

FENG ZIKAI'S ART AND THE KAIMING BOOK COMPANY:
ART FOR THE PEOPLE IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINA

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * *

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the early twentieth-century Chinese artist Feng Zikai (1898-1975) and looks at the relationship between Feng's artistic career and China's new publishing industry, particularly the Kaiming Book Company (Kaiming shudian). Feng both taught art and worked as a cover designer and illustrator at the Kaiming Book Company as well as for other publishers. His artistic production includes traditional Chinese painting, calligraphy, woodcut prints, cartoons, illustrations, and cover designs. A crucial element in Feng's success was the development of the modern printing industry and the proliferation of publishing houses, which brought about the publication of books, urban magazines, and newspapers, and spread popular culture to the masses in China. In so doing, a new category of professional artists, such as graphic designer, was created.

To carve and profit from a new market niche in the booming publishing industry, the Kaiming Book Company seized the new popular trend exemplified by the new Japanese-influenced style Feng Zikai. Being an editor and committee member of the Kaiming Book Company, Feng was active in disseminating art and art education through the print media, like *The Juvenile Student* (*Zhong xuesheng*). Feng published many of his personal essays, books regarding art, and cartoons at the Kaiming Book Company. He also designed illustrations for many books published by the Kaiming Book Company,

which was very uncommon in China at the time. More importantly, Feng utilized the print media to communicate with the growing young readers and disseminate his thoughts and aesthetics to the masses. Because of the circulation of books with innovative cover design and illustrations, art appreciation was no longer limited to a few private collectors. Not only did Feng's art reflect an important page of the Sino-Japanese relationship at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it also played a significant role in the flowering of graphic art in China.

Dedicated to my parents, Kuan-yu, and Shih-chieh

給我最摯愛的父母及冠好和士捷

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computer skills, but also allowed me to examine how technology impacts works of art and how an artist's vision should continue to expand as one presses the limits of technological capabilities. It was this precious experience that inspired me to choose this dissertation topic.

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3. Janice M. Glowski and Su-hsing Lin, “The Journey to an Artist’s Signature,” in *Charles A. Csuri: In Search of Meaning, 1948-2000*, Columbus, OH: Columbus College of Art & Design, 2000.
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FIELDS OF STUDY

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation argues that the arrival of modern printing technologies and the development of the publishing industry in Shanghai provided twentieth-century Chinese artists such as Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975) a new opportunity to disseminate their art through the mass printed media. It examines how Feng and China's new publishing industry, like the Kaiming Book Company, took advantage of the new technology and market to promote their ideology and art.

The complex social relations of migrants and Westerners in Shanghai were intensified by the conflict between the culture and values of a mercantile society and those of the established traditional order. However, the intricate social environment of Shanghai with its collectors, dealers, schools, and exhibition spaces provided fertile ground for the development of art in early twentieth-century China. A crucial element in the development of art in Shanghai and throughout China was the introduction of the modern printing industry, which stimulated new forms of commercial art and created a new artistic profession comprised of artists of previously distinct social classes.

The focus of this dissertation is Feng Zikai's art and his relationship with China's new publishing industry. Feng was a modern Chinese artist as well as writer, calligrapher, scholar, musician, and translator. Many people know of Feng Zikai as a cartoonist, but very few have paid attention to his efforts in calligraphy and graphic art. He taught art and worked as a cover designer and illustrator at the Kaiming Book Company as well as for other publishers. The Kaiming Book Company was a private capitalist venture established in Shanghai in 1926 whose goal was to introduce "new knowledge" to young adults. Feng took many commissions from the Kaiming Book Company for illustrations and book covers. In addition, the Kaiming Book Company published many of Feng's art books and essays. The most important journal that the Kaiming Book Company published for young adults was *The Juvenile Student* (*Zhong xuesheng* 中學生).¹ As an editor and primary contributor to the journal, Feng disseminated his art works, his concern for humanitarianism, and his aesthetic thought to many young students through the Kaiming Book Company. Many of the company's young readers, such as Qian Juntao 錢君匋 (1906-1998) and Tang Yingwei 唐英偉 (b. 1915), later became leading artists in China in their own right.

Previous Studies of Feng Zikai

Feng's pictures have been published in several dozen anthologies, and a number of them have been reprinted over and over again. To date, most studies of Feng Zikai have focused on Feng's cartoon works and personal essays (*suibi* 隨筆). Feng Yiying 豐

¹ Since the English title, *The Juvenile Student*, appeared in the cover of each issue, I will follow the editors' original translation in my writing.

一吟, Feng Zikai's daughter, has written several biographical articles and books about her father. Her greatest contribution has been to compile the six volumes of *Collections of Feng Zikai's Essays* (*Feng Zikai wenji* 豐子愷文集) (1990-1992), and the comprehensive *Collections of Feng Zikai's Cartoons* (*Feng Zikai manhua quanji* 豐子愷漫畫全集) (1999), including Feng's cartoon works, illustrations, and cover designs. Feng is a well-known prose writer, especially of personal essays. His important 1931 collection *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio* (*Yuanyuantang suibiji* 緣緣堂隨筆集) was reprinted many times and translated into Japanese by one of Japan's leading sinologists, Yoshikawa Kōjiro 吉川幸次郎 (1904-1980) in 1940.

Chen Xing 陳星, a literary historian and director of the Master Hongyi and Feng Zikai Research Institute in Hangzhou, has published numerous books on Feng Zikai in the last two decades. Most of Chen's books have focused on the biography of Feng, Feng's cartoon works and personal essays, and Feng's relationships with his mentors, including Li Shutong 李叔同 (1880-1942), Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946), and Ma Yifu 馬一浮 (1883-1967). Lu Weiluan 盧瑋鑾, a literary historian in Hong Kong and a fan of Feng's cartoons, also has published many articles about Feng's personal essays and cartoons. However, most of her essays about Feng's works are presented from a literary perspective.

In recent years in Japan, Nishimaki Isamu 西楨偉 and Yang Xiaowen 楊曉文 have published many articles, such as "Cartoon and Culture: A Comparative Study of Feng Zikai and Takehisa Yumeji" (*Manga to bunka Hō Shigai to Takehisa Yumeji o*

megutte 漫畫と文化 – 豊子愷と竹久夢二をめぐって), “Feng Zikai’s Victory of Chinese Art in the Modern era and Japan” (Hō Shigai no Chūgoku bijutsu yūiron to Nihon 豊子愷の中國美術優位論と日本), and “Out of the Shadow of Takehisa Yumeji: Notes on the Relationship between Takehisa Yumeji and Feng Zikai” (*Takehisa Yumeji no kage o dete – Hō Shigai to Takehisa Yumeji* 竹久夢二の影を出て - 豊子愷と竹久夢), analyzing Feng’s artistic relationship with the art world in Japan at the time and his relationship with Japanese artists, such as Takehisa Yumeji 竹久夢二 (1884-1934). Nishimaki and Yang’s publications are extremely valuable for understanding the Sino-Japanese relationship in the early twentieth century. However, their publications still focus on Feng’s cartoon works and personal essays.

Western scholarship on the study of Feng Zikai has been limited to date. The first publication in the West about Feng Zikai might be Brenda L. Foster’s 1974 master’s thesis at the University of Washington, *Feng Tzu-k’ai² and The Professor Sees a Ghost*. Foster briefly introduces Feng’s biography and translates Feng’s fairy tale *The Professor Sees a Ghost* (*Boshi jianguei* 博士見鬼) into English. Although many mistakes can be found in this thesis because of the limited information available when this thesis was written (the Cultural Revolution was occurring and Feng was still alive), Foster might be the first writer in the West who recognized Feng’s interest in children’s literature. In 1984, Christoph Harbsmeier, a German sinologist, published *The Cartoonist Feng Zikai: Social Realism with a Buddhist Face*. Harbsmeier, too, only talked about Feng’s cartoon works in his book. His book provides a rather concise biography of Feng, yet he writes in

² This dissertation will employ the pinyin romanization system, in which the artist’s name is Feng Zikai.

a very informal way and does not fully identify where the documents were originally from. Many of Feng's cartoon works are reproduced in this book. The comments that Harbsmeier wrote are more like personal, informal essays than historical or art historical analyses. Two years after Harbsmeier, another master's thesis appeared: *Feng Tzu-k'ai: His Art and Thoughts*, by Shuen-shuen Hung (1986) at Michigan State University. In her thesis, Hung provides preliminary research on Feng's life and thoughts. Compared to previous publications, Hung has done more careful research on Feng's intellectual thought. Yet, again, Hung, too, is concerned only with Feng's cartoon works.

Cartoons are also a target subject of this research. Comics, cartoons, and animation have become important in some Asian cultural settings, with the use of more political and social commentary in periods of rapid change of crisis, and the increasing use of comic art for educational and developmental purposes. In a 1990 article, as well as in his 1994 book, *War and Popular: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*, Chang-tai Hung, a historian, discusses Feng Zikai's cartoon works, but he examines how wartime ideologies were reflected in Feng's cartoon works.³ He interprets them from a cultural, rather than art historical, perspective. Similarly, Edward Gunn, writing in 1992, discusses Feng's treatment of wartime atrocities (Edward Gunn, "Literature and Art of the War Period," in *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945*, ed. James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1992, pp. 239-242). *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*, published by Julia F. Andrews in 1993, may have been the first English language book to discuss the evolution of Chinese

³ Chang-tai Hung, "War and Peace in Feng Zikai's Wartime Cartoons," *Modern China* January 1990: 39-83; Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

cartoons from the Republican to the Maoist period, the latter years of Feng Zikai's career. Hongying Liu-Lengel's 1993 dissertation at Temple University, *Chinese Cartoons as Mass Communications: The History of Cartoon Development in China*, examines the development of cartoons in China. Her dissertation on the general social and cultural context of the time and the emergence of cartoons in China is a very valuable source; however, she does not deeply analyze the distinguishing features and impact of each cartoonist.

The special issues of *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* edited by Lucy Caswell in conjunction with the 1997 exhibition *Literature in Line: Lianhuanhua from China*, included articles by the two curators, one by Julia Andrews on post-1949 comics and Kuiyi Shen's "Comics, Picture Books, and Cartoonists in Republican China," which discusses the stylistic features and significance of some pioneering Chinese cartoonists (*Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies*, November 1997, pp. 2-16). The essays collected in John Lent's 1995 anthology *Asian Popular Culture* look at aspects of Asian comic art from Japan, Singapore, China, Sri Lanka, and India, and multi-genre (animation, comic strip, comic book, and cartoon magazine) perspectives. It deals with both historical and contemporary topics, as well as commercial, professional, and artistic areas. Lent's 2001 anthology, *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines, and Picture Books*, is more specifically focused on print materials, and includes useful articles by scholars such as Shimizu Isao and Kuiyi Shen.⁴ In addition, journals, such as *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* and *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, have begun devoting space to the

⁴ John A. Lent, ed., *Illustrating Asia: Comics, Humor Magazines, and Picture Books* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

place of popular culture within the histories and cultures of East Asia. For example, posters and prints are discussed by literary scholars, historians, and art historians such as Kirk Denton, Ellen Laing, Christopher Reed, Kuiyi Shen, and Eugene Wang, in the fall, 2000, special issue of *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture: Visual Culture and Memory in Modern China* (Fall, 2000), edited and with a theoretical introduction by Julia F. Andrews and Xiaomei Chen.

A very recent publication, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai* (1898-1975), written by Geremie R. Barme (2002), a historian in Australia, is a detailed study of Feng's biography. This biographical monograph provides a wealth of information not only on Feng Zikai and his work but also on the cultural scene in China during the turbulent time of Feng's life. As mentioned earlier, Feng Zikai was a writer, calligrapher, musician, translator and painter. Feng's artistic production includes traditional Chinese painting, calligraphy, woodcut prints, cartoons, illustrations, and cover designs. Like other writers on Feng's works, Barme is mainly concerned with Feng's cartoons and personal essays, and interpreting them from a cultural and historical perspective.

Unlike the writings of Barme and others, my dissertation makes a contribution by giving a wide-ranging account of Feng's artistic career and the artistic trends in early twentieth-century China. I both discuss Feng's cartoon works from an art historical perspective and analyze the artistic features and significance of Feng's landscape paintings, calligraphy, and graphic works in the content of the twentieth-century Chinese and Japanese art world. More importantly, unlike all the research that has been done on Feng to date, which discusses only Feng's biography and art works, another contribution

of my dissertation is that I use Feng as an example to examine the relationship between twentieth-century artists and publishing houses and analyze how they promoted their ideology or aesthetic thought to the public and later generations.

A crucial element in Feng's success was the development of modern printing technology and the proliferation of publishing houses, which brought about the publication of books, urban magazines, and newspapers, and spread art and popular culture to the masses. Because of the circulation of newspapers, journals, and books with innovative illustrations and cover designs, art appreciation was no longer limited to a few private art collectors. Illustrations and cover designs, therefore, could be important vehicles for new ideology, rather than only commercial products. In so doing, publishing houses created a new category of professional artist. Feng, a cover designer and illustrator, took advantage of the new opportunity that emerged at this time.

In 1994, a dissertation entitled *Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912-1937*, written by Carol L. Waara at the University of Michigan, appeared. In her research, Waara utilizes art periodicals, including *The True Record* (*Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報), *The Young Companion* (*Liangyou* 良友), and *Arts and Life* (*Meishu shenghuo* 美術生活), to examine how these magazines attempt to mediate the contest between individualism and nationalism and how Chinese modernism found expression through these series of negotiations between private and public culture. In addition to Waara, many Chinese historians have done excellent research on the history of printing and the development of publishing houses. For instance, *Print and Politics: Shibao and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China*, by Joan Judge (1996),

explores the relationship between the print media and the socially tumultuous last years of the Qing dynasty through a reading of one of China's leading newspapers, *Shibao* (時報) (or *Eastern Times*), founded in 1904 and based in Shanghai. Arguing that the editors and writers of this paper constituted a new style of educated elite, Judge presents these journals as publicists articulating criticisms of government policies, in the process creating for themselves and others a "new middle realm" of political discourse between the ruler and the ruled. Christopher Reed's 1996 dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Mechanized Printing, Modern Publishing, and their Effects on the City, 1876-1937*, examines the impact of a form of modern Western technology (the modern printing press) with particular significance for intellectuals and politicians on a traditional Chinese business, that is, printing and publishing. Reed's dissertation provides a wealth of information about how the new printing technology, like lithography, was introduced to China and about the history and development of publishing houses in the late Qing and Republican China.⁵

Based upon these studies, in my dissertation, I examine the relationship between artists like Feng Zikai and institutions in China's new publishing industry like the Kaiming Book Company. How an artist like Feng interacted with publishing houses and how he took advantage of the new artistic features offered by publishing houses to increase his own visibility and influence is the focus of my work.

⁵ Christopher A. Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai: Mechanized Printing, Modern Publishing, and Their Effects on the City, 1876-1937" (Ph.D. diss: University of California at Berkeley, 1996).

Major Sources of the Study

The primary sources for my study are Feng Zikai's art books, cover designs, illustrations, and writings. Part of the difficulty in conducting research on this project has been that many of Feng's art works and publications published between the 1920s and 1940s were destroyed during the Second Sino-Japanese War period (1937-1945) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Additionally, most book covers were cut and lost when librarians rebound the volumes they wrapped. Fortunately, Feng Yiying has collected most of the art works that Feng did during the Cultural Revolution in secret and many first or second editions of Feng's art books published before 1949. In the Zhejiang Provincial Museum of Art we are also very lucky to have Feng's original manuscripts for the whole set of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, which were donated by Feng Zikai's friend, Master Guangqia, in 1985, and the entire collection of *My Treasured Broom* (*Bizhou zizhen* 敝帚自珍). In the West, many collectors or museums have begun to pay attention to Feng Zikai. For example, some of Feng's *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* were exhibited in the 1998 exhibition, *China: 5000 Years - A Century in Crisis, Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China*, curated by Dr. Julia Andrews and Dr. Kuiyi Shen, at the Guggenheim Museum. In addition, the Metropolitan of Museum in New York and the Cantor Art Center at Stanford University have collected some of Feng's paintings.

Newspapers, such as *The Pacific Times* (*Taipingyangbao* 太平洋報) and *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報), pictorials, such as *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) and *Taibai* (太白), and publications of the Kaiming Book Company published in the

early twentieth century are another important sources of my research. Many anthologies of Feng's art works, such as the *Collections of Feng Zikai Cartoons* (豐子愷漫畫全集) and *Collection of Feng Zikai (Feng Zikai yizuo 豐子愷遺作)*, are the primary sources of this project as well. For literary sources, the *Collections of Feng Zikai's Essays (Feng Zikai wenji 豐子愷文集)* (1990-1992) and *Sketches of the Yuanyuan Studio (Yuanyuantang suibiji 緣緣堂隨筆集)*, are the most important books. In addition, the correspondence between Feng and members of his cultural circle, such as Li Shutong and Qian Juntao, and the memoirs written by his students and friends are another important sources for all scholars of this field.

As for secondary sources, historians such as Hao Chang, Paul Cohen, Jonathan Spence, and Vera Schwartz have done much excellent research on the intellectual and social development of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese history. Their research is a valuable source for us to understand the historical background in which Feng grew up and how Feng emerged in the Shanghai art scene. Also, more and more scholars in both Asia, like Chen Xing, and the West seem to be interested in Feng Zikai after the Cultural Revolution. Several dozen of Feng's pictures have been reprinted over and over again. Numerous studies about Feng and his cultural circles have been published in Chinese as well. These publications also provided useful information.

Chapter Organization, Approaches, and Methodology

This dissertation adheres to the following outline. This introduction (Chapter One), presents the key issues and conceptual framework of the dissertation. In Chapter

Two I discuss the historical background – the art world in Shanghai between 1895 and 1950. In Chapter Three, I talk about Feng Zikai’s philosophy and art, and in Chapter Four, I examine the relationship between Feng Zikai and China’s new publishing industry. By examining the publications of the Kaiming Book Company and Feng’s artistic career and activities in the Kaiming Book Company, where Feng was a primary editor and contributor, I provide an understanding of the impact of publishing houses on the development of twentieth-century Chinese art, particularly that of graphic art.

Two different but related approaches, that is, social historical and textual approaches, are used. Textual analysis here refers both to written and to pictorial texts. Visual analysis is the primary methodology of my research. I examine specific aspects of original works of art, including format, material, and style. In addition to analyzing Feng’s original drawings and paintings in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum in Hangzhou, China Art Museum in Beijing, and other museums in China and the West, I examine cover designs and illustrations collected by Feng’s family members. Other sources include calligraphy, art works, and letters of Feng’s mentor, Li Shutong, the works of other pioneer Chinese graphic artists, Feng’s contemporaries and students, and those of Japanese artists who influenced Feng’s artistic career. Examining printed mass media is another significant methodology of my research. Journals and newspapers, such as *The Juvenile Student*, *Eastern Miscellany*, *The Short Story Magazine*, *The Pacific Times*, and *Eastern Times*, published between 1900s and 1940s, are scrutinized.

Feng Zikai was born in the end of the Qing period and was active in the Republican era. He received both a traditional Chinese classical education when he was

in elementary school and a Western-style education in high school. To understand the kind of social and art educational environment in which Feng grew up, in Chapter Two, I briefly discuss the contribution of Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), a philosopher, the first minister of education, and an extraordinary figure in the modernization of China, to modern Chinese art education. Besides Cai, another figure that I discuss in this section is Li Shutong, Feng's mentor at the First Normal School in Zhejiang. Not only did Li make art and music before he took the tonsure in 1918, but he also was one of the few pioneers introducing Western-style art and graphic design to China. It is significant to know Cai's and Li's ideology and aesthetic philosophy and their achievement in awakening appreciation of art and disseminating aesthetic education. For young men like Feng, who began his artistic training by copying the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (*Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜), the policies advocated by Cai and Li opened up a whole new world. Mayching Kao's dissertation, *China's Response to the West in Art, 1898-1937* (Stanford University, 1972), discusses changes in Chinese art and the new art education system under the challenge of Western art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her discussion of the general social and cultural context of the time is extremely valuable for understanding the environment in which Shanghai artists emerged. In addition, Kirk Denton's *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writing on Literature 1893-1945* is a rich and useful book for understanding the thought of intellectuals in Republican China.

Feng received a Western-style education when he was at the First Normal School in Hangzhou, and he later became an influential and active artist and teacher, teaching

and publishing essays on Western art. In the second section of Chapter Two, I map the introduction of Western art⁶ in China and its development in Shanghai between 1895 and 1950. I also examine many essays published by pioneering oil painters, such as Li Shutong, Chen Baoyi 陳抱一 (1893-1945), and Feng Zikai. From their essays, we gain insight into what kind of difficulty they confronted when the Chinese first encountered Western art and how they succeeded in introducing the new art to the Chinese people.

In the third part of Chapter Two, I examine the two pioneering graphic artists and patrons in China, namely, Lu Xun and Li Shutong, in order to highlight the significant role of the first generation of graphic designers in the development of Chinese art history. Many people know of Li Shutong as a calligrapher and a Buddhist monk; however, very few have paid attention to his achievement in graphic art. Li Shutong was one of the earliest Japanese-trained artists in Western painting. Returning to China in 1912, he taught art and music in schools and introduced graphics into the pages of *The Pacific Times*,⁷ of which he was an editor. By examining *The Pacific Times* and Lu's and Li's publications, I answer questions such as "What kind of influence did Lu and Li have on the first generation of students like Feng Zikai?" and "What kind of role did later generations play in the development of Chinese art history?"

After we look the development of art education and Western art in Shanghai, I turn my attention to traditional Chinese ink painting and see how traditionalists like Chen Shizeng 陳師曾 (1876-1923) and reformists like members of the Lingnan School faced

⁶ In this dissertation, the terms Western art or Western influence refer to the art and culture of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States.

⁷ Since the English translation, *The Pacific Times*, appeared in the original press, in my writing I will use its editorial staffs' translation.

and solved the crisis in art that came from the West. The civil service examination was abolished in 1905. Thereafter, many new schools were established in China to teach new subjects and Western culture. The shock from the West exerted profound influence on China, not only on the development of science but also on that of culture and art. Under the impact and threat of Western art and culture, the Chinese artists working in traditional media and with traditional subject matter began to make adjustments between their old traditions and the modern changes taking place around them. The ideology of Japanese art had an intimate relationship with the world of Chinese art at the time, which has been examined in Mayching Kao's dissertation and in Aida Yuen Yuen's dissertation, *Inventing Eastern Art in Japan and China, ca. 1880s to ca. 1930s* (Columbia University, 1999). In the late 1920s many artists, such as Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991) and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953), working in Western media, also turned back to traditional ink paintings. Why did the artists turn back to the traditional medium and what was Feng Zikai's role in this transition? These questions are answered in the last part of Chapter Two.

In Chapter Three, "Feng Zikai's Philosophy and Art," in order to give a broader account of Feng's intellectual background and connection to Japan, to place Feng in the context of his cultural circles and to chart his artistic career, I discuss both Feng's cartoon works and his less well-known cover designs, illustrations, calligraphy, and landscape paintings to see how Feng synthesized the classical Chinese education, Western art, and Japanese art that he received. As mentioned earlier, most studies of Feng Zikai to date have focused on Feng's cartoon works and personal essays. In this chapter, I give an

account of Feng's artistic career in the first section and then discuss the relationship between Feng's artworks and those of such Japanese artists as Takehisa Yumeji and Fukiya Kōji 露谷虹兒 (1898-1979) and the novelist Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916).

During the twentieth century, China had a close and intricate relationship with Japan. The art world during the Republican era had a strong connection with Japan, as well. For instance, between 1906 and 1912, Li Shutong attended the Tokyo School of Fine Art and his art betrayed the influence of a leading Japanese artist, Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866-1924). Not only was Feng Zikai connected to Japan through Li's training, but in 1921 Feng left his family behind and went to Japan for ten months. There he encountered Takehisa Yumeji's paintings. Throughout his career, Feng's art and writings reveal a strong Japanese influence.

In this section, by analyzing Yumeji, Kōji, Sōseki, and Feng's art works and writings, I examine how Feng's thought and artistic development was influenced by the philosophy and artistic styles of these Japanese artists and writers, and what kind of meaning this reflected in the Sino-Japanese relationship. Yumeji had been famous in the art scene in Japan since 1905, the year his illustrations began to be published in newspapers. From the Taishō period (大正, 1912-1926) to the early Shōwa period (昭和, 1926-1989), Yumeji produced many illustrations, cover designs, and even fairy tales and fairy poems for adolescent magazines. Many of Feng's works also depicted the life and thoughts of children. Besides Yumeji's influence, Feng's artworks contain vestiges of Fukiya Kōji, whose influence on Feng has been underexamined by previous scholarship,

including Barme's. In addition, Feng Zikai translated a great number of Japanese literature and art books into Chinese. Among their authors, Natsume Sōseki was the most important figure influencing Feng's thought. In the end of this section, Natsume's thoughts and literature works and his influence on Feng are examined.

In addition to the influence from Japan, Feng Zikai's intellectual background, such as his humanistic concerns and Buddhist faith, reveal his strong connection with traditional Chinese culture. In *The Cartoonist Feng Zikai: Social Realism with a Buddhist Face*, Christoph Harbsmeier discusses the relationship between Feng's art works and Buddhist thought. However, Harbsmeier seems to exaggerate the single factor of social realism.

For further evidence of Feng's devotions to his mentor Li Shutong and Buddhism, we need look no further than the six volumes of religious cartoons that commemorate the birthdays of Li that Feng produced from 1927 to 1973, *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng huaji* 護生畫集). The influence of Li Shutong on Feng's Buddhist works is of paramount importance in this respect. In the third part of Chapter Three, I use primary sources, such as the set of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, as well as correspondence between Li and his circle of friends, which included Xia Mianzun and Ma Yifu, to analyze and contextualize Feng's thought and Buddhist belief. In addition to examining the connections between Master Honyi, Feng Zikai, and others, and the set of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, I map out their efforts and achievements in disseminating graphic art and modern Buddhism in China.

