road, Outside West Gate, Shanghai.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ ‘Haishang shuhua lianhehui liuzhounian jinian zhanlanhui zhengqiu chupin guize’ 海上書畫聯合會六周年紀念展覽會徵求出品規則, ‘Regulations for the Submission of Exhibits for the Sixth Anniversary Exhibition of the Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy United Association’, *Mohaichao*, 2 (1930), p. 1.

These regulations show that by the Republican period, the practice of commercial exhibitions had become systematised and standardised. Exhibitors were required to pay exhibition fees, and 20 % commission was deducted from every successful transaction. Also, the idea of auctioning was incorporated into exhibiting culture to enhance competition, so works could be reproduced and even exhibits already marked as sold could be bid on if an extra amount of money was paid.

Beside publishing price-lists and organising commercial exhibitions, the United Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association also offered clients the special service of providing collaborative works by its members. In an interesting and notable announcement published in *Mohaichao*, a special price-list for the United Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association lists nineteen prices for various collaborative paintings. (figure 4.11) Standard themes and titles for collaborative paintings were introduced and priced. Example include: for landscape paintings, 'Landscape of the Four Seasons' (*Chunxiaqiudong shanshui*, 春夏秋冬山水), 'Ten Scenes of the West Lake' (*Xihu shi jing*, 西湖十景), 'Eight Scenes of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers' (*Xiaoxiang ba jing*, 瀟湘八景), and 'Twelve Scenes of the Taihua Mountains' (*Taihua shier jing*, 太華十二景); for figure painting, 'Three Stars of Luck' (*Sanxing tu*, 三星圖), 'Four Honourable Men' (四皓圖), 'Five Old Men' (*Wulao tu*, 五老圖), 'Eight Immortals' (*Baxian tu*, 八仙圖), and 'Eighteen Degree Holders' (*Shiba xueshi tu*, 十八學士圖); and for flower-and-bird painting, 'Three Friends of Winter' (*Suihan sanyou tu*, 歲寒三友圖), 'Three Flowers of Autumn' (*Sanqiu tu*, 三秋圖), 'Five Flowers of Good Omen' (*Wurui tu*, 五瑞圖), and

'Nine Autumn Plants' (*Jiuqiu tu*, 九秋圖).⁴¹ Obviously, all these titles are numerical and auspicious, tailor-made and well-selected themes for collaborative paintings. A remark at the end of the price-list points out that the listed discount prices were handled and arranged by the society and that if clients wanted to request that specific artists create collaborative paintings, prices would be set based on the artists' normal fees. This special price-list in a way suggests that art agents in the Republican period also functioned actively as co-ordinators between artists for the arrangement of collaborative paintings, one of the most popular and expensive genres in the market.

Undoubtedly, the above discussion of print media, the Youmeitang, and the United Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Association demonstrates how traditional outlets underwent modernisation by adopting modern retailing methods such as advertising, exhibiting culture, and publishing. From fan shops to commercially-based art societies, dealings in commissioned art had become big business and a major source of revenue. One finds that price-lists, an indigenous feature of China, played a crucial role in the art business for agents. In Imperial China, artists and men of letters used price-lists to set prices for their work and define their individual stipulations and conditions. However, it was not until the Republican period that publishing and circulating price-lists in the public sector had become common and appropriate practices in the art world. Whatever position the artist held within the hierarchy of the art world, and whether the artist was an amateur or a 'professional', it is safe to say that every Republican *guohua* artist had his own price-list which not only represented him

⁴¹ 'Haishang shuhua lianhe hui huiyuan hezuo lianrun teli' 海上書畫聯合會會員合作廉潤特例, 'Special Price-list for Collective Paintings by Members of the Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy United Association', *Mohaichao*, 3 (1930), p. 5.

in the marketplace, but also recorded the detailed prices of his products. This practice thus provides abundant evidence allowing us to reconstruct the pricing logic of the Shanghai market. In order to analyse the valuable information preserved in these published price-lists, the following discussion will focus on two important issues: namely, how artists and paintings were priced, and what cultural values are reflected in the Republican pricing system.

Pricing the artist

As paintings are most difficult commodities to price, their values are governed by the marketplace and are to a large extent determined by the rules of the autonomous art world itself. In this part, I will focus mainly on the book *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaajia runli*, which includes over two thousand price-lists published in newspapers, magazines, and fan shops during the period spanning from 1874 to 1949.⁴² The price-list is an indigenous product of China, providing information pertaining to the artist—such as background, style origins, personal style, and prices—in textual descriptions. Interestingly, apart from fame and reputation, price-lists were regarded as definitive points of reference for potential clients. As a result, the nuances of language employed and the terms and conditions stipulated in addition to the basic information provided in price-lists are, to a large degree, the reflections of the social, cultural, and aesthetic values of the *guohua* field at the time. Therefore, the huge number of price-lists preserved in the book provides useful information allowing us to understand how artists and paintings were priced and what these prices meant to the art market and the society at large in Republican Shanghai.

⁴² Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaajia runli*.

Recently, although some research has been done on the prices of Chinese paintings at different periods, the cultural and social illumination potentially gleaned from these prices have never been thoroughly examined and analysed.⁴³ The value and pricing of art has long been problematic. Governed neither by the general economic rules of production costs nor by marginal utility theories of pricing, economists have been irked for centuries by the challenge of developing an analytical paradigm to explain the rules that govern the valuation of art.⁴⁴ Certainly, the prices of art objects in the Republican period were not fixed by the government but were seemingly determined autonomously based on the capricious pricing logic of the art world itself. Therefore, the question must be raised of exactly how a just price was arrived at. A just price, as pointed out by Lessius, was a price established by an authoritative and experienced expert.⁴⁵ Unlike the prices of other commodities, which are governed merely by the rules of supply and demand, the pricing of works of art in Republican Shanghai was controlled and established by a group of cultural celebrities who, as was discussed in the previous chapters, possessed a huge amount of cultural, economic, and symbolic capital and held high positions in both the social and artistic arenas. The Republican art market is similar to the markets in other contexts in that buyers, sellers, and agents did as much to collect information as is worth their while to reduce risks and uncertainties. Differing from the market

⁴³ Selected important published studies of prices for Chinese paintings include Hongnam Kim, 'Chou Liang-kung and His *Tu-hua-lu* Painters', in Li ed., *Artists and Patrons*, pp. 189–208; Kim, 'Wang Hui: Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting', in *Chinese Painting Under the Qianlong Emperor*, pp. 261–71; Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, pp. 130–133 and appendix 2, pp. 178–81; Wang, *Jinxiandai jinzhi shuhuaqia runli*.

⁴⁴ For discussions on the economics of the arts, see V.A. Ginsburgh and P.-M. Menger eds., *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays* (Amsterdam, 1996); William Dyer Grampp, *Pricing the Priceless: Art, Artists, and Economics* (New York, 1989); J Heilbrun and C. M. Gray eds., *The Economics of Art and Culture* (Cambridge, 1993); Marchi and Goodwin eds., *Economic Engagements with Art*.

⁴⁵ Van Houdt, 'Economics of Art in Early Modern Times', in Marchi and Goodwin eds., *Economic Engagements with Art*, p. 316–7.

for antique paintings—which involves a large amount of information about authenticity and attribution—the market for contemporary art depends largely upon information provided about contemporary artists, such as their reputations. In order to manage risks and uncertainties for the investment of taste, informative price-lists were published and circulated in the modern Shanghai art market.

A survey has been done based on the data provided in remaining price-lists published from 1929 to 1937, attempting to show how prices were set and fluctuated over the period (Appendix 5). Taking 1936 as example, the figures show that the price of a standard 4-foot hall scroll could range from 3 dollars to 170 dollars, suggesting that artists were priced very differently and that the social background of customers likewise spanned a wide range. To put these prices in context, a single unskilled worker spent an average of 11.85 dollars a month, and the five-person family of an unskilled worker spent 21.35 dollars per month on living expenses during the 1920s; for a skilled single worker, the average monthly expenditure for living expenses was 19.26 dollars, and for the five-person family of a skilled worker, 35.85 dollars. The monthly income of a textile worker's family was 31.87 dollars, while that of a professional doctor ranged from 300 to 3000 dollars.⁴⁶ The average price of a 4-foot hall scroll was around 20 dollars, which was in fact quite expensive and not at all affordable for all social classes. Although from an economic perspective art prices are governed by the market, aesthetic values and fashions are to a large degree the primary factors that determines the prices of art. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate the rules and valuation rationales that were employed during this period.

⁴⁶ Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*, pp. 58 - 9.

By viewing the Shanghai art market as what Pierre Bourdieu terms ‘the market of symbolic goods’, one can fully understand the field of restricted production if one treats the art market as a site of competition for proper cultural consecration (i.e., legitimacy) and for the power to grant it. However, for full appreciation of this concept, the relationships between the various instances of consecration must also be analysed, including: 1. Institutions which conserve the capital of symbolic goods, such as museums, and 2. Institutions which ensure that agents are imbued with the capabilities of action, expression, conception, imagination, and perception, specific to the ‘cultivated disposition’.⁴⁷ In the Republican period, as discussed in chapter 2, both formal and informal art institutions were formed, which to a large degree became the authorities of consecration. Within the hierarchical structure of the Shanghai art world, producers of symbolic goods for either a restricted or an unrestricted public were subsequently consecrated by differentially legitimised and legitimising institutions. As discussed in previous chapters, cultural and social celebrities functioned as a sort of consecratory authority; they not only tended to be the custodians of established tastes and sumptuary customs, but also regulated the criteria of fashion that generated the impulses of demand. In light of this notion, the pricing system of the Republican Shanghai could to a large extent be seen as a reflection of this hierarchical relationship of symbolic force.

In China, it was common practice for the price of a young artist to be set by revered and prestigious members of the art community, such as cultural celebrities and renowned artists. Acting as an authority of consecration, these social celebrities provided recognition that would thus function similarly to

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, ‘The Market of Symbolic Goods’, p. 121.

educational credentials that were able to bestow extra cultural and economic benefits upon the young artist. As described in the reminiscences of the young Republican artist Cheng Jiezi 程芥子 (Dates unknown), setting up a price-list for a young artist was symbolically similar to a declaration of graduation. Cheng says:

Talking about price-lists: we saw this as an important thing, to set up one's price-list. This was not the thing that you could do whenever you wanted to sell paintings. One's painting skill must have reached a certain level and the artist must have obtained his mentor's approval for showing his painting to the public. The artist's mentor would then arrange all the things pertaining to setting the price-list. The range of high and low for the price-list would be determined by the mentor. The names appearing on the price-list are celebrities invited by the artist's mentor.⁴⁸

In this regard, setting up one's price-list was analogous to receiving a certificate of consecration. Also, throughout the entire process, it is clear that the mentor or teacher played a crucial and officiating role in making the decision as to whether the student was qualified to set his own prices, as well as in inviting various social celebrities through his own personal connections to draft and issue the price-list.

Obviously, for a young newcomer, the setting and issuing of a price-list was

⁴⁸ Cheng Jiezi 程芥子, 'Songshan caotang yi' 嵩山草堂瑣憶, 'A Memory of the Songshan Studio' *Yitan* 藝壇, 'The Art Scene', 100 (1976), pp. 34 - 6 (p. 36).

the most important prerequisite for entering the art market. Being textual in nature, the format of price-lists was standardised, providing helpful background information on the artist and detailed prices of his works in a specific rhetoric style. In general, a price-list consists of a title, a brief introduction to the artist and his styles, detailed prices for the artist's works, and contact information. It could be as complex as a biographical entry in a dictionary, (figure 4.12) or as simple as a price tag. (figure 4.13) Principally, the crucial role played by price-lists in the open art market was to gather detailed data on the artist as well as his works of art, and then to translate all of the cultural and symbolic capital possessed by the artist into a standardised and accessible textual format that was intelligible to the general public.

Here, I will examine the history of the price-list of the leading merchant-artist Wang Yiting as an example showing how his changing social and cultural status altered the contents of his price-list. Wang issued his first price-list in 1887, when he was twenty three years of age. Presented in a simple way, it was a joint price-list with a little-known artist, Jin Runqing 金潤卿 (Dates unknown). Published in the *Shenbao*, and entitled 'Price-list for Relief Aid' (*Runzi zhuzhen*, 潤資助賑), it includes very little information on the artists, stating,

Wang Yiting of Fengxi and Jin Runqing of Guwu are willing to paint fans, albums, and zither scrolls for relief aid. The announcement was published in both the *Shenbao* and *Hubao* 滬報 a month ago, and now the artists also plan to paint large-size paintings. Prices are as follows:
Hanging Scroll: 6-foot, 1 dollar; 5-foot, 60 cents; 4-foot, 40 cents. Set

of hanging scrolls: each scroll in the set is half price. 3-foot hanging scroll, 25 cents. Four corners of the cross top of a bed tent, 32 cents.

Fan, album, and zither scrolls, each 10 cents.

Price of figures paintings are double the normal price.

Place orders at the Baomozhai Mounting Shop, Second Road. Large paintings take half a month, and smaller sized paintings seven days.

All profits will be donated to the institute for relief aid.

Issued by Zhuping, the Chen Yuchang Relief Institute, Third Road ⁴⁹

Two years later, Wang and Jing published another revised price-list in the *Shenbao* under the title, 'Price of Paintings' (*Huarun*, 畫潤); the contents are as follows:

Jin Runqing's bird-and-flower and cypress-and-deer, Wang Yiting's bird-and-flower and figures

3-, 4-, 5-, 6-, and 8-foot hanging scrolls are 80 cents, 1 dollar, 1 dollar and 20 cents, 2 dollars, and 3 dollars, respectively. Set of hanging scrolls: each scroll in the set is half price. Fans and albums are 20 cents each. Prices for figures, cypress-and-deer, and gold paper are double the normal price. Other requests will be considered separately.

Sold and collected by the Baomozhai Mounting Shop and the Zhenshangzhai. Mail orders are to be arranged by the buyers.⁵⁰

The above price-lists reveal that Wang Yiting priced his 4-foot hanging scrolls at

⁴⁹ 'Runzi zhuzhen' 潤資助賑, 'Price-list for Relief Aid', *Shenbao*, 1887.5.7, in Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaajia runli*, p. 41.

⁵⁰ *Shenbao*, 1889.4.22, in Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaajia runli*, p. 52.

40 cents in 1887 and 1 dollar in 1889—prices which were set probably with reference to the average prices of his contemporaries' work, as published in the *Shenbao*.⁵¹ As selling painting publicly was still regarded as inappropriate in the late nineteenth century, it is not surprising that most of the price-lists published in newspapers were issued under a less offensive titles, such as 'Relief aid'.⁵² However, as the processes of commercialisation and commoditisation of art came to the surface (particularly in the commercial city of Shanghai), artists became less and less ashamed of posting their price-lists in the newly-established public spaces of newspapers and magazines. Therefore, in the early 1920s, Wang Yiting revised and published his own detailed price-list, which was set and written in calligraphy by the revered Shanghai artist Wu Changshuo (figure 4.14) (figure 4.15). Between 1922 and 1930, Wu wrote two price-lists for Wang—one issued in 1922 and the other 1925—which were published in the art journals the *Shenzhou guoguang ji* (in 1922 and 1923) and *Mohaichao* (in 1930).⁵³ These price-lists are comparatively more complicated than the previous one, adding extra symbolic value to Wang and his works of art. Beginning with a commentary written by Wu Changshuo, which states that Wang excelled in both painting and calligraphy—particularly in his having mastered the essence of the ancient masters' styles such as the Tang calligraphers, Li Yangbing 李陽冰 (Dates Unknown) and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (707–784). Wang would be sixty in the following year, and in order to reduce the number of requests for his

⁵¹ Judging from the price-lists collected in *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaqia runli*, the price for a 4-foot hanging scroll ranged from 50 cents to 2 dollars in 1889.

⁵² For a detailed discussion of art activities in the name of relief aid, see Wue, 'The Profits of Philanthropy'

⁵³ The *Shenzhou guoguang ji* was published in 1922 by the Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Association, and its content is divided into two main categories: images of works of art, and price-lists of its members. Xu, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu 1911 - 1949*, pp. 18 - 9.

paintings, he intended to raise his prices.⁵⁴

After the commentary, detailed prices for Wang's paintings and calligraphy in various formats and genres are listed. The notice ends with Wu Changshuo's signature and artist's seals. Issued in 1925, this price-list was then used and circulated continually in the art market for five years. It is not until 1930 that Wang's price-list was revised and one sentence written by him was added. It states, 'Attention please, the prices will rise by 50% effective from May 1930.' According to Wang's price-list of 1925, a 4-foot hanging scroll was priced at 40 dollars, so after being marked up by 50%, it would have cost 60 dollars after May of 1930.

Between 1887 and 1930, the price of a 4-foot hanging scroll by Wang Yiting rose from 40 cents to 60 dollars. This variation illustrates the changes in his status within the Shanghai art world and suggests the close relationship therein between economic and symbolic value. Wang went from being an unknown artist who sold his paintings through small joint advertisements to being a prominent artist highly recommended by a leading artistic figure. Finally, he gained a prominent and prestigious enough position to revise his own prices and even to set price-lists for newcomers; the prices of Wang's paintings surged 150-fold as his position in the art world hierarchy rose. Clearly, this brief history of Wang's price-lists demonstrates that the price of an artist is closely related to the cultural and symbolic value he possesses.

⁵⁴ Jiuhuatang 九華堂 ed., *Jiuhuatang suo cang jindai mingjia shuhua zhuanke runli* 九華堂所藏近代名家書畫篆刻潤例, 'The Jiuhuatang's Collection of Price-lists of Paintings, Calligraphy and Seal Carvings of Modern Renowned Artists' (Hong Kong, 1979).

The practice of setting price-lists continued to play an important role in the 1930s. In order to delve into the pricing logic of the art market in Republican Shanghai, the following discussion will focus on the price-lists of two young artists, Wu Hufan and Yu Jianhua, who sold paintings publicly on the market. In contrast with the generation of Wang Yiting, the new generation of artists born at the turn of the century viewed art as a lifelong career and strove to establish their own professional images through a series of artistic activities such as exhibitions, publication, and art associations, in addition to working the art market. Among these modern art activities, selling paintings was believed to be the primary channel for artists to convert their skills into economic capital for securing their living and sustaining their creative endeavours during the political and social upheavals of the Republican Period. It is therefore the flourishing art market which, to some extent, had fostered the process of artistic professionalisation, consequently blurring the boundaries between amateur and professional artists.

Wu Hufan (1894 - 1968) was born into a prominent family in Suzhou. His grandfather was the brother of the cultural leader Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835-1902), of whom Wu Hufan was the only heir. Wu Hufan inherited not only Wu Dacheng's private collection of antiquities, but also his fame and social network. This background thus provided the young Wu Hufan with abundant cultural, economic, and symbolic capital to prepare him for life as a typical literati artist. In 1920, when Wu Hufan was twenty-six, he published his price-list in the *Shenbao*. Wu had inherited the traditional literati ideology from his family education but chose to become a professional artist making a living selling paintings publicly, suggesting that the profession of artist had by this time gained respectability in modern Shanghai. At the time, Wu was still living in

Suzhou but sought opportunities in the Shanghai art market. Following the customary practice, his price-list was entitled 'Wu Hufan Selling Painting for Relief Aid' (*Wu Hufan yuhua zhuzhen*, 吳湖帆鬻畫助賑). (figure 4.16) The advertisement begins with a brief but sound introduction, describing the young artist as follows:

Mr. Wu is the male descendent of Kezhai 憲齋 (Wu Dacheng) and excels in landscape painting, particularly in his mastery of the styles of ancient great masters, such as the Four Wangs, Wu (Li), and Yun (Shouping). Recently, a natural disaster has occurred in the Bei province; therefore, Wu has begun to sell his paintings, wishing to donate all the profits to the voluntary rescue group of the province from 1st of September to the end of October, altogether two months. Orders can be made and collected at: Sulu Accounting Firm, Fangbin Bridge, West Gate Road, Shanghai, or the Wu House, Nancang Bridge, Suzhou.

Fans are 4 dollars each; hanging scrolls and sets of hanging scrolls are 4 dollars per foot. Albums and hand scrolls will be considered separately. [The artist] does not accept special request orders, [paint on] gold paper, or use inferior quality paper.

Issued by Wu Changshuo, Li Pingshu, Wang Shengzhi, Shen Xinqing, Fang Weiyi, Yang Yizhi, Mao Zijian, and Pan Jiru.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ 'Wu Hufan yuhua zhuzhen' 吳湖帆鬻畫助賑, Wu Hufan Selling Painting for Relief Aid', *Shenbao*, 1920.10.13 (2), 14 (2), 24 (3); *Shibao*, 1920.10.19 (1, 1).

According to the above prices, a 4-foot hanging scroll would cost 16 dollars, which was undoubtedly a highly-priced painting in the market as shown in Appendix 5. The same price-list had been published as an advertisement in the second and third front pages of the *Shenbao* for three days respectively. Being a newcomer, the young Wu Hufan entered the art market by introducing three strong selling points: he was the heir of Wu Dacheng, was a loyal follower of the great masters of the Qing orthodox school, and was strongly recommended by cultural celebrities and politicians including Wu Changshuo, Li Pingshu, Wang Tongyu 王同愈 (1855–1941), and Shen Enfu 沈恩孚 (1864–1949). All these factors certainly determined the inaugural prices for this young neophyte. Although—as has been narrated in standard history of modern Chinese art—reformers had brutally attacked the orthodox school and the Four Wangs in particular, the orthodox tradition had intriguingly maintained its influence and high position in the Shanghai art market. This fact is corroborated by the enormous number of artists who declared themselves to be followers of the Four Wangs in their price-list introductory biographies. Evidently, the orthodox tradition enjoyed a certain legitimacy, so knowledge of the orthodox school was regarded as a kind of cultural capital that could be converted into economic capital, as is shown in the case of Wu Hufan.

Two short months afterwards, in January 1921, Wu published another price-list in two major newspapers in Shanghai, the *Shenbao* and the *Shibao*. Intriguingly, this price-list includes only detailed prices for various formats and genres and does not repeat the three selling points mentioned in the previous advertisement. (figure 4.17) From this omission, we may presumably infer that within the space of two months, Wu had already received enough orders and had

adequately built up his own reputation that this revised price-list no longer functioned as his entry pass into the art world, but as an announcement of the artist's new prices. Consider the price of hanging scrolls as an example: 'up to 4 feet, 6 *liang* (1 *liang* = 1.4 dollars) each foot; up to 5 feet, 8 *liang* each foot; up to 6 feet, 10 *liang* each foot; up to 8 feet, 16 *liang* each foot; over 8 feet, 25 *liang* each foot; and [prices for sizes] for scrolls over 10 feet will be considered separately.' The prices for Wu's work were set out in great detail and had risen rapidly within only a couple of months. The price of a 4-foot hanging scroll had more than doubled, surging from 16 dollars to 33.6 dollars. Also, a detailed remark was added to the end of the price-list, stating that the artist 'does not paint special request orders or [paint on] gold paper, inferior quality paper, or coloured paper; no orders are considered that do not follow the stipulations set out in the price-list. For [painting on] cold-gold paper, prices will be doubled; for additional scenes [in a painting], 10% will be added; for pines, rocks, orchids, and bamboo, prices will be halved. Each *liang* is equal to 1.4 dollars. Ink fee is 10% [every order will include a 10% ink fee].'⁵⁶

The prices of Wu's paintings continued to rise, and his price-list published in 1923—one year before he moved to Shanghai—shows that a 4-foot hanging scroll now cost 72 dollars.⁵⁷ In 1924, Wu Hufan moved to Shanghai, where he stayed for the rest of his life, selling paintings as his livelihood. According to the memory of Wu's friend Chen Julai, Wu 'set his price, which was extremely high, around 30 dollars per foot'.⁵⁸ After settling in Shanghai, Wu seldom

⁵⁶ *Shibao*, 1921.1.4, *Shenbao*, 1921.1.9, quoted from Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 102.

⁵⁷ *Shenbao*, 1923.7.18, in Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 123.

⁵⁸ Chen Julai 陳巨來, 'Wu Hufan yi shi 吳湖帆軼事', 'Some interesting memories about Wu Hufan', in *Wanxiang*, 2. 3 (2000), p. 53.

published his price-lists through the print media but adopted the new Shanghai practice of distributing his price-lists through art agents, particularly fan shops. For instance, an advertisement published in the *Shenbao* in 1926 entitled ‘Wu Hufan of Jiangnan Sells Paintings and Calligraphy’ (*Jiangnan Wu Hufan yu shuhua*, 江南吳湖帆鬻書畫) provides no information about the prices but only where clients could buy Wu’s paintings, suggesting that at that time, Wu’s price-list would not be published in newspapers but instead was being distributed through fan shops and art agents.⁵⁹ (figure 4.18)

In 1930, a revised price-list for Wu Hufan was included in the third issue of the magazine *Mohaichao*, which again lists detailed prices with regard to various formats and genres; for instance, a 4-foot hanging scroll of landscape cost 160 dollars, a price near the top of the Shanghai art market (See Appendix 5). Also, additional remarks were added, pointing out that prices for ‘special request scenes, delicate details, and blue-and-green landscapes are doubled. Special request orders, additional scenes, and gold paper requests will be considered separately. Prices for golden blue-and-green landscapes will be quadrupled.’⁶⁰ (figure 4.9) Comparing these remarks with those published in 1921, it can be seen that Wu Hufan obviously *did* accept special request orders, paint new-styled landscapes, and paint on gold paper; for instance, options for blue-and-green and gold blue-and-green had been added to satisfy those who sought luxury goods. These changes testify to the fact that as the artist enriched his repertoire, his prices rose and his product offerings diversified accordingly. At that time, Wu Hufan’s price for a 4-foot hanging scroll was 160 dollars, the highest on the Shanghai art

⁵⁹ ‘Jiangnan Wu Hufan yu shuhua’ 江南吳湖帆鬻書畫, ‘Wu Hufan of Jiangnan Sells Paintings and Calligraphy’, *Shenbao*, 1926.3.14 (1).

⁶⁰ ‘Wu Hufan huali’ 吳湖帆畫例, ‘Prices of Wu Hufan’s Painting’, *Mohaichao*, 3 (1930), p. 27.

market—surpassing those of Feng Chaoran and Wu Zheng, whose paintings had long been regarded as the most expensive in Shanghai. Referring to Appendix 5, one may note that the price of a 4-foot hanging scroll by the professional artist Cha Yangu rose by only 6 dollars in the four years between 1926 and 1930, while Wu Hufan's increased by 88 dollars within the span of seven years. So, what factors had fuelled such a dramatic surge in Wu's price?