In the last section of Chapter Three, *Feng Zikai's Philosophy and Art*, I analyze Feng's *manhua* (or cartoons), calligraphy, and landscape paintings to give a broader understanding of Feng's artistic career and achievement. Questions such as when did the term *manhua* begin to appear in China, what does the term *manhua* mean, and what are the features of Feng's calligraphy, landscape paintings, and graphic design, and what is the significance of Feng's art works are answered.

The term *manhua* was not common in China until 1925, and it is better known today in its Japanese pronunciation *manga*. In the late Qing dynasty and Republican period, there were many political cartoonists using cartoons as satire alluding to aspects of Chinese society. Unlike the political cartoonists, Feng Zikai used *manhua* as a lyrical form and a tool to cultivate benevolence and love. Recently numerous collections of Chinese *manhua* that were published in the Republican China have appeared, and many scholars, such as Huang Dade 黃大德 and Bi Keguan 畢克官, have been devoted to finding the birth of *manhua* in China. Geremie Barme has done excellent research on the development of *manga* in Japan. Based upon these researches, in this section I examine the position of Feng Zikai in the world of the Chinese cartoon. I propose answers to questions that have not been fully explored by previous scholars, such as "Is the term *manhua* the same as the Western word 'cartoon'?"

The earliest woodblock-carved publications in China that are extant today can be dated to the ninth century. In the Ming (1368-1644 C.E.) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties many Chinese scholars, like Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 (1581-1672 C.E.), regarded publishing as a high-level cultural enterprise. To have a background on the development of the

publishing industry in China and how the Kaiming Book Company emerged in Shanghai, in the first section of Chapter Four I provide a historical overview of the printing industry in China from the Sui Dynasty to the nineteenth century, map how the modern publishing houses were introduced into China by Western missionaries, what is the difference between the traditional printing and mechanized printing technology, why the latter one replaced the traditional one, and consider how and when the Chinese began to set up their own firms, such as the Commercial Press (*Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館) and the China Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局). I also consider these businesses's involvement in art.

With the development of capitalism following the Opium War and the boom of the publishing industry, cover designs and illustrations became increasingly important in the art world.⁸ By the turn of the twentieth century, Western and Japanese book covers with complex designs were common in China. However, China's antique motifs also occupied an essential place in this new art format. Printing technology forms the backdrop to many standard historical narratives of the Chinese revolution. As Leo Lee mentions in his book *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*, in late Qing China, intellectuals “attempted to draw the broad contours of a new vision of China and disseminate such a vision to their audience, the newly emergent public consisting largely of newspaper and journal readers and students in the new schools and colleges.”⁹ However, in Republican China, the nation as an

⁸ Scott Minick and Jiao Ping, *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1990), 11-19.

⁹ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 45-46.

“imagined community” was made possible not only by elite intellectuals, who proclaimed new concepts and values, but also, more importantly, by the popular press. During the early twentieth century, commercial ventures in the publishing industry, therefore, were all undertaken in the name of introducing “new knowledge.” They furnished the “textual” and “pictorial” sources of modernity, of which general journals such as *Eastern Miscellany*, *The Short Story Magazine*, *The Young Companion*, and *The Juvenile Student*, and newspapers such as *The Pacific Times*, *Shibao*, and *Shenbao* served as showcases.

After we have general information about the publishing industry in China, in the second part of Chapter Four, I examine the history of the Kaiming Book Company, introduce the editorial staff of the book company, and explain the mission of this cultural venture. Furthermore, I point out the distinguishing features of the Kaiming Book Company that set it apart from other publishing houses, such as the Commercial Press and the China Book Company, and clarify its significance and contribution to modern Chinese culture and history. Unlike his predecessors Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942), who attacked the evil side or tradition of Chinese society, Feng Zikai used his artworks and publications to educate the next generation and to disseminate his Buddhist belief, aesthetics, and humanitarianism to the general public. Questions that shape this chapter are: In what ways did the Kaiming Book Company become involved in the arts? Did this involvement pass through different phases? Can these phases be related to specific political and cultural developments? How diverse was this involvement, and what types of art did the publishing houses commission? How did this new style come to be of special interest to the Kaiming Book Company, and what was the style? Who

constituted the audience that the book company looked for? How did artists such as Feng Zikai interact with the Kaiming Book Company? How did Feng Zikai take advantage of new artistic opportunities offered by publishing houses to increase his own visibility and influence?

Finally, based on the research I have done in the earlier chapters, I examine the degree to which Feng succeeded in implementing the ideology and aesthetic philosophy of Cai Yuanpei, Lu Xun, and Li Shutong through his involvement in Shanghai's new printing industry and his art. After looking at Feng's relationships with his predecessors and contemporaries, I turn to his followers, such as Qian Juntao and Tao Yuanqing 陶元慶 (1893-1929). By examining Feng's art books, essays, journals like *The Juvenile Student*, of which Feng was an editor and primary contributor, and other contemporary publications, such as *Shenbao* and the catalogues of National Fine Arts Exhibitions, and writings of Feng's readers and students, including Tao and Qian, I chronicle and document the increasing complexity of the art scene in China and Feng's significant contribution in its development.

Through my research I hope to draw attention to the prominent role of publishing houses in enlightening the general public about art. In addition to presenting a broader picture of Feng's artworks, my contributions to the field are my explication of the connections and interplay between publishers and artists in twentieth-century China, between the Japanese and Chinese art worlds, and between elite and popular art forms.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE ART WORLD IN SHANGHAI BETWEEN 1895 AND 1950

Born in 1898, the end of the Imperial China, Feng Zikai witnessed the fall of the Confucian educational and examination system and the rise of a new kind of Western-style education. To understand how and why Feng emerged in the complex and prosperous art scene in 1920s and 1930s Shanghai, we have to pore over the historical background and the social environment in which Feng grew up. In this chapter I examine the art world in Shanghai between 1895, a year after the Sino-Japanese War, and 1950, a year after New China was established. I answer questions such as why and how a new kind of art education was introduced into China; how it influenced students, like Feng; when and how Western art forms, such as watercolor, oil paintings, and graphic design, were introduced into China; how Chinese people responded to these new media; and how artists working on traditional ink painting faced these new challenges.

Following the Opium War, which occurred during the years 1839 to 1842, China was confronted by a serious crisis unprecedented in three thousand years. To modernize and strengthen the country, Chinese intellectuals and officials in the second half of the

nineteenth century began to advocate a movement toward Westernization, called the “Self-Strengthening Movement” (*Ziqiang yundong* 自強運動), or the “Westernization Movement” (*Yangwu yundong* 洋務運動). Feng Guifeng 馮桂芬 (1809-1874), who promoted the movement, quoted the Chinese scholar Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857) as saying that China should “learn the superior techniques of the barbarians [non-Chinese] to control the barbarians (師夷之長技以制夷).”¹ One of the most important effects of the Self-Strengthening Movement was the establishment of a foreign office (*Zongli yamen* 總理衙門) in Beijing in 1861 and its language school (*Jingshi tongwenguan* 京師同文館) in 1862.² Westernization started with the establishment of a translation bureau, Westernized schools, and selecting Chinese children to study in the United States. Next, Western technology, such as weapons-making and telegraphy, was introduced into China. The Western culture introduced by the Self-Strengthening Movement was limited to the material level of science and technology and did not involve the spiritual level of human and social subjects.³

After the Sino-Japanese War (*Jiawu zhanzheng* 甲午戰爭) in 1894, more and more Chinese people realized that learning from the West should not be limited to science and technology but should be used to reconstruct the political and educational systems. Many

¹ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 215-222; Dorothy Perkins, *Encyclopedia of China: The Essential Reference to China, Its History and Culture* (New York: Dorothy Perkins and Roundtable Press, Inc., 1999), 445, 569; Wan Qingli 萬青力, “Li Keran de yishu sixiang he huihua lilun” 李可染的藝術思想和繪畫理論, *Li Keran jingpin teji* 李可染精品特集 (Appreciating Painting by Li Keran) (Hong Kong: Hanmoxuan Publishing Co., Ltd., 1993), 26, E10.

² Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 215-222; Perkins, 445.

³ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 197-202; Wan Qingli, “Li Keran de yishu sixiang,” *Li Keran jingpin teji*, 26, E10; Xue Liyong 薛理勇, *Shanghai jiuying lao xuetang* 上海舊影老學堂 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin Publishing Company, 1999), 6-7.

Chinese officials argued that the country now had to enact drastic reforms quickly to modernize or it would not survive. They rejected the position of Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901), a leading Han Chinese military commander and diplomat under the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911), that China should modernize carefully and gradually. Li lost influence in the Qing government after the Japanese defeat of China in 1895.

During the Reform Movement of 1898 (*Wuxu bianfa* 戊戌變法), also known as the Hundred Days Reform (*Bairi weixin* 百日維新), from June 11 to September 21, 1898, Emperor Guangxu 光緒 (r. 1875-1908) was convinced to enact the reforms of Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), two leading scholars who had presented a memorial to the throne (petitioned) in 1895 after Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The Emperor thus initiated the Reform Movement in China. The main goals of his imperial edicts were to end government corruption, to revise the legal, postal and military systems, the government structure and the examination system that selected scholars for positions in the imperial bureaucracy, and to encourage the study of practical subjects such as economics rather than Neo-Confucian philosophy, the traditional subject of the imperial examinations. The reforms called for the establishment of Western-style schools, modern banks, a free press and a military trained by modern Western methods using modern weapons. Unfortunately, the short-lived Reform Movement was suddenly ended by the coup d'état (*Wuxu zhengbian* 戊戌政變) organized by the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908), Emperor Guangxu's aunt and adoptive mother, during which orders were issued to arrest Kang and the other chief reformers. The Empress Cixi harshly ended the Reform

Movement after a hundred days. On September 21, Empress Cixi placed Emperor Guangxu under house arrest, executed six radical leaders and assumed the regency for the rest of her life. With the threat to their life, Kang and Liang escaped to Japan, where they founded the Society of Protecting the Emperor (*Baohuang Hui* 保皇會).⁴

Kang Youwei was a great calligrapher who advocated the study of ancient monuments (*beixue* 碑學) and had great influence on cultural and art circles. In the Reform Movement, he advocated “eliminating the boundary between China and the West and ironing out the sectarianism between the old Chinese learning and new Western learning (泯中西之界線, 化新舊之門戶).”⁵ After the Reform Movement failed, Kang escaped to Japan and then was exiled to Europe, where he saw and admired many Renaissance paintings. He advocated, “combining Chinese and Western into a new era in the art of painting (合中西而為畫學新紀元).” He paid attention to the study of Western art in Japan after the Meiji Restoration and admired realistic and strong styles.⁶

Although the Reform Movement failed, Western culture, including the humanities, was widely spread throughout China through translation of Western writings. Western theories of evolution and classical economics as well as sociopolitical science had been systematically introduced into China by the scholar Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921) and others through translation. For example, in 1873 the British sociologist Herbert Spencer published *The Study of Sociology*. Spencer’s theories were then reanalyzed and contested

⁴ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981), 36, 45-57; Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 223-229; Perkins, 276, 424.

⁵ Wan Qingli, “Li Keran de yishu sixiang,” *Li Keran jingpin teji*, 26, E10.

⁶ Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 55-56; Wan Qingli, “Li Keran de yishu sixiang,” *Li Keran jingpin teji*, 28, E10.

by the scientist Thomas Huxley, who encapsulated them in his 1893 book *Evolution and Ethics*. In 1896, Yan Fu translated this into Chinese under the title *On Evolution (Tianyan lun 天演論)*. Yan's translation had an immense impact on Chinese scholars in the late Qing and early Republican China.⁷ Besides translations, 52,000 schools modeled after Western educational institutions had been established throughout the country, with students numbering over one and a half million. This led to the abandonment of the civil service examination by the Qing government in 1905.⁸ The adoption of "Western learning" (*xixue* 西學) or methods of the West (*xifa* 西法) therefore became the government's major concern. With the introduction of Western learning, the education system, journalism, newspapers, and other new media of communication began exerting a great influence on modern Chinese culture and art.

2.1 Modern Art Education in China

Art education systems in modern China could be grouped into four categories. The first category was general public education (*guomin jiaoyu* 國民教育), including the curricula for painting (*tuhua* 圖畫) and handicrafts (*shougong* 手工), and was offered in elementary and junior high schools.⁹ The purpose of general public education was to provide for personal fulfillment, to nurture social consciousness, and to transmit the

⁷ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 290-291.

⁸ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art: 1898-1937" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1972), 62; Wan Qingli, "Li Keran de yishu sixiang," *Li Keran jingpin teji*, 28, E10.

⁹ Chen Qingzhi 陳青之, *Zhongguo jiaoyu shi* 中國教育史 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Publishing Co., Ltd., 1963), 587, 589-594.

cultural heritage to each generation.¹⁰ The second category was vocational education (*zhiye jiaoyu* 職業教育). It included fine arts courses, such as pottery, textiles and glass, offered in senior high and vocational schools. The third category was normal education (*shifan jiaoyu* 師範教育). It included courses for the fine arts offered in normal schools for training art teachers for elementary or junior high schools. The last category was high-level professional art education (*gaodeng meishu zhuanye jiaoyu* 高等美術專業教育). It included the art academy (*meishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 美術專門學校), and fine arts departments in colleges and universities, and its educational objective was to train artists and academic scholars.¹¹

In the system of normal education, the earliest fine arts curriculum offered in normal schools, *tuhua* (圖畫) and *shougong* (手工), could be traced back to the Official Curriculums Programs (*Zouding xuetao zhangcheng* 奏定學堂章程), compiled by Zhang Baixi 張百熙, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909), and Rong Qing 榮慶 in 1902; neither course had ever been offered in a traditional Chinese school before.¹² However, in China, a painting and handicraft course (*tuhua shougong ke* 圖畫手工科), including the teaching of Western painting, was not officially offered in the First High Normal School in Nanjing (*Nanjing Liangjiang youji shifan xuetao* 南京兩江優級師範學堂) until

¹⁰ Yu Lin, "The Significance of Cultural Heritage in Art Education and An Analysis of Taiwanese Elementary School Art Textbooks" (Master's thesis, The Ohio State University, 1984), 7; Chen Qingzhi, 589; Su-hsing Lin, "The Role of The National Taiwan Normal University in the Development of Chinese Painting in Taiwan From 1945 to the 1960s" (Master's thesis, The Ohio State University, 1996), 55.

¹¹ Xiao Qiongrui 蕭瓊瑞, *Wuyue yu dongfang: Zhongguo meishu xiandai hua yundong zai zhanhou Taiwan zhi fazhang* 五月與東方-中國美術現代化運動在戰後台灣之發展 (Taipei: Dongda Publishing Co., Ltd, 1991), 21-22; Su-hsing Lin, *Taiwan Normal University*, 55-56.

¹² Chen Qingzhi, 586-587, 597-600; Guo Weifan 郭為藩, ed., *Zhonghua minguo kaiguo chishi nian zhi jiao yu*, vol. 1 中華民國開國七十年之教育 (Taipei: Guangwen Publishing Co., Ltd., 1981), 511.

1906, when it was initiated by Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 (1867-1920). In the following year, the same course was offered in the Beiyang High Normal School (*Beiyang shifan xuetang* 北洋師範學堂). This marked the beginning of Western-style art education in China. Still, many *tuhua* (圖畫) teachers used traditional ways of training.¹³ For example, some art teachers drew examples on the blackboard or posted a sample of drawings on the blackboard, and asked students to copy the sample.¹⁴ Later, similar courses were rapidly extended to the newly established high normal schools in major provinces and to other public or private schools.¹⁵

At that time, China strongly relied on Japan for art teachers and reference books. Many Japanese art teachers were hired to teach art at the First High Normal School in Nanjing and the Beiyang High Normal School, and many reference books were translated from Japanese into Chinese. For example, *Model Drawings in Pencil* (*Qianbi hua fanben* 鉛筆畫範本) and *Model for Watercolor Paintings* (*Shuicai hua fanben* 水彩畫範本), published by the Commercial Press, were widely circulated Japanese textbooks.¹⁶ The art teachers were scattered all over China in Peking, Taiyuan 太原, Xi'an 西安, Nanjing, Fuzhou 福州, and Chengdu 成都. At the same time, short courses were designed in all subjects to train teachers in normal schools organized by Japanese in China and in Japan. This situation did not change until about 1910-1911, when the first generation of art

¹³ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 63-64; 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* 4 (1983): 375.

¹⁴ Wu Mengfei 吳夢非, "Wusi yundong qianhou de meishu jiaoyu hui yi pianduan" 五四運動前後的美術教育回憶片斷, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 3 (1959): 42.

¹⁵ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 65-66; Wan Qingli, "Li Keran de yishu sixiang," *Li Keran jingpin teji*, E10.

¹⁶ Wu Mengfei, 42.

students, such as Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1885-1962) and Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子 (1886-1959), graduated from schools, and the first generation of students studying abroad, such as Li Shutong and Zeng Yannian 曾延年 (1873-1936), returned to China. A good example can be found in the replacement of Yoshikae Shūji, teacher of drawing at Zhejiang First Normal School, by Jiang Danshu (1911), a graduate of the painting and handicrafts department at the First High Normal School in Nanjing.¹⁷

Li Shutong as Art Educator

Li Shutong was not the first Chinese student to study art abroad, but he was one of the earliest students to return to China. Before the 1911 Revolution, the students who went abroad to study art included Li Tiefu 李鐵夫 (1869-1952) (1885), Zhou Xiang 周湘 (1871-1933) (1898), Li Yishi 李毅士 (1881-1942) (1906), Feng Gangbo 馮剛百 (1884-1984) (1906), Zeng Yannian (1906), and Li Shutong (1906).¹⁸ Li Tiefu, a native of Guangdong, went to England in 1887, and became the first Chinese student to enroll in a formal program of fine arts in the Arlington School of Art. His subsequent experience in New York gave him exposure to the Western academic tradition.¹⁹ Li Tiefu was awarded many prizes when he was in the United States. Dr. Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925)

¹⁷ Wu Mengfei, 44; Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 64, 81-82; Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of Western-Style Painting Movement," 377-378.

¹⁸ Liu Xin 劉新, *Bainian zhongguo youhua tuxiang* 百年中國油畫圖像 (Taipei: Yishujia Publishing Company, 2002), 22.

¹⁹ Mayching Kao, "Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement in China," Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum: distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 157.

admired him as “the foremost figure in the East Asian art scene (東亞畫壇第一巨擘).”²⁰ However, Li Tiefu’s influence on Chinese oil painting was far less than that of others, since he did not return to China until 1930.²¹

Zeng Yannian and Li Shutong were early Japanese-trained artists in Western painting. Both were listed as having graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1911.²² Upon his return to China, Zeng Yannian, alias Xiaogu 孝穀, soon left for remote Sichuan, his native land. Zeng had been teaching art at the Chengdu High Normal School (*Chengdu gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 成都高等師範學校) since 1915. “Because of his being so far away geographically from the artistic centers and also because of his untimely death in 1921, Zeng made little imprint on the Western-style art movement, while Li Shutong took the limelight as the first Chinese student to have received thorough training in Western art in Japan.”²³

Li Shutong was born into a scholarly and wealthy family in Tianjin. His father, Li Xiaolou 李筱樓 (or Li Shizhen 李世珍), had passed the *jinshi* (進士) examination and had been a close friend of Li Hongzhang.²⁴ Li received a good classical education when he was still a child. He studied *One Hundred Filial Piety Stories* (*Baixiao tu* 百孝圖), *Poems of A Thousand Poets* (*Qianjia shi* 千家詩), and *Tang Poems* (*Tangshi* 唐詩) when

²⁰ Liu Xin, *Bainian zhongguo youhua tuxiang*, 30.

²¹ Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 28; Wan Qingli, “Li Keran de yishu sixiang,” *Li Keran jingpin teji*, E13; “Li Tefu de geming yu yishu shengming” 李鐵夫的革命與藝術生命, *Yishujia* (March 2000): 497.

²² Yoshikawa Kenichi 吉川健一, “Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao – dongjing ‘guomin ribao’ dui Li Shutong de baodao” 李叔同清末在日活動考東京‘國民日報’對李叔同的報導, *Yishujia* (January 2001): 279-280.

²³ Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art,” 76; Mayching Kao, “The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement,” 386.

²⁴ *Hongyi fashi huazhuan* 弘一法師畫傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji Publishing Company, 2000), 4.

he was seven. When he was sixteen, he studied lyrical poetry *ci* (詞) (lyrical poems), under the well-known scholar Zhao Youmei 趙幼梅, and seal engraving under Tang Jingyan 唐敬岩.²⁵

As he was one of the figures who supported the Movement, Li Shutong felt depressed after he learned that the Reform Movement failed and that Kang and Liang had escaped to Japan. It was said that Li had carved a seal with the inscription “Mr. Kang [Youwei] from Nanhai is my teacher (南海康君是我師).” Because Li Tonggang 李桐崗, Li’s elder brother, could not forgive him for his support of the movement, Li Shutong decided to move to Shanghai with his mother and wife in 1898.²⁶

After he moved to the South, Li was very active in cultural circles. After he arrived in Shanghai, not only did Li join the Chengnan Literary Society (*Chengnan wenshe* 城南文社) and the Shanghai Study Society (*Huxue hui* 滬學會), but he also organized the Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Society (*Shanghai shuhua gonghui* 上海書畫公會) in 1900.²⁷ In 1901, Li was already interested in Western studies when he came under the influence of Cai Yuanpei, who was teaching at the Nanyang Public School (*Nanyang gongxue* 南洋公學), which was established in 1896 by Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844-1916), a Chinese government official and entrepreneur in the

²⁵ *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 5; Chen Xing 陳星 and Zhao Changchun 趙長春, eds., *Hongyi dashi yingji* 弘一大師影集 (Jinan: Shandong huabao Publishing Company, 1999), 4; Jiang Xun 蔣勳, “Xieji jiuyuan: Hongyi zhong zhong” 血跡久遠 – 弘一種種, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan* 弘一法師翰墨因緣 (Taipei: Xiongshi meishu Publishing Co., 1996), 41.

²⁶ *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 7-8; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yingji*, 12, 14, 169; *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 6, 34.

²⁷ Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao,” 279-280; Wang Jiaming 汪家明, *Feng Zikai zhuan: zhongguo manhua zhi fu* 豐子愷傳: 中國漫畫之父 (Taipei: Shijie Bookstore, 1996), 28.

last years of the Qing Dynasty and responsible for much of China's early industrialization, and which was renamed as Jiaotong University (*Jiaotong daxue* 交通大學) in 1921.²⁸ By the time he left for Japan in 1905, Li had already made a name for himself as an accomplished poet, calligrapher, and seal engraver in Shanghai.

In 1906, Li entered the Western art department at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in Ueno Park (*Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko* 東京美術學校) (now *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku* 東京藝術大學). At the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Huang Fuzhou 黃輔周 was the first Chinese student entering the Western art department (September, 1905), but he did not finish his degree at the School.²⁹ Zeng Yannian, Tan Yisun 談宜孫, and Li Shutong entered the Fine Art School together in 1906. When Li studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Kuroda Seiki, who had returned from Paris in 1893 and become the leading teacher of oil paintings in Japan, had been director of the Western art department since 1902.³⁰ Many scholars have discussed the relationship between Li and Kuroda Seiki. It is not clear whether Li took any classes directly from Kuroda Seiki. However, as quoted in Yoshikawa's article, "Li Shutong and the White Horse Society" (*Li Shutong yu baima hui* 李叔同與白馬會), a news item "The Qing People Interested in Western Art" (*Shikokujin*

²⁸ Feng Zikai 豐子愷, "Zhongguo huaju shouchuang zhe Li Shutong xiansheng" 中國話劇首創者李叔同先生, *Yuanyuantang suibi ji* 緣緣堂隨筆集 (hereafter referred to as *YSJ*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi Publishing Company, 1988), 342; Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao," 281; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yingji*, 4, 8, 22; *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 9; Wu He 吳禾, *Foxin yu wenxin – Feng Zikai 佛心與文心-豐子愷* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Bookstore, 1999), 16; *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 6; Xue Liyong, 13, 73.

²⁹ Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao," 278; Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, "Dangan zhong de qingchun xiang Li Shutong yu dongjing meishu xuexiao (1906-1918)" 檔案中的青春像: 李叔同與東京美術學校 (1906-1918), *Hongyi da shi xin lun* 弘一大師新論, ed. Fang Ailong 方愛龍 (Hangzhou: Xiling Seal Engraving Society, 2000), 131.

³⁰ Yoshikawa Kenichi 吉川健一, "Li Shutong yu baima hui: Li Shutong zai ri huodong ziliao de xin faxian" 李叔同與白馬會 李叔同在日活動資料的新發現, *Yishujia* (January 2001): 288.

shi niokeru yōga 清國人志にわけける洋畫) was published on October 4, 1906, in *People's News* (*Kokumin shinbun* 國民新聞), and we can see that Li's art works made use of the Impressionistic style and realistic techniques that Kuroda brought to Japan.³¹

Returning to China in 1911, Li Shutong taught art at the Tianjin Industrial School (*Tianjin zhili gongye zhuanmen xuexiao* 天津直隸工業專門學校). In 1912, he returned to Shanghai, where he taught art and music at the Chengdong Girls' School (*Chengdong nüxue* 城東女學). At that same year he was invited by Chen Yingshi 陳英士 to be the editor of *The Pacific Times* (*Taipingyangbao* 太平洋報).³² In collaboration with Liu Yazhi 柳亞子 (1886-1958), Li was also the chief editor of the magazine, *Wenmei* 文美.³³ He moved to Hangzhou when *The Pacific Times* ceased publication in the autumn of 1912 and taught art, music, and woodcutting in the Zhejiang Provincial First Normal School in Hangzhou (*Hangzhou Zhejiang shengli diyi shifan xuexiao* 杭州浙江省立第一師範學校) from 1912 to 1918.

In Shanghai, Li introduced graphics into the pages of *The Pacific Times* and drew them himself. Besides the graphics in *The Pacific Times*, Li published a number of essays,

³¹ Wu Mengfei, 42; Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong yu baima hui," 288-289; Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao," 277-278; Liu Xiaolu, "Dangan zhong de qingchun xiang," 135-136; Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, "Xiaoxiang hou de lishi: dangan zhong de qingchun xiang: Dongjing yida shoucang de zhongguo liuxue sheng zihua xiang (1905-1949)" 肖像後的歷史: 檔案東的青春像 東京藝大收藏的中國留學生自畫像 (1905-1949), *Meishu yanjiu* 3 (1997): 37-46; Li Biyuan 李璧苑, "Cibei xishe - shitan Hongyi fashi Li Shtong sheyi chujia de xinlu licheng" 慈悲喜捨 - 試探弘一法師李叔同捨藝出家的心路歷程, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 55; Lin Ziqing 林子青, *Hongyi dashi xin pu* 弘一大師新譜 (Taipei: Dongda tushu Publishing Company, 1993), 76.

³² Ye Zhisheng 葉至聖, ed., *Zhongguo xiandai zuojia xuanji: Ye Shengtao* 中國現代作家選集 葉聖陶 (Hong Kong: Shenghuo tushu xinzhì sanlian Publishing Co., 1983), 14; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yingji*, 211; *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan* 6; *Dongya youhua de dangsheng yu kaizhan* 東亞油畫的誕生與開展 (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 2000), 187.

³³ *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 6.

like “The Painting Methods of Western Art” (*Xiyang huafa* 西洋畫法) (Fig. 1), to introduce Western art to the Chinese public.³⁴ In Chapter 2.3.2, I will talk more about Li Shutong and his graphic art in *The Pacific Times*.

At the First Normal School in Hangzhou, Li devised a course based on that of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, which included not only Western painting and music but also art history and wood block printmaking. In the beginning, Li taught his students to draw directly from plaster casts and still lifes. In 1914 he introduced painting from the nude model as the basic training method in Western-style painting (Fig. 2). Furthermore, he was the first teacher to take his students outdoors to draw from nature and seek inspiration in the scenic beauty of West Lake. Li Shutong, therefore, was the first person who introduced Western-style art education to China.³⁵ He was also the first person to develop the woodcut as an art form, cutting and printing his own blocks along with his students.³⁶ Li wrote the first history of Western art for Chinese readers; however, it was never published, and the manuscript was lost.³⁷ Although Li Shutong, who took the tonsure in 1918, taught art for only a decade, he greatly influenced next generation of artists, such as Feng Zikai, Liu Zhiping 劉質平 (?- 1978), and Wu Mengfei 吳夢非

³⁴ *Taipingyangbao*, 2 April 1912, p. 9.

³⁵ Wu Mengfei, 42-43; Zhu Boxiong 朱伯雄 and Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林, *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian 1898-1949* 中國西畫五十年 1898-1949 (Beijing: Renmin meishu Publishing Company, 1989), 31-32; Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art,” 76-78; Mayching Kao, “Reforms in Education,” 156; Nishimaki Isamu 西楨偉, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu: kao ru dongjing meishu xuexiao zhi qian” 李叔同與西洋美術: 考入東京美術學校之前, *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 118.

³⁶ Wu Mengfei, 42-43; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29; Chen Xing 陳星, *Qingkong langyue: Li Shutong yu Feng Zikai jiaowang shilu* 清空朗月: 李叔同與豐子愷交往實錄 (Nanchang: Baihuazhou wenyi Publishing Company, 1997), 27.

³⁷ Wu Mengfei, 44; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29.

(1893 - ?). In addition to Li Shutong, the tremendous change in attitudes toward art that took place after 1911 in China was due in large part to the influence of Cai Yuanpei.

Cai Yuanpei and China's Art Education

Cai Yuanpei received a good classical education and passed the *jinshi* examination in the late Qing period. He taught at Nanyang Public School and had been the president of Patriotic Girls' School (*Ai'guo nüxiaoxiao* 愛國女校). In 1905, he joined the Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui* 同盟會) under Dr. Sun Yat-sen and studied philosophy, with an emphasis on aesthetics, in Berlin and Leipzig from 1907 to 1912.³⁸

On the establishment of the Republic in 1912, Cai Yuanpei was appointed Minister of Education (*Jiaoyu zongzhang* 教育總長).³⁹ In 1912, Cai gave a speech, entitled "My Opinions on Educational Policies" (*Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian* 對於教育方針之意見), in which he advocated his five principles of education (*wuyü* 五育). He ranked aesthetic education (*meiyü* 美育) equal to utilitarian education, moral education, universal military education, and education for a worldview.⁴⁰

³⁸ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 314; Li Chu-tsing 李鑄晉, "Paris and the Development of Western Painting in China," *Zhongguo - Bali: zaoqi lü fa huajia huigu zhan zhuanji* 中國-巴黎: 早期旅法畫家回顧展專輯 (hereafter referred to as *Zhongguo - Bali*) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Art Museum, 1988), 11-12; Li Zhongqing 李忠清 and Yang Xiaomin 楊小民, eds., *Jiushi baitai: 1912-1949 lao manhua manhua minren* 舊世百態, 1912-1949 老漫畫 漫畫名人 (Beijing: Xiandai Publishing Co., 1999), 20-21; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 32; Chen Yingde 陳英德, "Seven Chinese Painters Who Studied in France Between 1918 and 1960," *Zhongguo - Bali*, 55.

³⁹ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin 38; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 32.

⁴⁰ Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian" 對於教育方針之意見, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan* 蔡元培美學文選, eds. Wen Di 聞笛 and Shui Ru 水如 (Taipei: Shuxin Publishing Company, 1989), 1-8; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 32; Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 72-75; Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 382.

In 1917, shortly after assuming the key post of chancellor of Peking University, Cai Yuanpei gave a speech entitled “Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education” (*Yi meiyü dai zongjiao* 以美育代宗教) at the Shenzhou Scholarly Society in Beijing (*Beijing shenzhou xuehui* 北京神州學會). In his speech he said:

“If, having scrutinized the harm of exciting the emotions, we instead advocate the art of cultivating the emotions, then we will not reject religion but will transform it into pure aesthetic education. What cultivates our emotions in pure aesthetic education is that it produces pure and lofty habits and gradually eliminates selfishness and the concept of benefiting ourselves through harming others.”⁴¹

感刺激感情之弊，而專尚陶養感情之術，則莫如舍宗教而易以純粹之美育，所以陶養吾人之感情，使有高尙純潔之習慣，而使人我之見，立己損人之思念，以漸消沮者也。⁴²

In 1919, in a speech titled “A Talk to the Peking University’s Painting Methods Research Society” (*Zai Beida huafa yanjiuhui zhi yanshuoci* 在北大畫法研究會之演說詞) which was published in *Beijing University Daily* (*Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大學日刊), October 25, 1919, Cai made a brief comparison of Chinese and Western art, and emphasized “applying scientific method to aesthetics (用科學方法以入美學)” and advocated that “the world today is in an era of cultural fusion of the East and the West. Our country should adopt the strength of the West (今世爲東西文化融和時代 西洋之所長 吾國自

⁴¹ Cai Yuanpei, “Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education,” trans. Julia F. Andrews, *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk A. Denton (Stanford: Stanford University, 1996), 186.

⁴² Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, “Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo” 以美育代宗教說, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan*, 79-85; Zhang Yuanqian 張元茜, “The Essence of Chinese Art Reformation in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Zhongguo - Bali*, 45, 50.

當採用)。”⁴³ To Cai, the understanding of beauty, and thus of harmony, was an ethical activity. His assertion that “artistic values were universal, crossing all national and cultural frontiers, seemed revolutionary, even shocking, to many of his ethnocentric compatriots, who had hitherto regarded Western culture as barbarian and Western art as little more than a useful technique for representing objects.”⁴⁴ Cai’s admiration for the art and culture of foreign countries as well as his emphasis on internationalism also inspired many young people to look to the West for new stimulus in art.

Cai was influential in promoting the exchange of cultures between China and other countries, as well. In March 1916, Cai and Li Shizeng 李石曾 (or Li Yuying 李煜瀛), together with some French scholars, initiated the Sino-French Educational Society (*Hua fa jiaoyühui* 華法教育會). Cai encouraged young men to study abroad through scholarships and work-study programs for students and laborers, like the *Diligent Work and Frugal Study Program* (*Qingong jianxue* 勤工儉學) of 1914, which he launched in collaboration with Li Shizeng as an answer to the lack of manpower in Europe during World War I.⁴⁵ In the speech, “The Objectives of the Sino-French Education Society” (*Hua fa jiaoyü hui zhi yiqu* 華法教育會之意趣), delivered in March of 1916, Cai advocated that “the person who promotes education in Humanitarianism will benefit from

⁴³ Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, “Zai beida huafa yanjiu hui zhi yanshuo ci” 在北大畫法研究會之演說詞, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan*, 95-97.

⁴⁴ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 32.

⁴⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 303; Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 46; Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 37; Chen Yingde, “Seven Chinese Painters,” *Zhongguo - Bali*, 55; Zhang Yuanqian, “The Essence of Chinese Art Reformation,” *Zhongguo - Bali*, 51.

science and art (行人道主義之教育者, 必有資於科學及美術).”⁴⁶ Through this program, Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991), Chang Yu (or San Yu) 常玉 (1900-1966), and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953), along with almost 2,000 other Chinese students, went to Paris between 1914 and 1919.⁴⁷ The influence of Cai’s support and encouragement on these young students was far beyond imagination.

When Cai was appointed president of Peking University in 1917, he took a brave line with the military and civilian leaders who controlled the Peking government. Cai defended the rights of his faculty and students to speak out, claiming that they were all seeking “education for a world view” and that the function of a university president was to be “broad-minded and encompass tolerance of diverse points of view.”⁴⁸ Throughout the early years of the Republican era, Cai played a leading role in shaping the policies on the fine arts. It was under Cai’s influence that the May Fourth Movement (1919) became a major event in modern China, and the heady years of the Movement saw intense activity in the art world. Besides promoting aesthetic and art education, Cai made another significant contribution through establishing art schools and helping and encouraging young students to study art abroad first-hand. Many of these students, such as Lin Fengmian and Xu Beihong, became leading figures in the development of twentieth-century Chinese art.⁴⁹ In an article entitled “The Way to Promote Aesthetic Education”

⁴⁶ Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, “Hua fa jiaoyu hui zhi yiqu” 華法教育會之意趣, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan*, 9-12.

⁴⁷ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 40-41; Zhang Yuanqian, “The Essence of Chinese Art Reformation,” *Zhongguo - Bali*, 51; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 36.

⁴⁸ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 303; Schwarcz, 44.

⁴⁹ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 40-41; Li Chu-ting, “Major Reforms in Painting in Early Republican China,” *Zhongguo xiandai meishu jian lun ri han xiandai meishu* 中國現代美術兼論日韓現代美術 (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990), 26.

(*Meiyü shishi de fangfa* 美育實施的方法), originally published in *The Chinese Educational Review* (*Jiaoyü zazhi* 教育雜誌) in 1922, Cai proposed a comprehensive plan to disseminate aesthetic education in schools and society.⁵⁰ Many schools established in 1910s and 1920s China, like the Shanghai Normal School (*Shanghai zhuanke shifan xuexiao* 上海專科師範學校), founded by Feng Zikai, Wu Mengfei, and Liu Zhiping, were influenced by Cai's thought on aesthetic education.

2.2 Western Art in Shanghai between 1895 and 1950

As an artist and an educator, Feng Zikai was recognized as a crucial figure in the world of modern Chinese art. He published numerous articles and books about Western art, such as *A History of Western Art* (*Xiyang meishu shi* 西洋美術史, Kaiming Book Company, 1928), *A Survey of Famous Western Paintings* (*Xiyang minghua xunli* 西洋名畫巡禮, Kaiming Book Company, 1931), *Talks on Western Architecture* (*Xiyang jianzhu jianghua* 西洋建築講話, Kaiming Book Company, 1935), and *Cartooning Methods* (*Manhua de miaofa* 漫畫的描法, Kaiming Book Company, 1943). Feng started his artistic career, which I will discuss more in Chapter 3, by tracing traditional block-prints in such works as *Poems of A Thousand Poets* and *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* (*Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜) when he was in elementary school. Yet, he was asked to draw *things*, not redraw pictures, when he studied art with Li Shutong at the First Normal School in Hangzhou. Li Shutong was the most profoundly influential person in Feng's

⁵⁰ Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Meiyü shishi de fangfa" 美育實施的方法, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan*, 182-188.

life. In this section, to give an idea about the social environment in which Feng grew up, I will briefly discuss when and how Western art was introduced to China, and the role of Li Shutong in this process.

The history of modern Western art in China may be traced to the sixteenth century when Jesuit missionaries introduced Western paintings and prints for the propagation of their faith. In subsequent centuries, aided by the activities of missionary-artists in China, Western art introduced new elements of shading and perspective to court painting, professional portraiture, and popular genre painting.⁵¹ It has been said that some of the fantastic and illusionistic elements found in the works of late Ming and early Qing painters, such as Wu Bin 吳彬 (active ca. 1568-1626) and Gong Xian 龔賢 (ca. 1617-1689), were brought about by the possible contrasts of these artists with Western paintings and prints.⁵²

In 1629, the missionary Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649) wrote the first book about Western art and theory in China, *Answers to Paintings* (*Huada* 畫答).⁵³ In the eighteenth century, during the reigns of Emperors Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661-1722), Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1736), and Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736-1795), a number of European Jesuit artists were already in China serving as court painters. The most well known among them was Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining 郎世寧, 1688-1766), who arrived in Beijing in 1715. He was followed by two other Jesuit painters, Jean-Denis

⁵¹ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 24-34; Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 374.

⁵² James Cahill, ed., *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), 14; James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 70-75, 168-183.

⁵³ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 4.

Attiret (Wang Zhicheng 王致誠, 1702-1768) and Ignatius Sichelbart (Ai Qimeng 艾啓蒙, 1708-1780), who brought with them the Baroque and Rococo styles of oil painting that predominated in eighteenth-century Europe. In 1799 Nian Xiyao 年希堯 published *The Study of Perspective* (*Shixue* 視學).⁵⁴ However, because these men's activities were entirely confined to the court, historians of Chinese art generally agree that this meeting of Chinese and European art did not have any deeper influence on native artists.⁵⁵

With the opening of five treaty ports to foreign trade following the end of the Opium War (1842) and the formation of foreign concessions in major cities, Western culture began to enter China on a large scale. Painting workshops began to emerge in these coastal cities in order to meet the demands of foreign diplomatic personnel, seamen, merchants, and other foreigners who wanted to purchase souvenirs. In Guangzhou, one of the five treaty ports, professional craftsmen had produced paintings in Western media for export since the late eighteenth century. Though never integrated into the development of Chinese painting, these China trade paintings (*waixiao hua* 外銷畫) certainly exposed a great many people to the techniques and methods of Western art, especially in realistic portraiture. Among the painters who produced them, Guan Qiaochang 關喬昌 (1803-1854), Yuqua 煜呱 (ca. 1840-1880), and Sunqua 新呱 were the most active and well-

⁵⁴ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 6.

⁵⁵ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 24-35; Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 374; Li Chu-tsing, "Paris and the Development of Western Painting," 8-11; Li Chao 李超, "Zhongguo jindai youhua shilue" 中國近代油畫史略, *Dongya youhua de dangsheng yu kaizhan* 東亞油畫的誕生與開展 (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 2000), 166-167; *Qianlong huangdi de wenhua daye* 乾隆皇帝的文化大業 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2002), 128-142.

known artists working in the genre.⁵⁶ Guan Qiaochang had learned painting from George Chinnery (1774-1852), who had a school of painting in Macao, and could employ the classical realistic method skillfully in portrait painting. Guan's works (Fig. 3), done with solid modeling, are life-like and expressive. In some sense these paintings laid the groundwork for the spread of Western art in China.⁵⁷

When the activities of the missionary painters in court declined in the North, Western art was being taught in a small way by the Jesuits in their Tushanwan Arts and Crafts Center (*Tushanwan huaguan* 土山灣畫館) in Shanghai. In 1852 (or 1862), to serve the needs of the Catholic Church, Joannes Ferrer (Fan Tingzuo 范廷佐), a Jesuit from Spain, set up the crafts center in Xujiahui (徐家匯), a town outside of Shanghai at the time. The crafts center originally was an orphanage. Here, missionary artists taught children Western drawing techniques to produce religious pictures. In the crafts center, Joannes Ferrer was in charge of teaching drawing and sculpture, and Nicolas Massa (Ma Yigu 馬義谷), a Jesuit from Italy, taught oil painting. The Tushanwan Arts and Crafts Center, therefore, became one of the few places in China where people could pick up some knowledge of Western techniques from Westerners. Among those who spent some

⁵⁶ Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 374; Li Chu-tsing and Wan Qingli, *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi wanqing zhi bu: 1840-1911* 中國現代繪畫史晚清之部 1840-1911 (hereafter referred to as *Wanqing zhi bu*) (Taipei: Rock Publishing International, 1998), 186; *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu 1900-1949*, 26.

⁵⁷ Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 45-47; Li Chu-tsing and Wan Qingli, *Wanqing zhi bu*, 186; Tao Yongbai, "Zhongguo youhua erbai bashi nian" 中國油畫二百八十年, *Zhongguo youhua 1700-1985* 中國油畫 (Shanghai: Jiangsu meishu Publishing Co., 1988), 1; Li Chao, "Zhongguo jindai youhua shilue," 169; Zhuang Su'e 莊素娥, "Shijiu shiji Guangdong waixiao hua de zanzhu zhe: Guangdong shisan hang hangshang" 十九世紀廣東外銷畫的贊助者 廣東十三行行商, *Quyū yu wanglu: jin qiannian lai zhongguo meishu shi yanjiu guoji xueshu yantao hui* 區域與網路: 近千年來中國美術史研究國際學術研討會論文集 (hereafter referred to as *Quyū yu wanglu*) (Taipei: The National Taiwan University Art History Department, 2001), 540-548.

time at the Tushanwan Arts and Crafts Center were Xu Yongqing 徐詠青 (1880-1953), Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 (1884-1968), and Ding Song 丁悚 (1891-?). According to Xu Beihong, a leading oil painter in twentieth-century China, the center was “the cradle of Chinese Western-style painting (中國西洋畫之搖籃).”⁵⁸

Similar to the commercial nature of the China trade paintings were the calendar paintings, cigarette picture cards, advertisements, and backdrops for theaters and photographic studios that appeared mostly in treaty ports in response to the penetration of foreign capital and merchandise.⁵⁹ According to Wu Mengfei, Li Shutong’s student in Hangzhou, calendar paintings of female beauties (*yuefenpai guanggaohua* 月份牌廣告畫) were very popular in Shanghai between 1912 and 1919, and artists Zheng Mantuo 鄭曼陀 (1885-1959) and Ding Song were the main contributors.⁶⁰ In his autobiography “My Bitter Experience of Study” (*Wo de kuxue jingyan* 我的苦學經驗, 1930), Feng Zikai also recalled that “in the 1910s, very few institutes in China promoted Western art. At the time, there was only the Shanghai Art Academy (*Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao* 上海美術專科學校) and the Shanghai Normal School (*Shanghai zhuanke shifan xuexiao* 上海專科師範學校) in Shanghai. Most people still did not know what Western art was and thought that the calendar paintings of beauties and cigarette picture cards were the representatives of Western art.”⁶¹

⁵⁸ Zhu Boxiong and Chen Ruilin, 29-30; Li Chao, “Zhongguo jindai youhua shilue,” 168-169; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 30; Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jiuying lao xuetang*, 56; Tao Yongbai, 2.

⁵⁹ Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art,” 52-55; Mayching Kao, “The Beginning of Western-Style Painting Movement,” 374.

⁶⁰ Wu Mengfei, 45.

⁶¹ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan” 我的苦學經驗, *YSJ*, 48.

A few Chinese artists had already been exposed to Western art before the 1911 Revolution. Among them was Xu Yongqing, who did watercolor landscape paintings, illustrations, and cover designs for journals.⁶² The Tushanwan Printing House (*Tushanwan yinshuguan* 土山灣印書館) in Xujiahui, where Xu learned art, published his works, and the Youzheng Book Company (*Youzheng shuju* 有正書局) and the Commercial Press solicited watercolor manuals from him. Since Xu's works were widely published, they were among the few Western-style art pieces made available to the public before 1911.⁶³

Zhou Xiang was another artist active in Western art. Sometime before 1911, Zhou founded his own school, the Shanghai Oil Painting Institute (*Shanghai youhuayuan* 上海油畫院), to provide scenic backgrounds for portrait photographers.⁶⁴ In the summer of 1911, Zhou conducted a three-month-long "Prop Painting School" (*Bujinghua chuanxisuo* 佈景畫傳習所) in the French Concession. Among his pupils were several pioneers of Western art in China, such as Chen Baoyi and Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994).⁶⁵

Li Shutong and Western Art

Besides Xu Yongqing and Zhou Xiang, Li Shutong was one of the earliest Chinese students who studied Western art abroad. As mentioned earlier, in 1906 Li

⁶² Chen Baoyi 陳抱一, "Yanghua zai zhongguo liuchuan de guocheng" 洋畫在中國流傳的過程, *Yishujia* April 1978: 21.

⁶³ Wu Mengfei, 45.

⁶⁴ Chen Baoyi, 21; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 30.

⁶⁵ Chen Baoyi, 21.

Shutong (or Li Ai 李哀 and Li An 李岸)⁶⁶ entered the Western art department at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, where his art was greatly influenced by Kuroda Seiki. In 1896 Kuroda Seiki withdrew from the Meiji Fine Arts Society (*Meiji bijutsukai* 明治美術會),⁶⁷ and, in collaboration with Kume Keiichiro 久米桂一郎 (1866-1934), founded a new association of *yōga* (油畫) (lit. “oil painting”) that painters called the White Horse Society (*Hakubakai* 白馬會). Seiki’s teacher in Paris, Raphaël Collin, had borrowed a number of stylistic elements from the Impressionists, including the use of informal compositions and a preference for bright colors. Seiki perpetuated this style, and wrought great influence on the art scene in Japan upon his return.⁶⁸

Li’s art adopted the Impressionistic style of Kuroda Seiki. In 1909 and 1910,⁶⁹ Li participated in the White Horse Society exhibitions, and three of his oil paintings, *Morning* (朝) (1909-1910) (Fig. 4), *Still Life* (靜物), and *Day Time* (晝) were collected in the 1910 exhibition catalogue, *Kōjutsu Hakubakai gashū* (庚戌白馬會畫集) (Fig. 5). According to Yoshikawa Kenichi 吉川健一, 665 pieces of art were shown in the 1910 exhibition; however, only about sixty works were reproduced in the catalogue.⁷⁰ That Li’s *Morning* could be collected in the catalogue meant his work enjoyed a rather good reputation. In a review in the press, *Miyako Shinbun* (都新聞), a Japanese journalist

⁶⁶ Li Shutong used another name Li Ai 李哀 in memory of the death of his mother when he studied in Japan. Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong Qing mo zai ri huodong kao,” 277.

⁶⁷ The Meiji Fine Arts Society was established by Asai Chu (淺井中, 1856-1907) in 1889.

⁶⁸ Shuji Takashina, “Eastern and Western Dynamics in the Development of Western-Style Oil Painting during the Meiji Era,” *Paris in Japan: The Japanese Encounter with European Painting* (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1987), 26-27; Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong yu baima hui,” 285-286.

⁶⁹ According to Yoshikawa Kenichi, no catalogue was published for the 1909 White Horse Society exhibition. Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong yu baima hui,” 288.

⁷⁰ Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong yu baima hui,” 292.

wrote: “Work number 47 *Morning*, by Li An [Li Shutong], reveals rather bold brush strokes and color which was not the strength of the Qing people. It seems that the artist just learned the technique. This kind of novel and unique technique carries a rather significant meaning for the Qing people in such a new era.”⁷¹

To judge from the poor reproductions of Li’s oil paintings, *Study of a Nude* (女) (Fig. 6) (before 1910), a painting of woman reclining in a chair, and *Morning*, we can see vestiges of Kuroda Seiki (Fig. 7, Fig. 8).⁷² Another surviving work by Li was his graduation work, *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 9) (1911), which betrayed the strong influence of French artist, Georges Seurat (1859-1891). In his *Self-Portrait*, Li adopted Seurat’s pointilist technique, in which small dots of color are grouped to create a vibrant work. Influenced by Seiki, Li tried to catch his own image under a different light. Li’s *Self-Portrait* not only revealed his achievement in oil painting, but also showed his courage and sensitivity to the latest artistic trends in Japan at the time.⁷³

Li was very active in promoting Western art both when he was in Japan and when he returned to China before he took tonsure in 1918 and became monk Hongyi. The ways he advocated art was not only through teaching in school, but also through his publications of articles and graphics. When he was in Tokyo in 1905, Li had already published the essays “Painting Methods” (*Tuhua xiude fa* 圖畫修得法) and *Brief Talks on Watercolor Paintings* (*Shuicai huafa shuolue* 水彩畫法說略) in the journal called

⁷¹ Nishimaki Isamu 西槓偉, “Guanyu Li Shutong de youhua chuanzuo” 關於李叔同的油畫創作, *Hongyi dashi yishu lun* 弘一大師藝術論 (Hangzhou: Xiling Seal Engraving Society, 2000), 126-128.

⁷² Nishimaki, “Guanyu Li Shutong de youhua,” *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 131-132; Yoshikawa, “Li Shutong yu baima hui,” 290.