An introduction to Wu Hufan published in the popular magazine *The Companion Pictorial* (*Liangyou*, 良友) may give us hints as to the position held by Wu Hufan in the hierarchy of the Shanghai art world. (figure 4.19) The introduction states:

(Wu) is forty years old and is the grandson of Mr. Kezhai. Having inherited family teachings, he excels in regular, clerical, and seal script, and painting as well. He has a great collection of bronze and stone, calligraphy and paintings, half of which he inherited from Kezhai. His painting style is based on that of the Wangs (the Four Wangs) and Yun (Shouping), tracing back to Dong Qichang and the Four Masters of the Wu Region (Wen Zhengming, Shen Zhou, Tang Yin, and Qiu Ying) and also touching upon Zhao Mengfu. In former days, the renowned artist Gu Linshi [a leading literati artist in Shanghai] always said that among his contemporaries, he respected Wu Hufan the most. His comments do mean something for us. Recently, since settling in Shanghai, Wu Hufan has broadened his artistic horizons, and his painting has made great progress. However, it is not easy to get him

to hold a brush for someone.⁶¹

The above description casts Wu Hufan as a typical literati painter who was skilled in both painting and calligraphy, followed the orthodox school, and possessed a comprehensive private collection. In addition, Wu was a renowned song lyric poet, actively participating in literary circles.⁶² His literati character was further intensified in the last line of the introduction, which reveals that Wu did not easily give away his paintings. Jonathan Hay has argued that in the seventeenth century Yangzhou market, the demand for work in literati modes by literati professionals had fostered the commoditisation of literati painting. He points out that 'the literati self was a fund of moral capital, accumulated through action, suffering, or self-discipline, that given aesthetic form in painting, paid an economic dividend. There was, in other words, a market for moral achievement, and the attraction of painting was that, by virtue of the aesthetics of the brush trace, it could give tangible, visual, and marketable form to the moral person.'⁶³ In the Republican period, literati characters also gained currency in the art market. A new theory of literati painting was postulated by Chen Hengke, who offered four criteria for literati painting: namely, 'moral character' (*renpin*, 人品), 'learning' (*xuewen*, 學品), 'capabilities' (*cai*, 才), and 'feelings' (*qing*, 情). This idea was then published and circulated through Chen's book 'The Value of Literati Painting' (*Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi*, 文人畫之價值).⁶⁴ Therefore, as demonstrated in a discussion of 'What is a good painting?' initiated by the editor

⁶¹ 'Xiandai Zhongguo guohua xuan zhiyi' 現代中國國畫選之一, 'Selected Modern Chinese Guohua, 1', *Liangyou* 良友, 'Good Companion', 84 (1934), p. 19.

⁶² For further study of Wu's achievement in literature and his close connection with the literary field see, Chan, *Chuantong de fuxing*; Von Spee, *Wu Hufan*.

⁶³ Hay, *Shitao*, pp. 180 - 5.

⁶⁴ For a thorough discussion of Chen's theory of literati painting see, Wong, *Parting the Mists*, chapter 3, pp. 54 - 76.

of the People's Magazine (*Dazhong huabao*, 大眾畫報), self-cultivation—particularly in literature and poetry—was perceived as one of the prerequisites for a *guohua* artist.⁶⁵ In this regard, Wu Hufan certainly qualified as a typical literati artist in Shanghai.⁶⁶ For instance, in the First National Art Exhibition, his selected work *Landscape in the style of Li Zhaodao* was categorised within the 'Literati school' (*wenren pai*, 文人派) by the art critic Chen Xiaodie.⁶⁷ This literati persona in turn was converted into economic value within the art market.

As opposed to Wu Hufan, Yu Jianhua was a young artist with a humble background, struggling to establish his artistic reputation in the Shanghai art world through various strategies. As discussed in chapter 3, Yu introduced himself to the Shanghai art world by organising a solo exhibition in 1926. In the same year, he issued and published his price-list in the magazine *Dingluan* 鼎燭.⁶⁸ His price-list simply included prices, remarks, and contacts, without providing any names of endorsing celebrities. In fact, Yu had just moved to Shanghai from Beijing, where he had received his education. Although he claimed himself to be a disciple of the leading figure of the Beijing art world, Chen Hengke, Yu was still a stranger to Shanghai and had not yet established a social network there. The symbolic power of Chen Hengke seems not to have

⁶⁵ 'Zenyang caishi yizhang haohua' 怎樣才是一張好畫, 'What is a Good Painting?' *Dazhong huabao* 大眾畫報, 'People's Magazine' 19 (1935), pp. 12 - 3.

⁶⁶ For further discussion on Wu's cultivation and achievement in literature, art and connoisseurship, see Chan, *Chuantong de fuxing*; von Spee, *Wu Hufan*.

⁶⁷ Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶, 'Zong meizhan zuopin ganjuedao xiandai guohua huapai' 從美展作品感覺到現代國畫畫派, 'Perceiving the Stylistic Schools in Modern Chinese Painting from the Exhibits in the Art Exhibition', *Meizhan*, 4(1929), issue 4, pp.1-2.

⁶⁸ *Dingluan* 鼎燭, 9 (1926.6), quoted from Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaqia runli*, p. 189. *Dingluan* was established and published by the art society Shanghai xunshe in 1925. With the aim of publishing images and articles on paintings, calligraphy, and particularly seals, bronzes, and stones, the journal produced altogether sixty-one issues spanning from 1925 to 1927. Xu, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu*, pp. 29 - 30.

been able to add cultural and economic value to this newcomer, which suggests that cultural and symbolic capital is not portable and could even be devalued from region to region within the same nation. Unlike Wu Hufan—whose family background granted him well-established social connections and definitely provided a foundation for his high prices and artistic reputation in the art world—Yu embarked upon his professional career by seeking help from art agents such as the contacts listed in his price-list, the Xun Society (*Xunshe*, 巽社) and the Youmeitang. With regard to prices, Wu Hufan asked 30 dollars per foot in 1924, while Yu Jianhua asked 14 dollars per foot in 1926. Obviously, the value of symbolic and cultural capital such as the names of elite celebrities as well as family background was one of the determining factors governing the prices charged by newcomers.

Although Yu sold paintings through art agents, he also posted short advertisements in newspapers pertaining to business matters. In 1927, an interesting advertisement was published in the *Shenbao*, stating that

[Yu was] busy in dealing with social appointments, which has resulted in his supplies falling short of demand. Consequently, he will raise his prices as follows: Landscape hanging scrolls, 8 dollars per foot; fans, 6 dollars; bird-and-flowers, half price. Selling agents: the Hezhong Company, Qipan Avenue, the Fifth Road, and all fan shops. Detailed price-lists can be obtained from fan shops.⁶⁹

In 1929, a price-list including a list of the names of various cultural celebrities

⁶⁹ Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 217.

was published for Yu Jianhua.⁷⁰ (figure 4.20) This is probably because the young artist had finally by this time constructed his connections and had also participated actively in art activities, particularly in art education and art criticism. Therefore, he was now willing to invite certain prestigious celebrities to issue his special price-list. Among these renowned celebrities were Wang Yiting, Yu Youren, Zhang Shanzi, Huang Binhong, Cai Yuanpei, and Jing Hengyi. The title was executed in calligraphy and signed by the politician and renowned calligraphist Yu Yuren. Entitled ‘Special Price-list of Yu Jianhua’s Painting and Calligraphy’ (*Yu Jianhua shuhua teli*, 俞劍華書畫特例), the advertisement includes a brief introduction to Yu Jianhua, shaping his artistic persona as follows:

Mr. Yu Jianhua is skilled in painting and calligraphy, particularly in landscape painting. His styles derive from Shen Zhou, Lan Ying, Shixi, Mei Qing, and Shitao, and he specialises especially in Gong Xian, having made extraordinary accomplishments. Usually, he teaches at the *Guohua* department of the Xinhua College of Art and the Art department of the Patriotic Women’s College. Those who ask him for his paintings are always disappointed at being refused. The winter vacation is ahead, so he wishes to distribute his paintings to fellows from all fields. However, to avoid such a burden, a special price-list has been issued to limit the orders. Phase one: from now until 10th January 1930. phase two: 11th to 20th; phase three: 21st to 30th. Sizes of works range from 1 to 5 feet. A piece of calligraphy costs only 1

⁷⁰ ‘Yu Jianhua shuhua teli’ 俞劍華書畫特例, ‘Special Price-list of Painting and Calligraphy by Yu Jianhua’, *Shenbao*, 1929.12.27(5).

dollar in phase one, 2 dollars in phase two, and 3 dollars in phase three [the normal price for a piece of 5-foot calligraphy was 6 dollars]. A piece of flower painting costs 5 dollars in phase one and 10 dollars in phase two [the normal price for a piece of 5-foot flower painting was 20 dollars]. A piece of landscape painting costs 10 dollars in phase one and 15 dollars in phase two [the normal price for a piece of 5-foot landscape painting was 40 dollars].

After the special discount period, prices will return to normal. Please pay in advance and pick up works after ten days. [The artist] is able to supply paper for those clients outside Shanghai, but 1 dollar will be charged for this service for each piece of work.

The advertisement then ends with the contact information and a list of celebrities' names. In contrast to Wu Hufan, Yu was cast as a modern art educator and art professional who was busy with his teaching affairs, so was only be able to spare time during his winter break to paint for his 'admirers'. As discussed in previous chapters, the profession of art education had gained currency in the Shanghai art world and was regarded as a kind of cultural capital. Therefore, for a young newcomer who lacked sufficient cultural and symbolic capital, the teaching profession was the only available cultural capital able to attract potential buyers. Also, the brief introduction included a list of eccentric artists who were perceived as the representatives of 'wildness' and 'expressiveness,' selected to illustrate Yu's artistic origins. After one short month, in the February of 1930,

another price-list of Yu was published in the *Shenbao*.⁷¹ In this advertisement, Yu states that during the winter break, social celebrities including Wang Yiting, Yu Youren, Huang Binhong, Cai Yuanpei, and Zeng Xi, had set special prices for him to be in effect for a specific period of time. However, due to demand, he was unable to fulfil all the orders, so (as earnestly requested by buyers), he would extend the special period and set another quota of one hundred pieces. In this price-list, a 4-foot hanging scroll landscape painting was priced at 10 dollars, which (as stated) was cheaper than his normal price of 12 dollars per foot. In this case, the names of the prestigious members of the elite did not add economic value to Yu's work. Instead, they functioned as a guarantee minimising the risks and uncertainties taken by the buyers. Here, Yu's commercial strategy was to obtain a small profit and quick returns within a short period of time.

Yu had already been established as an art educator, writer, and critic when in 1935, he published a new price-list in the journal *Guohua Monthly*. (figure 4.21) Unlike the price-lists discussed above, this one provided only very detailed prices of his works, with no brief introduction or names of celebrities. Set in 1931, the price-list is presented as follows:

Running script, Draft script, Small Seal Script, and Large Seal Script

Hall scrolls, horizontal scrolls, hanging scrolls, and hand scrolls: 4 dollars per foot [if the size is less than] 4 feet; 2 dollars per foot thereafter. Couplets: 4 dollars [if the size is less than] 4 feet; 2 dollars per foot thereafter.

Shop signboards and horizontal signboards: each character 1 dollar [if

⁷¹ Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 245.

the size is less than] 1 foot; 2 dollars each character thereafter.

Album (each leaf), fan (each): 1 dollar.

[The artist] does not accept orders for small clerical script.

[Prices of] gold paper, birthday scrolls, and tombstone inscriptions will be considered separately.

[The artist] does not accept orders for inferior quality literary pieces.

Landscape Painting

Hall scrolls, horizontal scrolls, and hand scrolls: 8 dollars each foot.

Hanging scrolls: 6 dollars each foot.

Album (each leaf), fan (each): 6 dollars.

[Prices for] Blue-and-green landscapes, delicate style, and additional scenes will be considered separately.

Prices of birds and animal paintings are the same as for landscape paintings. The number of animals in each painting is limited to one or two. An additional 50% will be charged thereafter.

Prices for flower paintings are half those for landscape paintings.

[The artist] does not paint in delicate style. Those paintings of a size smaller than 1 foot will be charged for 1 foot. [The artist] does not paint on inferior quality paper or oil fans. Payment should be made in advance. Finished products will be delivered by the appointed date. Ready-made orders and special request orders will be charged double. A 10% ink fee will be charged.

This plain price-list in a way suggests that Yu Jianhua had already become an established artist who did not need to apply any obvious commercial strategies to sell his paintings but simply provided an active, detailed price-list. However, it is worth noting that despite the recognition of his artistic reputation, Yu's painting was still sold at relatively low prices. For instance, a 4-foot hanging scroll landscape painting cost 32 dollars, which was a median price in mid-1930s Shanghai, with reference to the survey shown in Appendix 5.

These two artists were priced differently. Wu Hufan entered the art market with a prestigious family background and thus was able to set his prices relatively high, and his prices continually rose; at the same time, Yu Jianhua kept his price for a 4-foot hanging scroll at 10 dollars for four years. For newcomers, a thorough understanding of the aesthetic economics of the market was one of the crucial prerequisites of issuing a debut price-list. Wu Hufan, as a descendent of a scholar-gentry family with a strong background in traditional literati culture, wisely chose to present himself as a follower of the orthodox school. Yu Jianhua, being a disciple of Chen Hengke (who was an admirer of Shitao), chose to cast himself as an untrammelled eccentric artist with his origins in Shitao, Mei Qing, Shixi, etc. As shown in a landscape painting of 1934 Yu used striking composition and vigorous brushstroke to express his interpretation of these eccentric artists. (figure 4.22) The changes in cultural contexts and repositioning of the orthodox school as well as eccentric artists within the hierarchy of Chinese art also resulted in a readjustment in economic values and tastes within the market.

Although the Four Wangs' orthodox school was criticized harshly in intellectual debates, it seems that as the representatives of literati culture, the tradition of the Four Wangs continued to enjoy a certain amount of privilege in the Shanghai market. This is proved not only by the case of Wu Hufan, but also by the prices of two prominent highly-priced artists, Feng Chaoran and Wu Zheng. Feng was described as the follower of the orthodox master Yun Shouping,⁷² (figure 4.23) while Wu Zheng was acclaimed for his landscapes in the style of Wang Yuanqi, (figure 4.24) one of the Four Wangs masters.⁷³ Another alternative *guohua* tradition, that of eccentric artists, was constructed and highly extolled by reformers and younger artists. Eccentric artists such as Shitao, Meiqing, and Bada in turn became fashionable in the market and deserving of credit and mentions in artists' biographies and price-lists. Therefore, in the hope of creating a fashionable persona for himself, Yu Jianhua was proud to present himself as the follower of such eccentric artists. However, despite the popularity of the eccentric artists in Shanghai, the prices of the followers of Shitao still could not surpass those of the heirs of the orthodox school. For instance, the most acclaimed Shitao follower, Zhang Daqian, set a price of 16 dollars for a four-foot hanging scroll landscape painting in 1928, which was only a median price among his contemporaries.⁷⁴

Analysing the price-lists of Wu Hufan and Yu Jianhua, it is clear to see that an artist's prices were to a large degree determined by the cultural and symbolic

⁷² 'Xiandai Zhongguo guohua xun zhi shi' 現代中國國畫選之十, 'Selected Chinese Guohua, 10', *Liangyou*, 95(1934), p. 11.

⁷³ See a brief biography of Wu in, Wu Zheng 吳徵, *Wu Daiqiu shanshui ce* 吳待秋山水冊, 'Landscape Paintings by Wu Daiqiu' (Shanghai, 1934).

⁷⁴ 'Zhang Jiyuan shuhua li' 張季媛書畫例, 'Price-list of Zhang Jiyan (Daqian), in Ding Luyang, *Zhang Shanzi, Zhang Daqian hua ce* 丁六陽張善孖張大千畫冊, 'Painting Catalogue of Ding Luyang, Zhang Shanzi and Zhang Daqian' (Shanghai, 1928).

capital he possessed. As different fields have their own rules and definitions of cultural and symbolic capital, in the Shanghai art world, features such as personal cultivation in literature, educational credentials, and the possession of a private collection were perceived as cultural capital, while family background, a mentor-disciple relationship, and the names of cultural celebrities were perceived as symbolic capital, both of which in turn could be converted into economic capital.

Pricing the Landscape

As shown in the price-lists of Wu Hufan and Yu Jianhua, paintings of different sizes, formats, styles, and genres were priced differently. Therefore, the focus in this section will shift to pricing logic, aiming to discover the tangible and symbolic elements that governed the value of paintings. Here, we will consider one of the most popular genres, landscape painting, in part due to its dominant position in the art market as well as within the hierarchy of Chinese art. For instance, referring to a standard price-list, the price of landscape painting was generally double that of bird-and-flower, and different styles, formats, and sizes were priced in fine detail.

Starting with the price-list of Wu Zheng, a renowned landscapist and one of the most expensive living artists in Shanghai,⁷⁵ each item and set of terms pertaining to landscape painting will be examined closely. Wu, son of renowned Shanghai artist Wu Botao 吳伯滔 (1840–1895), settled in Shanghai and worked in the 1910s at the Commercial Press by recommendation of leading artist Wu

⁷⁵ For a detailed biography of Wu, see Jiang Luoyi 江恪一, *Haocheng sanwu yifeng zhi Wu Daiqiu* 號稱三吳一馮之吳待秋, 'Wu Daiqiu of the Three Wus and One Wu', *Dacheng* 大成, 207 (1989), pp. 32 - 5.

Changshuo. Serving as the division head of the publishing house's art department, he was involved in the publication of the 'Collection of Painting and Calligraphy by Ancient and Contemporary Celebrities' (*Gujin mingren shuhua ji*, 古今名人書畫集), while at the same time selling his own paintings for his livelihood. At the beginning of his artistic career, he sold his paintings through fan shops and the Shanghai Tijinguan Society. After his resignation from the Commercial Press, Wu became a full-time professional artist and made his living solely by selling paintings. His price-list was claimed to be the most detailed in the market. Wu's price-list is included in the collection published by the *Youmeitang*, the ninth revision of which was published in 1925, offering extremely detailed prices for a wide variety of genres and formats (figure 4.25). Under the category of landscape painting, we find the following:

Hall scrolls: 3-foot, 50 dollars; 4-foot, 79 dollars; 5-foot, 90 dollars; 6-foot, 120 dollars; 8-foot, 220 dollars [.....]

Sets of scrolls are regarded as hall scrolls but will be discounted 40%

Widths of under half that of standard-sized paper will be discounted 20%; widths of over half the standard size will be counted as hall scrolls.

Horizontal scrolls: for standard-sized paper, add 50%; long and narrow horizontal scrolls will be counted as hand scrolls. Albums: 20 dollars per foot—10% will be added for every increment of one inch; [if the increment] exceeds 5 inches [it will be] counted as 1 foot. Hand scrolls are the same as albums; fans, 18 dollars; folding fans with widths over 1 foot 6 inches will add 50% to the price; for folding fans over 1 foot 8 inches, prices will be doubled.

It is obvious that for the most part, size determined the price. Increasing the size of a piece would certainly increase the cost. Among different formats, the hall scroll (*Tangfu* 堂幅, *Zhongtang* 中堂, or *Zhengzhang* 整張)—literally, a vertical scroll for a living hall—was the most popular and basic format and thus was always listed at the beginning of a price-list. Essentially, a hall scroll had a fixed width of 2 feet, which is the size of a standard sheet of paper, and its height could vary from 3 feet to 12 feet or more. Papers for other formats—for instance, albums, sets of vertical scrolls, hand scrolls, etc.—are cut from standard-sized paper. Therefore, if the size of a piece increased, more effort would be required on the part of the artist. This is not merely a consideration of material but also of artistic skill. Because large-sized paintings are generally harder to handle, prices for these would also be marked up. In this regard, it is safe to say that in order to maximise profit, to some extent economic considerations had become the driving force behind Republican artists' striving to produce large-sized paintings. This idea can be corroborated by changes in price-lists over the period. More and more artists included prices for large-sized hall scrolls in response to the demands of the market. For instance, Wu Zheng revised his price-list in 1936 for the thirteenth time, and additional stipulations were added to the category of hall scrolls, stating:

Hall scrolls: 3-foot, 110 dollars; 4-foot, 170 dollars; 5-foot, 240 dollars; 6-foot, 340 dollars. 1 inch increments [in height], add 5%; 1 inch increments in width, add 10%; increments over 5 inches will be

counted as 1 foot.⁷⁶

This additional remark offers a detailed calculation of prices with regard to large-sized paintings exceeding 6 feet, in a way reflecting the growing demand for large paintings in the market.

In addition to size, format was another parameter that helped determine prices. For any two same-sized vertical and horizontal hall scroll, from mere economic calculation, prices should have been the same, as the amount of paper used was exactly the same. However, prices for horizontal hall scrolls were higher than those for vertical hall scroll. Here, three cases of prominent artists can be used as examples:

(Wu Zheng) 'Horizontal scrolls of full-sized standard paper: 50% will be added to the price of hall scrolls'⁷⁷

(Zheng Wuchang) 'Horizontal scrolls: 50% will be added to the price of vertical scrolls'⁷⁸

(Ma Qizhou) 'Horizontal scrolls: 30 % will be added to the price of vertical scrolls'⁷⁹

⁷⁶ 'Baixuan lu shuhua runge' 裱銅廬書畫潤格', 'Price-list of Baixuan lu (Wu Zheng), in Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 305.

⁷⁷ 'Baixuan lu shuhua runge'.

⁷⁸ 'Lutai xiangguan huali' 鹿胎仙館畫例, 'Price-list of the Lutai Xianguan', *Guohua*, 6 (1936).

⁷⁹ 'Qiongchi yufu Ma Qizhou yuhua zhili' 邛池漁父馬企周鬻畫值例, 'Price-list of Ma Qizhou, Qiongchi yufu', *Guohua yekan*, 1. 4 (1935).

These prices evidently show that horizontal scrolls were regarded in the market as more valuable than vertical scrolls of the same size, revealing that apart from size, additional factors governed prices. Provided that materials used for equivalent horizontal and vertical scrolls were the same, the factors altering the price thus might be aesthetic and technical. With regard to the history of landscape painting, vertical composition was the most popular and common format, while horizontal composition was relatively rare and difficult for an artist to master. Due to this habitual practice within landscape painting, abundant ancient and historical models of vertical compositions were available as sources of reference or inspiration, saving the artist time and effort during the creative process. This example shows that even though the basic materials were the same, some practical considerations, such as skills and techniques, were also crucial for price calculations.

Another tangible element of pricing paintings is colour. Generally, it was understood that the standard price provided in a price-list referred to landscape paintings in ink, a style that involved fewer materials and artistic labour. Although painting in ink was perceived as the most recognisable difference between literati and artisanal painting, its status was, from economic perspectives and calculations, viewed as inferior in Republican China. On the contrary, coloured landscapes required more artistic skill and materials, and so were priced higher than ink landscapes. This notion is demonstrated in Wu Zheng's price-list, where a remark was added stating:

[Price-list issued in 1925] Delicate-style, 50% will be added to the price; special request orders, 50% will be added; light colouring, 30% will be

added; heavy colouring, 60% will be added; perspective-drawings will be double the price (the price is the same for both ink and colour landscapes); [Prices for paintings on] gold paper will be double.⁸⁰

According to this evidence, a delicate-styled blue-and-green landscape painting on gold paper would then be charged an extra 210%. Obviously, these visual elements—for instance, colourful blue-and-green landscapes and refined brushwork—were interpreted as explicit and ostentatious markers of luxury goods. Two years later, Wu revised his price-list and added a new category entitled ‘Broad-brush landscapes’ which were priced relatively cheaper than the standard priced landscapes. A 4-foot hall scroll was 20 dollars cheaper than the standard price for the same-sized landscape in ink. Also, in order to define specifically the style of the broad-brush landscape, a few sentences were added: ‘[this style is painted] to catch the spirit. Also, layered mountains will not be painted. Regarding styles, whether scattered or dense, heavy or light, colouring and brushwork employed are subject to my pleasure.’⁸¹ This change suggests that the artist had adjusted his prices in order to diversify his ‘products’ to cater to the less upmarket customer. In addition, this new product also demonstrates that free-style landscape painting was perceived as inferior within the hierarchy of the art market at the time.

The changes in Wu Zheng’s price-lists suggest that in the Shanghai art market, artistic styles were stratified. Golden blue-and-green landscapes were positioned at the top of the hierarchy, while ink landscapes were at the bottom.

⁸⁰ ‘Baouxuan lu shuhan runge’, *Jinshi shuhua jia runden huikan*, p. 164.

⁸¹ ‘Baouxuan lu shuhan runge’, in *Jiuhua tang suo cang jindai mingjia shuhua zhuan ke runli*.

The same market stratification occurred and became a consensus in Shanghai's artistic community. It is worth noting that free-style landscapes, which were once highly regarded as one of the key elements of literati painting, were regarded as being in a lower position, while the artisanal delicate-style came in at the top of the hierarchy. In the price-list of young landscapist and art critic He Tianjian, the same stratification was adopted (figure 4.26):

Free-style on standard-sized paper: 4 to 6 feet, 14 dollars per foot; 8 to 12 feet, 24 dollars per foot.

In between free and delicate style on standard-sized paper: 4 to 6 feet, 20 dollars per foot; 8 to 12 feet, each 30 dollars per foot.

Exquisite and delicate style on standard-sized paper: 4 to 6 feet, 30 dollars per foot; 8 to 12 feet, 60 dollars per foot.⁸²

Clearly classified into three stylistic categories, the above price-list shows that the prices of free-style landscape paintings were the cheapest, while delicate or exquisite-style were the most expensive. This economic stratification thus reveals a distinguishable stylistic classification in landscape painting during the period. Due to economic considerations and calculations, most *guohua* artists produced coloured landscape paintings instead of ink ones, and the number of coloured landscape paintings increased dramatically to the extent that they came to dominate the Shanghai art world. For instance, Wu Hufan, despite his being perceived as the very stereotype of a literati Shanghai artist, was renowned particularly for his blue-and-green landscapes.⁸³ His two exhibits selected for

⁸² *Guohua yuekan*, 1. 4 (1935), p. 96.

⁸³ For further study of Wu's colouring landscape painting, see Chan, *Chuantong de fuxin*.

the first and second National Art Exhibitions are both blue-and-green landscape paintings.⁸⁴ (figure 4.27 and figure 4.28)

Furthermore, another interesting remark added to Wu Zheng's price-list from the early 1930s suggests that Republican artistic styles were specifically commoditised:

[Basically,] for special request orders, 20% will be added; for rain and snow scenes, 30% will be added; for perspective drawings and colouring (either blue-and-green or light colouring), 40% will be added; for gold paper, the price will be doubled.

Broad-brush landscapes will be signed with *Lusiwan ren* 鷺絲灣人 in order to distinguish them from other styles.

[.....] For special request orders, 20% will be added; for rain and snow scenes, 40% will be added; for light colouring, 20% will be added; for blue-and green, 40% will be added; for gold paper, the price will be doubled.