⁷³ Yoshida Chizuko 吉田千鶴子, “Shangye de mianying – Li Shutong zai dongjing meishu xuexiao shiliao zongshu” 上野的面影-李叔同在東京美術學校史料綜述, trans. Liu Xiaolu, *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 114; Nishimaki, “Guanyu Li Shutong de youhua,” *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 134-136.

Awakened Lion (*Xingshi* 醒獅), which was printed in Japan and circulated in China to promote Western art among the Chinese.⁷⁴ Li returned to China in 1911 and worked as an editor for *The Pacific Times* in Shanghai in 1912. In *The Pacific Times*, Li published a column, “The Painting Methods of Western Art” (*Xiyang huafa* 西洋畫法) (Fig. 1), on a daily basis under the pseudonym “Fanmin” 凡民, but he did not finish it.⁷⁵ To promote art among the common people, Li advertised *Solicitation Brush Paintings from Elementary School Students* (*zhengqiu xiao xuexiao xuesheng maobihua* 徵求小學校學生毛筆畫) (Fig. 10)⁷⁶ and *Solicitation Satirical Paintings* (*zhengqiu guji fengci huagao* 徵求滑稽諷刺畫稿) (Fig. 11)⁷⁷ in *The Pacific Times* to encourage elementary school students and the public to participate in art activities.

According to Chen Baoyi, the establishment of the Shanghai Painting and Art Institute (*Shanghai tuhua meishuyuan* 上海圖畫美術院) in 1911 stirred people’s interest in learning Western art. Besides teaching students enrolled in the Institute, the school maintained a Correspondence Division (*hanshou ke* 函授科), which functioned similarly to today’s long distance learning. The division mailed to students outside of Shanghai a painting manual and description of assignments, and students sent their works back to the

⁷⁴ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 112; Guo Changhai 郭長海 and Jin Juzhen 金菊貞, “Mantan Li Shutong chuanshi de huihua zuopin” 漫談李叔同傳世的繪畫作品, *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 182; Lin Ziqing, 64.

⁷⁵ Guo Changhai 郭長海 and Jin Juzhen 金菊貞, “Li Shutong zai taipingyangbao shiqi de meishu huodong” 李叔同在太平洋報時期的美術活動, *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 92.

⁷⁶ *Taipingyangbao*, 23 June 1912, n.p.; Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, “Li Shutong zai taipingyangbao,” *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 100-101.

⁷⁷ *Taipingyangbao*, 20 June 1912, n.p.; Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, “Li Shutong zai taipingyangbao,” *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 100-101.

division for grading after they copied the painting manual.⁷⁸ Chen Baoyi recalled that around 1914 and 1915 the Art Institute had not used plaster casts yet, and “copying” was still the common method for teaching art. It was very difficult to break down the tradition when Chen tried to teach his students to draw from still lifes at the time. To use the “life drawing method (*xiesheng fa* 寫生法)” was regarded as a drastic action.⁷⁹ Something similar happened to Li Shutong himself and his students, as well. In the second chapter of *Brief Talks on Watercolor Paintings* (水彩畫法說略), “Manuals of Watercolor Paintings” (*suicaihua linben* 水彩畫臨本), published in 1905 when Li was in Japan, Li wrote:

Instead of copying, the [Western] apprentices have to start from life drawing when they learn art in the West. However, [my] Chinese people’s intelligence is still very naïve. They are not familiar with [the life drawing] method. If we had forced them [the Chinese] to start with life drawing, they would have felt like they were lost in a heavy fog and would not have known where to start. Moreover, it is very complicated to put colors when you paint with watercolor. If [we] did not start with copying and have basic ideas about how to use colors before we began life drawing, it would be like reversing the usual order. Therefore, the [Chinese] apprentices should use copying manuals (*linben* 臨本) first when they study watercolor.⁸⁰

The statement above reveals that Li himself had encountered difficulty when he studied life-drawing “directly” in Japan. Wu Mengfei recalled that when Li sent his

⁷⁸ Chen Baoyi, 20.

⁷⁹ Chen Baoyi, 22.

⁸⁰ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 112-113.

students out to draw from nature, it was a procedure so unheard-of that one of them was arrested for conducting what the police thought was an illegal land survey.⁸¹

Around 1920, a group of artists who studied in Japan and Europe brought a new wave of influence to China when they returned to their homeland. Most Chinese students of this generation in Japan followed Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867-1943) and Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866-1943). Among this generation of Chinese oil-painting students in Japan were Chen Baoyi, Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970), Guan Liang 關良 (1900-1986), Zhu Jizhan 朱紀瞻 (1892-1996), Guan Zilan 關紫蘭 (1903-1986), and Xu Xinzhi 徐辛之 (1904-1994).⁸² Guan Zilan's *Lady Next to Beach* (1921) (Fig. 12), in my opinion, is a typical work of the 1920s, which betrays the influence of Matisse and Yasui Sotaro 安井曾太郎 (1888-1955). Chen Baoyi returned to China in 1921, and established the Chen Baoyi Painting Research Institute (*Chen Baoyi huihua yanjiusuo* 陳抱一繪畫研究所), a private atelier on the lines of La Grande Chaumière, for the promotion of Western drawing and oil painting.⁸³ In addition, Chen wrote a systematic book, *The Basis of Oil Painting Methods* (*Youhua fa de jichu* 油畫法的基礎) (Fig. 13), to promote oil paintings.

In 1919, Wu Fading 吳法鼎 (1883-1924), one of the first Chinese painters trained in France, returned to China and was appointed by Cai Yuanpei as the advisor of Western art of the Painting Methods Research Society (*Huafa yanjiuhui* 畫法研究會) at Peking

⁸¹ Wu Mengfei, 42-43; Mayching Kao, "China's Response to the West in Art," 77-78; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29.

⁸² Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong yu baima hui," 288; Kuiyi Shen, "The Lure of the West: Modern Chinese Oil Painting," *A Century in Crisis*, 174.

⁸³ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 46.

University.⁸⁴ In the following years, Li Chaoshi 李超士 (1894-1971) (1920) and Li Jinfa 李金髮 (1924), both having studied in Paris, returned to China and joined the faculty at the Shanghai Art Academy and other schools. Along with the introduction of modern Western art to China, hundreds of articles and translations of foreign works on Western art theory and aesthetics appeared between 1919 and 1929. Oil painting began to be offered in curriculum lists around 1919-1920. Before then, drawing (*qianbi hua* 鉛筆畫) and watercolor painting (*shuicai hua* 水彩畫) were commonly taught in Western art classes.⁸⁵ Also, with the efforts of Liu Haisu and others, life drawing and the use of female nude models became more common and were accepted by society in the 1920s China.⁸⁶

2.3 Pioneering Graphic Artists and Patrons in China – Lu Xun’s and Li Shutong’s Circles

Now that we have looked at the development of oil and watercolor paintings, in this section I will talk about the development of graphic art in China, which had an intimate relationship with the Japanese art world at the time. Scholars in China and the West have published many books or exhibition catalogues on Lu Xun’s achievements and influence on graphic art, particularly woodcut prints. In China, thousands of books about Lu’s contribution to graphic art have been published. In the West, Shirley Sun’s dissertation, “Lu Hsun⁸⁷ and The Chinese Woodcut Movement, 1929-1936” (Stanford

⁸⁴ Liu Xin, *Bainian zhongguo youhua tuxiang*, 180.

⁸⁵ Chen Baoyi, 28.

⁸⁶ Chen Baoyi, 24-26.

⁸⁷ In pinyin romanization, used here, is Lu Xun.

University, 1974), and her exhibition catalogue *Modern Chinese Woodcuts* (1979),⁸⁸ have discussed how Lu introduced Western graphic art to China and encouraged young students to study graphic art. Her discussion of the general social and cultural context of the time is extremely valuable to understanding the environment in which woodcut movements emerged. Michael Sullivan's book *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (1996)⁸⁹ and Ellen Laing's *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (1988)⁹⁰ also have spent rather lengthy space on Lu's role in introducing graphic art to China. However, only woodcut prints were mentioned in these publications. In the 1998 exhibition, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China*,⁹¹ curated by Dr. Julia Andrews and Dr. Kuiyi Shen at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, we have seen Lu's role not only in promoting woodcut prints but also in commercial graphic art, like cover design. Feng Zikai, in addition to being a cartoonist and calligrapher, was a well-known cover designer and illustrator in Republican China. I will talk about Feng and his role in graphic art later in Chapter 4. In this section, I will examine the pioneering graphic artists and patrons in China, that is, Lu Xun and Li Shutong, and see how they influenced the later generation, like Feng.

In 1895 Japan defeated China, and the Treaty of Shimonoseki (馬關條約) was signed. In 1905 Japan defeated Russia, the biggest, if not one of the more advanced, of the Western powers. The Russo-Japanese War won for Japan full status as a world power

⁸⁸ Shirley Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts* (San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation, 1979).

⁸⁹ Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁹⁰ Ellen J. Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic Of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

⁹¹ Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, Harry N. Abrams, 1998).

and equality with the nations of the West. From that time on, the number of Chinese students who went to study in Japan increased greatly. In 1904, there were 2,400 Chinese students in Japan. The number increased to 8,000 students in 1905 and to 12,000 in 1906. The Chinese students studying in Japan were in a paradoxical situation. Most students were chosen and supported by their provincial governments. In Japan, away from their families, they had deliberately turned their backs on the traditional pattern of the Confucian educational system, and they enjoyed a new personal and intellectual liberty. Japan was itself a powerful influence. Students in Japan were eager to publish articles in magazines or translate books into Chinese. Many articles or magazines, which they published in Tokyo, were circulated not only in Japan, but also in China. From 1898 to 1911, Chinese students in Japan published more than 65 kinds of magazines. The subjects varied and included politics, literature, art, and so forth.⁹²

2.3.1 Lu Xun's Circle and Graphic Art in China

Lu Xun studied medicine in Japan as a young man and then, after switching his allegiance to the realm of literature, became modern China's most influential writer, social critic, and intellectual. He became fascinated by Chinese graphic art in 1912, when Cai Yuanpei, the first Minister of Education, appointed him to head a section of the ministry's Social Education Office that was responsible for art, culture, and science.⁹³

⁹² Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 85-86; Conrad Schirokauer, *A Brief History of Chinese Civilization* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 305; Nishimaki Isamu 西槇偉, "Chūgoku shinbunka undō no genryū – Ri Shukudo no 'Ongaku shōzasshi' to Meiji Nihon" 中國新文化運動の源流 – 李叔同の '音樂小雜誌' と 明治日本, *Hikaku bungaku* 比較文學 38 (1995): 63.

⁹³ Xu Guangping 許廣平, "Beijing shiqi de dushu shenghuo" 北京時期的讀書生活, *Lu Xun huiyi lu* 魯迅回憶錄 (Beijing: Zuoqia Publishing Company, 1961), 34-36.

Until he left Beijing for Xiamen in 1926, Lu was a constant visitor to the antique shops in Liulichang (琉璃廠). As a collector, Lu amassed objects such as ancient inscriptions, rubbings of steles, Ming and Qing books with woodcut illustrations, and European woodcuts. Through his translations, he was instrumental in bringing a constant stream of Western literature and graphic art to Chinese intellectuals.⁹⁴

By the turn of the century, Western-style book covers with complex Victorian designs were common in China. The development of cover design as a commercial practice, which I will discuss more in Chapter 4, and as art grew out of the shift from string-bound books to ones with stapled or glued bindings that accompanied changes in the printing technology and in the entire concept of books.⁹⁵ In addition to translations, Lu Xun was also interested in graphic design. The cover of Lu's *Stories from Foreign Countries* (*Yuwai xiaoshuoji* 域外小說集) (Fig. 14), with calligraphy commissioned from Chen Shizeng, an influential and innovative traditional Chinese artist, was published by the Commercial Press in 1909 and designed by Lu himself.⁹⁶

Lu Xun was a pioneer in making the past serve the present and future courses of Chinese art and culture. During a time of anarchistic upheaval when young Chinese intellectuals launched fierce attacks on traditional ethics, values and culture, Lu still recognized the importance of selected aspects of China's artistic heritage.⁹⁷ In the 1920s Lu's cover designs revealed his interest in antique motifs, such as the elegant Han period

⁹⁴ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 80; Julia F. Andrews, "The Modern Woodcut Movement," *A Century in Crisis*, 213; Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 7, 10.

⁹⁵ Julia F. Andrews, "Commercial Art and China's Modernization," *A Century in Crisis*, 184.

⁹⁶ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 184; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yu wenhua mingliu*, 177.

⁹⁷ Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 12.

cloud scrolls shown in the *Peach-Colored Cloud* (*Taose deyun* 桃色的雲, 1923) (Fig. 15), and the rubbing of antique motifs from Six Dynasties depicted in the *Exploring the Heart* (*Xin de tanxian* 心的探險, 1926) (Fig. 16).⁹⁸

Lu also put great effort in preserving ancient Chinese art as well as modifying them into a new look. The best example was the publication of *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers* (*Beiping jianpu* 北平箋譜) (Fig. 17). In a trip to Beijing in the winter of 1932, Lu came upon some fine examples of letter paper with beautiful woodcut designs on paintings by contemporary artists of the traditional school, Chen Shizeng and Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1863-1957). After returning to Shanghai, in a letter to Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958) on February 5, 1933, Lu suggested collecting and publishing letter papers.⁹⁹ In collaboration with Zheng, who was teaching in Beijing at the time, Lu decided to publish the *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers*. Zheng was responsible for collecting letter papers in Beijing and sent over 500 samples to Lu, who selected over 300 for reprinting. Replicas of these stationery designs were published in December 1933 in four volumes, and the blocks were cut by craftsmen at Rongbaozhai (榮寶齋), the famous antique book and stationery shop in Beijing that specialized in printing. Reading the letters between Lu and Zheng, we learn that Lu was extremely careful about all aspects of production, including the correct paper, binding, formatting of the book and so forth. They printed 100 copies of *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers*. In order to control

⁹⁸ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 184.

⁹⁹ "Lu Xun zhi Zheng Zhenduo youguan meishu de xin" 魯迅致鄭振鐸有關美術的信, *Zheng Zhenduo meishu wenji* 鄭振鐸美術文集, ed. Zhang Qiang 張薈 (Beijing: Renmin meishu Publishing Company, 1985), 38.

the quality of the productions and to be able to tell the difference from the later editions (which would be out of their control), each copy was numbered and signed by Lu and Zheng. The copies sold so well beyond Lu and Zheng's expectations that Rongbaozhai printed a second edition of another hundred copies in 1934.¹⁰⁰

Immediately following the success of the *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers*, Lu and Zheng proceeded to reproduce *Ten Bamboo Studio Decorated Writing Papers* (*Shizhuzhai jianpu* 十竹齋箋譜) (Fig. 18), which was a companion volume to the well-known *Ten Bamboo Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* (*Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* 十竹齋書畫譜), by the Ming artist Hu Zhengyan.¹⁰¹

The original volume of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* was finished just at the time of the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty, when the Qing forces occupied the capital. Because of the political and social confusion, not many copies were published, and existing copies were very rare. Lu Xun's reprinting, based on a rare original copy owned by Wang Xiaoci in Tong county (*Tongxian Wang Xiaoci cangben* 通縣王孝慈藏本), was copied and recut on new blocks by artisans of the Rongbaozhai.¹⁰² The *Ten Bamboo Studio Decorated Writing Papers*, in four volumes, was a collection of colored woodcuts of bronze ritual vessels of the Shang (1500 – 1050

¹⁰⁰ Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, "Beiping jianpu xu" 北平箋譜序, *Zheng Zhenduo meishu wenji*, 23; Zheng Zhenduo, "Fang jian zaji" 訪箋雜記, *Zheng Zhenduo meishu wenji*, 25-33; "Lu Xun zhi Zheng Zhenduo youguan meishu de xin" 魯迅致鄭振鐸有關美術的信, *Zheng Zhenduo meishu wenji*, 44; Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 11; Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 10.

¹⁰¹ Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 11; Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 10; *Zhongguo meishu cidian* 中國美術辭典 (Taipei: Xiongshi Art Books Co., Ltd., 1989), 424-425.

¹⁰² Hu Zhengyan 胡正言, *Shizhuzhai shuhua pu* 十竹齋書畫譜, 8 volumes, 1879; Hu Zhengyan, *Shizhuzhai jianpu* 十竹齋箋譜 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1952); Joseph Vedlich, presentation and commentary, *The Prints of the Ten Bamboo Studio* (New York: Crescent Books: distributed by Crown Publishers, c. 1979); *Zhongguo meishu cidian*, 425; Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 11-12.

B.C.E.) and Zhou dynasties (1050 –221 B.C.E.), Han jade, and pottery, supplemented with pictures of landscape and historical tales. The first volume was published in December 1934. The rest of the volumes were not published until 1952 after Lu’s death in 1936.¹⁰³

Lu Xun was an enthusiastic patron of design artists. He commissioned his works and on occasion fought for the integrity of their design.¹⁰⁴ On December 3, 1924, Lu met Tao Yuanqing (or Tao Xuanqing 陶璇卿), a young artist, through a mutual friend, Xu Qinwen 許欽文 (1897-1984). Tao seems to have begun designing modern book covers during the same year, with a commission for Lu Xun’s Chinese translation of *Symbol of Depression* (*Kumen de xiangzheng* [Jap. *Kumon no shōchō*] 苦悶的象徵) (Fig. 19), by the Japanese critic Kuriyagawa Hakuson 廚川白村 (1880-1923).¹⁰⁵ After that, Lu and Tao’s relationship seems to have become rather close.

In the preface of *Catalogue of Tao Yuanqing’s Western Art Exhibition* (陶元慶氏西洋畫展覽會目錄) in March 1925, Lu wrote:

Mr. Tao Xuanqing is an artist who has been assiduously studying art more than twenty years...His works reveal his individual subjectivity and emotions. We can see how much effort and how articulately he deals with brushes, colors, and taste. Furthermore, the artist is an expert on Chinese painting. The Oriental flavor, therefore, naturally, rather than artificially, seeps through his works and becomes [his] particular characteristics.

陶璇卿君是一個潛心研究了二十多年的畫家....作品中,卻滿顯出作者個人的主觀和情緒,尤可以看見他對筆觸,色彩和趣味,是怎樣的盡力與經心,而且,作者是夙擅中國畫的,於是固有的

¹⁰³ Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 11-12; *Zhongguo meishu cidian*, 425.

¹⁰⁴ Andrews, “Commercial Art,” *A Century in Crisis*, 187.

¹⁰⁵ Andrews, “Commercial Art,” *A Century in Crisis*, 186; Yang Yongde, 12.

東方情調, 又自然而然地從作品中滲出, 融成特別的豐神了, 然而又並不由於故意的。¹⁰⁶

At the exhibition, which Lu visited twice, Lu paid special attention to a painting entitled *Girl in a Red Robe* (*Da hongpao* 大紅袍) and told Xu Qinwen: “I have seen Tao’s *Girl in a Red Robe* in person. It is powerful, with a strong contrast, is harmonious and is bright. The gesture of holding a sword is very striking (有力量, 對照強烈, 自然調和, 鮮明。握劍的姿態很醒目!)” Lu adopted this painting, and it became the cover of Xu Qinwen’s story *Hometown* (*Guxiang* 故鄉) (Fig. 20), edited by Lu and published in 1926.¹⁰⁷

As I have mentioned earlier, in the reprinting of selected works, Lu demanded perfection in all respects. Here is another example. In a letter to Tao on October 29, 1926, Lu wrote: “The cover for *Wandering* (*Panghuang* 徬徨, 1926) (Fig. 21) was very powerful and made people feel moved. But, I was told that the color for the second edition was incorrect, which made me very uncomfortable.”¹⁰⁸ In a letter to Li Jiye 李霽野 (1904 - ?), Lu mentioned that “It was very difficult for me to request [anything from Mr. Tao again] because his paintings turned out looking miserable after printing. The color of the second edition of *Wandering* was totally wrong. It looks just as if someone changed and messed up our essays.”¹⁰⁹

Lu’s respect for the new *métier* of book design and intelligent liberty is admirable. When Tao received a commission for Lu’s collection, *The Tomb* (*Fen* 墳) (Fig. 22), Lu

¹⁰⁶ Lu Xun 魯迅, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 7 魯迅全集 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue Publishing Company, 1973), 262.

¹⁰⁷ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 7, 200; Yang Yongde, 16.

¹⁰⁸ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 3, 151; Yang Yongde, 27.

¹⁰⁹ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 5, 277; Yang Yongde, 27.

told him: “This is a collection of my essays, and is about to be published. Would you mind doing a cover for me? I mean [the cover could be] anything decorative [and] nothing to do with a tomb is good.”¹¹⁰ Tao took the commission, but he did not take Lu’s suggestion. Nonetheless, Lu was extremely satisfied with the abstract work of *The Tomb* that Tao designed. In a letter to his companion Xu Guangping 許廣平 (1907-1968), Lu wrote: “...I think Tao’s paintings are very special. It seems that he has established his own school. I am afraid that there will be a lot of people who are going to imitate his style in the future.”¹¹¹

Lu’s respect for designers was not only apparent in his regard for their works, but also in his insistence on crediting them with authorship. In a letter to Li Jiye on February 5, 1928, Lu wrote: “One thing is not very good. I remembered that I had mentioned in my letter to put the words ‘Mr. Sun Fuxi designed the cover’ (孫福熙作書面) [on the book]. But they did not do it. I greatly regret this....”¹¹² Lu Xun was not only an open-minded patron, but he was also eager to encourage novices. Qian Juntao recalled that:

One day in October 1927, Lu Xun came to the Kaiming Book Company and visited Mr. Zhang Xichen [章錫琛, 1898-1969], the owner of the company. He saw the book cover I designed for *Lonely Country* (*Jimo deguo* 寂寞的國), *Shadow* (*Chenying* 塵影), and *Spring Days* (*Chunri* 春日), and told me: ‘Good! Your design is very good. It was kind of influenced by Tao Yuanqing, right? However, you have your own characteristics. Keep going!’¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 5, 103; Yang Yongde, 27.

¹¹¹ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 2, 78; Yang Yongde, 29.

¹¹² Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 5, 113; Yang Yongde, 46.

¹¹³ Qian Juntao 錢君匄, *Qian Juntao lunyi* 錢君匄論藝 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1990), 38.

With Lu's encouragement, Qian was proud of his reputation as a professional book designer.

In June 1928, Tao Yuanqing, Qian Juntao, and Lu Xun met in Shanghai. Tao suggested to Lu that they could use some ancient bronze vessels or stone rubbing motifs on their cover designs, with which Lu strongly agreed and invited these two young men to view his collections of rubbings of Han pictorial relief.¹¹⁴ Although it was not the first time that Lu began to be interested in ancient motifs, which can be seen in his 1923 design *Peach-Colored Cloud* and 1926 work *Exploring the Heart*, it is probably from this time that Lu Xun began to advocate the use of native imagery in some designs so as to create a particularly Chinese style.

During the 1920s and 1930s Lu Xun took as one of his missions to promote European art. He appreciated the linear qualities of Western graphics. He also had the understanding that Western graphic artists both designed and cut their own prints, and so he came to understand that the modern woodcut was totally the creation of one individual.¹¹⁵ As Michael Sullivan mentioned in his book *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China*: "The pioneer of the modern woodcut in China was not Lu Xun but Li Shutong, who by 1912 was already cutting and printing his own blocks, and before 1918 had exhibited European woodcuts in Shanghai. But, it was Lu Xun who saw the potential of the medium for mass education and propaganda."¹¹⁶

In December 1928, with five young writers, Lu founded the Morning Flower Society (*Chaohua she* 朝花社) and the magazine *Chaohua* 朝花 (Morning Flower). The

¹¹⁴ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 6.

¹¹⁵ Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 10-11.

¹¹⁶ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 80.

magazine contained literary and art news, as well as art theory and translations, for which Lu carefully chose the illustrations (Fig. 23, Fig. 24, Fig. 25).¹¹⁷ Not all of the Western graphics owned by Lu Xun seethed with political or social discontent; indeed, the content of most of them was quite bland.¹¹⁸ To educate young Chinese artists about Western woodcuts and to promote the practice of woodcutting, Lu organized a number of events at which young artists had opportunities to see his collection of European woodcuts and hear his views on the potential efficacy of this art form in improving China's art and society.¹¹⁹

Between 1929 and 1936, Lu published nine volumes of Western and Japanese prints. Before it went bankrupt in 1930, the Morning Flower Society managed to produce five volumes of foreign woodcuts, each with a preface by Lu Xun. The first, *Collection of Modern Woodcuts* (*Jindai muke xuanji* 近代木刻選集), was comprised of specimens from Europe and America. The second, *Collection of Fukiya Kōji's Paintings* (*Lu-gu-hong-er huaji* 露谷虹兒畫集) (Fig. 26), was devoted to a Japanese illustrator, Fukiya Kōji,¹²⁰ a follower of Aubrey Beardsley. In the preface of the collection Lu Xun wrote,

When the collection of Beardsley was introduced to China, it stimulated many silent nerves. Many superficial imitations followed subsequently. However, Beardsley's lines are too strong. It was at this time the graphic art of Fukiya Kōji was introduced to China. Kōji's mild brushes harmonize Beardsley's sharp vigor, and it caters to the hearts of young Chinese. Hence, his [Kōji's] imitators appeared consequently.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ *Chaohua* 朝花 (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, reprint, 1982).

¹¹⁸ Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 11.

¹¹⁹ Andrews, "Modern Woodcut," *A Century in Crisis*, 214; Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 11.

¹²⁰ Michael Sullivan called the artist "Hikuya Geiji" in his book *Art and Artists*. See Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 81; Ellen Laing called him "Tsuyutani Kōji" in her book *The Winking Owl*. See Laing, *The Winking Owl*, 11.