[.....] All the above styles in colour will be stamped with the artist's seal '*Sulin zhongzi* 疎林仲子' in the corner.⁸⁵

Interestingly, in this remark, we can see that if buyers wanted to buy a landscape painting of rain or snow scenes, he would be required to pay extra, no matter

⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion of Wu Hufan's blue-and-green landscape painting see Chan, *Chuantong de fuxing*, Chapter 3.

⁸⁵ 'Baoxuan lu shuhan runge', in Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 281.

which style was chosen. Also, Wu used his signature and seal as indexes to distinguish the styles of broad-brush (figure 4.29), standard (figure 4.30), and coloured landscape (figure 4.31). These additional trademarks were in fact designed to hinder dishonest intermediaries. A story was told by Chen Julai that on one occasion, Feng Chaoran acted on behalf of his friend Li to acquire a 4-foot landscape in ink from Wu Zheng. Wu Zheng then painted the piece in ink as requested. However, one day later Wu was invited by Li to dinner, where he discovered that the painting he had sold was not in ink but in colour. Given that his light-coloured landscape cost an extra 20%, this incident implies that the intermediary, Feng, had added the colour and taken the extra 20% as a commission for himself. Since that time, in order to avoid such transactional losses, Wu revised his price-list and invented his trademarks.⁸⁶ This dramatic story testifies to the fact that an artist can also be an economically astute man who endeavours to modify the operational processes of his artistic enterprise in order to maximise his profits and avoid risk as a whole.

In order to maximise their net returns, in general, Republican artists marked up the prices for themes and styles that were considered to be technically difficult and consumptive of materials, and thus additional remarks were added to their standard price-lists. Judging from the remarks on price-lists issued in 1930s, it is not hard to see that artistic styles had been further commoditised in accordance with the artists' mastery of certain techniques and styles. The following examples explicitly show what kinds of additional remarks were added and how these economic considerations help us to appreciate the aesthetic values prevailing in the Shanghai art market at the time. Firstly, we come to the

⁸⁶ Chen, 'Ji Wu Daiqiu yu Feng Chaoran', p. 46.

price-list of a popular landscapist, Ma Tai 馬駘 (1885–1935). Offering a very detailed price-list, Ma classified his standard landscape paintings as ‘semi-delicate style’ (*Ban gongxie*, 半工寫), which were priced at 28 dollars for a 4-foot vertical scroll in 1930. However, a long remark was included at the beginning of his price-list:

Semi-delicate style landscapes, light colouring, or ink landscapes; Southern School, Northern School, spring, summer, autumn, and winter scenes; windy, sunny, and snowy scenes are all priced in accordance with the following regulations, but prices for landscapes in the styles of the Song and Yuan, boneless landscapes, and landscapes with a narrow footway planked along a cliff are doubled.⁸⁷

Although Wu Zheng added an extra fee for rainy and snowy landscapes, Ma did not do so; instead, he charged an extra fee for landscapes in the styles of the Song and Yuan, boneless landscapes, and landscapes with a narrow footway planked along a cliff. Obviously, for Ma, these styles were worthy of a higher price than others. *Mountains in Sunset* is a typical example for the highly-priced painting with regard to the styles employed, such as brushstrokes from the Song masters Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active 1189–1225) and Xia Gui 夏圭 (active in the early 13th century), and finely-depicted architecture and figures. (figure 4.32) In fact, these styles shared some common features, such as their need to be depicted in detailed brushwork with fine finishing. Therefore, presumably, such paintings would require more time and effort on the part of the artist, justifying their higher prices. The same considerations and calculations were also employed in other

⁸⁷ *Mohaichao*, 1 (1930), p. 24.

artists' price-lists, such as the following excerpts from 'The Price-list of Xiong Songquan' (*Xiong Songquan yuhua zhili*, 熊松泉鬻畫值例) and 'The Price-List of Qin Qingzeng's Landscape Painting' (*Qin Qingzeng shanshui huali*, 秦清曾山水畫例) respectively:

Prices for all exquisite and delicate styles, blue-and-green, heavy colouring, and gold paper are doubled. Silk will not entail an extra fee. Prices for collaborative additional scenes, enlarged or reduced images, the imitation of ancient styles, special request orders, perspective drawings, and copying will be considered separately face-to-face. [The artist] does not accept orders [that utilise] inferior quality paper and silk.⁸⁸

Landscapes in the style of Ni Zan are 20% off; prices for exquisite and delicate styles and heavy colouring blue-and-greens are doubled.⁸⁹

Interestingly, special orders, such as 'imitating ancient styles (*lingu*, 臨古)' and 'perspective drawings' (*huitu*, 繪圖) were priced higher than those executed in the standard style, while landscapes in the style of Ni Zan, one of the Four Masters of the Yuan Dynasty, were discounted by 20%. Another interesting example is the remark on the price-list of active artist and intermediary Cha Yangu, which includes prices of every style in detail:

⁸⁸ 'Xiong Songquan yuhua zhili' 熊松泉鬻畫值例, 'Price-list of Xiong Songquan', in Wang ed., *Jinxiandai jinzhi shuhua jia runli*, p. 297.

⁸⁹ 'Qin Qingzeng shanshui huali' 秦清曾山水畫例, 'Price-lists of Landscape Painting by Qin Qingzeng', *Guohua yuekan*, 1. 4 (1935).

Landscape paintings in ink, light colouring, and blue-and-green are set at the same standard price. Prices for heavy colouring blue-and-green paintings are doubled. For additional fine and delicate figures, 50% will be added to the price. Prices for perspective drawings and outlined painting with palace and architecture are doubled. Depictions of a narrow footway planked along a cliff are double. For golden blue-and-green landscapes, 150% will be added to the price. [.....] Regarding the above prices, prices for fine and exquisite style are doubled; gold paper is double the price; imitating ancient styles is double the price; gold delineation on indigo-tinted paper is double the price, and for reduced-size copying, 200% will be added to the price; for silk, 50% will be added to the price. For all paintings requiring a long inscription of poems with five or seven syllables, ancient song lyric poems, long songs, four or six character lines of prose, and four or six syllable sentences, 2 dollars will be added to the price. [Dedicatory] wordings for birthdays, farewells, and weddings will be executed in short form.

Sketch landscapes will be discounted 50% discount off the normal price:

Bamboo and rock in the style of Ke Jingzhong, 'the corner of a lakeshore or small portion of a mountain' in the style of Ma Qinshan, slanted-brush slopes in the style of Ni Yunlin, splashing ink misty rain in the style of Mi Nangong, paintings including a few scattered mountain peaks, paintings including a myriad of mountains, simplistic styles, archaic styles, and all free and untrammelled styles are all priced

at the above discounted price, which is for improvised works and is not suitable for special request orders.⁹⁰

Cha classified the ancient styles according to economic considerations; for instance, the styles of Ni Zan and Mi Fu were once highly regarded as the typical literati styles but were felt to consume less effort and fewer materials, and so they were offered at an extra 50% discount. In this regard, it seems that the orthodox aesthetic value advocated by Dong Qichang had been challenged and completely altered by economic considerations. Furthermore, inscriptions on paintings—just as mentioned in the remark—also incurred an extra charge. Another example is the price-list of the revered artist and man of letters Xia Jinguan, (figure 4.33) who was a former Qing official, an active song lyric poet, and a professional artist. In his price-list, detailed prices for inscriptions are listed as follows,

For long inscriptions, 25% will be added to the price. Requests for inscriptions of poems will be priced the same as inscriptions on scrolls and albums [.....] Prices for literary writings: tombstone biographies, 300 dollars; prefaces or postscripts, 200 dollars; inscriptions of poems or song lyric poems, 40 dollars.⁹¹

Therefore, these stipulations show that if the client wanted to buy a painting with a long poetic inscription, he would have needed to pay extra money for both the services of composing a literary work and executing the calligraphy on the

⁹⁰ *Mohaichao*, 2 (1930), pp. 24 – 5.

⁹¹ *Cixue jikan*, 1. 4 (1933), p. 176.

painting.

Evidently, from the above discussion, it is clear that to a large degree, the cost production theory was one of the determinative factors governing the price of paintings. Thanks to the practice of publishing detailed price-lists in the public sphere, the pricing logic for landscape paintings adopted by the calculating minds of Republican artists can be reconstructed. Seemingly, basic economic concerns such as size, materials, techniques, and time were the primary factors in determining the price of a painting. Also, the expenses incurred by the artist largely depended on the materials he was required to use in a work's production; thus, the abundant use of precious pigments (such as gold, azurite, and malachite) caused the price of a commissioned work to rise. This calculation is simple enough even for a buyer who has no knowledge of art. Obviously, a large blue-and-green landscape painting executed in exquisite manner with a long inscription would cost more than a small, ink landscape painting in free-style, such as He Tianjian's *Tour in Xianxia Mountain* (figure 4.34) and *Landscape* (figure 4.35). Therefore, in this regard, it is safe to say that the price of a painting was a public price which was well-known to and accepted by everyone in Republican Shanghai.

Marketing

After discussing the pricing logic for artists as well as that for painting, the commercial tactics adopted by the art world for promoting sales will be examined, and the commercial or 'entrepreneurial' aspects of the art profession will be explored. In modern China, the importation of Western-style commercial culture to Shanghai beginning at the turn of the century eventually gave birth to a

new consumer culture in the Republican Period, particularly in Shanghai. The introduction of new ways of marketing and retailing goods—for instance, holding public auctions, publicising goods through newspaper advertisements, offering seasonal and holiday sales, offering discount vouchers, and displaying goods elegantly—eventually inspired the indigenous art market to modernise its operating concepts in order to cope with new consumer habits and preferences.⁹² During the Republican period, selling paintings became an enterprise requiring sophisticated marketing and operational techniques in order to ensure returns and enhance competitiveness in retail markets. An article entitled ‘Learning Painting is Hard, but Selling Paintings is Harder’ (*Xuehua nan maihua geng nan*, 學畫難賣畫更難), written by the renowned artist and critic He Tianjian and published in the *Guohua Monthly*, offers the artist’s views of marketing strategies employed at the time. In the beginning of the article, He points out that selling painting could be regarded as a commercial enterprise and thus should operate as a business, and that its success should not be governed by artistic accomplishment. He then lists eight marketing strategies prevalent in the Shanghai art world, as follows:

1. One should please the wealthy, and one should appear to do it without pretence. The skill is ‘neither obsequious nor arrogant, and neither too close nor too distant’. To present oneself as an aloof scholar and at the same time cater to the pleasures and tastes of the wealthy. If successful, many wealthy people will be deceived.
2. Even at times when business is slow, one should pretend to be very

⁹² For detailed discussions of the commercial culture in Shanghai during the early Republican Period, see Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road*.

busy in carrying out business, leading those who are honest and simple to believe that one's paintings are more valuable.

3. If one is acquainted with some unlucky wealthy and famous people and anticipate that these acquaintances will not bring in business, one should stand on their shoulders and use their fame to elevate one's value. When these acquaintances visit or invite one to banquets, one should reject the invitations or simply give an unclear reply. However, since the poor loyal public is always impressed by the fame of these unlucky wealthy people or celebrities, they will think that the artist is an extraordinarily aloof person and will talk about the artist to everyone. As far as the artist is concerned, he will laugh all the way to the bank, thanks to the success of his strategy.

4. When one paints, one should randomly choose an ancient painting and then copy it. It is not necessary to pay attention to rules and brushwork, but just make sure it is recognisable by and accessible to everybody.

5. When encountering an occasion where people talk about painting, one should not talk in a high-sounding manner, but voice some ambiguous and unclear opinions. This too will discreetly elevate one's own perceived value. People will regard one as bearing the character of a great master.

6. With regard to one's fellow contemporary artists, one should show politeness when meeting face to face. However, behind a colleague's back, why don't you try to use whatever means available to criticise his artistic techniques in the harshest manner possible? Because one is humble, criticism will be more readily accepted and believed by the

public.

7. Once one comes across an opportunity for gaining fame and status, one should not squander it. One should try one's best to strive for such opportunities.

8. One should accept more students, so that you can wave your own flag and shout.⁹³

This satirical article about selling paintings vividly illustrates how Shanghai artists applied different strategies to elevate their own fame and simultaneously raise the prices of their paintings in the Republican period. In the flourishing Shanghai art market, He Tianjian claimed that sophisticated marketing plans were applied in order to gain great success. Thus, to compete for the monetary profit, He humorously advises members of the art world without question to sell their paintings using modern marketing strategies.

Thanks to the well-established publishing and retailing industries, new concepts of promoting and selling goods were introduced to and adopted by Shanghai society. These concepts developed from the indigenous practice of price-lists published in newspapers and magazines, which had played the role of advertisements since the late nineteenth century. Following the establishment of the *Shenbao* in 1872, Chinese artists began to appreciate the new-found power of print media and were eager to publicise their price-lists in the newspaper in order to reach out to a huge number of readers, their potential customers. Artists' price-lists were, however, quite unlike the advertisements for other goods such as

⁹³ He Tianjian 賀天健, 'Xuehua nan maihua geng nan' 學畫難賣畫更難, 'Learning Painting is Hard but Selling Paintings is Harder', *Guohua yuekan*, 1. 1 (1934), pp. 14 - 5 (p. 15).

medicine and department stores; (figure 4.36) artists' advertisements were generally under-designed—or more precisely they were presented in a simple manner, including only unadorned textual information. Although the goods sold were in fact works of art, the textual format of the price-list continued to be used throughout the very early twentieth century as advertisements. However, as the advertising industry flourished, more well-designed price-lists emerged. Some price-lists published in newspapers might have works of art attached for reference. For instance, the lesser-known artist Li Fu provided three images in his price-list, including a colophon written by the cultural figure Zeng Xi and two of the artist's own pieces of calligraphy in draft script (figure 4.37). The design changes in the price-lists of individual artists become more obvious when looking at the collection of price-lists from a renowned fan shop, the Jiuhua Tang.⁹⁴ Viewing the price-lists in this collection, one might notice a gradual diversification in their formats and designs. Some are published in simple printed characters, (figure 4.38) but others were well-designed or executed in calligraphy by renowned celebrities. (figure 4.39 and figure 4.40) For instance, the price-list of Wang Yiting was executed in calligraphy by Wu Changshou, with his recognisable running script.

Not only were the designs improved to attract buyers, but advanced advertising skills were also adopted by artists and agents for publicising their goods via glowing descriptions to enhance customers' interest. As He Tianjian pointed out, some artists would pretend to be busy in their artistic enterprises in order to attract customers even though their business was actually slow. As was discussed in chapter 3 and in an earlier part of this chapter, Yu Jianhua applied

⁹⁴ Jiuhuatang ed., *Jiuhuatang suo cang jindai mingjia shuhua zhuanke runli*.

different strategies to promote his sales. He set a limited period for selling his paintings and dramatised the sales figures of his own exhibitions in order to attract more customers. In fact, it was a common practice for artists to offer a discount within a restricted period or to set quotas in order to restrict the supply. For instance, one price-list published in the *Shenbao* announces, 'discount prices for a quota of three thousand. Prices will be set back to normal after the quota is reached.'⁹⁵ Three more examples that developed from these concepts are as follows,

The quota of one hundred paintings has already been met, and people have requested even more. Therefore, to celebrate my sixtieth birthday, a new quota of two hundred additional paintings will be set. The time limit for placing orders is two months. Currently, the ink fee is only 2 cents. Cut this coupon from the newspaper.⁹⁶

Posted in the newspaper for only one day. Cut this coupon from the newspaper. The discount period will expire in March. The discount period is divided into three phases. Phase one, from now one until 15th February of the national calendar: 40% off; phase two, from 16th to 28th February of the national calendar, 30% off; phase three, from 1st to 31st March, 20% off. If discount coupons are not presented, normal prices will be charged.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ 'Chuansha Gu Ai yushu' 川沙顧璣書, 'Gu Ai from Chuansha Sells Calligraphy', in Wang ed., *Jingxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, p. 246.

⁹⁶ Wang ed., *Jingxiandai jinshi shuhuajia runli*, p. 303.

⁹⁷ 'Zheng Yanqiao shuhua lianren quan' 鄭烟樵書畫廉潤券, 'Discount Coupon for Zheng Yanqiao's Painting and Calligraphy', *Shenbao*, 1930.1.17 (13).

This discount period will last until the end of this year by the western calendar. Be early, to prepare for New Year's decoration.⁹⁸

Such advertisements appeared frequently side-by-side with advertisements for seasonal department store sales (figure 4.41), suggesting that the concept of offering discounts or sales had become one of the popular commercial tactics within the art world.

In the 1920s and 1930s, even more retailing tactics were adopted by the Shanghai art world, such as providing discount coupons and gifts for promoting and stimulating consumer interest. In the *Shenbao*, among the advertisements for selling painting, it is easy to find frequently-used terms such as 'clip the coupon from the newspaper' (*Jianbao weiping*, 剪報為憑), 'discount for only one day' (*Lianrun yitian*, 廉潤一天) and 'discounted price' (*Lianrun*, 廉潤). The commercially-based art journal *Mohaichao* even spared one page for printing discount coupons for readers to clip. (figure 4.42) For instance, a coupon for a lesser-known artist, Jiang Xudan 蔣旭丹 (Dates unknown), (figure 4.43) states:

Jiang Xudan 50% off Discount Coupons

Jiang Xudan, a native of Wuxi, excels in landscape painting of both delicate and free styles. For an example, please see the first issue of the journal, which published one of his delicate blue-and-green landscapes which cost 50 dollars. His price-list was also published in the first issue. Recently, the artist has offered a discount period

⁹⁸ 'Cheng Gulou zengsong shanshui zhongtang pingtiao' 程古樓贈送山水中堂屏條, 'Cheng Gulou Gives out Landscape Paintings in Hall Scrolls and Sets', *Shenbao*, 1935.12.13 (8).

from September 1930 onwards, until the end of December. Clip this announcement as a coupon.⁹⁹

On the same page, there are altogether six discount coupons published, and readers were required to cut the coupons and present them to the artists. The prevalence of this practice during the 1920s and 1930s in a way reflects the success and efficiency of this strategy in the Shanghai art market.

Furthermore, more and more strategies were development and employed in the Shanghai art market to reward customers who spent money to buy paintings. One of the primary strategies was giving out free gifts. Perhaps inspired by the retailing methods of modern department stores, the art market adopted and modified this concept to fit its customers' needs. The gifts could be an extra painting, such as in the case of Zhang Yuguang. His advertisement entitled 'Zhang Yuguang Sells Tigers and Gives Cranes' states that the artist would offer a free crane painting of the same size and format to any customer who bought a tiger painting. Also, a free fan painting with a crane would be given out free for every purchase of a fan painting with a tiger.¹⁰⁰ (figure 4.44 and figure 4.45) The advertisement's introductory statement mentions that Zhang had mastered various genres and particularly excelled in painting tigers. As requested by his admirers, a crane painting—his most accomplished work—would be given out as a gift for those who purchased one of his tiger paintings. According to his price-list, a 4-foot tiger painting mounted in hall scroll format would cost 12

⁹⁹ *Mohaichao*, 2 (1930).

¹⁰⁰ 'Zhang Yuguang maihu zeng he' 張聿光賣虎贈鶴, 'Zhang Yuguang Sells Tigers and Gives Crane as Gift', *Shenbao*, 1930.7.26 (17).

dollars, and the same prices applied to other genres. Therefore, if a customer bought a 4-foot tiger painting, he would receive without additional charge a 4-foot crane painting valued at the same amount. Various kinds of gifts were given out as rewards, such as the following:

Zeng Gunong Gives Out Calligraphy and Paintings, and Additional Gifts as Well

Gifts: A colotype book *Gujin daiguan* 古今大觀 (worth 1.6 dollars) will be given free to those purchase up to 5 dollars' worth of painting; a work by Zeng Xi (worth 2.50 dollars) will be given to those who purchase up to 10 dollars' worth of painting; a 5-foot couplet by Zhuang Xiang (worth 5.50 dollars) will be given to those who purchase up to 15 dollars' worth of painting; a 6-foot couplet by Tan Hailing (worth 8.80 dollars) will be given to those who purchase up to 20 dollars' worth of painting. Clip this coupon from the newspaper.¹⁰¹

Usually, the gifts were artistic goods, but some cases were quite astonishing, such as the following advertisement indicates:

The gentlemen Shaoyun and Xiaoyun are well-known even to women and children. Right now, it is autumn, a good season for practicing painting. Therefore, as invited by the Suzhou [newspaper] *Xingbao* 星報, they will publish their price-list for one day. For those who

¹⁰¹ Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1931.8.14 (15).

purchase up to 5 dollars' worth of painting, a one-year subscription to *Xingbao* will be given free as a gift. One can possess a famous painting and at the same time have a chance to read interesting news. [If one] has any desire to own such good products, now is the time [to buy] them.¹⁰²

Intriguingly, buying painting might get the purchaser a piece of calligraphy executed by other artists, such as the cultural celebrity Zeng Xi, or even a one-year newspaper subscription free of charge.

Seemingly, in most cases discussed above, despite the fact that different marketing tactics were applied to promote sales, most of the artists who were keen to adopt these commercial methods were in fact little-known. This statement is corroborated by an interesting article published in the *Bee Journal* in 1930. Entitled 'Cutting Newspaper Coupons and Other Issues' (*Jianbao weiping ji qita*, 剪報爲憑及其他), the article condemns the practice of offering discounts and coupons. The another points out that although practicing painting was for the pursuit of one's own pleasure and not for serving others, it was appropriate and understandable for those who set price-lists to try to satisfy the desire of their admirers. However, in the art market, there were high-quality paintings as well as inferior ones. In order for those whose brushwork was inferior to sell their work, they offered discounts or published advertisements in newspapers using wordings such as 'cut this coupon from the newspaper', 'pay only the ink fee', or '[this discount advertisement] will be posted for only one

¹⁰² Advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1926.9.23 (10).

day' etc. These practices in a way suggest that the work of these artists was otherwise too inferior to sell in the market. Therefore, clever and experienced clients would not have been affected by these commercial tactics.¹⁰³ The article offers the author's views (or the prevalent views of society) of how these 'commercial artists' were positioned within the art world. Obviously, despite the effectiveness of the marketing tactics applied, the practice neither elevated an artist's position nor brought him reputation and fame. On the contrary, it usually downgraded the status of a professional artist to that of a commercial artist.

Conclusion

The changing nature of art as a profession and the accompanying redefinition of the artist's economic position and social status were intimately connected to broader shifts in modern China. The above discussion clearly shows that the profession of 'artist' was by this time publicly acknowledged and that producing paintings could be a lucrative activity, when practiced within the framework of economic systems which exerted an undeniable influence on creativity. The institutionalisation and systematisation of art agents in the Shanghai art market resulted in the facilitation of the commodity candidacy of *guohua*. The pricing logic of artists at the time in a way reflects the crucial roles played by cultural celebrities and traditional valuations, suggesting that cultural and symbolic capital was the most significant factor that governed the price of an artist's work. On the other hand, some tangible elements such as size, style, and format were considered to be major considerations in the price of painting. Therefore, in order to maximise one's profit, artists did not hesitate to produce

¹⁰³ Zizai 自在, 'Jianbao weiping ji qita' 剪報為憑及其他, 'Cutting Newspapers as a Proof and Others', *Bee Journal*, 4 (1930), p. 30.

blue-and-green landscapes and outlined perspective paintings, which had long been despised by the orthodox school ever since Dong Qichang' advocacy of literati painting—which convincingly shows that by this time, literati aesthetics had in turn given way to economic considerations.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In 1937, Japan launched her military invasion of China and by winter had taken over Shanghai, leading to the closure of art colleges and having a devastating effect on the Shanghai art world in general. In order to escape the war, many art professionals took refuge in areas outside Shanghai. Although some active *guohua* artists—such as He Tianjian, Wu Hufan, Qian Songyan, and Ye Gongchuo—continued to live and work in Shanghai,¹ societal and artistic activities as well as the art market were in one way or another suppressed by the war.² Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why the Second National Art Exhibition was moved to Nanjing instead of its being staged in Shanghai, suggesting that Shanghai's leading position in the Chinese art world had been undermined by the war. In 1947, after the Eight Years' War of Resistance, art activities resumed in Shanghai, and modern China's first art yearbook was published by the Shanghai Cultural Movement Committee (*Shanghai wenhua yundong weiyuanhui*, 上海文化運動委員會)—a publication which provides us with significant insight into the development of modern Chinese art and testifies to Chinese artistic achievements in the early Republican period.³ (figure 5.1) This remarkable publication not only documents useful historical information, such as artist biographies, essays, and histories of various art societies, but also outlines a detailed profile of the modern Chinese art world. Unlike its predecessors—such as Yang Yi's 'Shanghai's Forest of Ink' (*Haishang molin*, 海

¹ Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China*, pp. 110–2.

² Referring to the data provided by Wang, *1900–2000 Shanghai meishu nianbiao*; Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*.

³ *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*.

上墨林),⁴ which followed the conventional approach to historiography by laying out as its primary content the biographies of over seven hundreds artists—the Art Yearbook illustrates the comprehensive contour and structure of the modern Chinese art world by comprising five major sections, including ‘Historical Information’ (*Shiliao*, 史料), ‘Teacher-student Relations’ (*Shicheng jilüe*, 師承紀略), ‘Artists’ Biographies’ (*Meishujia zhuanlüe*, 美術家傳略), ‘Works of Art’ (*Zuopin*, 作品), and ‘Essays’ (*Lunwen*, 論文).

The book’s ‘Historical Information’ section includes a record of art societies and colleges of fine arts in various regions across the country, plus a table of exhibitions held in the foregoing year. Unquestionably, the inclusion of art societies and exhibitions was a new endeavour for such a record of art history, testifying to the fact that such topics were by that time perceived to be major components of the art world, and implying that a different historical perspective had been adopted. Also, the broadening range of attention—moving from focusing on artists’ biographies to focusing more on art institutions and artistic activities, mainly societies and exhibitions—also in a way highlights the significant roles played by these new artistic activities in modern Chinese art world. Furthermore, it is worth noting that for the most part, the art societies and exhibitions recorded in these publications mainly existed or took place in Shanghai. Of a total of 109 documented art societies and colleges, 56 were Shanghai-based. Also, in the table of exhibitions, an astonishing 150 out of 169 events listed were staged in Shanghai. These figures tangibly demonstrate that Shanghai held an important and dominant historical position in the modern

⁴ *Haishang molin* was published in 1919. Yang, *Haishang molin*. *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian Zhongguo meishu nianjian*, Content 7–13.

Chinese art world. Shanghai's particularly significant role in the making of a modern Chinese art world is further corroborated by the list of contributors to the art yearbook, a collective product of the Chinese art world; nearly all the members of the editorial committee were Shanghai-based artists and art professionals, including Yu Jianhua, Wu Hufan, Wu Zheng, Chen Dingshan, He Tianjian, Zheng Wuchang, Sun Xueni, Lu Danlin, and Li Zuhan—a group of young *guohua* professionals who had been actively participating in cultural production and have been discussed throughout this thesis.

As has been discussed here, an 'art world' is an autonomous web of networks formed by art professionals occupying different positions, and art production is a collective activity. The art yearbook offers an immediate summary of the art world of the early Republican period by listing not only the different positions held by artists but also the structure of the art world. The 'Artists' Biographies' section clearly shows that each member of the artistic community was placed into one of fourteen categories: Calligrapher (*Shufa jia*, 書法家), *Guohua* artist (*Guohua jia*, 國畫家), Seal Carver (*Zhuanke jia*, 篆刻家), Bamboo Carver (*Zhuke jia*, 竹刻家), Western-style Painting Artist (*Xihua jia*, 西畫家), Sculptor (*Diaosu jia*, 彫塑家), Wood Carver (*Muke jia*, 木刻家), Caricaturist (*Manhua jia*, 漫畫家), Photographer (*Sheying jia*, 攝影家), Craft-Art Artist (*Gongyi meishu jia*, 工藝美術家), Commercial-art Artist (*Shangye meishu jia*, 商業美術家), Architect (*Jianzhu sheji jia*, 建築設計家), Art Critic (*Yishu pinglun jia*, 藝術評論家), or Art Educator (*Yishu jiaoyu jia*, 藝術教育家). Intriguingly, the categories include not only art producers—i.e., the artists themselves—but also art critics and educators, which implies that further specialisation and division of labour had occurred in the art world and that a

broader perception of the nature of art had been gained by that time. Also it is worth noting that the listed art professionals include 971 *guohua* artists, surpassing the numbers of any other category—which suggests that in terms of quantity, *guohua* artists overwhelmingly dominated the modern Chinese art world. This fact paints a very different picture from the standard narrative of modern Chinese art history, in which *guohua*'s prominent position within the art world has been wrongly evaluated and the substantial role played by *guohua* artists in the modernisation process has been overlooked. Also surprising is the fact that certain reformers who had once relentlessly promoted Western-style and synthesised-style painting—such as Liu Haisu, Wang Yacheng, and Gao Jianfu—were deliberately placed in the *guohua* category and are thus described as specialising in the practice of *guohua*.⁵ The change in the attitude of art professionals towards *guohua* reflects to some extent the fact that consensus had been reached, and that the value and contemporaneity of *guohua* had been recognised and was legitimised in the modern Chinese art world.

Serving as an overview of the modern Chinese art world, the yearbook to a large degree can be seen as a conclusive statement and further evidence to support this thesis, in a way testifying to the fact that a systematised and institutionalised art community had been established and that *guohua* had gained legitimacy and achieved dominance within the art world. The preceding chapters have mapped the process of *guohua*'s institutionalisation, which took place within the context of modern Shanghai in a particular period, the 1930s—a period when, as has been argued by scholars, a clearly-defined urban culture had

⁵ In the table of contents, the names of artists were arranged according to surname as well as to the art forms in which they specialised. Some artists may have belonged to two categories; for instance, Liu Haisu was grouped under both *guohua* and western-style painting.

emerged, characterised by an urban-based print culture, the blurring of the line between the elitist and the popular, and a commoditised culture of consumption.⁶ It is within this urban and modern environment that the production and consumption of art made unprecedented breakthroughs: an autonomous art world was established; art was institutionalised; art became for the first time a social institution; modern artistic institutions and practices were introduced; and artists were bestowed with a new social identity: the urban intellectual or professional. During this process, as shown in this thesis, the *guohua* sub-field played a pivotal, dominant, and proactive role, illustrating the character and experience of modernity through the appropriation of new practices and the embracing of new attitudes towards the artistic profession.

Although many art historians hold firmly to the idea that the transformation of modern Chinese art was solely a response to the impact of the West, the paradigm of impact-response is inconsistent with the practices and readings of *guohua* described in this thesis. In light of Pierre Bourdieu's idea of the 'artistic field,' it is clear that the development of art in modern China should be viewed to some extent as a result of positioning within a given art world, a view which modulates our traditional view of the transformation of modern Chinese art as a by-product solely of Western impact. In this regard, the focus of this research has turned from ideas to institutions, and from the selection of works of art by a few famous artists to the larger context of cultural production and consumption, in order to paint a wider yet more precise landscape of the modern Chinese art

⁶ Leo Ou-fan Lee, 'The Cultural Construction of Modernity in Urban Shanghai: Some Preliminary Explorations', in Yeh ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, pp. 21–61; Lee, *Shanghai Modern*; Shi Shu-mei, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937* (London, 2001), Chapter 9.

scene. As reflected in the categories of art professionals offered by the yearbook and as demonstrated in this thesis, it can be seen that cultural production in the art world in fact involved a huge quantity of manpower, suggesting that Shanghai was a hub of cultural production and at the same time a highly competitive professional battlefield, within which members contended with their competitors for prestige, legitimacy, and economic resources according to the amounts of cultural capital they possessed. It has been commonly accepted that the tradition of Chinese painting was moribund and had been attacked viciously by reformers; however, at the practical and mundane level of everyday life, it is not hard to find evidence for the fact that China's traditional art form continued to enjoy its popularity and dominance within the tradition of gift-giving, the leisure industry, and the art market of Shanghai. At the level of intellectual discourse, *guohua* had been reinterpreted through the prism of nationalism and modern Western artistic trends, and gradually gained its dominance beginning in the mid 1920s.

As pointed out by Pierre Bourdieu, social, economic, and political events are always retranslated according to the specific logic of a given art world.⁷ In the mid-1920s, the rise of nationalism and the experience of cultural crisis, together with the enthusiasm for constructing the national cultural identity, eventually resulted in the reinterpretation and reassertion of the value of *guohua* in the art world. *Guohua* was perceived and included as a discursive subject in the discourse of Chinese culture, being regarded as the only contemporary Chinese art form that possessed the character of both China and modernity, and could therefore be used as a tool for cultural propaganda on the international art stage.

⁷ Bourdieu, 'Field of Power, Literary Field and Habitus', pp. 164.

As a result, from the time of the First National Art Exhibition of 1929 to the European exhibitions of contemporary Chinese painting in the 1930s, *guohua* was officially identified as the representative art form of new China, thus regaining its currency in the Shanghai art world in the 1930s.

The Shanghai art world, as shown in this study, was a highly stratified battleground where members of the artistic community endeavoured to take strong positions and compete for resources, such as fame and monetary rewards, according to the amount of cultural and symbolic capital they possessed and subject to the specific rules and logic of the art world. Despite Shanghai's modern and urban character, traditional valuations interwoven with new kinds of values continued to play a crucial role in defining specific cultural and symbolic capital during the formative period of the modern art world. In this cosmopolitan, modern China, a large number of cultural and new merchant elites—who collectively possessed huge amounts of cultural, symbolic, and economic capital—were drawn together, enjoying high positions and wielding the ability to consecrate newcomers in both the social and cultural worlds. For instance, senior members of the Shanghai art world, such as Wang Yiting, Li Pingshu, Di Pingzi, and Huang Binhong were viewed as social celebrities whose names not only were able to illuminate art-related events and publications and add symbolic value and prestige to anything attached to them, but also were regarded as authoritative proof of just prices in the Shanghai art market. Due to their habitus and social trajectory, their aesthetic choices and dispositions leaned towards traditional art forms, which inevitably became a crucial advantage for the promotion and legitimisation of *guohua* in the competitive Shanghai art world.

In the 1930s, the first generation of modern Chinese *guohua* artists succeeded more senior members and came to play significant and leading roles in the art world. Educated under the newly established educational system, and with support from the cultural and merchant elite, these young newcomers were willing to appropriate modern artistic activities as a new kind of cultural capital in the pursuit of institutionalising, reinterpreting, and redefining *guohua*. Although most of these young *guohua* artists in fact neither obtained professional training nor held any art educational credentials, they acquired their cultural capital by joining various art societies and establishing social networks through societal activities. Through collective activities, they constructed a modern and refreshed public image for *guohua* in the public sector. As a modern urban city, Shanghai not only provided a familiar westernised environment for receiving overseas-trained artists, but also set favourable conditions for modernising, institutionalising and professionalising the practices of *guohua*. In addition, Shanghai's cosmopolitan and polyglot atmosphere, fuelled by the growing associational sentiment and the flourishing publishing industry, had made possible the establishment of the Chinese 'public sphere'—a realm of freedom for private and collective activity, defended against state intervention and domination, as postulated by Jürgen Habermas.⁸ Within this new public sphere, the new concept and new term *guohua* was conceptualised through collective activities, discursive practices, and public discussion. What had once been perceived as esoteric knowledge and practice gained public accessibility and was popularised through societal activities, publications, exhibitions, and a systematised art market.

⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

Jonathan Hay has maintained that unlike in imperial China—where fame had traditionally been associated with difficulty of access to a given master's work—a new social mechanism of artistic celebrity emerged in the late nineteenth century in the public space of Shanghai, associating fame with public exposure and accessibility.⁹ If fame in the Republican period was related closely to exposure, then increasing public visibility was predictably one of the most crucial factors for elevating one's reputation. In this regard, constructing an appropriate public persona became the most determinative factor for the success of either an artist or an artistic group. In opposition to the stance held by their predecessors, the younger generation of *guohua* artists introduced a new stance and defined themselves as 'New China's Artists' in order to distinguish themselves from those who clung to the preservation of the national essence and those who advocated the westernisation of traditional art forms—emphasising the present moment and displaying a new and more rational attitude towards the past. In the hopes of achieving a more professional and respectable social status for artists and breaking away from traditional attitudes towards the artistic profession, they adopted a serious and professional manner of practicing *guohua*, contradicting those advocates of the literati tradition who embraced the idea of practicing painting for personal pleasure and leisure.

In the public sector, by organising modern art societies and publishing societal journals, *guohua* artists created a discursive space for open communication and the expression of liberal thought, a space through which the professional *guohua* artist's identity and stature was reshaped and upgraded, and a new public persona was developed, reflecting a character of modernity,

⁹ Hay, 'Painters and Publishing in Shanghai', p. 171–3.

progressiveness, and openness. Their expertise in the publishing industry and their close connection to the cultural elite and the press had been transformed into strong cultural capital for the *guohua* sub-field. Furthermore, the establishment of societal journals had created a public platform for cultural debate and the exchange of ideas, a platform upon which fame was promoted and *guohua*'s tradition and history were retrospectively reconstructed through visual (i.e., images of selected ancient paintings) and textual languages—enhancing *guohua*'s modern image by means of the reification of China's artistic past. In the societal journals, *guohua* artists made use of the rhetorical strategy of employing a polemic approach in their writing as a new kind of cultural capital, and they also showed their willingness to accept a plurality of voices and opinions by inviting art producers with different aesthetic ideologies to contribute to public discussions. These endeavours to some extent played a crucial role in the formation of the discourse of *guohua* in the early twentieth century.¹⁰

As a nexus of urban culture, leisure, celebrity, and commerce, Shanghai in some ways facilitated the process of commoditisation of *guohua*, giving birth to a systemised art market and blurring the lines between high and popular culture as well as the lines between art and commerce. Along the commercial and entertainment centre of the Nanjing Road, art exhibitions were launched, functioning as ephemeral showcases for the display of works of art and at the same time for the sale of paintings. In borrowing retailing tactics from the commercial world—for instance, lucky draw, coupons, seasonal sales, and

¹⁰ As argued by Leo Ou-fan Lee, the polemic mode was a powerful rhetorical strategy used in the May Fourth discourse. Leo Ou-fan Lee, 'Incomplete Modernity: Rethinking the May Fourth Intellectual Project', in Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldřich Král ed., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 31–65.

advertising—the art world created new fashionable site for entertainment; furthermore, as John Clark has pointed out, a ‘site for authentication opens the discourse of interpretation in that it provides more public and less personalized standards for the judgment of works’.¹¹ As a result of the rise of professionalism, making one’s livelihood by selling paintings was morally legitimised, releasing artists from the constraints of literati perceptions of the professional artist and bestowing upon the ‘professional artist’ a new respectable status, where previously the title had been viewed with disdain. This change in the status of ‘artist’ consequently led to the birth of a capitalist art market, in which cultural and symbolic capital could be converted into economic capital and works of art were commoditised and brought within the reaches of a wider and larger audience of anonymous clients.

From art societies to the art market, it is not hard to see that the nexus of the urban culture of Shanghai and modern institutions and practices made possible the emergence of an autonomous modern art world in the city—a situation that laid a foundation and functioned as a blueprint for the development of artistic institutions throughout China. In 1949, after the establishment of the People’s Republic, the restructuring of the political order led to a dramatic change in the art world. The Communist government exerted total control over cultural life, and artists were registered under the provincial and regional branches of various art associations, which inevitably undermined the autonomy of the art world. In addition, the collapse of the open art market had a devastating effect upon the independence of the art world. Although institutions such as art associations and art colleges continued to function, they did so under the control of the state

¹¹ Clark, ‘Open and Closed Discourses of Modernity in Asian Art’, p. 11.

and were used as tools for political propaganda.¹²

Undoubtedly, as demonstrated in this study, the idea of an art world offers a wider perspective for us to explore artistic development, to discern the close relationship between the artistic field and a given society, and to reconstruct the cultural and social values of a particular culture at a specific historical moment. The reconstruction of the art world in 1930s Shanghai not only paints a very different picture of artistic development over the course of the early Republican era, but also delivers us from the flawed binaries of East and West, traditional and modern, and old and new—revealing instead the multi-faceted and plural nature of the discourse of Chinese modernity.

¹² For further study of Chinese art after 1949, see Arnold Chang, *Painting in the People's Republic of China* (Boulder, 1980); Julia Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949 - 1979* (Berkeley, 1994); Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*.

Appendix 1

Biographical Notes

Cha Yangu 查煙谷 (Dates unknown) excelled in landscape painting and founded the United Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Association in 1925. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia hui zhuan*, p. 139.

Chen Hengke 陳衡恪 (1876–1923) studied in Japan, majoring in museology. In 1912, on his return, he settled in Beijing and taught at several colleges, including the Beijing College of Art and the Beijing Higher Normal College. In 1919, he organised the Society for Research in Chinese Painting. His book *Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu* was influential and widely circulated in China. He was a leading cultural figure in Beijing and was the patron of the renowned artist Qi Baishi. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 400.

Chen Julai 陳巨來 (1905–1984) studied seal carving under Zhao Shuru in 1922. He became acquainted with the collector Wu Hufan in 1926 and was able to access Wu's collection of ancient seals. Chen was a prominent seal carver in the Republican Period, and most of the seals of prominent artists and collectors such as Zhang Daqian, Wu Hufan, Pu Ru, Yu Gongchuo, and Zhang Boju were done by Chen. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 468.

Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1884–1948) learned painting under the leading Guangdong artist Ju Lian at the age of fifteen. In 1905, he entered the Tokyo Art Academy where he studied painting. He joined the revolutionary society, the United League in Japan. After graduation, he taught at art colleges in Guangdong. In 1912, together with Gao Jianfu, he launched the art magazine,

'The Truth' *Zhenxiang huabao* and advocated reform of Chinese art. In 1913, he furthered his study in Japan. Since 1922, he took up several important posts in the Guomindang. In 1927, after his resignation from his official post, he settled in Hong Kong. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 410; Chen ed., *Chen Shuren de yishu*.

Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶 (1897-1989) was an active cultural figure in Shanghai in the early twentieth century. He participated and was invited as committee member in organizing several important events, for instance, the first National Art Exhibition. He was a freelance writer for several magazines, such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, *Youxi zazhi* etc.. He was one of the editors of the *Meizhou* and *Meizhan*. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 438; Wan, 'Meishu jia qiye jia Chen Xiaodie'.

Cheng Jiezi 程芥子 (Dates unknown) studied painting under Feng Chaoran; Cheng excelled in landscape painting, particularly figure paintings. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 247.

Cheng Yaosheng 程瑤笙 (1869 - 1936) learnt painting under Tang Runzi. He was a self-taught scholar. He taught biology at Qinghua University in the very early Republican period. His knowledge of biology gave him a different perspective on *guohua*. Scientific analysis and shadowing were applied in his painting. He was an active member of the Shanghai Tijinguan Society and the founder of the Yu Garden Painting and Calligraphy Charity Association. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 395

Di Pingzi 狄平子 (1872-1940) proprietor of the *Shibao* newspaper. Di was a

prominent private collector and amateur *guohua* painter in Shanghai. Among his collection, Wang Meng's *Dwelling in the Qingbian* was the most famous piece. Di also established the Yu Tseng Book Depot, which published a number of books and catalogues on traditional art forms such as ancient paintings, calligraphy, and stele rubbings, including the *Zhongguo minghua. Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 396; Xu, *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 709.

Ding Luyang 丁六陽 (Dates unknown) learnt painting and calligraphy under Zeng Xi and excelled in landscape, figures and animals paintings. Wang ed., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhau jia runli*, p.413.

Ding Nianxian 丁念先 (1906–1969) was a member of the Shanghai Tjinguan Society. In the 1920s, he joined the *Qingnian shuhua she*. In 1926, he founded the *Guhuan jinyu* Society with Ding Fuzhi and Gao Yehou. He was a committee member for the Painting Association of China and the advisory committee member for the Art Education Society of China. He excelled in *guohua* and calligraphy. He had a renowned private collection. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 5; Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 2.

Ding Song 丁悚 (1891–1969) was a cartoonist and studied under Zhou Xiang in Shanghai in 1910. After graduation, he was employed in the advertising department of the Shanghai British and American Tobacco Company. After the May Fourth Cultural Movement, he participated actively in promoting cartoons and became a cartoonist working for various newspapers, such as the *Shenbao* and the *Xinwenbao*. Also, he worked as an editor for various magazines. In 1926, he founded the first cartoon society in China, the Cartoon Association.

Shanghai meishu zhi, p. 420.

Fang Junbi 方君璧 (1898–1986) went to Paris in 1912, and was admitted to L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. In 1925, she returned to China and taught at Guangdong University. She lived in Paris from 1926 to 1930 and returned to China in the 1930s. Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, p. 301.

Fei Longding 費龍丁 (1880–1937) was a renowned calligrapher and studied in Japan in 1898, majoring in mathematics and art. After returning to China, he taught at the Guangxi College of Surveying. Later, he learned calligraphy under the leading artist Wu Changshuo. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 249.

Feng Chaoran 馮超然 (1882–1954) accessed private collections through his acquaintance with Zhang Luqian and Li Pingshu in 1903 and 1912 respectively. In 1919, he settled in Shanghai. He made his living by selling paintings and teaching students. Feng excelled in landscape paintings and figures. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 408.

Feng Wenfeng 馮文鳳 (1906–1971) established the Women's Art School for Painting and Calligraphy in Hong Kong. She was one of the founders of the Chinese Women's Painting and Calligraphy Association and a committee member for the establishment of the Shanghai Art Museum. She excelled in calligraphy. *Zhongguo jinxindai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 180; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 471.

Gao Jianfu 高劍父 (1879 - 1951) was the founder of the Lingnan School. He began to study painting under Ju Lian in 1892 and studied sketching with a French teacher in 1903. In 1906 he organised the Chinese Painting Research Society and went to Tokyo to further his art training. In Japan he joined the Hakuba Kai (White Horse Society) and Taiheiyō Gakai (Pacific Painting Society). In 1918, he returned to Guangzhou and found the Chunshui Academy in 1923. He established the Shenmei Book Store and published the magazine *Zhenxiang huabao* in 1910s. He was invited to be the judge of various exhibitions including the National Art Exhibition, the Guangdong Art Exhibition, and the British International Art Exhibition. He worked at various art schools and institutions, such as the Guangdong Art Research Association, National Zhongshan University, National Central University and the Guangdong College of Art. Lu, *Zhongguo xiandai yishujia xiangzhuan*, pp. 190 - 1; Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists: A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 41.

Gu Qingyao 顧青瑤 (1896-1978) was the daughter of the renowned artist Gu Ruobo. She learnt painting and seal-carving under her father. She excelled in calligraphy. As a professional artist, she was one of the founders of the Chinese Women's Painting and Calligraphy Association. *Zhongguo jinxindai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 994; Hong Kong Museum of Art ed., *Gu Qingyao*.

Ha Shaofu 哈少甫 (1856-1934) excelled in authenticating antiquities and was a renowned antique dealer. In 1915, he loaned his collection to be exhibited at the Panama International Exposition, for which he earned an award. He had visited Japan twice, which allowed him to befriend Japanese celebrities and men of culture. He was selected as a committee member for the reference section of the

First National Art Exhibition in 1929 and was a committee member of the *Shanghai shuhua yangjiu hui*, Shanghai Tijinguan Society and *Xiling yinshe*. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 390.

He Tianjian 賀天健 (1891–1977) worked as a *guohua* editor for Shanghai Zhonghua Books. In 1921 he jointed the First Press of Republican Shanghai. He joined the Shanghai Tijinguan Society in 1918 and established the Xishan Painting and Calligraphy Association with friends in Wuxi in 1920. In 1921 he founded the Wuxi College of Fine Arts with friends. He taught at the Shanghai Changming College of Fine Arts and the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. He was the chief editor of the *Zhongguo xiandai minghua huikan* in 1924. He was the cofounder of the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China. He served as the editor of *Guohua yuekan*. He organised solo exhibitions in Shanghai, Beijing, Wuxi and Tianjing, which were warmly received. He excelled in landscape painting. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 421 - 2.

He Xiangning 何香凝 (1878–1972) was married to the politician Liao Zhongkai. In 1902, she went to Japan and entered the Tokyo Women's Art School in 1908. She actively participated in art activities from the late 1920s. She organised exhibitions to raise funds for supporting the Chinese army in the Sino-Japanese war. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 402–3.

Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865–1955) joined the *Guoxue baocun hui* in 1907 and embarked upon his long career as an editor, teacher, theorist, and artist. In 1908, he became the editor of the *Guocui xuebao* and chief editor of the *Meishu congshu*, a compilation of 160 volumes of writings on Chinese art. In 1936,

Huang was elected to the committee for authenticating the paintings in the collection of the National Palace Museum. During his stay in Shanghai, he taught *guohua* and art theory at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art, and the Changming College of Art and was the director the College of Chinese Art and Literature. Huang was also the founder and member of various art societies, including *Nanshe*, *Zhen she*, *Yiguan xuehui*, the Painting Association of China, *Lanman she*, *Baichuan shuhua she* and *Hanzhiyou she* etc.. Huang also actively participated in editorial work and worked as the editor at the *Shenzhuo guoguang she*, *Youzheng shuju*, and the Commercial Press etc. Wang, *Huang Binhong nianpu*; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 391 - 40.

Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1885–1962) established the Art Education Society of China with Feng Zikai and Liu Zhiping in 1919. From 1924 onward, he taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art, the National Art School of Hangzhou, etc. He travelled to Japan and Korea to study art education and studied painting under Li Ruiqing and Xiao Junxian. His paintings are modeled after the late Ming eccentric masters Bada and Shitao. His publications include *Meishushi* and *Yishu jiepou xue* etc.. *Shanghai meishuzhi*, p. 413.

Jiang Xiaojian 江小鵬 (1894–1939) was a sculptor and studied western art in France. In 1917, he returned to China and settled in Shanghai. In 1919, he set up his studio and later founded a factory for the manufacturing of handicrafts and antique replicas. In 1928, he founded the Yiyuan Painting Research Institute. He was the executive editor of the journal *Meishu shenghuo* from 1934 to 1937. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 428.

Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 (1877–1938) was a committee member for the Zhejiang Government in 1927, and served on the Committee of the Nanjing Government in 1928. In 1928, he founded the *Hanzhiyou* art society along with Chen Shuren and He Xiangning and was a member of the Painting Association of China. He excelled in seal carving, calligraphy, and painting. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 401; Xu, *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 2213; *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu dacidian*, p. 854.

Jin Runqing 金潤卿 (Dates unknown) was a friend of Wang Yiting, who excelled in figure and bird-and-flower painting. Wang ed., *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhuaqia runli*, p. 431.

Kuang Youhan 況又韓 (1904–?) was the son of the renowned great master of *ci* poetry, poet Kuang Huifeng. He studied under his father and excelled in poetry, calligraphy, and painting. He taught Chinese literature at the Shanghai St. John University. Yun, *Minguo shuhuaqia huizhuan*, p. 122.

Li Pingshu 李平書 (1853–1927) was one of the most important gentry-merchants in Shanghai. He owned a renowned private collection, named *Pingchuan shuwu*. Li, *Qiewan laoren qishi sui zixu*.

Li Qiuqun 李秋君 (1899 – 1973) learned painting under her brother Li Zuhan and then followed Wu Shujuan. She was a committee member of the First National Art Exhibition of 1929, the Chicago Exposition, and the Xihu Exposition etc., and a general secretary of the Sino-Japanese Joint Arts Exhibition.

She was a member of the Arts Research Committee of the Ministry of Education. She taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art and the College of Chinese Literature and Art. She was a cofounder of the Chinese Women's Painting and Calligraphy Association. In 1933 she contributed 50,000 dollars toward the establishment of the Shanghai Art Museum. *Who's Who in China*, pp. 137 - 8; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 443 - 4.

Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 (1867–1920) was the director of the Liangjiang Senior Normal School in Nanjing and in 1906 opened its painting and handicraft section, which became one of the earliest institutions for training art teachers in modern China. After the Revolution of 1911, he fled to Shanghai and made his living by selling and teaching calligraphy. His paintings, calligraphy, and writings were published in the Republican period, including *Qingdaoren nigu hua ce* and *Qingdaoren yiji*. He excelled in calligraphy. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 394.

Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886–1942) graduated from the Glasgow School of Art in 1912 and from Glasgow University in 1916. In 1918, he became a teacher at the Beijing Professional College of Art. He joined the Shanghai College of Fine Arts in 1924. He was on the jury of the 1929 and 1936 National Art Exhibitions. He was one of the founders of the Apollo Society. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 414.

Li Zuhan 李祖韓 (1891 - ?) was the brother of the renowned woman artist Li Qiujun. He excelled in landscape painting and was an acclaimed figure in the Shanghai art world. Yun, *Minguo shuhuaqia huizhuan*, p. 84.

Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994) studied painting under Zhou Xiang in 1911. In

1913, he founded the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. In 1914, he introduced nude models to painting lessons, a controversial choice at the time. In the late 1920s, he travelled to Europe to study. In 1933, he was invited by the government to organise a travelling exhibition of modern Chinese painting in Europe. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 435; Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China*, p. 309.

Liu Jingchen 劉景晨 (1881 – 1960) was a native of Yongjia, Wenzhou province. He taught at new normal schools and served the Republican government in the 1920s. Liu excelled in literature, painting and seal carving. Yang Ruijin 楊瑞津 ed., *Liu Jingchen Liu Jie jinian ji* 劉景晨劉節紀念集, 'A Memorial Collection of Writings of Liu Jingchen', (Hong Kong, 2002).