¹²¹ *Lu-gu-hong-er huaji* 露谷虹兒畫集 (Shanghai: Chaohua she, 1929), preface.

However, Lu said, “the followers destroyed Kōji’s line and style rampageously.” “To [help people] see Kōji’s real paintings, we reproduced his works despite the fact that the printing technology in China is not outstanding yet.”¹²² In his essay “Forgetting Memory” (*Weile wangque de jinian* 爲了忘卻的紀念), Lu mentioned that he published Kōji’s paintings in order “to put a stop to a spate of imitations of his works by a so-called artist in Shanghai, i.e., to expose the paper tiger Ye Lingfeng (是爲了掃蕩上海灘上的”藝術家,” 即戳破葉靈鳳這紙老虎而印的).”¹²³ Many of Kōji’s poems translated by Lu himself also accompany his graphics in the publication. Lu’s third volume, *Collection of Modern Woodcuts* (*Jindai muke huaji* 近代木刻畫集), was a miscellany; the fourth, *Collection of Beardsley* (*Bi-ya-zi-lai huaxuan* 比亞茲萊畫選), was given entirely to Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898). The last volume was devoted to Soviet graphics and entitled *New Russian Prints* (*Xin’e huaxuan* 新俄畫選). It included Cubist and Futurist works of the pre-Stalin era. It was this Soviet work that showed him how technical quality and political argument could be combined. Also, it was these Soviet works that he thought pointed the way to a new kind of graphic art that would meet China’s most urgent needs.

In 1931, Lu Xun came across Piskarev’s wood-engraving illustrations of *Iron Flood*, a revolutionary novel by Serafimovich. Lu immediately wrote Cao Jinghua 曹靖華 in Russia asking him to purchase the original prints of the *Iron Flood*. Cao, a new student in Moscow, who later translated the *Iron Flood* into Chinese *Tieliu* (鐵流), finally

¹²² *Lu-gu-hong-er huaji*, preface.

¹²³ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 5, 76-77; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 81.

found Piskarev and was shown his prints. However, the high price marked on their back gave the young student quite a fright. Piskarev told Cao to “Take what you want and you do not have to pay anything,” and “If possible, send me some Chinese *xuan* paper (宣紙). That would be more valuable than anything...”¹²⁴ This resulted in the publication of *Yinyu Ji* (引玉集) (Fig. 27), printed in 300 copies in March 1934. *Yinyu Ji* contained the works of 11 engravers, including N. I. Piskarev, V. A. Favorsky, M. Pikov and others. It included a preface, which was a translation of an article, *Graphic Arts as Book Illustration and as Single Works In the Past Fifteen Years* (*Shiwu nian lai de shuji banhua he danxing banhua* 十五年來的書籍版畫和單行版畫), by A. D. Chegodaev, and a lengthy postface by Lu Xun on how the book came about.¹²⁵

In 1931, Lu reprinted 250 copies of Carl Meffert’s *Shimintu zhi tu* (士敏土之圖) (Fig. 28) at his own expense. The last piece of literary work that Lu Xun did was to translate Gogol’s *Dead Souls* into Chinese (*Si hunling* 死魂靈). *Dead Souls* was published in 1936 containing illustrations by artists A. Agin and P. Sokolov and some additional prints.¹²⁶

Lu Xun especially favored and promoted the styles of German graphic artist Kaethe Kollwitz (1867-1945) and the Belgian artist Frans Masereel (1889-1971). Kollwitz’s prints of downtrodden peasants had a profound influence on Lu. Through Lu’s introduction, in the late 1930s and 1940s, the powerful styles of Kollwitz and Masereel developed a strong following among Chinese artists (Fig. 29), which has been well

¹²⁴ Lu Xun, ed., *Yinyu ji* 引玉集 (Shanghai: Shanxian shuwu, 1934), postface, 61-62; Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 15-16.

¹²⁵ Lu Xun, ed., *Yinyu ji*, preface i-iii, postface.

¹²⁶ Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 17-18.

explained and published by Shirley Sun and Ellen Laing. The *Selected Prints of Kaethe Kollwitz* (*Kai-sui-ke-le-hui-zhi banhua xuanji* 凱綏珂勒惠支版畫選集, 1936) (Fig. 30) was the last graphic work that Lu Xun published shortly before his death. It consisted of 20 lithographs and etchings, including the lithographic series on *Weavers Revolt* and the *Peasants War* etchings, as well as a self-portrait that Kollwitz had selected especially for China.¹²⁷ Lu Xun himself designed the cover of this collection. It was string-bound on the left, matching the pattern of modern Western books. Another successfully modified example was the one for *Call to Arms* (*Nahan* 吶喊, 1926) (Fig. 31). Lu designed not only the cover, but also the lettering for this work. The cover of *Call to Arms* still possesses the primitive, string-bound appearance; however, it was very Western-looking.

2.3.2 Li Shutong's Circle and Graphic Art in China

Compared to the rich research on Lu Xun, Western scholarship on Li Shutong and his relationship with graphic art has been somewhat limited to date. In this section, I will examine Li Shutong's efforts and achievements in graphic art, which will help us to see his influence on later generations, particularly Feng Zikai.

In 1906 Li published the journal *Small Music Magazine* (*Yinyue xiaozazhi* 音樂小雜誌) (Fig. 32), the earliest Chinese music magazine, at his own expense in Tokyo and circulated it in Shanghai. Although only one issue was published, the essays and illustrations collected in the magazine provide precious information on the development

¹²⁷ Sun, *Modern Chinese Woodcuts*, 19-20.

of Western art and music in China and Japan at the time.¹²⁸ In the preface of the *Small Music Magazine*, Li mentioned that: “in October 1905, friends and I planned to publish art and music magazines. However, certain circumstances happened and many people left. The plan, therefore, did not come true (乙巳十月, 同仁議創美術雜誌, 音樂隸焉。乃規模粗具, 風潮突起。同仁星散, 瓦解勢成)。”¹²⁹

From the preface, we learn that the music magazine was inaugurated by a number of Li’s friends, but it ended up being Li himself who fulfilled the plan.¹³⁰ The so-called “certain circumstances” that Li referred to was an action taken by China in 1905. Because the Qing government was afraid that the revolutionary spirit movement had expanded among Chinese students in Japan, China requested that the Japanese government punish violators. The Minister of Education in Japan, therefore, issued strict laws to control the activities of Chinese students. This was so-called the “Regulations to chastise the foreign students from Qing country (*Qudi qingguo liuxuesheng guize* 取締清國留學生規則).” To protest against the regulations, many Chinese students returned to China, and among them was the chief editor of the journal *Awakened Lion*, Gao Jiangong 高劍公.¹³¹

The *Small Music Magazine* consisted of about 30 pages. Based on the contents, we learn that the design of *Small Music Magazine* obviously followed the ones in *The Musical Magazine* (*Ongaku zasshi* 音樂雜誌) (Fig. 33), a Japanese magazine published and circulated in Japan. Many essays collected in the *Small Music Magazine* were

¹²⁸ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 62; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 27; Li Biyuan, 56.

¹²⁹ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 114, 121.

¹³⁰ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 63.

¹³¹ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 64; Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 114; Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, “Mantan Li Shutong,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 181-182.

translations of the latest publications in Japan. The *Small Music Magazine*, thus, is an important document to understand the music education in the Meiji Japan.¹³²

The cover of the *Small Music Magazine*, designed by Li, can be divided into three registers. The flowers on the lower right corner are opium poppies, and the section of sheet music in the second register is the French national anthem, “La Marseillaise.”

According to Nishimaki Isamu, the reason why Li chose the French national anthem was because “La Marseillaise,” originally a call for revolution, carried a radical spirit.¹³³ The opium poppy in the late Meiji period was a popular subject for many artists and was greatly influenced by the Impressionists, such as Claude Monet (1840-1926) and Van Gogh (1853-1879). The opium poppy, therefore, became a symbol of modernity in Japan at the time. For example, many subjects that Kuroda Seiki depicted were opium poppies.¹³⁴ The fruit of an opium poppy symbolizes deep slumber; however, the blossom symbolizes awakening and revival. Kuroda’s impact on Western-style painting in Japan went far beyond the introduction of techniques and subjects. He “conveyed his realization that the function of painting is not the representation of the outward form of nature but the expression of inner thoughts and ideas.”¹³⁵ Kuroda’s adoption of subjects may have influenced Li. However, the adoption of opium poppy blossoms and *La Marseillaise* on a cover was not an accident. Through the circulation of the magazine, Li, an enthusiastic

¹³² Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 69.

¹³³ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 65.

¹³⁴ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 65.

¹³⁵ Takashina, 28.

patriot, wanted to awaken the sleepy Chinese, many of who indulged in smoking opium.¹³⁶

The cover itself was a work printed from a watercolor painting. The art of watercolors was very popular when Li was in Japan. In July 1905, the year Li arrived in Japan, a watercolor journal, *Mizue* (みずえ), was inaugurated by artists Ōshita Tōjiro 大下藤次郎 (1870-1912), Miyake Katsumi 三宅克己 (or Miyake Kokki) (1874-1954), and Maruyama Banka 丸山晚霞 (1867-1942). According to Nishimaki Isamu, the reason watercolor was so popular and accepted by the Japanese was that it was very close to the Japanese painting style, *Nihonga*.¹³⁷ In the preface of *Brief Talks on Watercolor Paintings* (水彩畫法說略), Li also mentioned that: “There are more than ten kinds of Western art. The only one close to China’s ancient painting is watercolor painting (西洋畫凡十數種, 與我國舊畫法相近者, 唯水彩畫).”¹³⁸ In the magazine, besides a portrait of the German composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) done by Li himself in charcoal, we can find two “*chatu*” (插圖), literally “illustrations,” *The Violin Concert in a Music Hall* (音樂堂之 Violin 合奏) (Fig. 34) by Miyake Katsumi and *The Music of Japanese Beggars* (日本叫化子之音樂) (Fig. 35) by Toda Kenji 戶田謙二.¹³⁹ Miyake Katsumi and Ōshita Tōjiro were pioneers in the field of watercolor in Japan, and their art works are rather realistic but with an impressionist palette.¹⁴⁰ Miyake was a very well-

¹³⁶ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 65.

¹³⁷ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 110.

¹³⁸ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 112; Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 68-69.

¹³⁹ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 117-118.

¹⁴⁰ Laurance P. Roberts, *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 110.

known artist when Li was in Japan, and his works were often published in magazines, such as *Stars* (*Myōjō* 明星) and *The World of Junior High Students* (*Chūgaku sekai* 中學世界).¹⁴¹ In the *Small Music Magazine*, Li put the description “brush painting” (*maobihua* 毛筆畫) and the term “woodcut” (*muban* 木版), right after the two works. It was not clear whether the two illustrations were originally painted by a brush or pen; however, Li was no doubt attracted by the brush-painting-like quality of the two works.¹⁴² The subjects of *The Violin Concert in a Music Hall* and *The Music of Japanese Beggars* were the daily life of the common people. It was very common to find this kind of illustrations in Japanese journals at the time, and many celebrated artists, such as Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866-1943), Kosugi Hōan 小杉放庵 (or 小杉未醒 Kosugi Misei) (1881-1964), Asai Chū 淺井中 (1856-1907) (Fig. 36), and Fujishima Takeji (Fig. 37), also contributed such works to various magazines.¹⁴³ Li’s interest in this kind of daily life drawing and “brush painting” could be found in his later career in *The Pacific Times* (*Taipingyangbao* 太平洋報).

When he was invited to be editor of *The Pacific Times* in 1912 in Shanghai, Li solicited many daily life drawings from his friends, like Chen Shizeng (Fig. 38, Fig. 39), and published them on a daily basis in the literary supplement of *The Pacific Times*, *Pacific Art and Literature* (*Taipingyang wenyi* 太平洋文藝) (later changed to the *Pacific Pictorial* 太平洋畫集 [*Taipingyang huaji*]). The depiction of the daily life of the

¹⁴¹ Nishimaki, “Ongaku shōzasshi,” 69.

¹⁴² Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 119-120.

¹⁴³ Nishimaki, “Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu,” *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 118.

common people had been a popular subject since the Edo period in Japan.¹⁴⁴ However, the literati artists in China hardly worked on this subject. Zhou Chen 周臣 (active 1500-1535), a Ming (1368-1644) artist, had worked on this genre (Fig. 40), but he was never regarded as being among the literati, who dominated the mainstream of the Chinese art world following the end of the Yuan dynasty. Li was not only impressed by the genre, but also promoted it through his involvement in *The Pacific Times*.

Besides introducing the Chen Shizeng's daily life drawing and *maobihua* (毛筆畫) paintings to the public, Li himself also published his own work, like *Various Physiognomy of Cunwu* (存吳氏之面相種種) (Fig. 41),¹⁴⁵ in the *Pacific Pictorial*. Cunwu (存吳) was the designated name of Zeng Yannian, Li's classmate in Japan. From the description at the bottom, we learn that Li originally drew this painting on the back of a postcard and sent it to Zeng when Zeng went back home for a short visit in the summer of 1909. This painting was Li's earliest cartoon-like work that we can find to date.¹⁴⁶ Li used the Chinese character Zeng (曾) and transformed it into 12 physiognomies. This reveals both Li's creativity and his enthusiasm for graphic art. In addition, two *maobihua* paintings (Fig. 42, Fig. 43), published on February 23 and 28, 1912, in the *Minsheng Daily* (*Minsheng ribao* 民聲日報), were also attributed to Li.¹⁴⁷

Li's enthusiasm in art was not limited to his own cultural circles. In addition to publishing his friends' works to disseminate and promote art, Li also encouraged students and the public to participate in art activities. For example, Li's involvement with

¹⁴⁴ Nishimaki, "Li Shutong yu xiyang meishu," *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 119.

¹⁴⁵ *Taipingyangbao*, 7 April 1912, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, "Mantan Li Shutong," *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 178.

¹⁴⁷ Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, "Mantan Li Shutong," *Hongyi dashi xin lun*, 182-187.

Solicitation Satirical Paintings (徵求滑稽諷刺畫) (Fig. 11) and *Solicitation Brush Painting from Elementary School Students* (徵求小學校學生毛筆畫) (Fig. 10), inaugurated by *The Pacific Times*, is good evidence of this. Chen Baoyi, the pioneering oil painter in China, had participated in the competition of *Soliciting Satirical Paintings* and won a *Jiazuo* (佳作) prize when he was still a student (Fig. 44).¹⁴⁸

Not only did Li solicit graphic art works and design the outline of *The Pacific Times* himself, but he also drew the graphics of the literary supplement, including headings (*baotou* 報頭) (Fig. 45), illustrations (*titouhua* 題頭花) (Fig. 46), and advertisements. His graphic works in *The Pacific Times* attest to his solid Chinese education and the influence of Western art that he encountered in Japan.

As mentioned earlier, Li received a good Chinese classic education and started practicing calligraphy and seal engraving when he was still a child. He published *Seal Manual of Li Lu* (*Li Lu yinpu* 李廬印譜) (Li Lu was another name of Li Shutong) in 1900 and joined the *Xiling Seal Engraving Society* (*Xiling yinshe* 西泠印社) in 1914, where he became acquainted with Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927), an important literati artist in the Epigraphical school (*jinshi pai* 金石派) in the late Qing and early Republican periods.¹⁴⁹ Li's early calligraphy works, sharp and stern, betray the strong influence of the Epigraphical school and the Northern Wei stele style (*beishu* 碑書); both

¹⁴⁸ *Taipingyangbao*, 9 June 1912, p. 3; Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, "Li Shutong zai taipingyang bao," *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 101.

¹⁴⁹ Chen Huaiye 陳懷曄, "Hongyi fashi de erze yinlun" 弘一法師的二則印論, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 187.

were very popular in the late Qing period.¹⁵⁰ From the pictorial style of Li's seal script (*zhuanshu* 篆書) (Fig. 47), we can trace the influence back to the Han (206 B.C.E – 221 C.E.) and the Six Dynasties (221 - 589 C.E.) relief style in such works as *Stele for Zhang Menglong* (*Zhang Menglong bei* 張猛龍碑) and *Dedicatory Inscriptions at the Longmen Buddhist Caves* (*Longmen zaoliang ji* 龍門造像記).¹⁵¹ The title he wrote for the *Small Music Magazine* and *The Pacific Times* preserves vestiges of the Northern Wei stele style.

Besides the *Seal Manuals of Li Lu*, Li also published a large number of *Pacific Seal Collection* (*Taipingyang yinji* 太平洋印集) (Fig. 48) or *Model of Seals* (*Yingao* 印稿) in the pages of the *Pacific Pictorial*. *The Pacific Times* was discontinued in the autumn of the same year because of financial problems.¹⁵² Because of the short life of the publication, very few of Li's graphic works survived. However, through the surviving works, Bi Keguan 畢克官, a cartoon theorist, divided Li's illustrations into five categories: simple and understandable (簡單明瞭 注重大效果), painterly (繪畫性強), animated and interesting (注意生動性和趣味性), calligraphic and epigraphic (書法和石刻氣息), and nationalistic sentiment (民族氣息).¹⁵³ Li's graphic designs in *The Pacific Times*, such as *Canned Milk* (罐頭牛乳) (Fig. 49)¹⁵⁴ and *The South Society* (南社) (Fig. 50),¹⁵⁵ are simple, elegant, and archaic in tone. They betray Li's achievement not only in

¹⁵⁰ Li Biyuan, 55.

¹⁵¹ Li Biyuan, 55; Jiang Xun, 44.

¹⁵² Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yu wenhua mingliu*, 211; Liu Yiwen, 9.

¹⁵³ Bi Keguan 畢克官, "Jindai meishu xianqu Li Shutong" 近代美術先趨李叔同, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 4 (1984): 72; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yu wenhua mingliu*, 177; Chen Xing, *Tianxin yueyuan: Hongyi dashi* 天心月圓: 弘一大師 (Jinan: Shandong huabao Publishing Company, 1994), 46.

¹⁵⁴ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ *Taipingyangbao*, 25 May 1912, p. 5.

the traditional Chinese literati's pursuit of the "Four Accomplishments," namely poetry, painting, calligraphy, and seal carving, but also his competence in synthesizing his training in Western art and his solid classical Chinese education.

Li Shutong and Art Nouveau Movements

The artistic features of the Art Nouveau Movements also could be found in China in the 1910s. In the third decade of the Meiji era (1897-1911), the time when Li was in Japan, many Japanese artists were interested in the artistic trends that were popular in Europe, such as the Romantic and Art Nouveau Movements (1890-1905). The name Art Nouveau derives from the *Maison de l'Art Nouveau*, an interior design gallery opened in Paris in 1896, but in fact the movement had different names throughout Europe. In Germany, it was known as "Jugendstil," in Spain, "Modernista." In France the English term "Modern Style" was often used, emphasizing the English origins of the movement.¹⁵⁶ The style of Art Nouveau was characterized by writhing plant forms and fluent lines, and it reached its peak at the 1900 Paris Exposition. Many artists from the Tokyo School of Fine Art attended the Exposition, and the field of illustration and design in Japan around 1895 and 1910 strongly reflected the influence of Art Nouveau movement (Fig. 51).¹⁵⁷

On April 19, 1912, an illustration (Fig. 52) entitled *Decorative Painting Popular in Europe and America* (歐美流行之裝飾畫) was published under the name An'su 安素

¹⁵⁶ *Art Nouveau: The Style of the 1890s*, trans. Elizabeth Evans (London: Octopus Books, 1972), 7-35; Liu Zhenyuan 劉振源, *Yanuopo yishu 雅諾婆藝術* (Taipei: Yishu tushu Company, 1999), 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ Ogura Tadao 小倉忠夫, ed., *Nihon suisaiga meisaku zenshū*, vol 3: *Takehisa Yumeji 日本水彩畫名作全集: 竹九夢二* (Tokyo: Daiichi Hoki, 1982), 74; Wang Xiuxiong 王秀雄, *Riben meishu shi*, vol. 3 日本美術史 (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2000), 115.

in *The Pacific Times*.¹⁵⁸ Here the artist uses the method of drawing in fine ink lines

(*baimiao* 白描), a method attributed to the Northern Song literati artist Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1040-1106), to depict the European “decorative painting” (*zhuangshi hua* 裝飾畫).

The appearance of this Art Nouveau-style painting reveals that at the time Li Shutong, as an editor at least, if not as an artist, was very sensitive to the latest artistic trends in the world (or at least Japan) and was eager to introduce them to the Chinese public. The other illustrations (Fig. 53, Fig. 54), which were floral patterns and were drawn by Li himself, also showed the influence of this trend.

Li Shutong, Advertising, and Commercial Art

Li was also the pioneering graphic artist to stress the importance of advertising and commercial art. In the April 9, 1912, issue of *The Pacific Times*, Chen Shizeng wrote (Fig. 55), “The style of the short critique in *The Pacific Times* is novel enough to arouse audience’s aesthetics. [Their] advertisements are especially so ... (太平洋報短評體裁新穎足喚起覽者之美感廣告尤其特徵...)” We, therefore, know that the most impressive part in *The Pacific Times* was the commercial advertisements.

The earliest existing commercial advertisement in China today, which may be traced back to the Northern Song dynasty (Fig. 56), possesses both a commercial logo (a rabbit) and advertising texts.¹⁵⁹ In China, the first newspaper advertisement to carry a

¹⁵⁸ In the essays “Li Shutong zai Taipingyangbao shiqi di meishu huodong” 李叔同在太平洋報時期的美術活動, Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen attributed this illustration to Li Shutong; see Guo Changhai and Jin Juzhen, “Li Shutong zai Taipingyangbao,” *Hongyi dashi yishu lun*, 101.

¹⁵⁹ *Yinshua zhi guang* 印刷之光 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu Publishing Company, 2000), 42; Fan Zhiyu 樊志育, *Zhongwai guanggao shi* 中外廣告史 (Taipei: Sanmin Bookstore, 1989), 20.

picture, in today's terms a "display advertisement" (*tuwen guanggao* 圖文廣告), appeared in the November 14, 1872 (同治 11 年) issue of *Shenbao* 申報. It was an advertisement for a sewing machine (成衣機) (Fig. 57) and continuously appeared in the same paper at the same place for three months to attract readers' attention.¹⁶⁰ Thereafter, many "display advertisements" may be found in newspapers and journals (Fig. 58, Fig. 59). In 1906, the term "*guanggao* 廣告 (advertising)" was officially adopted in the *Regulations for Official Political Newspapers* (*Zhengzhi guanbao zhangcheng* 政治官報章程).¹⁶¹ With the founding of the Republic of China in 1912, more newspapers joined the ranks, the best known of which was *The Pacific Times*.¹⁶²

On the first page of the inaugural issue of *The Pacific Times* we can find three advertisements (Fig. 60). Except for one advertisement, the *Shangwen Printing* [Company] (商文印刷), which was printed by typesetting, the other advertisements for the *Evans Bookstore* (伊文思書館) and *Canned Milk* (罐頭牛乳) are lively and animated, and were drawn by Li Shutong. On page four of the same issue we find an advertisement by the advertising division (*guanggao bu* 廣告部) of the press. It says:

The advertising division has received more than a hundred advertisement commissions from various businesses since we posted the latest advertising flyer. Most of them were very long. We are very sorry that we could not finish all the commissions on time, and have to do them on a first-come, first-serve basis. For the rest, we will put them in a 'brief advertisement (簡便小廣告).' We

¹⁶⁰ Fan Zhiyu, 24; Xu Baiyi 徐百益, "Lao Shanghai guanggao di fazhan gui'ji" 老上海廣告的發展軌跡, in *Lao Shanghai guanggao* 老上海廣告 (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao Publishing Co., 1995), 4.

¹⁶¹ Xu Baiyi, 4.

¹⁶² Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 4.

posted a notice here to thank all our clients for their support (以謝登廣告諸君之厚誼), which proves the value of our *Pacific* ads (以證我太平洋廣告之價值), and demonstrates the expanded knowledge of our [Chinese] people regarding advertisements since the Revolution (以表明革命後我同胞廣告智識之發達).¹⁶³

On page five of the same issue, we see a huge advertisement (Fig. 61), occupying almost two thirds of the page, for *The Pacific Times*' advertising (*Taipingyang guanggao* 太平洋廣告) itself. The title, "The Unprecedented and Latest Advertisements of *The Pacific Times* (太平洋報破天荒最新式之廣告)," written in Northern Wei stele style, again was done by Li. In the advertisement, we see the boasts: "unprecedented in the field of newspapers in Shanghai in the past forty years (上海報界四十餘年所未見)" and "unprecedented in China's four thousand-year history (中國開闢以來四千餘年所未見)." Then, it proclaims that "the advertising division of *The Pacific Times* invited experts skilled in European and American advertising to take charge of the advertising business and to comprise the latest advertising texts [for clients] (我太平洋報之廣告部特延精通歐美廣告術大家主持其事。代撰最新式之廣告文。)" It also points out four features of *The Pacific Times* advertisements. First:

In the old style advertisements in Shanghai, they usually put all advertisements together on a separate page. [*The Pacific Times*] will insert the latest advertisements between news, or arrange them on the top or the bottom of the news items to make news and advertisement a unity. [This kind of format will] force readers to read the advertisements.

¹⁶³ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 4.

上海舊式廣告。皆另外專排一版。最新式之廣告皆夾入新聞之中。或排列新聞之上下兩端，殆合新聞與廣告為一體。使看新聞者。有不得不看廣告之勢。¹⁶⁴

Second, it points out:

The old style advertisements in Shanghai are too wordy and the arrangements are too dense, which cannot catch readers' attention. Even though readers happen to see it, they do not finish it because it is too verbose. *The Pacific Times*' latest ads require that the advertising texts should be concise, and the arrangement is sparse and clear to make readers understand them at one glance. Within half a second, they should be able to know the general meaning of an advertisement.

上海舊式廣告。皆字數太多。排列緊密。以致不能醒目。即幸為看報者所見。亦每以字數太多。不能卒讀。本報最新式廣告。文字務求簡要。排列務求疏朗。使看報者一目了然。於半秒鐘內。能貫通全部廣告之大意。¹⁶⁵

Third,

Most of the old style Shanghai advertisements are descriptive. [We] hardly see novel designs. *The Pacific Times*' advertisements are especially good at fresh motifs. We either lay out varied patterns or insert striking pictures. In addition, we [*The Pacific Times* advertising division] can design fiction-style advertisements, journalistic advertisements, telegraphic advertisements, and magazine-style advertisements. There are many varieties, and all designed to attract people's attention.

上海舊式廣告。大半以直寫事實為主。新奇花樣。殊不多見。本報最新式之廣告。專研究新奇花樣。或排成種種花紋。或添入醒眼之圖畫。此外，有小說式廣告，新聞式廣告，電報式廣告，雜誌式廣告，種類甚多。不勝枚舉。專以引人入勝為主。¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 5.

Fourth,

Among the old style advertisements in Shanghai, the same advertisement lasted for months, or even years, which is not effective at catching readers' attention. *The Pacific Times* advertisements can make a number of new graphics any time and can change them every few days. If you wish to change advertisements on a daily basis, we can sign up a special contract and take the commission.

上海舊式廣告，每以一種廣告文刊登數月或數年，致使閱報者習見不鮮。無絲毫之效力。本報最新式之廣告。可以隨時代撰種種新奇之樣式。隔數日更換一次。如有願定特別約章。每日更換者。亦可應命。¹⁶⁷

At the end it mentions again “the advertisements of *The Pacific Times* are generally regarded as unprecedented and the latest advertisements.”¹⁶⁸

The Pacific Times lasted only six months (April 1 to October 18, 1912). From the surviving examples, although some are very unclear, we can tell that Li himself created the advertising graphics and texts. As we have seen in the advertisements above, the advising division of *The Pacific Times* (if not Li himself) thought that the old style of advertisements was very wordy and could not attract the audience's attention. Although the advertisement for the division itself was huge and there was no picture, the advertiser still highlighted and manipulated the features of the advertisement, such as novelty (*zui xinshi* 最新式), concision (*jianyao* 簡要), sparsity (*shulang* 疏朗), and boldness in order to catch readers' attention. Unlike cigarette and medicine advertisements, which were very popular advertisements between the 1910s and 1940s in China, most of the advertisements in *The Pacific Times* seem to be oriented to an intellectual readership. For

¹⁶⁷ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 5.

¹⁶⁸ *Taipingyangbao*, 1 April 1912, p. 5.

example, they contained advertisements for bookstores, like Evans, societies, like *The South Society* (*Nan she* 南社), and new publications, such as *Collection of Chinese and Japanese Master Paintings* (*Hehan minghua xuan* 和漢名畫選) (Fig. 62). In addition to drawing the graphic advertisements, Li also introduced an advertising theory (Fig. 63)¹⁶⁹ and answered readers' questions regarding advertising (Fig. 64) in the press.¹⁷⁰ As is well-understood by media critics today, the media and the advertising are important factors in socialization – the process through which members of a society acquire their cultural values, norms, attitudes, and behavior. All those advertisements we have seen have affected the behavior patterns that make up our personality. Not only do advertisements help shape people's preferences for products and services that reflect their affiliation with certain friends, their career aspirations, or the distinctive lifestyle they wish to maintain, but all those advertisements also give that person a clearer definition of what he or she wants to reject and accordingly help define other values.¹⁷¹ It appears that Li tried to shape Chinese people's interest in art and intellectual activities via the advertising and graphic works in *The Pacific Times*.

Li moved to Hangzhou in July of 1912 and took a teaching position at the Hangzhou First Normal School. Thereafter, the number of graphic advertisements in *The Pacific Times* dropped sharply, although Li still returned to Shanghai occasionally. *The Pacific Times* ceased publication on October 18. From then on, Li devoted all his time to teaching at the Hangzhou Normal School.

¹⁶⁹ *Taipingyangbao*, 3 April 1912, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Taipingyangbao*, 29 April 1912, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Harold W. Berkman and Christopher Gilson, *Advertising Concepts and Strategies* (New York: Random House, 1987), 4-6.

Li Shutong's Teaching Career in Hangzhou

In Hangzhou Li was the first to send his students out to draw from nature and nude models. He was also the first modern Chinese artist to develop woodblock printmaking as an art form, cutting and printing his own blocks along with his students. Together, they published *Collection of Woodcut Prints* (*Muban huaji* 木版畫集), which included the works of Li and Xia Mianzun, another teacher at the school.¹⁷² Unfortunately, we cannot find the publication today. In Hangzhou, Li also organized numerous societies, including the Yueshi Society (*Yueshi she* 樂石社) for stone engraving and calligraphy, the Tongyang Painting Society (*Tongyang huahui* 桐陽畫會) for Western painting,¹⁷³ and the Manhua Society (*Manhua hui* 漫畫會), and supervised students in their artistic activities.¹⁷⁴

The publications of the *Small Music Magazine* and *The Pacific Times* help us to understand the cultural and artistic relationships between China and Japan in the early twentieth century. Through the publications, we can see that in the late Qing period, Chinese students studying in Japan played a rather significant role in introducing new culture and art to China. Not only did Li Shutong introduce Western art, but he also brought Western music to China. Li's influence on his students was enormous. That Feng Zikai and Liu Zhiping, Li's students at the First Normal School in Hangzhou, later published a great number of books introducing Western art and music theories is a great example of Li's far-reaching influence. Liu Zhiping played an important role in the

¹⁷² Wu Mengfei, 44; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 29; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 27.

¹⁷³ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 24; Chen Huaiye, 187.

¹⁷⁴ Wu Mengfei, 44.

development of music in China. In terms of art, Li's influence on the development of Chinese graphic design is reflected in the career of Feng Zikai. Although Li took the tonsure in 1918 and his career in art and art education lasted only two decades, his pioneering role in graphic art and art education in China is "unprecedented" in modern Chinese art.

2.4 Traditionalism and the Lingnan School

Besides Western art, another major stream in the history of twentieth-century Chinese painting is traditionalism. The latter years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were an important period in modern Chinese history. The shock from the West exerted profound influence on China, not only on the development of science but also on that of culture and art. Since the 1840s, the claim that Zhang Zhidong advocated, that China should "introduce the new Western learning for adaptation to the changing modern world, but keep traditional Chinese learning as the basis for a way of life (中學爲體, 西學爲用)," had been steadily increasing.¹⁷⁵ People such as Li Shutong and Lu Xun in this period were confronted with how to make adjustments between their old traditions and the modern changes taking place around them.

Along with the establishment of modern educational institutions, Western art, such as drawing and oil painting, was progressively introduced to Chinese students of art. More and more intellectuals and artists believed that reform of Chinese paintings was necessary, although there was a dilemma between the acceptance and rejection of

¹⁷⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 223-224; Schwarcz, 5; Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 164.

Western values. In 1915 Chen Duxiu founded the journal *New Youth* (*Xin qingnian* 新青年). At Cai Yuanpei's invitation, he was dean of the school of arts and sciences of Peking University from January 1917 until forced to resign under conservative pressure in March 1919. Chen was converted to Marxism in the period following the student-led intellectual revolution known as the May Fourth Movement (1919). As editor of *New Youth*, which rapidly became the most influential intellectual journal in China, Chen espoused bold theoretical investigation, a spirited attack on the past, and a highly moralistic approach to politics through the cleansing of the individual character. In leading an all-out attack on Confucian vestiges through the pages of *New Youth*, Chen argued that the key flaw in Confucianism was that it ran counter to the independence of individuals that lay at the center of modern life.¹⁷⁶ In other writings, Chen urged the abandonment of the classical Chinese language in favor of the vernacular form¹⁷⁷ and espoused two concepts that he termed "Mr. Democracy (*De xiansheng* 德先生)" and "Mr. Science (*Sai xiansheng* 赛先生)" as the key opponents to Confucian traditionalism.¹⁷⁸ Chen wrote (originally published in *Xin qingnian*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1919):

"To embrace Mr. Democracy, one cannot avoid opposing Confucianism, [Confucian] morality, chastity, old virtue, and old politics. To embrace Mr. Science, one cannot avoid opposing old art and old religion. To embrace both Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science, one cannot avoid opposing the national essence and the old literature."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 303-304.

¹⁷⁷ The primary difference between classical Chinese language and the vernacular form is that the latter one use punctuation and simpler vocabularies.

¹⁷⁸ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 303-304.

¹⁷⁹ Kuo-sheng Lai, "Rescuing Literati Aesthetics: Chen Hengke (1876-1923) and the Debate on the Westernization of Chinese Art" (Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1999), 8.

要擁護那德先生, 便不得不反對孔教, 禮教, 貞節, 舊倫理, 舊政治; 要擁護那賽先生, 便不得不反對舊藝術, 舊宗教; 要擁護德先生又要擁護賽先生, 便不得不反對國粹和舊文學。¹⁸⁰

In a letter to Lü Cheng 呂澂, which was published in the same issue of *New Youth* (Vol. 6, No. 1, 1919) with the title, “Answering Lü Cheng: Art Revolution” (答呂澂 - 美術革命), Chen further claimed: “If one wants to improve Chinese painting, the first thing to do is to revolt against the painting of the [four] Wangs. This is because, to improve Chinese painting, one cannot avoid adopting the spirit of realism in Western painting” (若想把中國畫改良, 首先要革王畫的命; 因為改良中國畫, 斷不能不採用洋畫寫實的精神)。¹⁸¹ The Confucian-centered literati culture that was the measure of success in dynastic China now lost its position in China, particularly in Shanghai, which was in favor of a new class of managers and manufactures.

As the historian Jonathan Spence has said, “The May Fourth movement brought changes in consciousnesses that in turn opened new possibilities for life and action in China.”¹⁸² With traditional art and its cultural foundations under attack, the adoption of a traditional painting manner was no longer automatic and involuntary, but a matter of deliberate choice.¹⁸³ Many painters who worked on traditional Chinese painting during this period insisted that modernization must be based on Chinese art’s own history and internal dynamics. Among them Chen Shizeng was a prominent one whose writings and

¹⁸⁰ Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, “Xin qingnian zui’an zhi dabian shu” ‘新青年’罪案之答辯書, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, vol. 1 陳獨秀著作選 (Shanghai: Renmin Publishing Company, 1993), 442-443.

¹⁸¹ Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, “Da Lü Cheng – Meishu geming” 答呂澂 - 美術革命, *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, vol. 1, 448-449; Kuo-sheng Lai, 44

¹⁸² Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 306.

¹⁸³ Kuiyi Shen, “Traditional Painting in a Transitional Era, 1900-1950,” *A Century in Crisis*, 81.

art works had a far-reaching influence on artists of later generations, such as Feng Zikai and others.

Chen Shizeng

The art of Chen Shizeng recently has attracted scholarly attention in China and the West. In China, Liu Xilin 劉曦林, Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, and Gong Changxing 龔產興 have published many articles that discuss the significance of Chen's art in the Republican period.¹⁸⁴ In February and April 1998, Julia F. Andrews delivered two papers, "Chen Hengke:¹⁸⁵ Bridge to Beijing" and "New Research on Chen Hengke, Qi Baishi, Wu Changshi, and Wang Zhen," at the Jiangnan Conference, Vancouver, and a workshop on "Painting in Shanghai, 1840-1930," sponsored by the Luce Foundation and organized by the University of Maryland and the Institute of Fine Arts.¹⁸⁶ In 1999 a master's thesis was written about Chen, *Rescuing Literati Aesthetics: Cheng Hengke (1876-1923) and the*

¹⁸⁴ Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, "Dachun xiyai he Chen Shizeng – jindai wei wenrenhua fuxing de liangge yiguo kudou zhe" 大村西崖和陳師曾-近代爲文人畫復興的兩個異國苦鬥者 (Omura Seigai and Ch'en Shih-tseng: two advocates for the revival of literati painting in the modern age), *Meishu yanjiu* no. 4 (1996): 10-15; Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, "Dachun xiyai he Chen Shizeng – jindai wei wenrenhua fuxing de liangge yiguo kudou zhe" 大村西崖和陳師曾-近代爲文人畫復興的兩個異國苦鬥者 (Omura Seigai and Ch'en Shih-tseng: two advocates for the revival of literati painting in the modern age), *Gugong xueshu jikan* [*Kukung hsuehshu chikan*] (The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly) 故宮學術季刊 volume 15, 3 (1998): 115-28; Chen Shizeng 陳師曾, *Beijing fengsu tu* 北京風俗圖 (Beijing: Beijing guji Publishing Co., Ltd., 1986); Liu Xilin 劉曦林, "Chen Shizeng de 'Beijing fengsu'" 陳師曾的北京風俗, *Beijing fengsu* 北京風俗 (Beijing: Beijing Publishing Company, 2003), 84-92; Liu Xilin 劉曦林, ed., *Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu: zhongguo meishu guan cangpin xuan*, vol. 1 二十世紀中國美術中國美術館藏品選 上卷 (Taipei: Gelin guoji tushu Publishing Company, 1999), 38-39; Gong Changxing 龔產興, ed., *Chen Shizeng huazuan* 陳師曾畫選 (Beijing: Renmin meishu Publishing Company, 1992).

¹⁸⁵ It is also romanized as Chen Hengque in pinyin system.

¹⁸⁶ Julia Andrews, "Chen Hengke: Bridge to Beijing," presentation on February 14, 1998, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, a workshop on "Cultural Politics and Urban Society: Beijing in the 1920s," February 13-14, 1998; at University of Southern California, March 2, 1998; and, in revised form, at the Jiangnan Conference, Vancouver, April 24, 1998. I am grateful to Professor Julia F. Andrews for providing me this information.

Debate on the Westernization of Chinese Art, by Kuo-sheng Lai 賴國生 at the University of Maryland. The aim of Lai's thesis was to analyze Chen's writing, *The Assessment of Literati Painting (Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值)*. In 2002 another master's thesis, *Chen Shizeng's New Art and the Cultural Practice of New Intellectuals in the Early Republican Period – A Case Study of Beijing Customs (Chen Shizeng de huihua xinmao yu minchu xinshi zhishi fengzi de wenhua shijian: yi 'Beijing fengsu tuce' wei zhongxin 陳師曾的繪畫新貌與民初新式知識分子的文化實踐: 以“北京風俗圖冊”為中心)* by Lu Xuanfei 盧宣妃 (also romanized Lu Hsüan-fei) at National Taiwan Normal University emerged. In her thesis Lu used Chen's series of *Beijing Customs (Beijing fengsu tuce 北京風俗圖冊)* as examples to discuss how Chen synthesized traditional Chinese literati painting and Western art in his works.

Chen Shizeng was a member of a famous literati family from Jiangxi Province. From 1902 to 1910, Chen studied natural science in Japan. He was very interested in art and became acquainted with Li Shutong when they studied in Japan. When he was in Japan, Chen had the opportunity to see works by Ming loyalists (or *yimin* 遺民) such as Bada Shanren 八大山人 (1626-ca. 1705) and Shitao 石濤 (1630-1707); his artistic style, thus, was strongly influenced by these artists.¹⁸⁷

After he returned from Japan in 1910, Chen taught at colleges in Nantong, Changsha, and Beijing. In 1911, he published a translation “The Art World in Recent Europe” (*Ouzhou huajie zuijin zhi zhuangkuang 歐洲畫界最近之狀況*) in the *Official*

¹⁸⁷ Chu-tsing Li, “Traditional Painting Development during the Early Twentieth Century,” Mayching Kao, ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 81, 99.

Journal for Nantong Normal School Alumni (*Nantong shifan xiaoyou hui zazhi* 南通師範校友會雜誌).¹⁸⁸ In 1914 Chen was invited by the Ministry of Education to organize and catalogue books. In 1915 he taught Chinese painting at the National Beijing Higher Normal School (*Guoli Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 國立北京高等師範學校), and it was around this time (1914-1915) that Chen began to depict a series of street characters in Beijing (Fig. 65, Fig. 66).¹⁸⁹ When Cai Yuanpei established the Institute for Research on Chinese Painting Practice (*Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui* 北京大學畫法研究所) at Peking University in 1918, Chen was appointed teacher of Chinese painting.¹⁹⁰ According to Chu-tsing Li, although Chen should be regarded as a traditionalist, Chen developed his own personal and individualistic approach and introduced new ideas to the world of modern Chinese art.¹⁹¹ As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2.3.2, Chen published numerous cartoon-like *maobi-hua* paintings in the *Pacific Pictorial*, such as *Begging Food* (*Qishi* 乞食) (Fig. 38) and *Boating at Dusk is Delightful* (*Luori fangchuan hao* 落日放船好) (Fig. 39). Besides producing the works in the *Pacific Pictorial* and the series of street characters in Beijing, Chen also depicted the activities of the literati (Fig. 67). The series of street characters are now collected in China Art Museum (*Zhongguo meishuguan* 中國美術館) in Beijing, and have been published under the title *Beijing*

¹⁸⁸ Liu Xilin, “Chen Shizeng de ‘Beijing fengsu’,” *Beijing fengsu tu*, 84; Gong Changxing 龔產興, “Chen Shizeng de huaxue sixiang yu chuanguo” 陳師曾的畫學思想與創作, *Meishu guancha* 美術觀察 10 (1996): 49.

¹⁸⁹ Chen Shizeng, *Beijing fengsu tu*, plate 16, 33; Liu Xilin, “Chen Shizeng de ‘Beijing fengsu’,” *Beijing fengsu*, 84-85; Yang Liangzhi 楊良志, *Beijing fengsu*, preface; Gong Changxing, “Chen Shizeng de huaxue sixiang yu chuanguo,” 48.

¹⁹⁰ Liu Xilin, “Chen Shizeng de ‘Beijing fengsu’,” *Beijing fengsu*, 84; Gong Changxing, *Chen Shizeng huazuan*, n.p.

¹⁹¹ Chu-tsing Li, “Traditional Painting Development,” 81, 99.

Customs (Beijing fengsu tu 北京風俗圖).¹⁹² Contrary to the slavish renditions of the Four Wang tradition, Chen insisted on first-hand interpretations of reality and the liberating spirit in art. Chen's paintings, such as *Studio by the Water (Linshui shuge tu 臨水書閣圖, 1921)* (Fig. 68) and *Green Banana and Chrysanthemum (Lüjiao huangju tu 綠蕉黃菊圖)* (Fig. 69), and cartoon-like works in the *Pacific Pictorial* not only show the kind of artless simplicity that was at the core of Chen's vision, but also reveal his comprehensive achievement in painting, calligraphy, poetry, and seal engraving (*siquan 四全*).¹⁹³

By the 1920s, in China, it was generally acknowledged that “modernity” was equated with “Western civilization” in all its spiritual and material manifestations. Western-trained painters or educators, therefore, occupied the foreground of the Chinese art scene and world of art education. In Japan, however, since the end of the Meiji period, the study of Eastern art had flourished and scholars had proclaimed the superiority of Eastern art over its Western counterpart.¹⁹⁴ This proclamation not only impacted the Japanese art world, but also significantly changed the contemporary art world in China.

In 1922, Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868-1927), a historian of fine arts at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, visited China, where he met Chen Shizeng. Their meeting in Beijing resulted in the joint publication of *The Study of Chinese Literati Painting (Zhongguo wenrenhua zhi yanjiu 中國文人畫之研究)*, which included Seigai's *The Revival of*

¹⁹² Chen Shizeng, *Beijing fengsu tu 北京風俗圖* (Beijing: Beijing guji Publishing Co. Ltd., 1986).

¹⁹³ Wan Qingli, “Nanfeng beijian,” *Quyū yu wanglū*, 613; Su-hsing Lin, “Sense and Sentimentality: Feng Zikai and China's Modernity,” *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji 海派繪畫研究文集* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua Publishing Co., Ltd., 2001), 1144.

¹⁹⁴ Nishimaki Isamu 西楨偉, “Hō Shigai no chūgoku bijutsu yūiron to Nihon” 豐子愷の中國美術優位論と日本, *Hikaku bungaku 比較文學* 39 (1997): 174.

Literati Painting (Wenrenhua zhi fuxing 文人畫之復興) and Chen's *The Assessment of Literati Painting (Wenrenhua zhi jiazhi 文人畫之價值)* (originally published in the second issue of *Study of Painting [or Huixue zazhi 繪學雜誌]*, 1921).¹⁹⁵ *The Study of Chinese Literati Painting* was reprinted four times before 1926,¹⁹⁶ which reflects its great popularity and far-reaching influence on the world of Chinese art when the declaration of Westernization prevailed in China. In his writings Chen tried to tighten literati painting's relationship with other contemporary trends, like expressionism, and placed literati paintings in the global experience of modernity.¹⁹⁷ Chen urged his fellow artists to make paintings that would express both *joie de vivre* and literati sentiment, which would elevate people's sentiments and develop their taste for literati painting. He very actively attended the activities of painting societies. For example, in the second Chinese and Japanese Joint Painting Exhibition, held in Tokyo, Chen successfully introduced the works of Qi Baishi to Japanese audiences. Chen died before he reached the age of fifty, but many artists who were his friends and students, among them Qi Baishi and Feng Zikai, advanced his ideas.¹⁹⁸

The early students who studied in Japan, such as Chen Shizeng, Li Shutong, and Lu Xun, brought back many new ideas and graphic styles to China. Not only did they serve as a bridge for many ideologies and artistic trends passing between the Chinese and Japanese worlds in the 1910s and 1920s, but they also greatly reformed and synthesized

¹⁹⁵ Liu Xiaolu, "Dachun xiyai he Chen Shizeng," 117; Gong Changxing, n.p.

¹⁹⁶ Wan Qingli, "Nanfeng beijian," *Quyuy yu wanglu*, 612-614; Liu Xiaolu, "Dacun xiyai he Chen Shizeng," 117.

¹⁹⁷ Aida Yuen Yuen, "Inventing Eastern Art in Japan and China, ca. 1890s to ca. 1930s" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999), 129-155.

¹⁹⁸ Xue Yongnian, "Minguo chuqi Beijing huatan," *Quyuy yu wanglu*, 589-592; Kuiyi Shen, "Traditional Painting," *A Century in Crisis*, 87.

traditional Chinese literati painting and Western art. However, the most interesting group to bring new ideas from Japan was the Lingnan School (*Lingnan huapai* 嶺南畫派).

Since Feng Zikai's art has a strong connection with Japan; it is, therefore, important for us to gain an insight into the artistic trends and significance of the Lingnan School in this period.

The Lingnan School

After the 1911 Revolution, a “new national painting” (*xin guohua* 新國畫) -- the Lingnan School -- was founded by Gao Jianfu 高劍父 (1879-1951), Gao Qifeng 高奇峰 (1889-1933), and Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1883-1948). They claimed that they preserved the best in China's own tradition while adapting to the new times, and they particularly admired Japanese-style painting (*Nihonga* 日本畫) for synthesizing and absorbing both Chinese and Western techniques.¹⁹⁹ Gao Jianfu and Chen Shuren both studied art under Ju Lian 居廉 (1828-1904) in Guangdong when they were young. In 1906, Gao Jianfu went to Tokyo, where he again met Chen Shuren. In the following year, Gao Qifeng was also brought to Tokyo by Gao Jianfu. The three of them joined the Alliance Society (*Tongmeng hui* 同盟會) when they were in Japan and were actively involved in the revolution movement along with Dr. Sun Yat-sen.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Laurence C. S. Tam, “Lingnan School Painting,” Mayching Kao, ed., *Twentieth-century Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 110; Mayching Kao, “China's Response to the West in Art,” 89-92; Christina Chu, “The Lingnan School and Its Followers: Radical Innovations in Southern China,” *A Century in Crisis*, 70-74.

²⁰⁰ Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting* (Berkeley: University of California, 1988), 27.

When the Gao brothers were in Japan, they were strongly attracted to the *Nihonga* movement at the time. The *Nihonga* movement can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, when the American professor Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) tried to advocate Japanese art in Japan under the prevailing environment of the Japanese art world, which was dominated by the Westernization movement. Fenollosa found another supporter, Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1863-1913), and together, they tried to promote native Japanese art, particularly the Kano school (狩野派), and encouraged students to combine the good aspects of Western and Japanese art. Kanō Hōgai 狩野芳涯 (1828-1888) and Hashimoto Gahō 橋本雅邦 (1835-1908) were artists who followed Fenollosa and Okakura Tenshin in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and Yokoyama Taikan 橫山大觀 (1868-1958) and Shimomura Kanzan 下村觀山 (1873-1930) were followers at the Japanese Art Institute (*Nihon Bijutsu-in* 日本美術院), established in 1898.²⁰¹

The nationalistic spirit was obvious in both *Nihonga* and the Lingnan School. Under the influence of these *Nihonga* artists, Gao Jianfu also advocated that China needed a revolution not only in politics but also in art.²⁰² After the Gao brothers and Chen Shuren went back to China, the Gao brothers vigorously promoted reform in Chinese art, believing that the traditional literati painters failed to serve people and that they only regarded art as ink-play. Gao Jianfu advocated that art follow the times, serve the people, and have the spirit of revolution. The Gao brothers, therefore, set up the Shenmei Bookstore (*Shenmei shuguan* 審美書館) in Shanghai in 1912 and published *The True*

²⁰¹ Croizier, *Art and Revolution*, 29-31.

²⁰² Fu Licui 傅立萃, “Wanglu yu rentong – Lingnan huapai de chuanbo yu yanxu” 網路與認同-嶺南畫派的傳播與延續, *Quyū yu wanglu*, 705; Mayching Kao, “China’s Response to the West in Art,” 86.