Lu Danlin 陸丹林 (1896–1972), excelled in literature, calligraphy, and connoisseurship and was a renowned art critic in his time. He was a member of the Nanshe, the Painting Association of China, etc.. Lu participated actively in the editorial work of several publications, for instance the *Bee Journal*, the *Guohua Monthly*, the *Guangdong wenwu* and the *Wenhua jie nianzhoukan* etc.. He was also the chief editor of the *Daguan bao* and the *Yijing*. Lu was well known for his private collection of painting and calligraphy and was a prominent art critic in Republican Shanghai. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 234. Zheng, 'Lu Danlin de yishu'; *Zhongguo jinxindai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 651.

Lu Hui 陸恢 (1851–1920) excelled in painting and connoisseurship. He was invited by renowned private collectors to authenticate their collections. He

assisted Pang Laichen in compiling the book *Xuzhai minghua lu*. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 389.

Ma Mengrong 馬孟容 (1890–1932) excelled in bird-and-flower painting and paintings of insects. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. *Zhongguo jinxindai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 26; *Mingguo renwu dacidian*, p. 680.

Ma Tai 馬駘 (1885–1935 ?) studied painting under Zhou Jingtang and calligraphy under Zeng Xi. In 1909, he founded the Yi Garden Painting and Calligraphy Charitable Association with Wu Changshuo, Wang Yiting, Zhang Shanzi, etc. In 1928, he founded the Manlan Society with Huang Binhong, Zhang Shanzi, and Yu Jianhua. Ma was a professional artist who made his living by selling paintings and teaching at art institutes, including the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. His publications include the popular painting manual, *Ma Tai hua wen*. *Shanghai mei shu zhi*, p. 411; Ma, *Ma Tai hua wen*.

Ma Xulun 馬敘倫 (1885–1970) was a calligrapher and educator. He worked as the editor for the magazine the *Eastern Miscellany* and *Guocui xuebao*. He taught at Beijing University and served as the Vice Director for the Ministry of Education. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 411.

Ni Tian 倪田 (1855–1919) made a living by selling paintings and was one of the central figures in the Shanghai School. He was elected to the committee in charge of general affairs in the Painting-and-Calligraphy Association of China in 1910. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 390.

Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲 (1858–1934) was a descendant of the renowned collector Pan Shicheng. His father and grandfather were prominent and revered *ci* poets. He travelled to Europe in his early years and settled in Shanghai in the later years of his life. He taught Chinese literature at Berlin University. He was a member of Nanshe and excelled in literature, calligraphy, and painting. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1320; Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 303.

Pang Laichen 龐萊臣 (1864–1949) was a successful merchant, collector, and amateur artist. Pang was also a very well-known art dealer, and his private collection Xuzhai was claimed to be the best in the Jiangnan area. He invited renowned artists to authenticate his collection, including the prestigious artist Lu Hui. His collection of paintings and calligraphy was recorded in the *Xuzhai minghua lu*. *Shanghai meishuzhi*, p. 391; Xu, *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 2819.

Pang Xunqin 龐薰琴 (1906 – 1985) studied oil painting in Shanghai under a Russian teacher in 1925. He then furthered his study in France from 1925 to 1930. He returned to Shanghai in 1930 and joined the Taimeng Painting Society. In 1931 he found the Storm Society with Ni Yide to promote a Parisian-style art in Shanghai. He taught at the National Academy of Art in 1936. He worked for the Central Museum in Kunming and collected decorative textiles and patterns of South-western minorities in late 1930s. Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artists*, p. 122.

Qian Huafu 錢化佛 (1884–1964) excelled in painting Buddha and was a member of the Shanghai Tijinguan Society and the United Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Association. The founder of the Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society. He held several solo exhibitions in Shanghai. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 410 – 1.

Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1896–1967) was a member of the Shanghai Tijinguan Society and one of the founders of the Painting Association of China. He served as the advisory editor of the Japanese periodical *Shuyuan*. He excelled in seal-carving and calligraphy. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1013; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 438.

Shen Enfu 沈恩孚 (1864–1949) excelled in literature and calligraphy and worked as the vice secretary for the Jiangsu government; he taught at Shanghai Hujiang University and Dongwu University. *Yun, Minguo shuhua jia hui zhuan*, p. 100.

Shi Yupeng 施狝鵬 (1908–?) taught at several art schools in Shanghai. He was a committee member for the Chinese Art Education Society and the Chinese Art Association and was the Head of the Education Department, Shanghai. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 929; *Minguo renwu dacidian*, p. 614.

Sun Fuxi 孫福熙 (1898–1962) was the secretary of the Franco-Chinese Institute. He studied painting and sculpture in Lyon. In 1925, he returned to China and engaged in the writing and publishing industry. In 1928, he founded the

National Art Academy of Hongzhou together with Lin Fengmian and Pan Tianshou. He went to France and studied literature and art theory in 1930. After returning from France, he taught at the National Art Academy of Hangzhou and established the art journal *Yifeng*. He was also the chief editor of the magazine *Yifeng* and *Wenyi chahua*. Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China*, p. 314; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 441; *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 342;

Sun Xueni 孫雪泥 (1889–1965) he established the Shengsheng Art Company in 1912, reproducing the paintings of renowned artists in the format of calendars and round fans. He was one of the founders of the Painting Association of China. He was acclaimed as a successful businessman. Sun excelled in poetry and landscape painting. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 417; Xu, *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 1542.

Tan Yuese 談月色 (1891–1976) learnt painting under Huang Binhong and excelled in painting plum blossoms. She settled in Nanjing in her later years. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1083.

Wang Shengyuan 汪聲遠 (1889–1969) graduated from the Shanghai College of Fine Arts and studied under Huang Binhong. He was an active member of the Suyue Painting Association. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art and Nanjing Art Academy respectively. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 417.

Wang Shizi 王師子(1883–1950) graduated from the Japan College of Art. He

excelled in painting, literature, and calligraphy. He was on the committee of the Painting Association of China. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Professional College of Literature and Art of China, and the Third Normal School of Jiangsu province. Yun, *Minguo shuhuaqia hui zhuan*, p. 23.

Wang Taomin 王陶民 (1894–1940) excelled in bird-and-flower and animal painting. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts and the Xinhua College of Art. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 428.

Wang Tongyu 王同愈 (1855–1941) settled in Shanghai at his later year after the fall of the Qing dynasty and made a living by selling paintings and calligraphy. As a traditional scholar, Wang excelled in calligraphy, literature and paintings. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 389.

Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894–1983) settled in Shanghai in 1911 and was invited by Wu Shiguang to found and teach at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. He learnt Western painting at the Tokyo Kawabata Art School in the spring of 1916. After this time, he entered the Tokyo College of Art, majoring in Western painting in 1917. After graduation in 1921, he returned to Shanghai and taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. In 1928, Wang embarked on a European study tour. Between 1928 and 1930, he traveled to Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom, etc., where he studied the European styles, including Post-Impressionism. In 1931, he worked as the principal of the Xinhua Normal College of Fine Arts. He served as the chief editor of the supplement *Yishu shuangzhou* for the newspaper *Shishi xinbao*. He was a member of the *Tianma hui*, the Painting Association of China, and the Mo Society etc. In 1948, Wang

was appointed by the government to visit art education institutions in the United States. Trained in western art, Wang presented himself as a *guohua* artist after his fortieth birthday and was especially famous for his goldfish painting. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 430; Wang ed., *Wang Yachen yishu wenji*; Wang ed., *Wang Yachen de yushu shijie*.

Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938) was a significant figure in the commercial world and held various important posts, such as chairman of the Shanghai City Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce, and director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs for Shanghai City. Wang was also a well-known philanthropist and was a committee member for various charity organisations such as the China Philanthropic Association, the China Red Cross Association, and the Government Famine Relief Commission. He was also a committee member for forty educational institutions, including the Great China University and the Shanghai Fine Arts College. In the art world, Wang gained recognition in both Shanghai and Japan. He founded and financially supported numerous art associations, including the Yu Garden Charitable Association, the Bee Society, and the Painting Association of China. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 393–4.

Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888–1979) worked as a journalist and a teacher in Beijing. In 1916 he returned to Shanghai and joined the Commercial Press in 1921. He was the chief editor (1921 – 29) and general manager (1930 – 45) of the Commercial Press, and responsible for the compilation and translation Department. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, pp. 400 – 2.

Wu Botao 吳伯滔 (1840–1895) settled in Shanghai and actively participated in the art world in the late Qing period. His sons, Wu Jianqiu and Wu Zheng inherited his artistic talents and became professional artists during the Republican Period. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 386.

Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844–1927) became one of the leading artistic figures in Shanghai and was the chairman of the Xiling Seal Carving Society, vice-chairman of the Shanghai Tijinguan Society and founder of the Yu Garden Painting and Calligraphy Charity Association. Wu had a close connection with Japanese cultural circles and was one of the most popular artists in Japan. He held solo exhibitions in Shanghai as well as Japan, and his works of art were widely published in the Republican period. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 387; Chen, *Wu Changshuo huahui hua de chuang zuo beijin qi fengge yanjiu*; Macau Art Museum ed., *Wu Changshuo shuhua*.

Wu Dongmai 吳東邁 (1885 – 1963) was the son of Wu Changshuo. He served as the principle of the Bright College of Art. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 412 – 3.

Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894 – 1968) received good training in art, literature and connoisseurship from his family and family connections. He moved to Shanghai in 1924 and associated with renowned private collectors and artists. He was invited to be the judge for authenticating the works of art of the Palace Museum and a committee member for the First National Art Exhibition. He established his private collection of painting and calligraphy, Meijing shuwu and became one of the most prominent private collectors in modern China. He

excelled in landscape painting and literature. He founded the Zheng She in 1933 and was the member of the Painting Association of China, the Jiu she and the Hanzhiyou hua she. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 428–9; Chan, *Chuantong de fuxing*; von Spee, *Wu Hufan*.

Wu Qingxia 吳青霞 (1910–?) excelled in calligraphy and painting, particularly in painting fish. She was one of the founders of the Chinese Women's Painting and Calligraphy Association. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 482; Tao and Li eds., *Shiluo de lishi*, pp. 147–9.

Wu Shujuan 吳淑娟 (1853–1930) became one of the most popular painters in the art market, particularly in Japan. She excelled in landscape and participated in various group exhibitions including the Tianmahui Inaugural Exhibition. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p.68; *Xingfeng lao ren yi mo mu lu*.

Wu Zheng 吳徵 (1878–1949) was the son of the prominent late Qing artist Wu Tao. He joined the Chinese Painting Scholarship Research Society. After returning to Shanghai, he joined the Commercial Press and was in charge of the art department. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 402.

Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀 (1875 – 1953) became the chief librarian of the Metropolitan Library, Beijing in 1922. He was appointed as the director of the Cigarette Tax Bureau in 1923. After retiring from official posts, he focused on practicing painting and literature. He excelled in landscape painting and *ci poetry*. *Who's Who in China*, p. 85; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 399.

Xie Gongzhan 謝公展 (1885–1964) taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art, the Nanjing Art Academy, etc. He was one of the founders of the Bee Society. Xie excelled in bird-and-flower painting, particularly in chrysanthemums. He was a judge at the Xihu Exposition and committee member of the Art Education Section, Education Bureau. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 1249.

Xie Haiyan 謝海燕 (1910–2000) was the chief editor of both *Guohua Monthly* and *Guohua*. He taught at several art schools, including the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, East China Normal University, and the Xinhua College of Arts. He was an active art critic and writer in Shanghai during the Republican Period. His publications include *Xiyang meishu shi*. Chen ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1254.

Xie Yucen 謝玉岑 (1899 – 1935) was the brother of Xie Zhiliu and a disciple of the renowned poet Qian Mingshan. He excelled in calligraphy and literature. He was the cofounder of the Jiushe. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 335.

Xiong Songquan 熊松泉 (1884 – 1961) learnt *guohua* at the age of ten and western painting at eighteen. He settled in Shanghai and painted theater backgrounds for a living. Xiong actively participated in art groups. He was a member of the Shanghai Tijinguan Society, the *Suye huashe* and committee member of the Painting Association of China. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 411.

Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953) was sent to Europe in 1919 by the Ministry of Education to study fine arts at L'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts de Paris. He

returned to China in 1927 and was appointed as the director of the National Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing, from which position he soon resigned in order to join the National Central University at Nanjing as a professor. In 1929, he was invited to be the judge of the First National Art Exhibition, but he refused the offer. In 1933, Xu organised an exhibition of modern Chinese painting that travelled to France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the Soviet Union. He advocated Western Realism in the 1930s. He was the cofounder of the Yifeng she and Li she, and was the member of the Nanshe, the Painting Association of China. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 433; Hong Kong Museum of Art ed., *Xu Beihong de yishu*; Wang, *Xu Beihong yanjiu*; Liao, *Xu Beihong yisheng*.

Xu Langxi 徐朗西 (1885/81–1961) became the principal of the Xinhua College of Art. He was a contributor to the *Shenghuo bao*. His publications include 'Art and Society' *Yishu yu shehui*. *Minguo renwu dacidian*, p. 716; *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1035.

Xu Zhenbai 許徵白 (1887 - ?) was a self-taught artist. He excelled in figure and bird-and-flower painting. He was awarded the 1st prize at the 1928 Art Exhibition of Jiangsu Province. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 215 - 6.

Yan Wenliang 顏文樑 (1893–1988) was an oil painter. In 1919, he founded a nationwide painting competition, the Suzhou Art Exposition, which lasted for twenty years. In 1922, he founded the Suzhou College of Fine Arts. He studied art in Paris from 1928 to 1931. After returning to China, he became the principal of the Suzhou Academy of Art. From 1933 to 1935, he taught at the

National Central University, Nanjing. Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*, p. 320. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 426 - 7.

Yang Qingqing 楊清磬 (1895–1857) published articles in the columns the newspaper *Shishi xinbao* and the magazine *Yishu*. He was one of the editors of the journals *Meizhan* and *Meizhou*. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 432.

Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1881 - 1968) he held several high official posts in the 1920s. He was a member of the Board of Trustees for the Administration of the British Indemnity Fund and a committee member of the Preservation of Ancient Heritage. He was the cofounder of the Painting Association of China and a committee member of the First National Art Exhibition. He initiated the establishment of the Shanghai Art Museum in 1933. He excelled in calligraphy and *ci* poetry. He contributed to collecting Qing *ci* poetry and cultural relics. *Who's Who in China*, p. 275; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 407.

Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1895–1979) graduated from the Beijing Senior Normal School, where he studied painting under Chen Hengke. After graduation he participated in the field of art education. In 1926, he moved to Shanghai. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Art, the Xihua College of Art, and the Jinan University, respectively. Yu was an active art critic and art historian in the Republican period. Zhou, 'Yu Jianhua xiansheng de shengping he yishu'; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 432.

Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1891–1968) taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts and was the chairman of the Shanghai Art Association. In 1926, he initiated the

establishment of the Xinhua College of Art and became the principal of the college in 1928. He was also the editor of the magazine *Xin yishu*. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 420 - 1.

Yu Tanhan 虞澹涵 (Dates unknown) came from a wealthy family. She learnt painting under Wang Shengyuan and was one of the founders of the Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society. *Yun, Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 279.

Zeng Xi 曾熙 (1861–1930) received the *jinshi* degree in 1903 and served as a Qing official. In 1915, invited by Li Ruiqing to settle in Shanghai, he began making his living by selling and teaching calligraphy. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 391.

Zhang Chenbo 張辰泊 (1893–1949) learnt art under his father and was a sculptor. He taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. He was one of the founders of the Yiyuan Painting Research Institute and the editor of the *Art and Life* magazine. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 424.

Zhang Chenpo 張辰泊 (1893 - 1949) taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts in 1925. He excelled in sculpture and oil painting and was a founder of the Tianmahui. He was also the cofounder of the Yiyuan yanjiu hui. He was the special editor of *Art and Life*. *Minguo renwu da cidian*, p. 1798; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 424.

Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983) studied under Zeng Xi, and later learned calligraphy from Li Ruiqing. From 1927, he travelled widely in China. In

1929 he was invited to be the executive member of the First National Art Exhibition. In 1936, he joined Xu Beihong as professor at the National Central University, Nanjing. He was a committee member of various art societies, including the Bee Society, the Hanzhiyou hua she, and the Painting Association of China. He excelled in painting, and connoisseurship. He established his renowned private collection, the Dafeng Tang. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 444; Fu, *Challenging the Past: the Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*; Kao ed., *Meiyuntang cang Zhang Daqian hua*

Zhang Hongwei 張紅薇 (1879 - 1970) was a member of the Heavenly Horse Association and the Bee Society. She excelled in bird-and-flower painting. Tao and Li eds., *Shiluo de lishi*, pp. 180 - 1; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 404.

Zhang Shanzi 張善孖 (1882-1940) was Zhang Daqian's elder brother. He was a core member of the Bee Society, the Painting Association of China, Lanman she, Hanzhiyou hua she, etc.. He was a founder of the Huang She. He was an active artist in anti-Japanese war campaigns. Zhang excelled in landscape and animal painting and was particularly famous for painting tigers. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 408.

Zhang Xiaolou 張小樓 (1876 - ?) founded the newspaper *Shuhua gongbao* in 1900. In his later life, he made his living by selling paintings in Shanghai. Wang, *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runli*, p. 448; Yun, *Minguo shuhua jia huizhuan*, p. 188.

Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1885-1968) worked as a cartoonist for the newspapers

Minli bao and *Minhu bao* etc.. He was the cofounder of the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. In 1916 he organised his own studio in Shanghai and taught painting. In 1919 he established the Shanghai mali gongyi Company for supplying colours for artists. He studied in France and Japan in 1921 and 1924 respectively. In 1928 he was the head of the Xinhua College of Art. Lu, *Zhongguo xiandai yishujia xiangzhuan*, pp. 213 – 4; Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Artsits*, p. 224; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 413.

Zhao Banpo 趙半破 (Dates unknown) excelled in painting, particularly in landscape painting. Yun, *Minguo shuhuaajia huizhuan*, p. 290

Zheng Manqing 鄭曼青 (1902–1975) taught at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. He was one of the founders of the College of Painting and Literature of China. *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*, p. 1487. *Minguo renwu dacidian*, p. 1487.

Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1894–1952) he worked as an art editor at the Shanghai Zhonghua Books publishing house. In 1925, he became the head of the art division at the publishing house and established the Hanwen zhengkai Book Company. He taught art at various art institutes such as the Shanghai College of Fine Arts, the Xinhua College of Art and the Professional College of Literature and Art of China. He was core founder of the Bee Society and the Painting Association of China. He also was the chief editor of the *Bee Journal*. In 1929, he published the *Zhongguo huaxue quanshi*. Zheng excelled in landscape painting, particularly in light colouring landscape. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 431; Zhang, *Zheng Wuchang yanqiu*.

Zhou Lianxia 周鍊霞 (1906–2000) was well-known for her talents in poetry and painting. She was a member of the Chinese Women's Painting and Calligraphy Association. *Shanghai meishu zhi*, pp. 472 – 3.

Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑 (1895 – 1968) joined the Commercial Press and worked as a translator in 1914. He was the chief editor of the magazine *Youxi shijie*, *Libailu* and *Banyuekan* etc.. He established the magazine *Ziluolan* in 1922 and was the editor of *Shenbao's* supplement *Chunqiu*. *Minguo renwu da cidian*, pp. 935 – 6.

Zhu Yingpeng 朱應鵬 (1895 – ?) the founder of the Chenguang Art Association and taught at the Shanghai Art University, the Zhonghua Art University, and the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. He was the editor of the *Shenbao*, *Shibao*, and *Shenzhou Daily* etc.. Lu, *Zhongguo xiandai yishujia xiangzhuan*, p. 52; *Shanghai meishu zhi*, p. 431

Zhu Zumei 朱祖謀 (1857–1931) was a member of the Hanlin Imperial Academy. After the establishment of the Republic of China, he settled in Shanghai. Zhu excelled in calligraphy and classical poetry, *ci* and was one of the Four Masters of *Ci* Poets of the Qing. His *ci* poetry was collected and published extensively during the Republican period. Yun, *Minguo shuhuaajia huizhuan*, p. 47.

Appendix 2
Art Societies Established during the Years 1929-1936

Year	Guohua and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
1929	<p>1. <i>Shanghai Zhongguo shuhua baocunhui</i> 上海中國書畫保存會, 1929-? (Huang Binhong, Wang Yiting, Zhang Yishan, Wu Zheng etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Mifeng huahui</i> 蜜蜂畫會, 1929-1930 (The Bee Society) (Zhang Shanzi, Xie Gongzhan, Xu Zhengbai, Li Zuhan, Qian Shoutie, Sun Xueni, Zheng Manqing, Ma Mengrong, He Tianjian, Zheng Wuchang etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Qingyuan Yishe</i> 清遠藝社, 1929-? (Wang Yiting, Pang Zuoyu 龐左玉, Wu Dongmai, Shen Yushi 沈遇士, Yi Jiancheng etc.)</p>		
1930	<p>1. <i>Guanhai yishe</i> 觀海藝社, 1930-? (Zheng Xiaoxu 鄭孝胥, Cheng Zida</p>	<p>1. <i>Taimeng huahui</i> 苔蒙畫會, 1930-? (Pang Xunqin)</p>	<p>1. <i>Shidai meishushe</i> 時代美術社, 1930-1930</p>

Year	<i>Guohua</i> and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
	<p>程子大, Di Pingzi, Wu Hufan, Yang Xingfo 楊杏佛, Zhao Anzhi 趙安之, Zhu Guwei, Wang Yiting, Feng Junmu 馮君木、Kang Tongyi 康通一、Zhao Shuyong 趙叔雍、Kuang Xiaosong 況小宋、Zeng Xi, Ye Gongchuo, Xu Zhimo, Li Yishi, Kuang Youhan, Guan Yide 管一得 etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Yihai huilanshe</i> 藝海回瀾社, 1930-1934 (Ma Wanli 馬萬里, Xie Yucen, Zhu Qishi 朱其石 etc.)</p>		<p>(Xu Xingzhi 許幸之, Shen Yechen 沈葉沉, Wang Yiliu 王一榴 etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Nanguo huahui</i> 南國畫會, 1930-1930 (Wu zuoren 吳作人, Lu Xianguang 呂霞光, Liu Ruli 劉汝禮 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Yiyoushe</i> 藝友社, 1930-1931 (Xu Junzhi 徐進之, Fan Jiping 范基平, Zhou Shixun 周世勳, Shen Hengzhuang 沈衡庄, Fan Guanghua 范光華 etc.)</p> <p>4. <i>Zhongguo zuoyi meishujia lianmeng</i> 中國左翼美術家聯盟, 1930-1936 (Members from the Shanghai College of Fine Arts and the Xinhua College of Art etc.)</p>
1931	<p>1. <i>Baima huashe</i> 白馬畫社, 1931-? (Xu Beiting 徐北汀, Wu Yezhou 吳野洲 etc.)</p>	<p>1. <i>Shanghai Yiba yishe mukebu</i> 上海一八藝社木刻部, 1931-1932 (Jiang Feng 江豐, Chen Zuokun 陳卓坤等)</p>	

Year	Guohua and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
1932	<p>1. <i>Zhongguo huahui</i> 中國畫會, 1931-1949 (The Painting Association of China) (Ye Gongchuo, Qian Shoutie, Zheng Wuchang, Sun Xueni, He Tianjian, Lu Danlin, Xie Gongzhan, Ma Mengrong, Huang Binhong etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Baishe guohua yanjiuhui</i> 白社國畫研</p>	<p>2. <i>Xiandai muke yanjiuhui</i> 現代木刻研究會, 1931-1931 (Yu Hai 于海, Hu Yichuan 胡一川 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Zhongguo manhua yanjiuhui</i> 中國漫畫研究會, 1931-1932 (Huang Shiyang 黃士英, Jia Xiyan 賈希彥, Xu Wutong 徐午同)</p> <p>4. <i>Yiyi yishe</i> 一一藝社, 1931-? (Chen Baoyi 陳抱一, Yang Qiuren 楊秋人)</p>	<p>1. <i>Chundi meishu yanjiusuo</i> 春地美術研究所/ <i>Chundi huahui</i> 春地畫會, 1932-1932 (Chen Zuokun 陳卓坤, Huang Shanding 黃山定, Jiang Feng 江豐, Li Yang 力揚, Ye Lin 葉林, Yu Hai 于海, Wu Sihong 吳似鴻, Zheng Yefu 鄭野夫, Li Xiushi 李岫石, Tsai Hong</p>
	<p>1. <i>Shanghai muke yanjiuhui</i> 上海木刻研究會, 1932-1933 (Chen Yanqiao 陳煙橋, Jiang Feng 江豐, He Baitao 何白濤, Liu Yingzhou 劉應洲)</p> <p>2. <i>Moshe</i> 摩社, 1932-1932 (Ni Yide 倪貽德, Liu Haisu, Wang Jiyuan, Fu Lei 傅雷, Pang Xunqin,</p>		

Year	Guohua and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
	<p>究會, 1932 - ? (Zhu Wenyun, Wu Fuzhi 吳葦之, Pan Tianshou 潘天壽, Zhang Shuqi 張書旗, Zhang Zhenduo 張振鐸 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Biaozhun caoshushe</i> 標準草書社, 1932-1948, 1932 - ? (Yu Youren, Liu Yantao 劉延濤 etc.)</p> <p>4. <i>Banmolin shuhuashe</i> 半墨林書畫社, 1932-?</p>	<p>Zhang Ruogu 張若谷 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Yefeng Huahui</i> 野風畫會, 1932-1933 (Chen Zuokun 陳卓坤, Gu Honggan 顧鴻干, Zheng Yefu 鄭野夫, Ni Huanzhi 倪煥之 etc.)</p> <p>4. <i>MK muke yanjiuhui</i> MK 木刻研究會, 1932-1934 (Zhong Buqing 鍾步清, Deng Qifan 鄧起帆, Wang Shaoluo 王紹絡, Zhou Jinhai 周金海 etc.)</p> <p>5. <i>Yesui mukeshe</i> 野穗木刻社, 1932-1933 (Chen Yanqiao 陳煙橋, Chen Tiegeng 陳鐵耕, He Baitao 何白濤, Cheng Wozha 程沃渣 etc.)</p> <p>6. <i>Juelanshe</i> 決瀾社, 1932-1935 (Ni Yide, Wang Jiyuan, Pang Xunqin etc.)</p>	<p>蔡虹, Ai Qing 艾青 etc.)</p>
1933		<p>1. <i>Shanghai huihua yanjiuhui</i> 上海繪畫</p>	<p>1. <i>Dadi huahui</i> 大地畫會, 1933-1933</p>