Record (*Zhenxiang huabao* 真相畫報) (Fig. 70) to disseminate Chinese and Western art and their ideas. The pictorial and the bookstore ceased to run in 1913, when the government stopped the funding. However, the Gao brothers and Chen did disseminate the ideas of revolution in art to the public via their publications.²⁰³

The Gao brothers used a lot of animal and landscape paintings to convey their nationalistic allegorical ideas. For example, in *Strong Devour the Weak* (*Ruorou qiangshi tu* 弱肉強食圖, 1928) (Fig. 71), Gao Jianfu used the fox and chicken to depict Social Darwinism, because he wanted to alert and stir Chinese people's patriotism. In *Five-Storyed Tower* (*Wuchong ta* 五重塔, 1926) (Fig. 72), Gao used a Chinese architectural landmark and hinted at gradual corruption. Gao Jianfu and Gao Qifeng often used fierce animals, such as lions and eagles, to convey the nationalistic character of their country, although Gao Qifeng's art carried a less political tone.²⁰⁴

After Chen Shuren studied art under Ju Lian, when he was young, he went to the Kyoto Art School to study art and then to Rikkyo University (*Rikkyo daigaku* 立教大學) to study literature. Unlike Gao Jianfu, who declined all political government posts after the 1911 revolution, Chen Shuren got actively involved in political affairs with the Nationalist Government. His early works showed the strong influence of Ju Lian and Takeuchi Seiho 竹內栖鳳 (1864-1942), and later he developed his own personal style. Chen Shuren's compositions are simple and clear, and he tries to minimize traditional texture strokes. Chen's painting of the red kapok tree (Fig. 73), a symbol of heroes of the

²⁰³ Fu Licui, "Wanglu yu rentong," *Quyuyu wanglu*, 705; Croizier, *Art and Revolution*, 68.

²⁰⁴ Christina Chu, "The Lingnan School," *A Century in Crisis*, 70-74.

revolution, was particularly popular among his admirers, and the kapok blossom became an emblem of Lingnan school painting.²⁰⁵

Besides inaugurating publishing houses and publications, the Gao brothers were also enthusiastic in establishing schools, private studios (like the Spring Slumber Painting Studio [*Chunshui huayuan* 春睡畫院]), exhibitions, and painting societies to promote their ideas. Gao Jianfu encouraged his students to establish their own painting studios or schools in different places, which like the kapok, a flower found only in the Lingnan area, plants its seeds over the land.²⁰⁶

Besides the Gao brothers, oil painters such as Xu Beihong (Fig. 74) and Lin Fengmian (Fig. 75) were the leading masters in the Reformist movement. They were usually regarded as the “modernist generation” because they not only tried using Chinese brushes to depict Western subjects but also added numerous “external” components, particularly “Western elements” to the tradition.

To sum up, if we view the synthesis of Chinese and Western culture or art in the works of Li Shutong, Chen Shizeng, Lin Fengmian and Xu Beihong, we can find that in China “the discourse of modernity was ‘deployed’ by Chinese intellectuals and ‘reinvented’ in its new context.”²⁰⁷ Chinese modernity is not an absolute eradication of the past, but a continuity, and, as Kirk Denton has described, it is “a synthetic or hybrid

²⁰⁵ Christina Chu, “The Lingnan School,” *A Century in Crisis*, 73; Croizier, *Art and Revolution*, 27-28, 37-55.

²⁰⁶ Fu Licui, “Wanglu yu rentong,” *Quyū yu wanglu*, 710-711; Christina Chu, “The Lingnan School,” *A Century in Crisis*, 72-73.

²⁰⁷ Denton, 4-5.

interaction of various cultural discourses”²⁰⁸ that can be traced back to the old traditions of China. Tradition undoubtedly exerted a great influence in the process of this reinvention. The synthesis achieved by these masters or intellectuals provides us a window to see both the transformation of tradition as well as its conservation. Viewing the art works of these artists, we see what tradition is, what constitutes modernity, in what ways modernity has had an impact on tradition, and, indeed, what factors have supported continuity and what pressures have affected discontinuity. In the past decades, that the synthesis of Chinese and Western culture was motivated by external (either Japanese or Western) impact seems to be often overemphasized in China’s movement of modernization; we, therefore, do have to carefully reevaluate and define the roles of these artists and intellectuals in the history of modern China.

²⁰⁸ Denton, 4-5; Chang Hao 張灝, “Chuangtong yu jindai zhongguo zhishi fenzi” 傳統與近代中國知識分子, *Lishi yuekan* 歷史月刊 May 1989: 44-50.

CHAPTER 3

FENG ZIKAI'S PHILOSOPHY AND ART¹

After we scrutinized the historical development of art education and art scene in Shanghai, we see that Chinese intellectuals and artists intensively encountered new shocks and inspirations from the West and Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Along with the establishment of modern educational institutions, Western art, such as drawing, oil painting, and woodcutting, were progressively introduced to Chinese students of art. More and more artists of this generation believed that reform was necessary, although there was a dilemma between the acceptance and rejection of Western values. Some painters, like Chen Shizeng, insisted that modernization must be based on Chinese art's own history and internal dynamics. The others, like Xu Beihong, believed that the reform of Chinese painting required the assimilation of Western methods. Xu strongly criticized the slavish imitation of his country's ancient masters and urged artists to "adopt the materials and techniques invented to depict real objects."²

¹ This chapter presents independent research of mine, although many points here are similar to those in Geremie Barme's book, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), which appeared in December 2002.

² Xu Beihong, *Xu Beihong yishu wenji*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Yishujia Publishing Company, 1987), 56; *Modern Chinese Painting, 1860-1980: Selections from the Robert H. Ellsworth Collection in The Metropolitan*

In this chapter I introduce Feng Zikai's philosophy and art. Feng was born in late Qing China. He studied classical Chinese when he was in traditional elementary school, and received Western style education in high school. Feng's art and life, like China itself, directly confronted the rapid Westernization that began at the end of the nineteenth century. Feng stood at a crossroads in the unfolding of modern China, and there he wavered. Similar to his predecessors, such as Chen Shizeng and Li Shutong, Feng's artworks and thoughts reveal great deal of Japanese influence. Influenced by his mentor, Li Shutong, who became a monk in 1918, Feng's artworks also carry strong concerns of Buddhist belief and humanitarianism. In this chapter, besides providing an overview of Feng's artistic career, I analyze Feng's artwork and its relationship with Buddhism and Japan, of which I discuss the works of Takehisa Yumeji, Fukiya Kōji, and Natsume Sōseki.

3.1 The Artistic Career of Feng Zikai

Feng Zikai was an artist as well as a writer, calligrapher, scholar, musician, and translator. Feng is best remembered for his role in the modern Chinese cartoon movement; however, he is versatile. His artworks include traditional Chinese painting, calligraphy, woodcut prints, cartoons, illustrations, and cover designs.

Feng was born in Shimenwan (石門灣), Chongde County (崇德鄉), in northeast Zhejiang (浙江) Province. His original name was Feng Run 豐潤, and he was given the nickname Ciyu 慈玉, which literally means "Beloved Jade". His father, Feng Huang 豐

Museum of Art (N.Y: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 21-22; Kuiyi Shen, "Traditional Painting," *A Century in Crisis*, 86.

鎰 (1865-1906), passed the *juren* (舉人) examination in 1902. However, his father never served as an official, since Feng's grandmother passed away in the same year, and the civil service examination system was abolished in 1905. When he was still a child, Feng Zikai studied the Chinese classics, including The *Three Character Classic* (*Sanzijing* 三字經) and *Poems of One Thousand Poets* (*Qianjiashi* 千家詩), at a private school run by his father.

Feng's interest in art was already revealed in his childhood. According to Feng himself, the woodcut illustrations printed on the pages of *Poems of One Thousand Poets* attracted his attention when he was studying the classics. When he was studying in a local tutorial school (*sishu* 私塾), which was renamed as the *West Brook Primary School* (*Xixi liangdeng xiaoxuetang* 溪西兩等小學堂) in 1910, as the reform movement in education reached the countryside, he often practiced tracing (*vinhua* 印畫) the series of human figures in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* (*Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜), and his classmates quarreled over his works. Impressed by Feng's paintings, Feng's teacher asked him to draw a portrait of Confucius. With the help of his eldest sister Feng Ying 豐瀛, Feng was able to enlarge and deliver the portrait, which was hung on the wall of the hallway in school for students to pay respect, and it brought him great fame in his school and in his village. After this, Feng earned the nickname, "Little Artist" (*xiao huajia* 小畫

家) at school, which was very unusual since at that time “playing with art” (*nonghua* 弄畫) was not openly accepted in any school.³

In 1914, after completing primary school, Feng continued his study at the First Normal School in Hangzhou (*Hangzhou Zhejiang shengli diyi shifan xuexiao* 杭州浙江省立第一師範學校), where he would be greatly influenced as an artist. The First Normal School in Hangzhou, whose original name was National Zhejiang Normal School (*Zhejiang sheng guanli liangji shifan xuetang* 浙江省官立兩級師範學堂), had been established as the late-Qing educational reforms promulgated in 1908.⁴ The painting and handicraft section (*tuhua shougong zhuanxiu ke* 圖畫手工專修科) was established in 1912, and the design of the curriculum was based on that of the Higher Normal School in Tokyo (*Tokyo koto shihan* 東京高等師範).⁵ Many teachers at the Hangzhou school were either Japanese, like Yoshikae Shūji 吉家江宗二, who graduated from the Higher Normal School in Tokyo and taught “*tuhua*” (drawing 圖畫),⁶ or Chinese who had studied in Japan, like Xia Mianzun 夏丕尊 (1886-1946). The institution was organized along ostensibly progressive lines by the prominent reformist educator and principal Jing Hengyi 經亨頤 (1877-1938). Jing was from a prominent Zhejiang gentry family. After graduating in mathematical physics at the Higher Normal School in Tokyo, he returned to China and was hired at the Normal School in Hangzhou in 1908, becoming the school’s

³ Feng Zikai, “Xuehua huiyi,” *YSJ*, 82-87.

⁴ Wu Mengfei’s writes that the school was founded in the 33rd or 34th year of the Guangxu era; therefore, the year may be 1907 or 1908. Wu Mengfei, 44.

⁵ Wu Mengfei, 44.

⁶ Wu Mengfei, 42; Mayching Kao, “The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement,” 378.

principal in 1912. At the Normal School, Jing recruited many talented and devoted teachers, including Zhou Shuren 周樹人 (known by the pen name Lu Xun), who joined the school in 1909, Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948), Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶 (1894-1988), and Xia Mianzun. In 1912, at the invitation of Jing Hengyi, Li Shutong started teaching art and music at the School.⁷ In the First Normal School, Feng Zikai met the most influential mentors in his life, Li Shutong, Xia Mianzun, and Shan Bu'an 單不厂 (1879-?). The first two were particularly important.

It was Shan Bu'an, Feng's Chinese mentor, who gave Feng the name "Zikai." It was Xia, another of Feng's Chinese mentors and his dormitory monitor for boarders at the First Normal School, who impressed Feng with his seriousness in daily life, his sympathy for every being, and his love of his country.⁸ However, it was Li Shutong, who had the strongest influence on Feng's artistic career.

According to Feng and Xia, with Li Shutong's sincerity and promotion, the classes of art and music, usually ignored at schools, were strongly respected by students and teachers at the First Normal School in Zhejiang. Unlike the traditional training of tracing or copying art books, Li adopted the teaching methods he acquired as a student of Western painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Li taught his students to draw directly from plaster casts and arranged objects, and he took his students outdoors for life sketching. In 1914 Li Shutong introduced his students to painting from nude models, a

⁷ Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yingji*, 37; Feng Yiying 豐一吟, "Yishujia Feng Zikai de yisheng," *Xiandai meishujia hualun zuopin shengping: Feng Zikai* 現代美術家畫論作品生平豐子愷 (hereafter referred to as *XMHZSF*) (Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing Co., 1996), 273-274; Dai Yiru 戴逸如, *Shijie manhua dashi jingpin zhenshang* 世界漫畫大師精品珍賞 (Shanghai: Wen hua Publishing Co., 1991), 149.

⁸ Feng Zikai, "Dao Xia Mianzun xiansheng" 悼夏丏尊先生, *YSJ*, 298-302.

revolution in art instruction. Li's teaching methods were novel in China at the time. In his article "My Memory of Learning Painting" (*Xuehua huiyi* 學畫回憶, 1934), Feng mentioned that students were used to copying pictures and did not know where they should start when Li taught them to make drawings directly from plaster casts.⁹ In Hangzhou, Feng started learning oil painting, woodcut printing, and music. From then on, under Li's guidance, Feng was asked to depict what he saw and to cultivate a sense of observation of things around him. Feng readily abandoned the practice of tracing that he had learned in Shimenwan and applied himself enthusiastically to sketching still lifes and to drawing. With Li's encouragement, Feng decided to become an artist when he was in fourth grade.¹⁰

As mentioned earlier, Li is credited with having introduced Western art and music to China, and he greatly influenced Feng's artistic career. However, it was at the First Normal School in Hangzhou, in particular under Li's instruction, that Feng was introduced to the notion that a strong bond existed between the moral and aesthetic worlds of the artist. At school, Li put more emphasis on cultivating his pupils' character than training them in techniques. Li possessed a well-thumbed copy of the late-Ming neo-Confucian thinker Liu Zongzhou's 劉宗周 (1578-1645) *A Manual for Men* (*Renpu* 人譜). The book was a guide to a life of moral rectitude and self-censure that catalogues stories of righteous deeds and statements of sages and the saints from the ancient times.¹¹ Li had written the words "make this a living endeavor (*Shengti lixing* 身體力行)" on the

⁹ Feng Zikai, "Xuehua huiyi," *YSJ*, 82-88.

¹⁰ Feng Zikai, "Li Shutong xiansheng de jiaoyu jingshen" 李叔同先生的教育精神, *YSJ*, 370-373.

¹¹ Feng Zikai, "Li Shutong xiansheng de wenyi guan" 李叔同先生的文藝觀, *YSJ*, 366-367; Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 43.

cover of his copy and presented the book to Feng before he abandoned his teaching career to become a monk at Hupao Monastery. It was the combination of “moral rectitude (*renpin* 人品)” and “artistic accomplishment (*huapin* 畫品)” that Feng learned under Li’s tutelage that would most deeply inform Feng’s artistic practice. Although Li took the tonsure in 1918 and became Master Hongyi (Hongyi fashi 弘一法師), Feng and Li maintained close contact with each other throughout their lives. Li not only influenced Feng’s artistic development, but also his thinking and moral cultivation, all of which had a far-reaching influence on Feng’s artistic career.¹²

The Shanghai Normal School

In 1919 after completing his study in the First Normal School, Feng established the Shanghai Normal School (*Shanghai zhuanke shifan xuexiao* 上海專科師範學校) in collaboration with his friends Wu Mengfei and Liu Zhiping. At the academy, he taught Western art and served as dean of the Western art department.¹³ In the same year, Feng and his friends, including Jiang Danshu, Liu Zhiping, and Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩, inaugurated the Chinese Society of Aesthetic Education (*Zhonghua meiyu hui* 中華美育會) and established their official journal, *Aesthetic Education* (*Meiyu* 美育),¹⁴ in which Feng frequently published essays, such as “Loyalty to Sketching from Life” (*Zhongshi de xiasheng* 忠實之寫生, 1920) and “The Principles of Art Education” (*Yishu jiaoyu de*

¹² Feng Zikai, “Li Shutong xiansheng de wenyi guan,” *YSJ*, 366-367; Feng Yiyong, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 273; Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 43.

¹³ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan,” *YSJ*, 47; Feng Yiyong, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 274.

¹⁴ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan,” *YSJ*, 47; Feng Yiyong, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 274; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai* 閒話豐子愷 (Taipei: Shijie wenhua Publishing Co., 1991), 207.

yuanli 藝術教育的原理, 1922).¹⁵ The objective of the Society was “to unite all artists and teachers in elementary and middle schools in China to promote art education together (聯合當時全國的藝術工作者和大中小學教師, 共同推進藝術教育).”¹⁶

Study in Japan

In 1921, two years later when he taught art at the Shanghai Normal School, Feng felt stagnant and incompetent to teach Western art when more and more Western art information was introduced to China. As mentioned earlier, many students studying in Japan and Europe returned to China around 1920. Feng realized that he had not learned enough, and knew that his vision must be broadened. Also, because of the influence of Li Shutong, Feng Zikai had an enthusiastic desire to study more about art. Borrowing money from friends wherever he could, Feng left his family behind and went to Japan in the spring of 1921. On his limited budget, he stayed in Tokyo for only ten months. But by all accounts these ten months were truly crammed with activity. Within this period, Feng spent much time visiting museums and studying music, languages, and Western art at the Kawabata Academy of Oil Painting (*Kawabata yōga gakko* 川端洋畫學校) in Tokyo. Opportunities to see modernist European paintings on exhibitions in Japan were commonplace at the time; students’ eyes were opened, and their creativity energized by seeing works of Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, Cubists, Fauves, and others.¹⁷ In the first five months Feng studied Western painting in the mornings and Japanese language

¹⁵ Feng Yiyong, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 274.

¹⁶ Wu Mengfei, 45.

¹⁷ Kuiyi Shen, “The Lure of the West,” *A Century in Crisis*, 174.

in the afternoons. For the last five months, he dropped Japanese and learned violin while studying the English language in the evenings. The most important thing that happened to Feng Zikai while he was in Japan was his encounter with a work of the Japanese master Takehisa Yumeji, *Spring (Haru no maki 春の巻, 1909)*, which greatly impressed Feng and strongly influenced his art.¹⁸ Undoubtedly, the trip to Japan was a turning point in Feng's artistic career.

The Chunhui Middle School

In 1922, after he returned to China, Feng taught art at the Chunhui Middle School (*Chunhui zhongxue 春暉中學*), in Shangyu County (上虞縣), Zhejiang Province. At the Chunhui Middle School, Feng met Zhu Ziqing, Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛 (1897-1986), Kuang Husheng 匡互生, Liu Xunyu 劉薰宇, and others. Also, at the Chunhui Middle School, Feng began to publish his paintings, like *A Lady Visitor (Nü laibin 女來賓)* (Fig. 76), in the school's official journal, *Chunhui 春暉*. The paintings that Feng made after he returned to China reveal the clear influence of Yumeji. At Zhu Ziqing's invitation, Feng's lyrical sketch, *The Crescent (Rensanhou yigou xinyue tianrushui 人散後 一鉤新月天如水, 1924)* (Fig. 77), first made its appearance in the journal, *Our July (Women de qiyue 我們的七月)* in 1924.¹⁹

¹⁸ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa" 漫畫的描法, *XMZSF*, 244; Feng Yiying and Chen Xing, "Feng Zikai de huihua yishu" 豐子愷的繪畫藝術, Lu Weiluan 盧瑋鑾, ed., *Feng Zikai: Shengli 豐子愷 - 勝利* (Hong Kong: Hanmoxuan Publishing Co., Ltd., 2000), 141.

¹⁹ Chen Xing 陳星, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie 豐子愷的藝術世界* (Gaoxiang: Fuguang Publishing Co., 1993), 5-6; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 78; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 32.

The Lida Academy and Feng's *Manhua*

Feng's lyrical paintings strongly attracted Zheng Zhenduo's attention. Zheng was a prominent figure in the Shanghai literary scene and the editor of *Literature Weekly* (*Wenxue zhoubao* 文學週報, 1921-1929). *Literature Weekly* was the official journal of the Literary Research Association (*Wenxue yanjiuhui* 文學研究會, 1920-1932), one of the most important literary groups in modern China, and the publication advocated realism and humanism in literature, seeing writing as a form of engagement with life and society.²⁰ In the winter of 1924, because their educational ideas differed from those of the president, Jing Hengyi, Feng and other colleagues simultaneously resigned their teaching positions at the Chunhui Middle School. Later in 1925, in collaboration with Kuang Husheng, Feng moved to Shanghai and founded the Lida Academy (*Lida xueyuan* 立達學園), where he was appointed the dean of the school and taught Western art.²¹ The Lida Academy boasted many renowned men of letters as members, including Zheng Zhenduo, Ye Shengtao, Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), Chen Wangdao 陳望道 (1890-1977), and Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (1896-1986).²²

When Zheng learned that Feng had moved to Shanghai, he began to solicit Feng's help for regular contributions to his esteemed literary journal. Later, Zheng sent a letter to Feng in which he wrote, "We all liked your paintings. Would you mind having a solo publication?"²³ In 1925 Feng's first solo painting publication, *Collection of Zikai's*

²⁰ Denton, 503.

²¹ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie*, 5-6; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 78.

²² *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Writers* (Beijing: Xin shi jie Publishing Company, 1994), 76.

²³ Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 35.

Manhua (*Zikai Manhua* 子愷漫畫) (Fig. 78), was published.²⁴ Feng's first collection of *manhua* (lit. sketch drawing) is particularly interesting, because many of its prefaces were written by leading intellectuals of the time. From the first preface by Zheng Zhenduo, it appears that Zheng took the initiative in the publication of the work. In another long preface, Xia Mianzun, Feng's teacher in Hangzhou, congratulates Feng on combining traditional lyricism with earthy realism.²⁵ By infusing uncommon lyrical sense and humanistic concern into his artworks, Feng not only attracted the attention of elite circles with his art, but also appealed to the general public. From now on, Feng was not just a "Little Artist," but a professional artist.

Being an artist, however, was not something at which one could normally make a living. Feng had to work as an art teacher in a wide variety of schools to make ends meet and to pay the debts that he had incurred during his period of study in Japan. By and large, Feng taught without great enthusiasm. More often than not, he felt that teaching was a burden that distracted him from his real vocation, that of a creative artist. Moreover, traditional educational methods in China were not to his liking, which was often revealed in Feng's essays and artworks.

In August of 1927, upon Feng's request, when he was on his way to Jiangxi Province and stayed at Feng's home in Jiangwan (江灣), Shanghai, Master Hongyi gave Feng's house a name, *Yuanyuan Studio* (*Yuanyuan tang* 緣緣堂). Under the influence of Hongyi, Feng took refuge in Buddhism in 1927, and Hongyi gave Feng a Buddhist name,

²⁴ Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 33-35; Dai, 150.

²⁵ Feng Zikai, *Zikai manhua* 子愷漫畫 (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1929), 3-23.

Yingxing 嬰行, which literally means “behaves like an infant.”²⁶ From 1927 to 1973, Feng produced six volumes of religious cartoons entitled *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng huaji* 護生畫集), which deal with the Buddhist teaching of non-killing and reverence for life. The Buddhist belief exerted a far-reaching influence on Feng’s life and it became a feature of his artworks.

The Kaiming Book Company

In 1929, Feng was invited to work as an editor at the Kaiming Book Company (*Kaiming shudian* 開明書店). At the company, Feng was both a member of the board of directors and a contributor. He designed numerous book covers for the Book Company’s publications, such as Xia Mianzun’s translation *Heart* (*Aide jiaoyu* 愛的教育) and Lin Yu-tang’s *Kaiming First English Book* (*Kaiming diyi yingwen duben* 開明第一英文讀本), and Feng’s novel graphic designs brought the company much profit. Two years later (1931), the Kaiming Book Company published Feng’s first collection of prose, *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio* (*Yuanyuantang suibiji* 緣緣堂隨筆集). His prose is so remarkably easy to read because it seems to be so utterly uncontrived. As he does in his *manhua* paintings, Feng expresses his philosophy of life through descriptions of trivial things in daily life, making them full of food for thought.²⁷ In the spring of 1933, a new *Yuanyuan Studio* was established in Shimenwan, Feng’s hometown. Feng quit his teaching jobs in Shanghai and moved back to his hometown to do freelance work. The period between

²⁶ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 108, 112, 129.

²⁷ *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Writers*, 76-77.

1933 and 1937 was Feng's most creative period. Many of Feng's well known paintings and essays, including *A History of Western Art* (*Xiyang meishushi* 西洋美術史, 1928), *Ten Great Musicians of the Present Age* (*Jinshi shi da yinyuejia* 近世十大音樂家, 1930), *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng huaji*, 1929), *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio* (1931), *Students' Cartoons* (*Xuesheng manhua* 學生漫畫, 1931), *Children's Cartoons* (*Ertong manhua* 兒童漫畫, 1932), *Pictures of Human Life* (*Renjian xiang* 人間相, 1935), etc., which were full of vitality and force, were published by the Kaiming Book Company at this time. As an editor and major contributor to the Book Company, Feng disseminated his artworks and aesthetic thoughts to many young students.

The Wartime Period

The Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937 when Feng was almost forty. In late November 1937, after his hometown had been attacked in a Japanese air raid, Feng and his family fled into China's interior, starting a long and painful ordeal as refugees. In January 1938, his beloved Yuanyuan Studio, where he drew his *manhua*, wrote his superb personal essays, and stored his precious books and other mementos, including Master Hongyi's calligraphy, was burned down. In a moving article called *Commemorating the Spirit of the Yuanyuan Studio* (*Gao Yuanyuantang zaitian zhiling* 告緣緣堂在天之靈, 1938), Feng poured out his anger against the enemy.²⁸ In 1938, Feng published a book, entitled *Casual Essays on Cartoons* (*Manwen Manhua* 漫文漫畫),

²⁸ Feng Zikai, "Gao Yuanyuantang zai tian zhi ling" 告緣緣堂在天之靈, *YSJ*, 203-209.

where he chose fifty wartime cartoons from different cartoonists and wrote comments. As an artist, Feng now believed that art could and should play a major role in saving China.²⁹

In January 1940, along with the faculty of Zhejiang University, Feng and his family moved to Zunyi (遵義), Guizhou (貴州). In April, Feng's essay collection, *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio*, was translated by Yoshikawa Kōjiro into Japanese and published by the publisher Sōgensha (創元社) in Japan, a translation that reflected very special meaning on the Sino-Japanese relationship particularly in the wartime period.³⁰ In autumn of the same year, Feng was promoted to the rank of associate professor at Zhejiang University. Besides teaching aesthetic theory and art appreciation, he also taught new Chinese literature.³¹

At the end of 1942, at Chen Zhifo's invitation, Feng moved to Chongqing (重慶), Sichuan (四川) Province, and taught at the National Art Academy (*Guoli yishu zhuanke xuexiao* 國立藝術專科學校). In Chongqing, Feng maintained close relationships with writers, like Wu Langxi 吳朗西 (1904-1992), and artists, such as Xu Beihong and Guang Liang 關良 (1900-1986). In the same year, Feng's first solo exhibition was held in Chongqing, and he began to turn from paintings in black and white to paintings in colors.