Year	Guohua and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
		<p>研究會, 1933-1933 (Gu Honggan 顧鴻干, Zheng Yefu 鄭野夫, Chen Tiegeng 陳鐵耕, Chen Yanqiao 陳煙橋, He Baitao 何白濤 etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Yanghua shixi yanjiuhui</i> 洋畫實習研究會, 1933-?</p> <p>(Zhou Bichu 周碧初)</p> <p>3. <i>Taokong huahui</i> 濤空畫會, 1933-1933</p> <p>(Members from the <i>Shanghai huihua yanjiuhui</i> and <i>Yesui mukeshe</i>)</p> <p>4. <i>Wuming mukeshe</i> 無名木刻社, 1933-1937</p> <p>(Liu Xian 劉峴)</p>	<p>(Hu Yichuan 胡一川, Lin Yangbo 林揚波, Yaofu 姚馥 etc.)</p>
1934	<p>1. <i>Changhongshe</i> 長虹社, 1933-1934 (Xie Xianou 謝閑鷗)</p> <p>2. <i>Zhongguo nüzi shuhuahui</i> 中國女子</p>	<p>1. <i>Shuqi huihua yanjiuhui</i> 暑期繪畫研究會, 1933-1933 (Wo Zha 沃渣, Ma Da 馬達 etc.)</p>	<p>1. <i>Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe</i> 中華藝術教育社, 1934-1937 (Ma Gongyu, Shi Chongpeng, Yan Kechang 鄒克昌, Shi Wenbin 施文)</p>

Year	<i>Guohua</i> and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
	<p>書畫會, 1934-1949 (The Women's Calligraphy and Painting Association) (Feng Wenfeng, Li Qiujuan, Chen Xiaocui 陳小翠, Gu Qingyao, YangXuejiu 楊雪玖, Gu Mofei 顧默飛 etc.)</p>		<p>彬, Fu Boliang 傅伯良 etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Zhongguo shangye meishu zuojia xiehui</i> 中國商業美術作家協會, 1934-1937 (Zhao Zixiang 趙子祥, Xu Minzhi 徐民智 etc.)</p>
1935	<p>1. <i>Jiushe</i> 九社, 1935-? (Zhang Daqian, Zhang Shanzi, Tang Dingzhi 湯定之, Fu Tielian 符鐵年, Wang Shizi, Pan Gongzhan 潘公展, Zheng Wuchang, Lu Danlin, Xie Yucen etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Baichuan shuhuahui</i> 百川書畫會, 1935-? (Huang Binhong, Wang Jiyuan, Zhu Wenyun etc.)</p>		<p>1. <i>Weimeishe</i> 唯美社, 1935-1936 (Shao Wuzhai 邵無齋, Chai Chenglu 柴聘陸 etc.)</p>
1936	<p>1. <i>Lishe</i> 力社 1936-1937, 1936 - ? (Chen Shuren, He Xiangning, Wang Yiting, Xu Beihong, Huang Binhong,</p>	<p>1. <i>Tiema banhuashe</i> 鐵馬版畫社, 1936-1936 (Jiang Feng, Zheng Yefu 鄭野夫、</p>	<p>1. <i>Moshe</i> 默社, 1936-1938 (Xu Beihong, Wang Yachen, Yan Wenliang, Zhu Qizhan, Zhang</p>

Year	<i>Guohua</i> and Calligraphy (Founders)	Western-style Painting, woodblock print (Founders)	General (Founders)
	<p>Xie Gongzhan, Zhang Yuguang, Zhang Shuqi 張書旗, Hu Zaobin 胡藻斌 etc.)</p>	<p>Wen Tao 溫濤, Li Qun, Wo Zha etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Daoli muke yanjiuhui</i> 刀力木刻研究會, 1936-1936 (Chen Kemo 陳可默, Lu Di 陸地 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Shanghai muke zuozhe xiehui</i> 上海木刻作者協會, 1936-1937 (Jiang Feng, Li Qun, Wang Tianji 王天基, Bai Wei 白危, Wo Zha, Ma Da, Chen Yanqiao etc.)</p>	<p>Chongren 張充仁, Chen Baoyi etc.)</p> <p>2. <i>Xianshang huahui</i> 線上畫會, 1936-1936 (Shen Zhiyu 沈之瑜, Chen Kairen 陳楷人, Qian Xindao 錢辛稻, Wu Rensheng 吳人生, Liu Yunlin 劉雲霖, Liang Maiqian 梁麥茜 etc.)</p> <p>3. <i>Zhonghua meishu xiehui</i> 中華美術協會, 1936-1936 (Liu Haisu, Wang Jiyuan, Xie Jianbai 謝建白, Ma Gongyu, Xie Gongzhan, Xie Haiyan, Ni Yide, Shi Chongpeng etc.)</p>

Appendix 3
Art journals and Magazines Established during the Years 1929 – 1936¹

Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
1929	<p>1. <i>Guocui yuekan</i> 國粹月刊 (<i>Shanghai Zhongguo shuhua</i> <i>baicunhui</i>, Zhang Yishan 章一山, Huang Binhong, Wang Yiting, Wu Zheng etc., 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Weibao</i> 蔚報 (2 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Congling</i> 蔥嶺 (The Shanghai College of Fine Arts, Zheng Wuchang, 2 issues)</p>	<p>1. <i>Yiyuan chaohua</i> 藝苑朝花 (<i>Shanghai chaohuashe</i> 上海朝花社, 5 issues)</p>	<p>1. <i>Huangyuan</i> 荒原 (The Shanghai College of Fine Arts)</p> <p>2. <i>Meizhan</i> 美展 (The First National Art Exhibition Committee, Xu Zhimo, Chen Dingshan, Yang Qingqing, Li Zuhan etc., 11 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Meizhou</i> 美周 (<i>Shanghai meizhoushe</i> 上海美周社, Xu Zhimo, Li Zuhan, Chen Xiaodie, Yang Qingqing, 12 issues)</p> <p>4. <i>Yiyuan</i> 藝苑 (<i>Shanghai yiyuan yanjiusuo</i> 上海藝 苑研究所, Jiang Xiaojian, Wang Jiyuan, Zhu Qizhan, Pan Yuliang 潘 玉良等, 2 issues)</p>

¹ The survey data is based on Xu Zhitao's book *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu*.

Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
1930	<p>1. <i>Guanhai Yikan</i> 觀海藝刊 (<i>Shanghai guanhai tanyishe</i> 上海觀海談藝社, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Mifeng</i> 蜜蜂 (<i>Bee Journal</i>) (The Bee Society, Zheng Wuchang, 14 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Mohaichao</i> 墨海潮 (<i>Shanghai haishang shuhua liankehui</i> 上海海上書畫聯合會, Cha Yangu, 3 issues)</p>		<p>1. <i>Baie yishu banyuehan</i> 白鵝藝術半月刊 (<i>Baie</i> 白鵝, Chen Qiucuo 陳秋草, 5 issues)</p> <p>2. <i>Yiyou</i> 藝友 (<i>Shanghai wenhua meishu tushu gongsi</i> 上海文華美術圖書公司, 11 issues)</p>
1931	<p>1. <i>Mohai</i> 墨海 (<i>Shanghai mohaishe</i> 上海墨海社, 1 issue)</p>		
1932	<p>1. <i>Zhonghua guohua zazhi</i> 中華國畫雜誌 (<i>Shanghai Zhonghua zazhishe</i> 上海中華雜誌社, Hu Bozhou, 58 issues)</p> <p>2. <i>Huaxue yuekan</i> 畫學月刊 (<i>Shanghai lili gongsi wenyibu</i> 上海利利公司文藝部, Liu Haisu, Huang</p>	<p>1. <i>Zhongguo shishi manhua</i> 中國時事漫畫 (<i>Shanghai Zhongguo manhua yanjiuhui</i> 上海中國漫畫研究會, Huang Shiyong 黃士英, 1 issue)</p>	<p>1. <i>Weilao huabao</i> 慰勞畫報 (<i>Zhongguo minzhong fanri jiuguoahui</i> 上海民眾反日救國會, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Wenyi chahua</i> 文藝茶話 (<i>Shanghai wenyi chahuashe</i> 上海文藝茶話社, Zhang Yiping 章衣萍, Xu Zhongnian 徐仲年, Hua Lin 華林,</p>

Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
	<p>Binhong, Zhang Mengjia 張孟嘉, He Tianjian, Yu Jifan etc., 1 issue)</p>		<p>Sun Fuxi, Wang Yachen, Li Qingya 李青崖 etc., 20 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Yishu xunkan</i> 藝術旬刊 (Shanghai moshe 上海摩社, Liu Haisu, Fu Lei, 12 issues)</p>
1933	<p>1. <i>Molin</i> 墨林 (Molin shuhua jinshishe 墨林書畫金石社, 2 issues)</p>	<p>1. <i>Shanghai</i> 上海 (Shanghai zazhishe 上海雜誌社)</p>	<p>1. <i>Yishe</i> 藝術 (Shanghai moshe 上海摩社, 2 issues)</p> <p>2. <i>Qingqing</i> 青青 (Shanghai qingqing chubanshe 上海青青出版社, Ye Zhaoxiong 葉兆熊、Zhu Meian 朱梅庵 etc.)</p>
1934	<p>1. <i>Changhong shehuakan</i> 長虹社畫刊 (Shanghai changhong she 上海長虹社, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Guohua yuekan</i> 國畫月刊 (Guohua Monthly) (The Painting Association of China, Xie Haiyan, Zheng Wuchang, 12 issues)</p>	<p>1. <i>Shige manhua</i> 詩歌漫畫 (Shanghai shige manhua yuekanshe 上海詩歌漫畫月刊社, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Shidai manhua</i> 時代漫畫 (Shangshidai tushu gongsi 上時代圖書公司, 39 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Xin Shanghai manhua</i> 新上海漫畫 (Shanghai manhuashe 上海漫畫社)</p>	<p>1. <i>Meishu zazhi</i> 美術雜誌 (Shanghai liangyou tushu gongsi 上海良友圖書公司, Fang Xuegu 方雪鵠, Chen Qiucuo, 3 issues)</p> <p>2. <i>Meishu shenghuo</i> 美術生活 (Art and Life) (Shanghai meishu shenghuo zazhishe 上海美術生活雜誌社, 41 issues)</p>

Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
		<p>4. <i>Dongfang manhua</i> 東方漫畫 (<i>Shanghai dongfang chubanshe</i> 上海東方出版社, 3 issues)</p> <p>5. <i>Manhua shenghuo</i> 漫畫生活 (<i>Shanghai meishu shenghuo zazhishu</i> 上海美術生活雜誌社, 13 issues)</p> <p>6. <i>Muke jicheng</i> 木刻紀程 (<i>Shanghai tiemu yishushe</i> 上海鐵木藝術社, Lu Xun, 1 issue)</p> <p>7. <i>Panguanzhe</i> 旁觀者 (<i>Shanghai shidai tushu gongsi</i> 上海時代圖書公司, 1 issue)</p>	<p>3. <i>Wenyi huabao</i> 文藝畫報 (<i>Shanghai wenyi huabaoshe</i> 上海文藝畫報社, Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳, Mu Shiyong 穆時英, 4 issues)</p>
1935		<p>1. <i>Jindai manhuaxuan</i> 今代漫畫選 (<i>Shanghai jindai chubanshe</i> 上海今代出版社, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Qunzhong manhua</i> 群眾漫畫 (<i>Shanghai qunzhong manhuashe</i>, 上海群眾漫畫社, 3 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Manhua manhua</i> 漫畫漫話 (<i>Shanghai manhua manhuashe</i> 上海</p>	<p>1. <i>Weimei</i> 唯美 (<i>Shanghai weimeishe</i> 上海唯美社, Shao Wuzhai 邵無齋, Zi Chenglu 紫騁陸, 18 issues)</p> <p>2. <i>Yilun</i> 藝輪 (<i>Shanghai yilunshu</i> 上海藝輪社, 2 issues)</p>

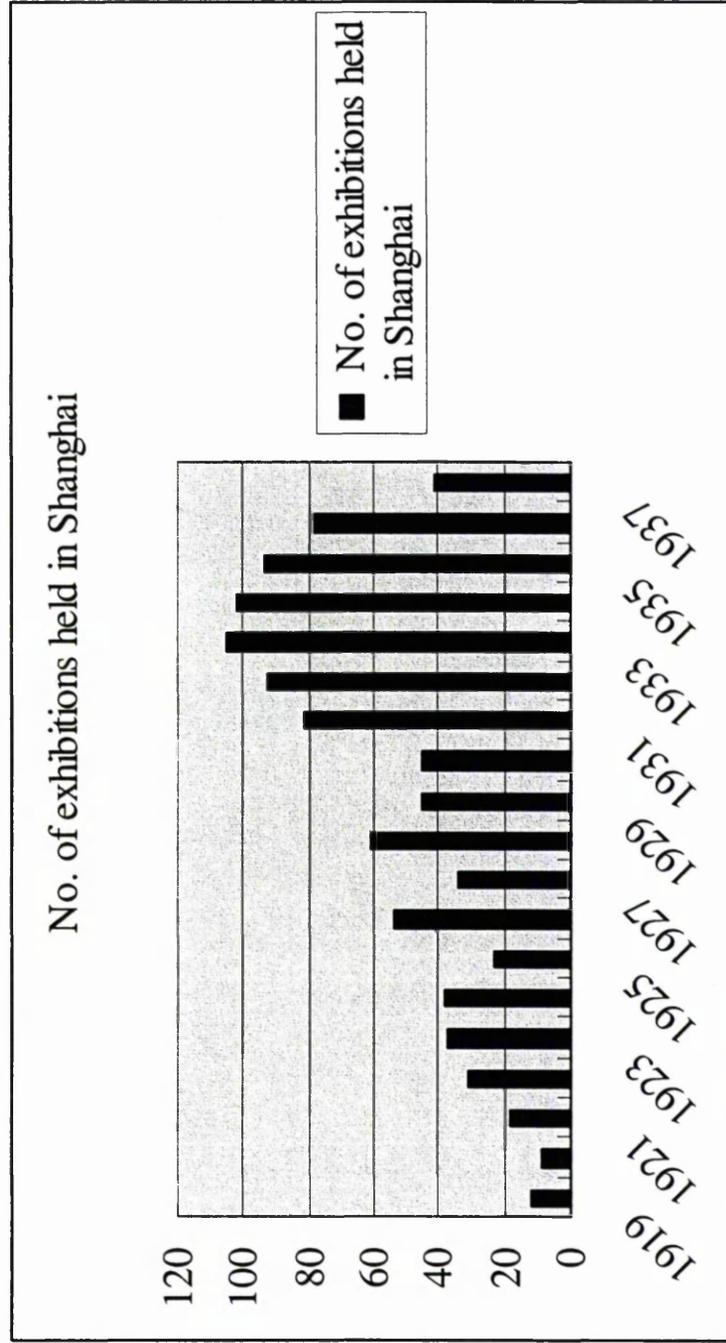
Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
		<p>漫畫漫話社, 4 issues)</p> <p>4. <i>Dianying manhua</i> 電影·漫畫 (<i>Shanghai manlu tushu gongsi</i> 上海 漫廬圖書公司, 6 issues)</p> <p>5. <i>Xianxiang manhua</i> 現象漫畫 (<i>Shanghai xianxiang tushu hanhangshe</i>, 上海現象圖書刊行社, 2 issues)</p> <p>6. <i>Zhongguo manhua</i> 中國漫畫 (<i>Shanghai Zhongguo tushu kanxing she</i> 上海中國圖書刊行社, 14 issues)</p> <p>7. <i>Duli manhua</i> 獨立漫畫 (<i>Shanghai dili chuban she</i> 上海獨立 出版社, 9 issues)</p> <p>8. <i>Dazhong manhua</i> 大眾漫畫 (<i>Shanghai dazhong manhua she</i> 上 海大眾漫畫社, 1 issue)</p> <p>9. <i>Xinshidai manhua</i> 新時代漫畫 (<i>Shanghai chun she</i>, 1 issue)</p>	

Year	Guohua (publisher and editors)	Western art (publisher and editors)	General (publisher and editors)
1936	<p>1. <i>Guohua</i> 國畫 (The Painting Association of China, Xie Haiyan, 6 issues)</p>	<p>10. <i>Manhua he shenghuo manhua he shenghuo she</i> (Shanghai manhua he shenghuo she 上海漫畫和生活社, 4 issues)</p> <p>1. <i>Manhua</i> 漫畫 (Shanghai dazhong yishu she, 上海大眾藝術社, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Tiema banhua</i> 鐵馬版畫 (Shanghai tiema banhua she, 上海鐵馬版畫社, 3 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Manhua jie</i> 漫畫界 (Shanghai manhua jianshe she, 上海漫畫建設社, 8 issues)</p> <p>4. <i>Shenghuo manhua</i> 生活漫畫 (Shanghai shenghuo manhua she, 上海生活漫畫社, 3 issues)</p>	<p>1. <i>Xin meishu</i> 新美術 (Shanghai xinmeishu zazhi she, 上海新美術雜誌社, Liang Xihong 梁錫鴻主編, 1 issue)</p> <p>2. <i>Xiandai meishu</i> 現代美術 (Shanghai xiandai meishu chubanshe, 上海現代美術出版社, 2 issues)</p> <p>3. <i>Huguang xunkan</i> 滬光旬刊 (Shanghai yilu chubanshe 上海藝路出版社, 4 issues)</p>

Appendix 4

Survey of Exhibitions Held during the Years 1919-1937

4.1



4.2 Solo Exhibitions Held in Shanghai during the Years 1919–1937¹

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
1919	1. Yamada Umanosuke (Japanese)	Japanese Club	water colour (106)	May
	2. Chen Weiwen	Chengdong Women's College	<i>guohua</i> (several tens)	1.26-28
1920	1. Bijiagi (unidentified Italian)	Shanghai fagong buju	western-style painting	12.21-1.3
	1. Jiaermeigaofu (unidentified Russian)	Huizhong Restaurant	painting (200)	10.22
1921	2. Nishida Takeo (Japanese)	Japanese Club		12.3-5
	1. Yu Yushuang			5.19-?

¹ This survey is based on the data provided from the *Shenbao* during the years 1919-1937.

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	2. Koshio Bishū (Japanese)	Japanese Club		5.24-25
	3. Kadobayashi Genichi (Japanese)	Japanese Club		5.28-29
	4. Fujita Shiun (Japanese)	Japanese Club		6.10-11
	5. Taniyama Gen (Japanese)	Japanese Club	(several tens)	7.12-13
	6. Ikeuchi Kanzō (Japanese)	Japanese Club	(several tens)	7.18-19
	7. Sawamoto Raiseki (Japanese)	Japanese Club	(several tens)	7.24-
	8. Chen Xiaojiang	Shanghai University of Commerce	western-style painting (over 100)	8.18-20

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	9. Unidentified British woman sculptor	British Women Association	woodblock print (several tens)	11.16-18
	10. Chen Hengke	Japanese Club	<i>guohua</i> (20)	11.22-23
	11. Wang Tingjue	Japanese Youth Club	(several tens)	11.26-27
1923	1. Yang Caoxian	Japanese Club	calligraphy (several hundreds)	3.17-19
	2. Qian Huafu	Youth Club	buddhist painting (over 100)	5.4-6
	3. Qian Huafu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai		early Nov (3 days)
	4. Qian Huafu	Gongdelin Restaurant		11.16-18
	5. Qian Huafu	Gongdelin Restaurant	(over 100)	11.23-25
	6. Knowf (unidentified Polish)	Kaerdeng Restaurant	oil painting and watercolour (several tens)	12.20-?
1924	1. Yang Lingfu	Education Association of Jiangsu Province	<i>guohua</i>	1.1-?

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	2. Wu Xingfen	Japanese Club	<i>guohua</i>	4.13-14
	3. Kondō Shichirō (Japanese)	Japanese Club	western-style painting (10)	4.20-?
	4. Ikezawa Seihō (Japanese)	Japanese Club		5.17-18
	5. Wang Yiting	Japanese Club	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	5.31-6.1
	6. Sugiura Shunka (Japanese)	Shanghai College of Fine Arts	(19)	7.23-?
	7. Liu Gongjun	Japanese Club	painting and calligraphy	10.12-?
	8. Gao Yong	Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association	<i>guohua</i> (several tens), works from the artist's collection (over 100)	12.6-21
	9. Long Gong	Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Association	painting, calligraphy and works from the artist's collection (over 100)	12.13

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	10. Wang Taomin	Gongdelin Restaurant	(over 200)	12.16-22
1925	1. Wang Taomin	Sino-Japanese Daoye Company		1.11-13
	2. Qian Huaifu	International Buddhist Club	Buddhist painting (over 100)	3.14-?
	3. Qian Shoutie	Japanese Club	(several tens)	4.21-22
	4. Qian Huaifu	Muer Tang	Buddhist painting	8.6-?
	5. Chen Baoyi	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai		summer
1926	1. Weng Yuanchun	Central Hall	(54)	1.1-
	2. Lin Qinnan	Sanshan huiguang		1.17-
	3. Ma Yiqun	Wenzhi University		2.19-28
	4. Gaoqimei (unidentified Czech)	International Saving Association	sculpture	4.16-30
	5. Jiang Xiaojian	Anlegong Dance Hall	western-style painting (several tens)	9.10-13

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	6. Yu Jianhua	Artist's home	landscape painting (around 70)	9.17-
	7. Yang Lingfu	Shanghai Young Women's Association	<i>guohua</i>	10.2-3
	8. Wang Jiyuan	Yiyuan	western-style painting (58)	10.10-?
	9. Qian Huaifu	Jingan Temple	Buddhist painting (over 100)	10.16-20
	10. Nakamura Shōka (Japanese)	Japanese Club		11.26-
	11. Shimizu Toshi (Japanese)	Japanese Club	western-style painting (over 200)	12.18-19
	12. Chen Hong	Hanli Trading Company	western-style painting (over 40)	12.24-1.3
	13. Putesiji (unidentified Russia)	274 Xiafei Road	painting and sculpture	12.25
1927	1. Wang Yachen	Japanese Club	western-style painting (over 50)	1.22-3

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date	
	2. Wang Jiyuan	Shao Xunmei's home	oil painting and watercolour (78)	3.4-11	
	3. Ding Yanyong	Japanese Club	(over 100)	3.16-?	
	4. Ding Yanyong	Jiande Saving Company	oil painting (over 100)	6.2-5	
	5. Qian Huaifu	Nanguo Buddhist Society	Buddhist painting	10.16-20	
	6. Liu Haisu	Shangxian Tang	<i>guohua</i> (50), western-style painting (35)	12.17-23	
	1928	1. Lin Fengmian	Shangxian Tang		2.23-29
		2. Situ Qiao	Qiaoxiao Art Studio	(over 50)	3.17-?
	3. Ye Weishen	Japanese Club	<i>guohua</i> (over 50)	4.10-12	
	4. Qian Huaifu	Songshi Villa	Buddhist painting (30)	5.20-?	
	5. Shen Duan	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	Buddhist painting (several tens)	5.29-6.4	
	6. Tao Lengyue	Library, Jinan University	(110)	5.29-31	
	7. Lu Erqiang	Guanghua University	western-style painting(over 50)	6.10-14	

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	8. Zhang Shuqi	Shanghai College of Fine Arts	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	6.26-28
	9. Chanong (unidentified Italian)	Cangzhou Hotel		6.29-7.8
	10. Wang Jiyuan	Yiyuan	western-style painting (over 80)	10.10-19
	11. Zou Jinchu	Guangfu Temple	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	10.13-?
	12. Wang Yachen	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	landscape painting (73)	10.26-30
	13. Situ Qiao	Shanghai Art Association	(140)	11.12-15
	14. Liu Haisu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	(over 70)	11.16-20
	15. Xu Zhuxian	Social Communication Society	(over 200)	11.27-?
	16. Pan Yuliang	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	western-style painting (80)	11.28-?
	17. Tang Yunyu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	western-style painting (over 70)	12.22-?
1929	1. Qian Huaifu	Lianyi Trading Company	Buddhist painting	1.17-30

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
1930	2. Qian Huafu			2.22-26
	3. Wang Wenjun	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai		5.12-16
	4. Qian Huafu	Library of the Youth Association		5.12-18
	5. Yao Cangke	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 50)	9.11-15
	6. Qian Huafu	City Hall	(over 100)	11.3-5
	7. Chen Tianxiao	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i>	12.4-9
	8. Qian Huafu	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	Buddhist painting	12.6-16
	9. Ma Qizhou	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 200)	12.21-25
	1. Qian Huafu	Qingyu Avenue	(50)	2.15-25
	2. Qian Huafu	International Moral Association	(over 30)	2.15-25
	3. Wang Bingcheng	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	decorative painting (over 200)	4.4-7
	4. Wang Jiyuan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	ink painting, western-style painting (over 100)	4.11-16

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	5. Nakagawa Kigen (Japanese)	Japanese Club		4.26-27
	6. Zhang Daqian	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i>	5.21-23
	7. Chen Zhuoru	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	seal carving	5.25-31
	8. Guan Zilan	Huaan Building	(over 60)	6.13-16
	9. Yu Yushuang	Chongfa Temple	(several tens)	9.15-?
	10. Qian Huaifu	Benyuan Temple	(over 50)	10.8-?
	11. Gu Kumbo	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	landscape painting (over 100)	11.1-3
	12. Yang Duo	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	painting and calligraphy (over 50)	11.8-?
	13. Yu Jianhua	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	11.15-17
	14. Hu Ruosi	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai		12.5-?
1931	1. Xie Gongzhan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai (free admission)	(over 180)	1.1-?

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	2. Xu Xiangjie	Zhong Society	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	1.1-3
	3. Chen Gangshu	Artist's home	<i>guohua</i> (several tens)	1.11-20
	4. Deng Sanmu	Juelin Vegetarian Restaurant	calligraphy and seal carving	1.16-18
	5. Lin Zibai	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai (free admission)	(over 100)	1.31-2.1
	6. Yu Jianhua	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	(120)	2.7-8
	7. Liu Shi	Shanghai Art School	(100)	2.22-28
	8. Yue Lun	French School	sculpture (over 10)	3.13-?
	9. Sun Shihao	Chinese Science Society	western-style painting	4.23-5.6
	10. Chen Yishi	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	Buddhist painting (over 100)	5.23-25
	11. Wang Shizi	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 150)	6.19-21
	12. Suzuki Ryōzō (Japanese)	Japanese Club	oil painting (over 50)	6.29-30

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	13. Zhang Tanan	Chongfu Temple	painting and calligraphy(over 100)	7.25-29
	14. Qian Yumhe	New World Publishing House	fan painting (over 100)	8.10-14
	15. Qian Yumhe	New World Hotel	fan painting	8.16-19
	16. Yu Jianhua	New World Hotel	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	9.4-6
	17. Kuang Youhan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	9.5-7
	18. Wang Jiyuan	Mingfu Library	oil, ink, and pastel painting	10.1-10
	19. Wang Jiyuan	Club House of the Bank Association	(over 60)	10.24-31
	20. Deng Sammu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	calligraphy and seal carving (over 100)	11.27-12.1
	21. Cheng Shifa	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting and calligraphy and the artist's publications	12.6-8
	22. Gao Shangzhi	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i>	12.11-14
	23. Yu Jianhua	New World Hotel	<i>guohua</i>	12.12-14

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	24. Zhou Lengwu	New World Hotel	landscape painting (several tens)	12.15-19
1932	1. Chen Ceyun	Gongshi Secondary School	western-style painting	1.1-5
	2. Cehn Ceyun	Chinese Jiande Association	western-style painting	1.4-5
	3. Zhang Yuguang	Lili Company	<i>guohua</i>	1.23-25
	4. Qiu Shiming	Gongdelin Restaurant	<i>guohua</i>	4.16-?
	5. He Tianjian	Lili Company	<i>guohua</i>	4.21-25
	6. Chen Yishan	Unidentified	(over 100)	4.29-5.4
	7. Qian Huafu	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	(several tens)	5.9-15
	8. Wang Jiyuan	Jiyuan Xunqin Art Studio	<i>guohua</i> (several tens), western-style painting (several tens)	5.12-22
	9. Zhang Zhaofen	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	<i>guohua</i>	5.27-31
	10. Lin Zibai	New World Hotel	painting, calligraphy and fan painting	6.3-5
	11. Ma Henian	Xiyin Studio	fan painting	6.21-?

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	12. Zou Jinchu	Penglai Market	(over 100)	7.8-11
	13. Wang Jiyuan	Jiyuan xunqin Art Studio	watercolour (over tens)	7.9-14
	14. Zhu Qizhan	Xinhua College of Art	Oil painting (several tens)	7.11-17
	15. Chen Shuren	Shanghai World Academy	painting (over 100)	7.15-17
	16. Qian Huaifu	Yicheng Painting and Calligraphy Society	(30)	8.5-15
	17. Chen Xuanxiao	Lili Company	(over 100)	8.25-30
	18. Liu Shi	Chinese Study Society	(145)	9.1-11
	19. Chen Tianxiao	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	(over 300)	9.4-?
	20. Pang Xunqin	Chinese Study Society	western-style painting (over 70)	9.15-25
	21. Lou Xinhu	Huzhou Sojourners Association	painting and calligraphy (over 100)	10.1-5
	22. Liu Haisu	Huzhou Sojourners Association	(over 230)	10.15-17
	23. Yu Jianhua	Hezhong Company	(200)	11.4-14
	24. Yu Jifan	Lili Company	(over 100)	11.4-10

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	25. Ye Weicui	Xinkaihe Building	<i>guohua</i>	12.2-5
	26. Zhou Tingxu	Huamao Hotel	western-style painting (several tens)	12.9-17
	27. Deng Chunshu	Lili Company	painting and calligraphy (several tens)	12.10-13
	28. Chen Tianxiao	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	(over 200)	12.17-19
	29. Zhou Lengwu	New World Hotel	landscape painting (several tens)	12.23-25
	30. Zhu Wenhou	New World Hotel	<i>guohua</i> and works from the artist's collection (several hundreds)	12.23-?
1933	1. Zhang Yuguang	Lili Company		3.10-17
	2. Wang Jiyuan	French Cultural Association	life-drawing (over 100)	3.10-?
	3. Zheng Renshang	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting (over 100)	4.6-?
	4. Qian Huaifu	Cuiyi Studio	(30)	4.8-12
	5. Zhou Lengwu	New World Hotel	fan painting (over 100)	5.27-29

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	6. Zheng Yinqiao	New World Hotel	fan painting (over 100)	5.28- ?
	7. Zhang Tianqi	Shanghai College of Fine Arts	(over 60)	5.28-29
	8. Chen Jiashu	New World Hotel	western-style painting (over 100)	6.2-4
	9. Yang Tiehua	New World Hotel	painting and calligraphy (over 300)	6.9-13
	10. Li Liaotian	Huzhou Sojourners Association	painting and calligraphy	6.26-?
	11. Lou Xinhu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai		7.27-30
	12. Wang Jiyuan	Chinese Study Society	oil painting and watercolour	8.15-25
	13. Yuan Taoan	Dalu Emporium	painting, calligraphy and works from the artist's collection (over 100)	9.12-?
	14. Chen Taofu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	calligraphy and seal carving	10.1-3
	15. Liu Shi	Library of the French Cultural Association	(over 60)	10.15-23
	16. Wang Jiyuan	Chinese Study Society	landscape painting	10.15-22
	17. Zhu Qizhan	Limin Educational Institute	<i>guohua</i> , oil painting (over 60)	10.20-30

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	18. Shen Maishi	Huzhou Sojourners Association	painting and calligraphy	11.6-11
	19. Red. A Leekney	393 Fukaisen Road	watercolour and oil painting	11.23-26
	20. Wu Changshuo	Jue Garden	(over 100)	12.3-?
	21. Wang Jingtao	Huzhou Sojourners Association	calligraphy and works from the artist's collection	12.14-15
	22. Zhang Daqian	Lili Company	calligraphy (over 100)	12.15-17
	23. Qin Shengjie	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	fan painting and works from the artist's collection (several tens)	12.15-18
	24. Lu Yuanding	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i>	12.24-26
	25. Cao Xiaoyuan	Lili Company	painting and calligraphy (several tens)	12.29-31
	26. Yang Sulu	New World Hotel	painting and calligraphy	12.31-?
1934	1. Li Xia	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting and calligraphy (several tens)	1.6-8

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
			hundreds)	
	2. Zhou Lengwu	Nanjing Hotel	landscape painting (over 60)	1.12-14
	3. Ding Luyang	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 200)	4.3-5
	4. Guo Jilan	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i>	5.13-15
	5. Yin Zixiang	Yangzi Hotel		5.25-?
	6. Cheng Wanli	New World Hotel		6.11-?
	7. Yan Ganyuan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting and calligraphy	6.14-7.14
	8. Tao Lengyue	Youth Association	(over 200)	6.29-7.1
	9. Zheng Daihe	<i>Shibao</i> Building	(around 100)	6.29-7.1
	10. Yu Jianhua	Artist's home	painting and calligraphy	6.30-7.7
	11. Fan Zhixuan	Tonghui Primary School	fan painting (200)	7.4-6
	12. Liu Zhisou	Huzhou Sojourners Association	painting and calligraphy	7.7-13
	13. Yuan Qinsun	New World Hotel	fan painting (over 100)	7.17-19

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	14. Ni Yide	Dalu Emporium	oil painting (50)	9.15-?
	15. Yu Jifan	Shanghai Art and Literature Society		10.20-28
	16. Chen Shixuan	Dalu Emporium	painting and calligraphy (around 100)	10.24-28
	17. Wang Qi	Huzhou Sojourners Association	painting and calligraphy (over 240) and works from the artist's collection (over 100)	10.31-11.4
	18. Qian Huaifu	Zhong Society	Buddhist painting (over 200)	11.2-5
	19. Deng Fenweng	Huzhou Sojourners Association	calligraphy and seal carving (300)	11.9-?
	20. Qi Jing	Huzhou Sojourners Association	western-style painting	11.20-?
	21. Yu Tanhan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting and calligraphy	11.23-26
	22. Huang Songyin	New World Hotel	<i>guohua</i> (around 100)	12.1-3
	23. G.M. Sardelli (Italian)	Wingon Department Store	sculpture	12.23-?

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
1935	1. Xiongao (unidentified foreigner)	American Women Association	western-style painting (several hundreds)	3.2-17
	2. Chanong (unidentified Italian)	French-Chinese Friendship Association	life-painting	4.13-?
	3. Zhang Daqian	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai Lili Company		5.24-26
	4. Qiu Shiming	Shanghai Art and Literature Association	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	5.25-30
	5. Wang Jiyuan	Huaan Building	western-style painting (several tens) and ink painting (several tens)	6.7-11
	6. Hu Xianya	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	(over 100)	6.14-19
	7. Li Xia	Sanshan huiguang	<i>guohua</i> (over 100))	6.20-24

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	8. Wang Yachen	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (142), western-style painting (40)	6.21-?
	9. Li Xia	New World Hotel		8.15-?
	10. Liu Zigu	Dalu Emporium	<i>guohua</i> (over 300)	9.25-10.1
	11. Ma Yiqun	Dalu Emporium	(over 50)	10.1-?
	12. Helaishan (unidentified Czech)	Youth Association	oil painting (over 60)	11.22-27
	13. Wang Jiyuan	Chinese Study Society	ink painting and oil painting (81)	12.21-25
1936	1. He Tianjian	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> and works from the artist's collection (several hundreds)	40.3-5
	2. Pu Ru	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (several tens)	4.10-16
	3. Wu Yiang		painting and calligraphy	5.1-2
	4. Yu Jianhua	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (140)	5.15-17

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	5. Gu Yinting	Chinese Study Society	(over 100)	5.23-25
	6. Yang Lingfu	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shangha	painting, calligraphy and architectural models	5.28-29
	7. Yang Lingfu	Young Women Association	painting, calligraphy and architectural models	5.30-6.3
	8. Chen Hanru	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	painting and calligraphy (over 380)	6.1-6.7
	9. Pan Yuliang	Chinese Study Society	western-style painting (200)	6.2-8
	10. Yang Lingfu	Penglai Market	painting, calligraphy architectural models (over 200)	6.11-14
	11. Yu Jianhua	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	6.15-17
	12. Ying Yeping	43 Tongchun Avenue	fan painting (over 100)	7.1-10
	13. Liu Haisu	Daxin Department Store	(over 300)	7.1-19
	14. Xu Wenxia	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	charcoal drawing (over 100)	7.26-?

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	15. Kuang Youhan	Dadong Hotel	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	8.22-24
	16. Xiao Zhiquan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 200)	9.12-14
	17. Wang Jiyuan	Daxin Department Store		9.14-22
	18. Yu Weidan	Association of Ningbo Sojourners in Shanghai	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	10.10-12
	19. Zhang Xian	Daxin Department Store	(over 300)	10.14-18
	20. Zhou Lihua	Daxin Department Store	western-style painting (150)	10.15-25
	21. Qian Huaifu	Daxin Department Store	Buddhist painting and works from the artist's collection	11.21-12.1
	22. Rong Dakuai	Daxin Department Store	(over 100)	12.2-7
	23. Wu Qinmu	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (over 100)	12.5-7
1937	1. Chen Qiucao	Daxin Department Store	western-style painting and ink painting (over 200)	1.2-10
	2. Chen Naigong	Shanghai Lianhuan Association	(several tens)	1.27-2.2

Year	Artist name	Venue	Exhibits (no. of exhibits)	Date
	3. Wang Jiyuan	Daxin Department Store	ink painting and western-style painting (over 100)	2.3-9
	4. Wei Letang	Daxin Department Store	calligraphy (over 100)	2.20-22
	5. Qian Yuhe	Huzhou Sojourners Association	<i>guohua</i> (over 200)	4.3-14
	6. Luo Xinhui	Daxin Department Store	painting, and calligraphy (over 100)	4.7-11
	7. Qian Shuotie	Pudong Building	(over 100)	4.30-5.2
	8. Yang Yunfen	Daxin Department Store	architectural model, painting and calligraphy	5.12-6.6
	9. Fang Rendong	Daxin Department Store		

Appendix 5

Prices for 4-foot Landscape Paintings in the Vertical Scroll Format during the Years 1929-1937

Price	Name	Year	
2	Baiyunlou zhuren 白雲樓主人	1929	
8	Min Yufeng 閔玉峰; Wang Yincai 王引才		
10	Xu Hanxian 徐寒先; Shi Zongsu 石宗素; Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (Phase 1)		
12	Chen Yin 陳寅		
15	Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (Phase 2)		
16	Duli Shanren 都歷山人; Shi Mingseng 石明僧; Zhang Bochuan 張伯川		
17.5	Zhuo Lanzhai 卓蘭齋		
18	Cui Dichuan 崔滌川		
20	Tan Hailing 譚海陵; Wu Qilong 吳企龍; Wang Shengyuan 汪聲遠; Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (Phase 3)		
24	Shi Houtou 石侯頭; Wang Xianshao 王顯韶		
30	Ma Mengrong 馬孟容		
32	Zhang Boying 張伯英		
40	Chen Ziqing 陳子清		
48	Tang Dongfu 湯東父; Cha Yangu 查煙谷		
64	Shen Yibin 沈儀彬		
96	Wang Taomin 王陶民		
100	Xiao Zhiquan 蕭屋泉		
130	Cheng Yaosheng 程瑤笙		
1.5	Sun Qinxuan 孫琴軒		1930
4	Wu Shuwen 吳叔文; Lai Bitian 來碧天		
5	Wang Yincai 王引才		
6	Yuan Fouting 袁缶鳴		
8	Hu Xiang Lin 胡祥麟; Yao Shuizhang 姚水章; Ma Zhen 馬禎		
10	Yu Jianhua 俞劍華; Lou Longru 樓龍如; Wang Mutian 王木天		

Price	Name	Year
12	Tan Hailing 譚海陵; Chen Yishi 陳倚石; Xu Songnian 徐嵩年; Tan Xiaoyun 譚小雲; Zhang Youzhu 張友竹; Geng Yixian 耿逸仙; Zhang Yuguang 張聿光; Pan Jingzhai 潘敬齋; Jiang Xuan 姜煊	
16	Huang Xiaochi 黃小癡; Wu Xunzhai 吳巽齋; Xu Jingzhai 徐鏡齋	
18	Guan Yide 管一得	
20	Tan Hailing 譚海陵; Lu Xinpu 盧新蒲 (free-style)	
24	Cha Yangu 查煙谷; Zheng Yanqiao 鄭煙樵; Fu Boqin 傅伯琴; Jiang Xudan 蔣旭丹; Zhou Lianxia 周鍊霞	
28	Ma Qizhou 馬企周	
30	Wang Yanbao 王彥寶	
32	Wu Qinmu 吳琴木; Ma Wanli 馬萬里; Tang Meiqian 湯眉蒨; Lu Shiqian 呂十千	
33	Langlang Zhai 朗朗齋	
36	Hong Lisheng 洪釐生	
40	Zhao Shuru 趙叔孺; Lu Xinpu 盧新蒲 (delicate-style); Tao Lengyue 陶冷月; Xi Lu 西廬	
44	Jiang Runsheng 蔣潤生	
48	Tang Dongfu 湯東父	
60	Daxion Shanzhu 大雄山主	
80	Xu Zhengbai 許徵白; Wang Yiting 王一亭	
100	Feng Chaoren 馮超然	
108	Wu Zheng 吳徵	
160	Wu Hufan 吳湖帆	
10 liang	Wu Xindeng 吳心澄	
15 yang	Gao Shangzhi 高尙之	
16	Tang Ken 唐肯; Huang Xiaochi 黃小癡; Ma Wanli 馬萬里	1931
19	Gao Shangzhi 高尙之	
20	Wansong cuibo tang 萬松翠柏堂	
24	Hailing laoren 海陵老人; Zheng Yanqiao 鄭煙樵	
30	Lu Tiefu 陸鐵夫	

Price	Name	Year
32	Tian Huan 田桓	
36	Ma Qizhou 馬企周	
40	Tao Shaofu 陶紹甫	
50	Zhang Hanfei 張翰飛	
120	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	
16 yang	Zhu Rongzhuang 朱蓉莊	
12	Ying Yeping 應野萍	1932
16	Dai Yunqi 戴雲起	
20	Gu Boda 顧伯達	
40	Yang Yongshang 楊詠裳	
110	Wu Zheng 吳徵 (broad-brush)	
120	Chen Xiaodie 陳小蝶	
140	Wu Zheng 吳徵	
30 jin	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	
3	Huisou laoren 晦叟老人	1933
6	Yang Bochao 楊伯超	
6.8	Ma Henian 馬鶴年	
8	Jiang Menggu 蔣夢谷	
12	Ying Yeping 應野萍	
24	Tan Hailing 譚海陵	
30	Li Fangyuan 李芳園	
36	Shen Yizhai 沈一齋	
40	Tian Huan 田桓	
48	Ma Qizhou 馬企周	
50	Guan Futing 關富亭	
6	Kuang Youhan 況又韓	1934
8	Ma Henian 馬鶴年	
12	Huang Xiaochi 黃小癡	
16	Zuo Chunhu 左蕓湖	
18	Jin Suxiang 金粟香	
20	Chen Ya 陳崖	
24	Zhang Bochuan 張伯川	
32	Zhuanxiang gezhu 篆香閣主; Ying Yeping 應野萍	
34	Fan Songfen 樊誦芬	
40	吳子鼎; Wang Xiaomo 王小摩	

Price	Name	Year
50	Ma Wanli 馬萬里	
56	He Tianjian 賀天健(free-style)	
60	Wang Shengyuan 汪聲遠	
80	He Tianjian 賀天健(delicate-style)	
120	He Tianjian 賀天健(refined-style)	
140	Wu Zishen 吳子深	
16 yang	Wu Yisun 吳宜孫	1935
2	Cheng Gulou 程古樓	
7	Tan Xioyun 譚小雲	
8	Tan Zhen 談真	
14	Chen Ziheng 陳子恒	
16	Yang Qiushi 楊秋實	
24	Ma Henian 馬鶴年	
26	Xiong Songquan 熊松泉	
30	Lu Tiefu 陸鐵夫; Li Zhiyi 李之夷	
40	Li Qishi 李綺石; Qin Qingzeng 秦清曾; Jiang Danshu 姜丹書	
80	Cha Yangu 查煙谷	
160	Xiao Zhiquan 蕭屋泉	
16 yang	Jiang Yanan 江亞南	
3	Zhuang Xiang 莊驥; Huang Xiaochi 黃小癡	
5	Jiang Shixian 姜石僊	
8	Xia Zhongqing 夏仲清	
12	Zhang Boru 張伯儒; Sun Wenhong 孫文宏	
15	Qian Juntao 錢君匄	
16	Cai Shidian 蔡石顛; Huang Xiaochi 黃小癡; Cai Daxun 蔡大勛; Hua Qingbo 華清波	
20	Gu Qingyao 顧青瑤; Dun Daoren 鈍道人; Chen Jihe 陳寄壑	
24	Wang Xianshao 王顯韶; Gu Fei 顧飛; Yu Jingzhi 余靜芝; Zhang Xiaolou 張小廬	
26	Chen Keming 陳克明	
32	Youli shanren 由里山人; Zhou Lianxia 周鍊霞; Ying Yeping 應野萍	
34	Fan Songfen 樊誦芬	

Price	Name	Year
50	Huang Xiaoshu 黃孝紆; Li Chengquan 酈承銓	
64	Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌	
70	Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀	
80	Tang Dingzhi 湯定之	
120	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	
140	Wu Zheng 吳徵 (broad-brush)	
170	Wu Zheng 吳徵	
8	Kuang Youhan 況又韓	1937
15	Ye Dazhang 葉大章	
22	Peng Shounian 彭壽年	
40	Fan Boyan 樊伯炎	

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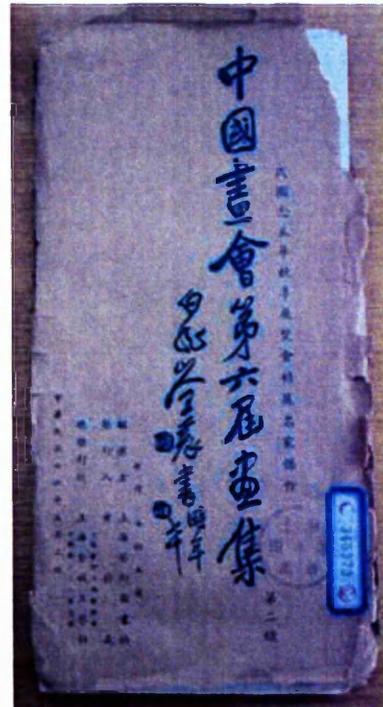


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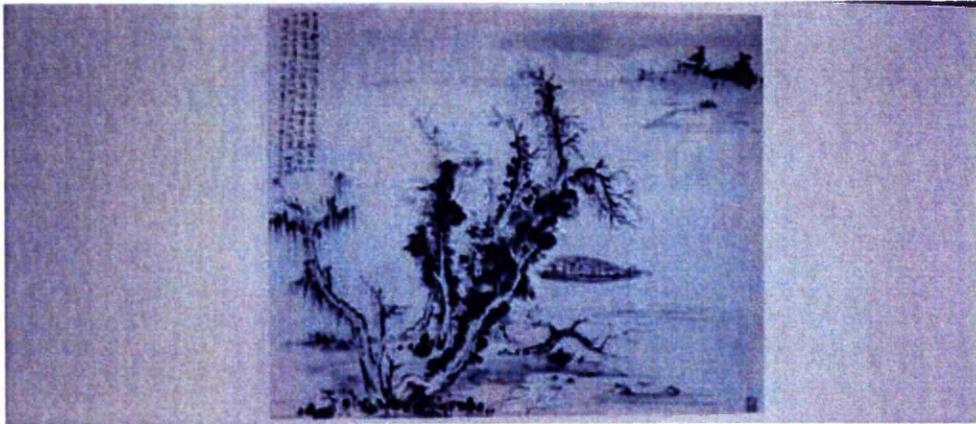


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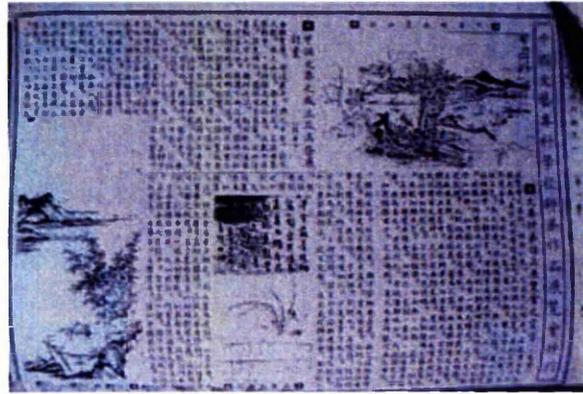


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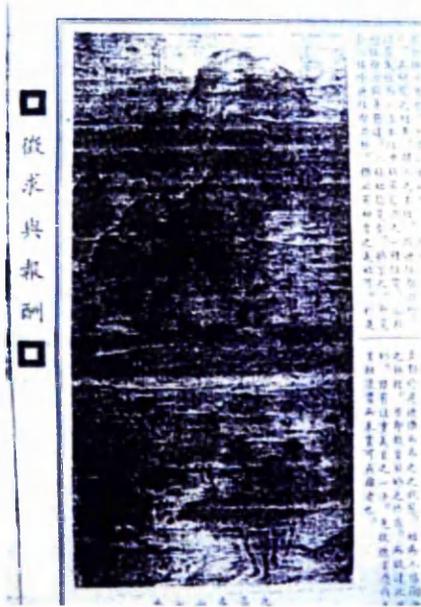


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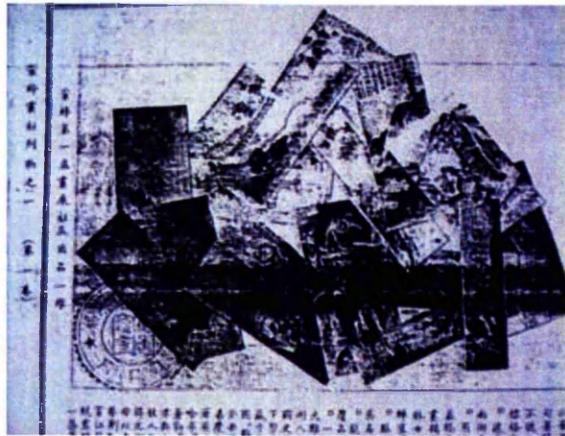


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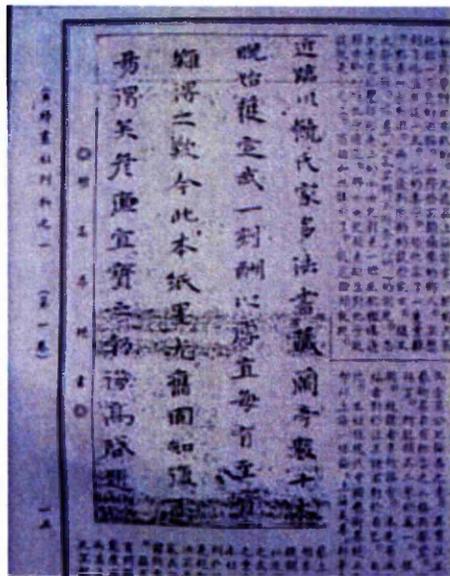


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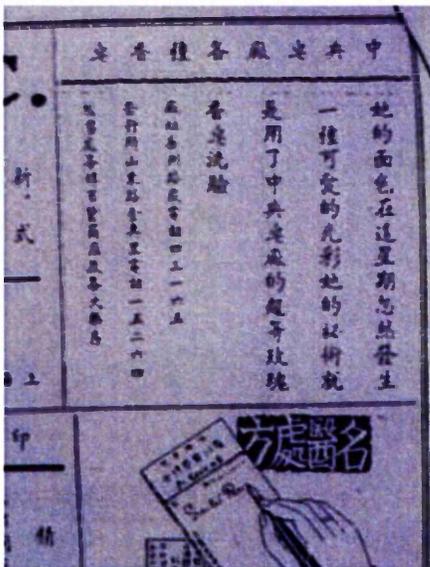


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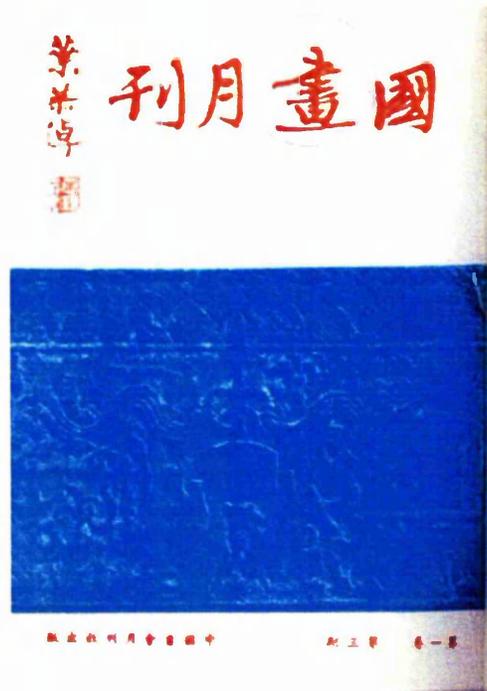


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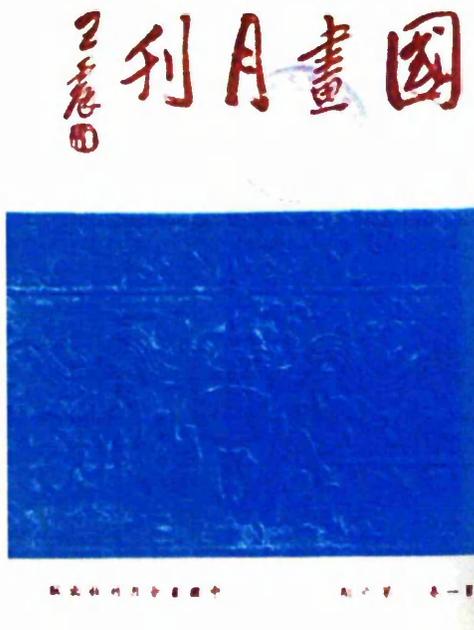


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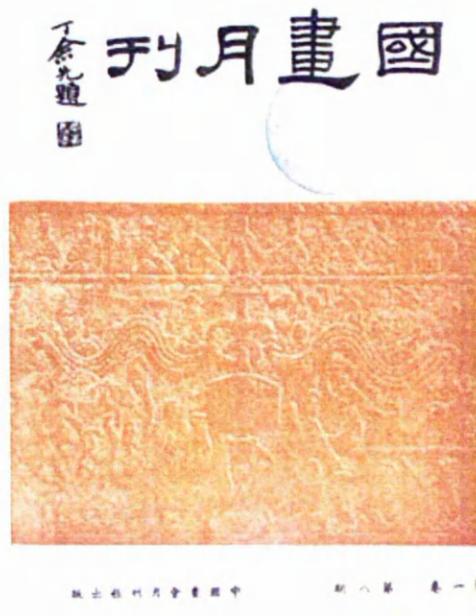


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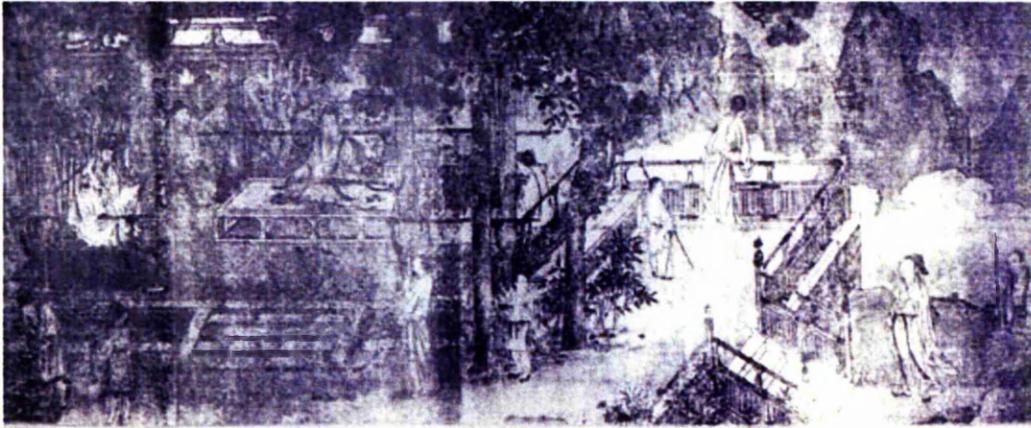


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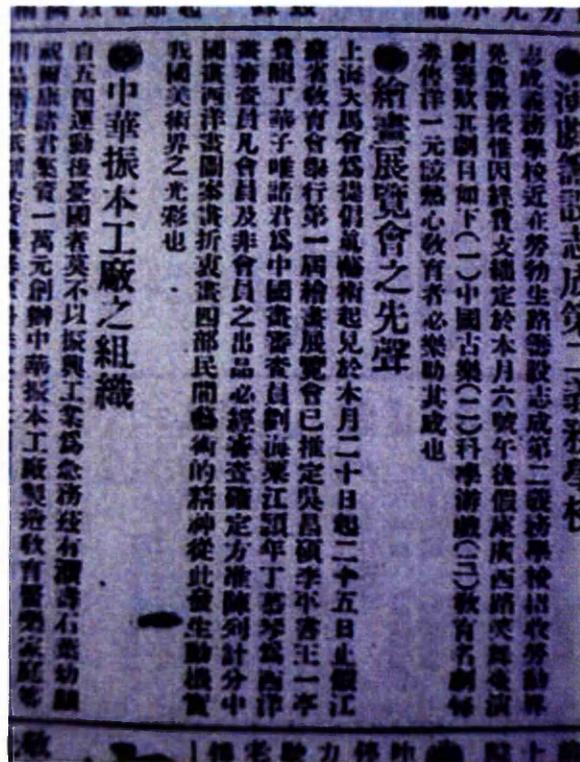


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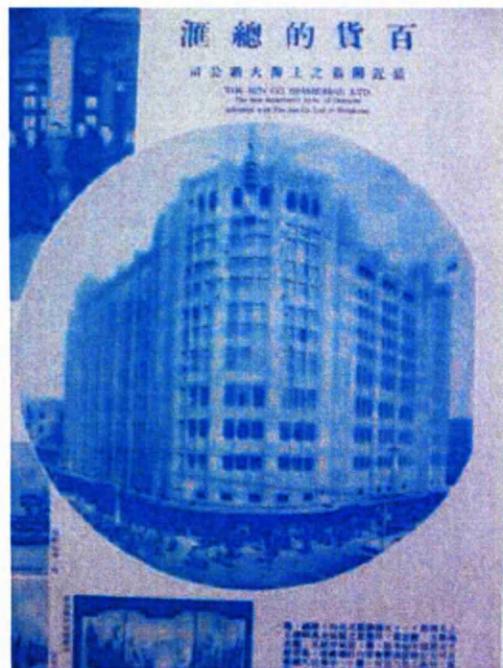


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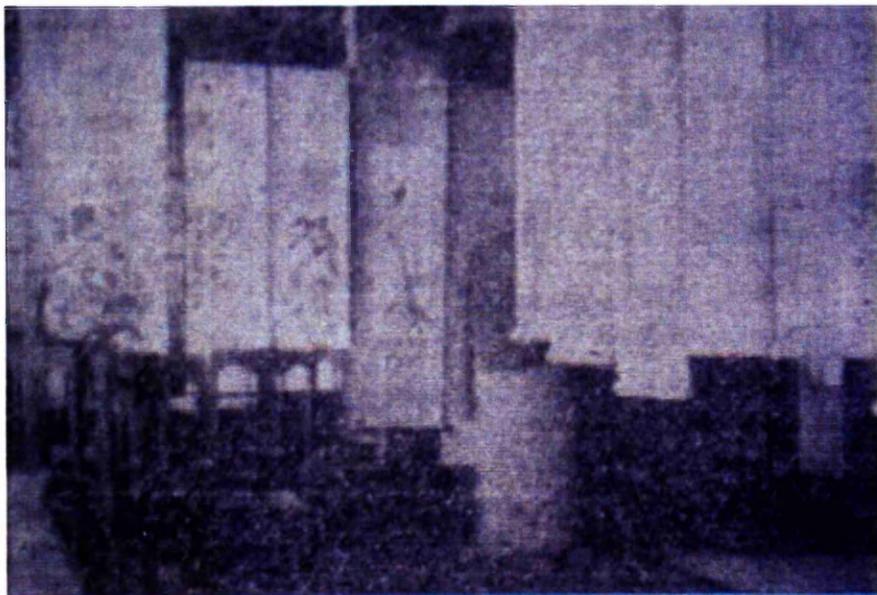


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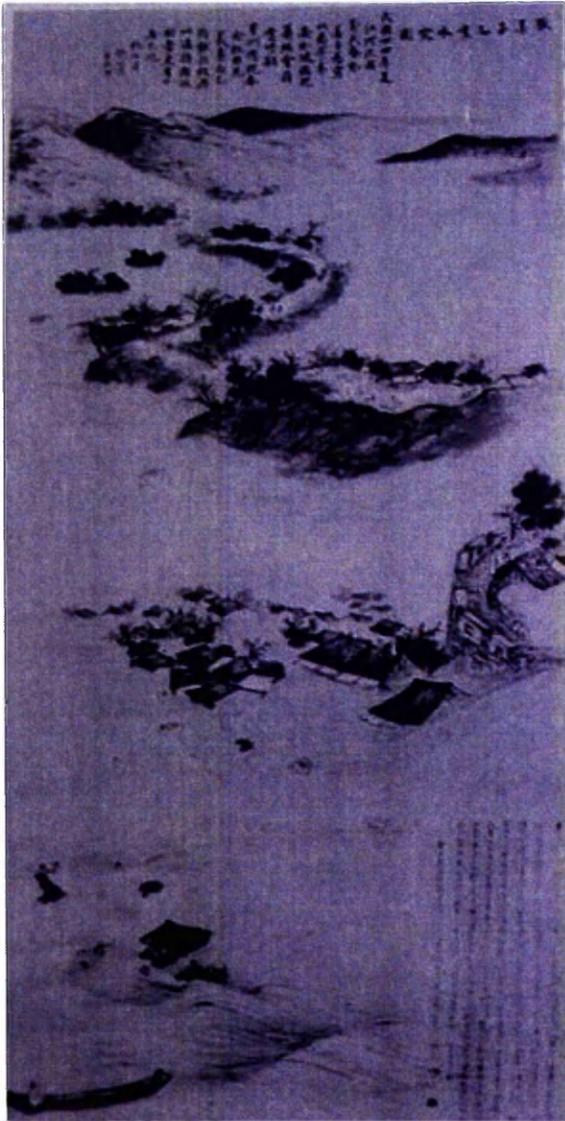


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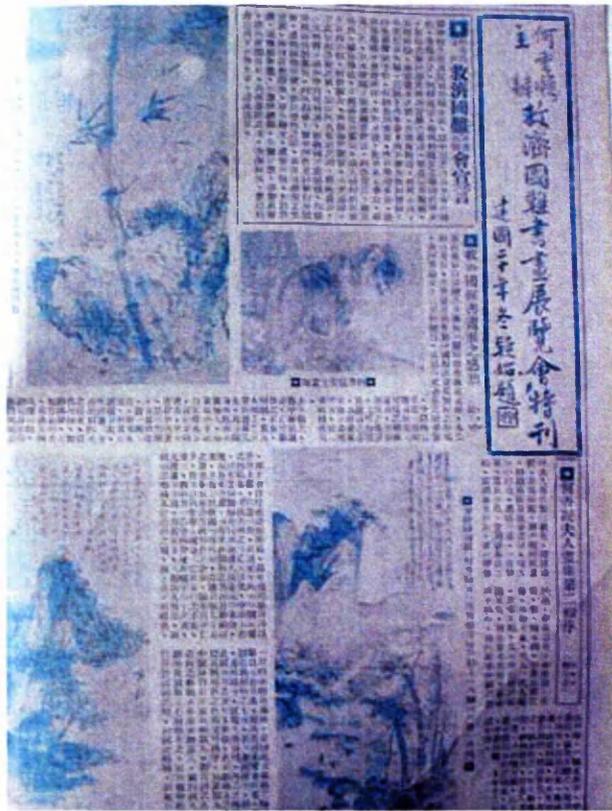


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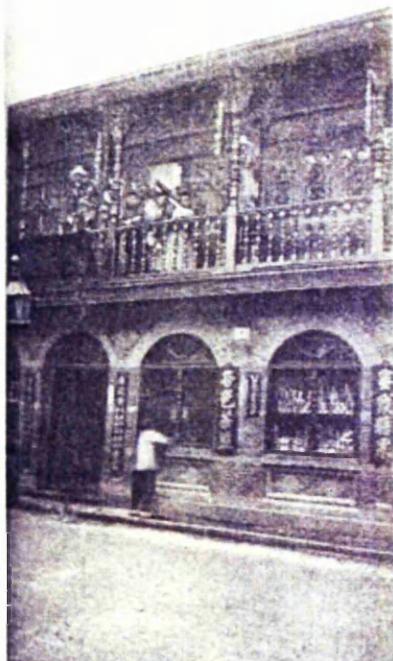


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上海災助振國術遊藝大會

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九件神爐仙火酒

德國萬年表

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此表之精全在零件之堅固耐用

此表之精全在零件之堅固耐用

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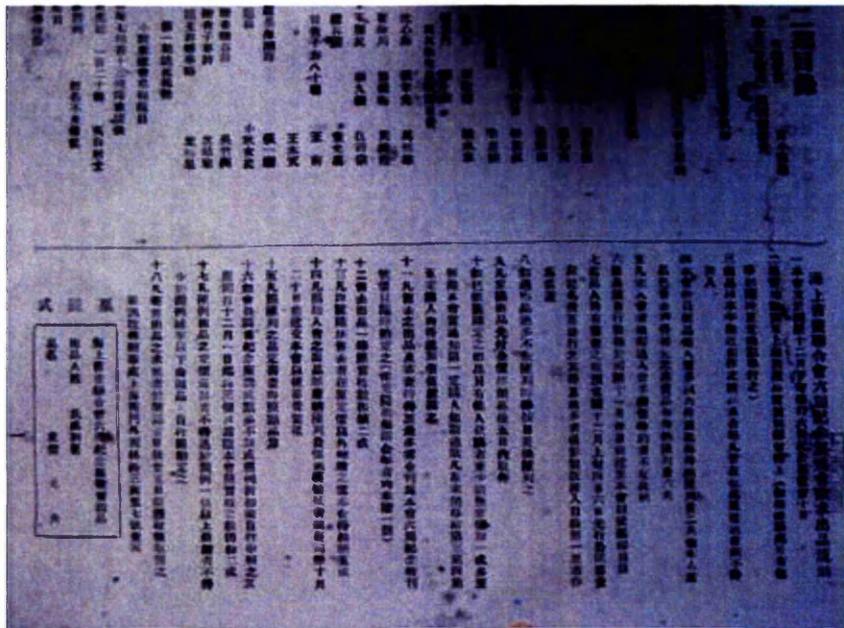


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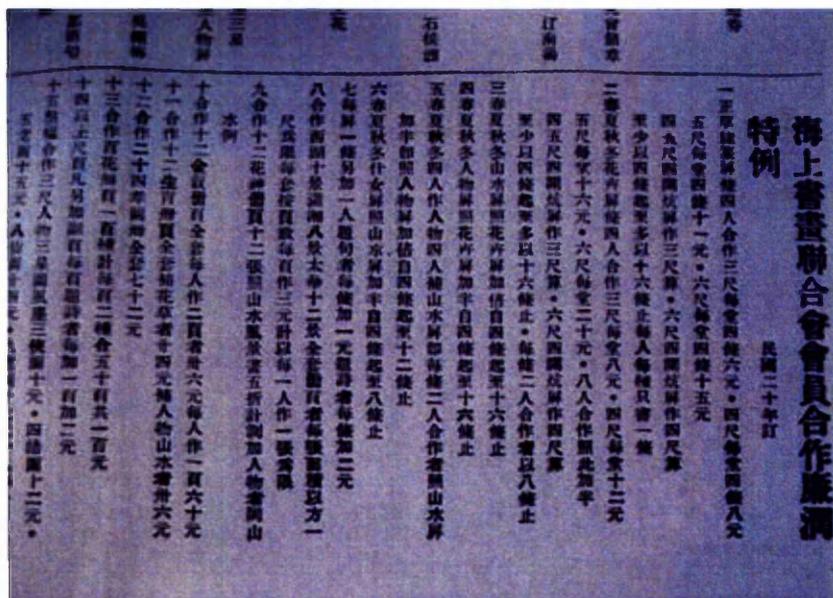


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介紹大書家蕭燭女士

蕭燭者。乃黔中名士蕭鐵珊先生女公子也。幼承庭訓。即工書法。行楷精良。篆隸書古。體態復生。茂翁再世。女書家中。實罕其匹。海內名士。翕然譽之。同人等願女士仍負厥所長。於社會。為之規定潤例。俾求書者。有津梁焉。藉見腕底神來。能事固不受促迫。而一時紙貴。費價亦無俟品題也已。隨此介紹。潤例如左。

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 空幅 四尺六元 每加一尺增加三元
 屏條 每尺三元 每百字四十元
 手卷 每尺四元 每幅 每幅五元
 摺扇 每件四元
 批金 宋文 代款 均加倍
 篆書加半 隸楷同倍
 碑誌匾款另議 劣紙不書
 墨費加一 潤費先惠 約期不爽
 以大洋為本位 粵幣俾合

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 Price-list of Xiao Xian, *Jiuhuatang suo cang jindai mingjia shuhua zhuanke runli*

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畫幅 每尺一元 八尺加半丈二加倍
 屏條 照畫幅例隨折 橫幅 照畫幅加半
 款題 每幅每字 二十元 手卷 每頁每方尺 二十五元
 點品 金夏等均加倍 墨費 加一
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 收件處 本會及各大商莊

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 畫額 五元
 中堂 四五尺三元 六尺四元 八尺六元
 橫幅 同上 屏條 三行每條二元
 扇頁 每幅三元 扇頭 同上
 小楷 每百字三元不滿百以百計
 劣紙不書 已林不書
 收件處 吳興朝陽巷

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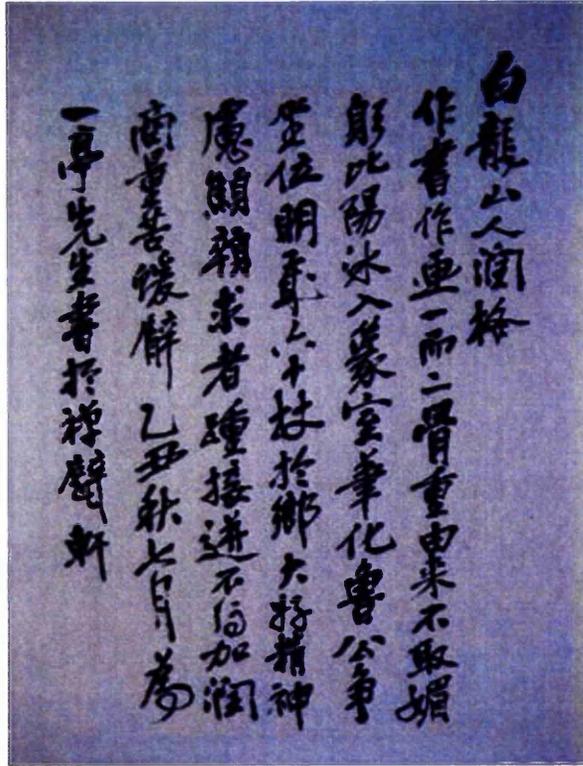


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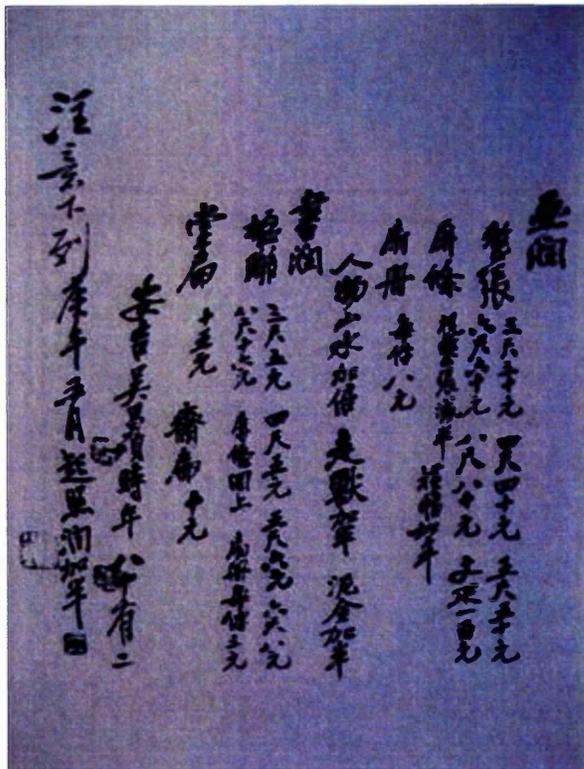


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 shuhua zhuanke runli*

文
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 江南吳湖帆齋書畫
 德成漂染廠啓事
 修志局致求畢業生報吉學立

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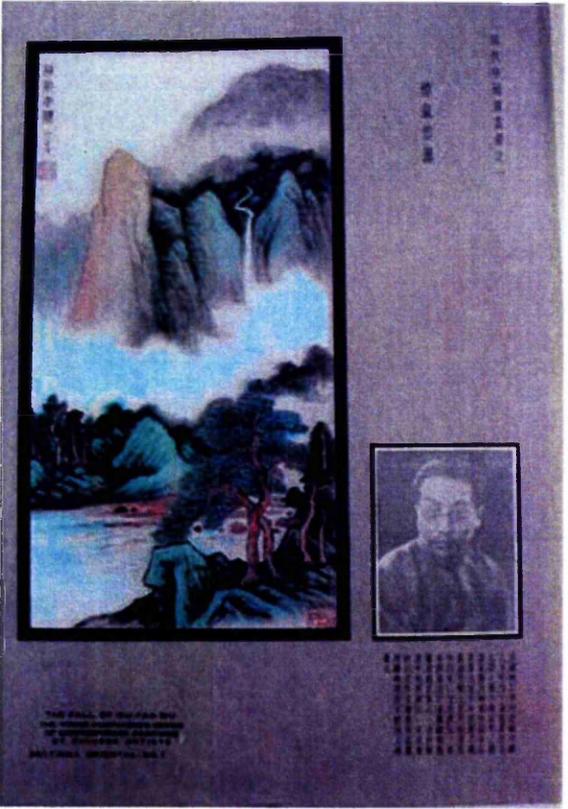


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五期年刊一預告

俞劍華書畫

特例

中華教育文化基金董事會

通告 北平南長街 本會為促進科學研究起見，設立科學研究補助金及科學研究獎勵金，會經辦理...

俞君劍華指六法尤長山水出入於石田綠墨石溪遠公石澗之間更工半千有出處之妙平日以兼任新華書局大編纂主任及愛國女學文科主任...

Table with multiple columns listing items and prices. Title: 俞劍華書畫潤例 二十一年秋四日訂

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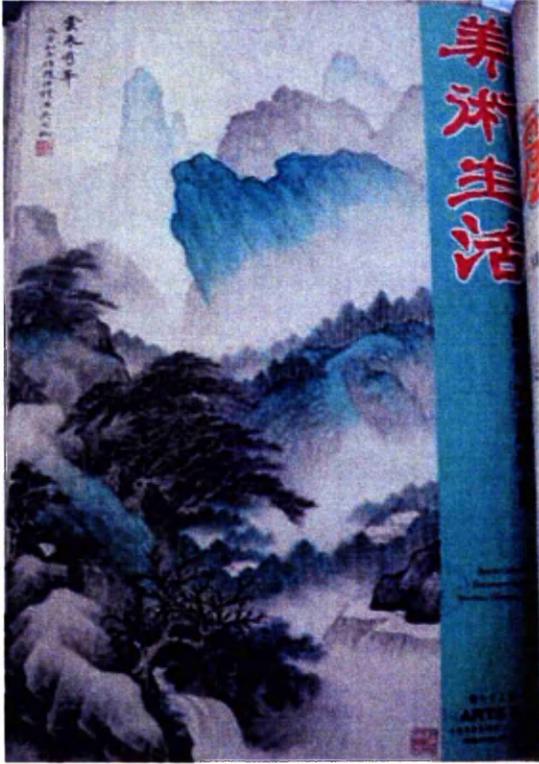


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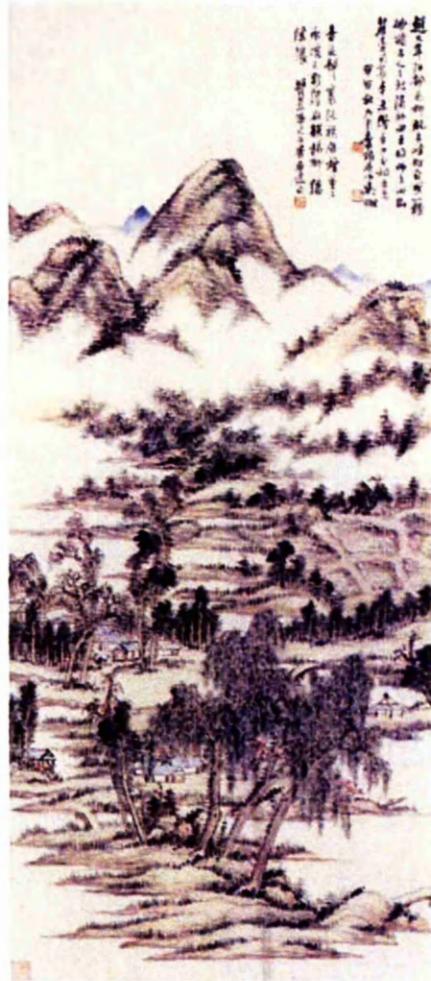


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 huihua quanji*, p. 444

映庵夏敬觀潤例	
畫例	畫幅三尺五十元 每增一尺加二十元不足一尺以一尺論 屏條三尺四十元 每增一尺加十二元不足一尺以一尺論 四尺尺紙對張加圓者照字幅算 手卷每尺三十元 高以一尺為限逾一尺者每尺四十元 冊裝每冊見方一尺十六元 過一尺者作兩冊算 摺扇廿元 無錫扇每格十元 款扇十二元 以上山水潤例花卉松石減半此應加四分之一類潤例潤者照舊所照數例皆錄全箋贈品均加倍 畫例 畫幅三尺二十元
文例	屏條三尺十二元 對聯三尺二十元 橫幅三尺十二元 以上每加一尺加十元 冊裝每冊一尺見方八元 過一尺者加四元 款扇十元 書屏條每條另議不書 文例 碑傳三百元 序記二百元 電影題詩詞四十元 潤費先惠照費一成 收件處上海棋盤街商務印書館發行所任 心自三馬路國貨銀行樓上江蘇絲業公 信五金保管會樓一及各大商店 本宅抄刊非商務印書館三十四號康橋 畫社電話二七六三號 歐戰代價諸名人詩畫屏潤費面議

Figure 4.33
 Price-list of Xia Jinguan,
Cixue jikan, 1.4 (1933), p.
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Figure 4.34
Tour in Xianxia Mountain by He Tianjian
 (with colour and long inscription), 1936,
Hai shang huihua quanji, p. 502



Figure 4.35
Landscape by He Tianjian (in free-
 style and ink), 1935, *Hai shang
 huihua quanji*, p. 501



Figure 4.40
Price-list of Zhu Meicun executed in calligraphy by renowned artist Wu Hufan, *Jiuhuatang suo cang jindai mingjia shuhua zhuanke runli*

Figure 4.41
Sales advertisement, *Shenbao*, 1924.1.27 (11)



Figure 5.1
Cover of *Zhonghua minguo sanshilu nian*
Zhongguo meishu nianjian

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