Feng moved back to Hangzhou in July 1946 after the war was over. In the same year Feng's first collection of color *manhua* was published. In September 1948, Feng Zikai, Feng Yiying (Feng's youngest daughter), and Zhang Xichen 章錫琛 (the owner of

²⁹ Mori Tetsurō 森哲郎, *Zhongguo kangri manhua shi – Zhongguo manhua jia shiwu nian di kangri douzheng licheng* 中國抗日漫畫史 – 中國漫畫家十五年的抗日鬥爭歷程, trans. Yu Qinde 于欽德 and Bao Wenxiong 鮑文雄 (Jinan: Shandong hua bao Publishing Co., 1999), 44.

³⁰ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 211.

³¹ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 7.

the Kaiming Book Company) visited Taiwan, where Feng held a solo exhibition in Taipei and broadcasted a speech entitled “Chinese Art” (*Zhongguo yishu* 中國藝術) in Taiwan Broadcaster. Feng also held an exhibition in Hong Kong in the spring of 1949 when they were on the way back to Shanghai.³²

New China

Since his lyrical style did not match the ideology of Socialist China, most of Feng’s artworks went out of print, and he made a great effort to translate classic works after 1949. In the 1950s Feng started to learn Russian and, in collaboration with Feng Yiying, translated Russian literature, including Ivan Sergieevich Turgenev’s (1818-1883) *Notes of a Hunter* (*Leiren biji* 獵人筆記) and *The First Love* (*Chulian* 初戀). Feng painted illustrations for Lu Xun’s essays and published them as *Illustrations for Lu Xun’s Essays* (*Huihua Lu Xun xiaoshuo* 繪畫魯迅小說) (Fig. 79) in 1954.³³ In the same year, Feng became a standing committee member of the Artists Association of China (*Zhongguo meishu xiehui changwu lishi* 中國美術協會常務理事) and Vice-chairman of the Shanghai Artists Association (*Shanghai meishujia xiehui fuzhuxi* 上海美術家協會副主席). In 1958, at the age of sixty-one, Feng became a member of the Political Consultative Committee of China (*Quanguo zhengxie weiyuan* 全國政協委員). In the same year, Feng published *Collection of Li Shutong’s Songs* (*Li Shutong gequ ji* 李叔同

³² Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 7-9; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 58.

³³ Feng Zikai, *Huihua Lu Xun xiaoshuo* 繪畫魯迅小說 (Hong Kong: Wanye shudian, 1954).

歌曲集) and translated Natsume Sōseki's novel *The Three-Cornered World* (*Kusamakura*) into Chinese, entitling it *Lüsu* (旅宿, or *Caozhen* [草枕]).³⁴

In June 1960 Feng was appointed director of the Chinese Painting Academy in Shanghai (*Shanghai zhongguo huayuan* 上海中國畫院) and traveled to many places, including Mt. Huang, Ningbo, Yangzhou, and others. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Feng was seriously criticized and denounced. In 1970 when he suffered from lung cancer and had more time at home, Feng repainted his *manhua* works in secret, which had been destroyed during the war and the Cultural Revolution. Feng handed these paintings, entitled *My Treasured Broom* (*Bizhou zizhen* 敝帚自珍), to Mr. Hu Zhijun 胡治均, his student, and Feng Xinmei 豐新枚, his youngest son.³⁵ The preface that Feng wrote for this collection reflects his philosophy of his late years. In 1971, Feng translated Yusuki Ryōei's 湯次了榮 (1872-1943) *New Interpretation of the Mahayana Theory of Pratiyasamutpada* (*Dasheng qixinlun xinshi* 大乘起信論新釋) from Japanese into Chinese, and the translation was published in 1973 in Singapore with the help of Master Guangqia 廣洽法師.³⁶

Besides Russian literature, Feng also translated much Japanese literature in the 1960s and 1970s, including *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* (*Ochikubo Monogatari* 落漣物語), *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise Monogatari* 伊勢物語), and *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (*Taketori Monogatari* 竹取物語). In Feng's career as a translator, his most important

³⁴ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 215.

³⁵ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 10; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 105.

³⁶ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 10; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 121-123.

accomplishment was that he started translating the Japanese classic *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語) in 1961 when he was sixty-three years old and finished it in October 1965. Unfortunately, Feng passed away in 1975, and he himself did not see the publication, since the translation was not published until 1982.³⁷

3.2 Feng Zikai and Japan

Throughout his career, Feng's art and writings revealed a strong Japanese influence. It is, therefore, important to understand the Sino-Japanese relationship from various social and artistic perspectives. In this section, the works of Takehisa Yumeji, Fukiya Kōji, and Natsume Sōseki will be discussed. As mentioned earlier, Feng Zikai spent ten months in Japan, where he encountered Takehisa Yumeji's artworks. Feng's artworks, carrying both humanistic concern and poetic sense, attracted many May Fourth intellectuals' attention, and his artworks came to be the interest and marketing strategies of some new publishing houses, like the Kaiming Book Company. In this section, I examine the relationship between Feng Zikai and Japan, and see how Feng shared his Japanese experience with his cultural circles.

Interactions between the art worlds of China and Japan were already flourishing between 1850 and 1900. Many Chinese literati painters' works went into Nagasaki (長崎) and influenced Nanga's stylistic features.³⁸ Also, many Japanese merchants went to

³⁷ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 9-10; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 216; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 101-103.

³⁸ "Nanga 南畫" is a term derived from the Chinese Nanhua or Southern School. It is a school of Japanese painting which is also known as *Bunjinga* (文人畫) or literati of painting. This terminology was introduced to Japan by Nankei, an eighteenth century artist, and played an important role in Japanese art criticism of the Edo period; James Cahill, *Scholar Painters of Japan: The Nanga School* (New York: Asia Society;

China, particularly Shanghai and became important patrons of Shanghai artists.

Numerous artworks of the Shanghai school also reveal the Japanese influence, such as Ren Xiong's 任熊 (1823-1857) *Album after the Poems of Yao Xie (Yao Xie shiyi tuce 姚燮詩意圖冊, 1850-1851)* (Fig. 80) and *The Ten Myriads (Shiwan tuce 十萬圖冊, c. 1856)* (Fig. 81).³⁹

Before 1895, when the first Sino-Japanese War took place, Chinese intellectuals, including artists, still believed that China was the center of the world, and they possessed an arrogant attitude toward foreigners. However, after the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905), the Chinese people came to sense that their neighbors, the Japanese, were a powerful and modernized nation. Since Japan was closer to China than to Europe, and because of the cultural and linguistic affinity between the two countries, many students were eager to go to Japan to study art and other fields.

Many twentieth-century Chinese artists' works betrayed the Japanese influence. Chen Shizeng, a traditionalist painter, went to Japan to study natural science, where he encountered the Ming painters' works. Wang Zhen 王震 [or Wang Yiting 王一亭] (1867-1938), a late Shanghai School painter, was also active in both China and Japan. Chen and Wang's works, such as *Album of Beijing Customs (Beijing fengsu tu 北京風俗圖)* (Fig. 82), miscellaneous painting (Fig. 83), *Fate* (Fig. 84), and *Dragon* (Fig. 85),

distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1972), 9-12; Christine Guth, *Art of Edo Japan: the Artists and the City 1615-1868* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1996), 100.

³⁹ Shan Guolin 單國霖, "Painting of China's New Metropolis: The Shanghai School, 1850-1900," *A Century in Crisis*, 22-25; Li Chu-tsing and Wan Qingli, *Wanqing zhibu*, 74-81; Stella Yu Lee, "The Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century," Chu-tsing Li, ed., *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting* (Lawrence, Kan.: Kress Foundation Department of Art History, University of Kansas, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1989), 226-228.

betrayed the influence of Zen paintings that they probably encountered in Japan. The Japanese influence also can be seen in the works of later-generation artists, such as Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965) (Fig. 86) and Zhang Daqian 張大千 (or Chang Da-chien) (1899-1983) (Fig. 87).

Japanese influence or interactions appears not only in traditional ink paintings, but also in oil paintings, woodcuts, and graphic art. For instance, Zhang Daqian and Chen Zhifo 陳之佛 (1896-1962) studied textiles in Japan. In 1919, with the help of Miyake Katsumi, Chen Zhifo entered the Tokyo School of Fine Art,⁴⁰ where he studied applied art until 1923. Chen absorbed numerous artistic trends in Japan and became the first professional designer in China. His cover designs show significant Japanese influence.⁴¹ The graphic arts of Li Shutong and Lu Xun, as mentioned earlier, were also greatly influenced by Japan. Their relationship with Japanese friends, like Uchiyama Kanzō 內山完造, running a bookstore in Shanghai, promoted the entry of Japanese art into China through such means as publication. In the 1920s and 1930s, more and more students went to Japan to study oil paintings in addition to traditional ink paintings and the graphic arts. Chen Baoyi, Guan Liang, Ni Yide, and Guan Zilan were active artists in the 1920s, and their works showed the influence of Post-Impressionism and Fauvism, which were popular in Japan at the time. In the 1930s, students who studied in Japan were influenced by the Japanese art world's fascination for Dadaism, Constructivism, and Surrealism.⁴²

⁴⁰ Yoshikawa, "Li Shutong yu baima hui," 290.

⁴¹ Li Youguang 李有光 and Chen Xiufan 陳修範, *Chen Zhifo yanjiu* 陳之佛研究 (Jiangsu: Jiangsu meishu Publishing Co., Ltd., 1990), 17-22.

⁴² Kuiyi Shen, "The Lure of the West," *A Century in Crisis*, 172-173.

Not only was Feng Zikai connected to Japan through his training under Li Shutong at the First Normal School in Hangzhou, but he also left his family behind and went to Japan for ten months in 1921. Throughout his career, his art and writings revealed a strong Japanese influence, not least of all in his choice of the *manhua* medium.

According to Feng Zikai, Western art was introduced into China only for a short time in the 1910s, and very few people understood what Western art was. Based on the life drawing knowledge that he received from Li Shutong at the First Normal School in Hangzhou and a textbook translated from Japanese, *Lectures on Orthodox Western Paintings* (*Zhengze yanghua jiangyi* [or Jap. *Seisoku yōga koji*] 正則洋畫講義), published in the Meiji period, Feng was very comfortable teaching Western art at the Shanghai Normal School after he graduated from the First Normal School in Hangzhou. However, more and more students studying art abroad, such as Chen Baoyi and Wu Fading, returned to China in the late 1910s, and began to teach Western art.⁴³ Also, more and more journals introducing Western art to the Chinese people were available in Shanghai. Feng realized that he had not learned enough and gradually felt incompetent and uncomfortable teaching Western art. He felt himself like “an immature orange.” In 1921 Feng decided to go to Japan. On his limited budget, he only stayed in Tokyo for ten months.⁴⁴

Although he only stayed in Japan less than a year, Feng took intensive lessons in Japanese, English, and the violin. Also, he haunted bookshops and frequented museums. It was at this time that he encountered Takehisa Yumeiji’s work, *Haru no maki* (春の巻,

⁴³ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan,” *YSJ*, 48-49; Chen Baoyi, 24-25.

⁴⁴ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan,” *YSJ*, 48-49; Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 244; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 24-25; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 76-77.

1909).⁴⁵ Feng fell in love immediately with Yumeji's works, which showed an excellent blend of Western techniques and Eastern ideas. The deeper and more serious side of life depicted in Yumeji's works attracted Feng. In Japan, Feng not only learned new things but also gained a fresh insight into Chinese art. Undoubtedly, the trip to Japan was a turning point in Feng's artistic career.

3.2.1 Feng Zikai, Takehisa Yumeji, and Fukiya Kōji

Many Chinese scholars, like Chen Xing, have discussed the relationship between Feng and Takehisa Yumeji, but they never point out in what way the two artists are related. In the second chapter of *An Artistic Exile*, "Journey to the East," Geremie Barme has provided detailed biographical information about the reason Feng Zikai went to Japan to study and how Feng encountered Yumeji's art works in Japan. However, Barme did not analyze the social environment and thought that were behind Yumeji's works. Also, besides being influenced by Yumeji, Feng's thoughts and art works included vestiges of another Japanese artist, Fukiya Kōji, and a great Japanese novelist, Natsume Sōseki. Both Kōji and Sōseki have been underexamined by previous scholarship, including Barme's. In this section, I articulate the background of these two artists and the great writer and point out in what way they influenced Feng.

⁴⁵ Feng Zikai, "Wo de kuxue jingyan," *YSJ*, 49-50; Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMZSF*, 244; Yang Xiaowen 楊曉文, "Takehisa Yumeji no kage o dete – Hō Shigai to Takehisa Yumeji" 竹九夢二の影を出て-豊子愷と竹九夢二, *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 (Eastern Studies) July 1994: 127; Ogura, 76; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 76-77.

Takehisa Yumeji

The first person who connected Feng's artistic features to Takehisa Yumeji was Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967), Lu Xun's younger brother, a professor of literature at Peking University, and an important figure in the Literary Research Association.⁴⁶ In December 1925, Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 published a collection of his own poems entitled *Memory* (*Yi* 憶), which was accompanied by 28 illustrations (Fig. 88) done by Feng. In a review of the collection, "Binding of 'Memory'" (*Yi de zhuanding* "憶"的裝訂), published in 1926, Zhou wrote: "the second characteristic [of the collection] is that it carries eighteen illustrations done by Mr. Feng Zikai. This kind of illustration is very uncommon in China. The first time I saw the draft, including the poems and paintings, of [Yu] Pingbo, I felt [the illustrations carried] Takehisa Yumeji's taste."⁴⁷

The Okayama-born painter Takehisa Yumeji (or real name Takehisa Shigejirō 竹久茂次郎) was one of the most influential and popular artists of the Meiji (明治 1868-1911) and Taishō (大正 1912-1936) eras. In addition to studying *Nihonga* 日本畫, oil painting, watercolor, and *ukiyo-e* (浮世繪), Yumeji was a famous poet.⁴⁸ Yumeji gave full play to his talent in illustrations for magazines, book cover designs, woodblock prints and kimono patterns, thus becoming a pioneer in Japan's commercial art.⁴⁹

Between 1897 and 1911, under the advocacy of Fujishima Takeji and Aoki Shigeru 青木繁 (1882-1911), Romanticism became the dominant trend in Japanese art circles.

⁴⁶ Chen Xing, "Feng Zikai yanjiu de guoqu xianzai yu jianglai" 豐子愷研究的過去現在與將來, Zhu Xiaojiang 朱曉江, ed., *Feng Zikai lun* 豐子愷論 (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 2000), 2.

⁴⁷ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 147.

⁴⁸ Ogura, 70.

⁴⁹ Takehisa Yumeji, *Takehisa Yumeji* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977), preface.

Yumeji was attracted to the Romantic Movement. He incorporated Western Romanticism to such a degree that he was variously referred to as “Japan’s Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901)” and “Japan’s Edvard Munch (1863-1944).”⁵⁰ He also encountered other artistic trends that were popular in Europe, like the Art Nouveau Movement (1890-1905). Many oil painters like Fujishima Takeji contributed illustrations to magazines like *Stars* (*Myōjō* 明星), and their works, like *Playing the Flute* (笛吹, 1901) (Fig. 89), carried a strong Art Nouveau style.⁵¹ With the 1900 Paris Exposition, the popularity of Art Nouveau style reached its peak.⁵² Yumeji’s illustrations and designs (Fig. 90, Fig. 91) strongly reflected the influence of the Art Nouveau Movement.⁵³

Yumeji was also attracted to the Arts and Crafts Movement (1850-1900). In 1914, he opened *Minatoya* 港屋 (Fig. 92) in Tokyo, a shop selling illustrated stationery, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, casual kimonos, and kimono accessories with his designs. The *Minatoya* was very successful business, and its popularity made the shop’s productions into well-known souvenirs.⁵⁴ In the early Shōwa era (昭和 1926-1989), under the influence of William Morris (1834-1896), Yumeji advocated establishing a research institute for industrial art (*Sangyō bijutsu kenkyūjo* 産業美術研究所), thus advocating combining art with daily life.⁵⁵ Yumeji’s art was for the masses, it was a popular art

⁵⁰ Ogura, 70, 74; <http://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/spn/okayama.html>.

⁵¹ “Sōga no ōgon jidai” 挿畫の黄金時代, *Nihon bijutsu kan* 日本美術館 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1997), 959; Ogura, 74.

⁵² “Sōga no ōgon jidai,” *Nihon bijutsu kan*, 958.

⁵³ Ogura, 74.

⁵⁴ Ogura, 77; Jackie Menzies, ed., *Modern Boy Modern Girl* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1998), 48; Roberts, 170.

⁵⁵ Ogura, 70.

completely outside of the art establishment.⁵⁶

Yumeji's advocacy of art for the masses coincided with his Socialist and Marxist learning. Socialism (or the People's Rights Movement) was active in Japan from the 1890s until the 1930s, when the militarists quashed it. Many of the early Socialists were also Christians, such as Uchimura Kanzō 內村鑑三 (1861-1930), Abe Isoo 安部磯雄 (1865-1959) and Katayama Sen 片山潛 (1859-1933), and their ideas were a blend of humanism and Christian theology. The movements were driven by the awful conditions in factories, mines, and textile mills, where workers spent long hours toiling in unsafe and unhealthy conditions.⁵⁷

The modern labor movement in Japan may be said to have begun in the summer of 1897 after the war with China. For the first time in the history of Japan, industries had been prosperous on account of the war indemnity taken from China. The working class seemed to awaken, and the workers were demanding an increase in wages owing to the increased cost of living. The modern industrial system was a new experience in Japan, and thus there were no legal restrictions on the labor movement or on strikes.⁵⁸ On the first day of December 1897, the Iron Workers' Union (鐵工工會) was organized in Tokyo, with over 1,000 members. This was the first trade union in Japan. Its constitution and by-laws were copied from those of the American trade unions. On the same day, the first issue of *Labor World* was published. From the beginning of the year 1899, *Labor*

⁵⁶ Menzies, 48.

⁵⁷ Ogura, 76; Katayama Sen 片山潛, *The Labor Movement in Japan* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1918), 57; Lin Mingde 林明德, *Riben jindai shi* 日本近代史 (Taipei: Sanmin Bookstore, 1996), 290-297.

⁵⁸ Katayama, 36-37; Lin Mingde, 285-286.

World began giving a special column in every issue to the discussion of Socialism. Before that time, it had reported events in the Socialist movement abroad from time to time, but now the editors thought it was time to educate the workers on the aims and principles of Socialism.⁵⁹

In November of the same year, there had appeared in Osaka a labor paper called *Osaka Weekly* (*Osaka shūhō* 大阪週報). It advocated Socialism outright as the only solution to labor problems. The *Osaka Weekly* was owned and edited by Ōi Kentaro 大井憲太郎 (1843-1922), a veteran of a prominent liberal movement before 1890, when the liberals were demanding a national constitution and a parliament.⁶⁰

In the 1900 spring session of the Imperial Diet, a law entitled the *Public Peace Police Law* (治安警察法) was passed and immediately enacted. The law prevented the working class from organizing itself into unions and practically prohibited both the industrial working class and tenant farmers from agitating for their own interests and against employers and landlords.⁶¹

Abe Isoo was interested in social problems from a humanistic viewpoint, and in cooperation with Katayama Sen, Kinoshita Naoe (1869-1937) and Nishikawa Kojiro (1876-1940), he founded the Socialist Democratic Party (*Shakai minshuto* 社會民主黨) on May 20, 1901. The organization's manifesto was printed in four daily papers and in the *Labor World* in Tokyo. Although the government suppressed the party soon after the party was established, this was an important step for Socialism, as it was the first time

⁵⁹ Katayama, 38, 54.

⁶⁰ Katayama, 54-55; Lin Mingde, 286-287.

⁶¹ Katayama, 58; Lin Mingde, 286-287.

that Socialism was so widely advertised. The founding members of the Socialist Democratic Party turned their energies into a Socialist educational and propaganda campaign and formed a non-political organization called the Socialist Association (*Shakai Shugi Kyōkai* 社會主義協會) immediately after the suppression of the Party.⁶²

The years 1902 and 1903 constituted the most prosperous period for the combined activities of the labor and socialist movements in Japan. Socialism was then a very popular topic of study and discussion in public. This may be seen in the *Labor World* editors' interviews of many prominent persons, statesmen, scholars, and businessmen on labor questions and on socialism.⁶³ For example, Mr. Genichirō Fukuchi, a noted historian and savant, said to the editor of the *Labor World*:

Japan's Kokutai (National Constitution) is really socialism. A person who lives from another's labor is looked upon as a criminal, according to the fundamental national ideas. One who lives from the labor of others is condemned and punished just like a gambler and thief. Labor is the ideal of Japan. Isn't this socialism?⁶⁴

Professor Inazō Nitobe of the Imperial University, when he was interviewed by a *Labor World* writer in the summer of 1902, said that he was a good socialist and proceeded to declare that after the fall of the trusts, the so-called social democracy of Marx would be established in the sphere of economy, noting that

Socialists shall then rule the world so that the greatest number of human beings will enjoy a happy life. I became a socialist while I was in America three years and ever since my belief in socialism has been growing stronger. The ideal of humanity is in socialism.⁶⁵

⁶² Katayama, 61-62; Lin Mingde, 287; *The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who* (Tokyo: Japan Biographical Research Department, Rengo Press, Ltd., 1958), 2.

⁶³ Katayama, 69, 71.

⁶⁴ Katayama, 73.

⁶⁵ Katayama, 74.

In spite of stern suppression by the government of the political organization, Japanese socialists now fought against war for two years. Their anti-war propaganda began on the eighth of October 1903, when hegemony over Korea was a burning question between Russia and Japan. In November 1903, the comrades in question started a socialist weekly called *The People's Newspaper* (*Heimin Shinbun* 平民新聞) in Tokyo, making it an organ of the fight against the war. Abe Isoo connected himself with *The People's Newspaper*, spurred by his Christian faith. At the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), Uchimura Kanzō supported Japan's stand, but he later became a pacifist after learning that a war meant profits for high officials and capitalists and sufferings for the people in general. Uchimura Kanzō joined *Manchoho* (newspaper) (1896) and advocated an antiwar policy.⁶⁶

Takehisa Yumeji was not only interested in Socialism, but also in Marxist ideology. He was a pious Christian as well, and his thinking was strongly influenced by Uchimura Kanzō and Abe Isoo.⁶⁷ In 1905, Yumeji and his comrade from People's Society (*Heimin sha* 平民社), Oka Eijiro 岡榮次郎, began to live in a socialist style in a solitary village. In the same year, Yumeji began to publish his paintings, like *Skeleton Girl in White Robe* (白衣の骸骨と女), in the official journal of People's Society, *Chokugen* (直言), and essays, like *Lovely Friend* (可愛いお友達), in the Sunday supplement of the *Yomiuri Newspaper* (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 讀賣新聞).⁶⁸ Yumeji's works, such as *Only 15 Cents* (たった十五銭, ca. 1910) (Fig. 93) and *Broken Heart* (破れた水車と破れた心, 1908) (Fig.

⁶⁶ Katayama, 85; *Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who*, 2, 1773; Lin Mingde, 287-288.

⁶⁷ Ogura, 73-76, 80.

⁶⁸ Unno Hiroshi 海野弘, "Yumeji sono yottsu no sekai" 夢二その四つの世界, *Takehisa Yumeji* (Tokyo: Shinchō sha, 1996), 73-74; Ogura, 74.

94), reflected his opposition to authority, enthusiasm for a Utopia, and strong humanistic concern for the common people.⁶⁹

On June 22, 1908, a joint meeting of Kinyokai and Dishikai – Marxists (議會政策派) and Direct Actionists (直接行動派) – was held at the Kinki Kan hall (錦輝館) in Tokyo in honor of Yamaguchi Koken (山口孤劍), who had just come out of prison. At the close of the meeting, the comrades of the Kinyokai hoisted red flags in the street and sang a revolutionary song “The Chain of Wealth”. Suddenly, about fifty policemen appeared on the scene and attempted to take away the flags, and fourteen comrades were arrested. Ten comrades were sent to prison for from one year to two and a half years. This was the so-called Red Flag Riot (*Kōki jiken* 紅旗事件).⁷⁰ That the government became insanely sensitive and began to keep the strictest guard over every known leader of the socialists motivated the socialist activities. On January 18, 1910, the famous frame-up consisting of an attempt on the life of Emperor Meiji, *Daigyaku jiken* (大逆事件), took place. Many comrades were caught and imprisoned, and 12 comrades, including Kōtoku Shūsui 幸徳秋水 (1871-1911), were executed.⁷¹ Under government suppression, the *People's Newspaper* ceased publication three months, and Yumeji, a major contributor of illustrations and essays to the press, suddenly lost his stage for performance. Yumeji was suspected and tailed by the government as well. His painting *Troubled Happiness* (不安なる歡樂, 1909) (Fig. 95) reveals his melancholy at the

⁶⁹ Ogura, 76.

⁷⁰ Katayama, 132; Lin Mingde, 288.

⁷¹ Katayama, 133-135; Lin Mingde, 288-289.

time.⁷² Yumeji described his suffering: “It was very hard [for me] to take [up] brushes again when my brushes and my heart were broken (繪筆折りてゴルギーの手をとらんには、あまりに細き我腕かな).”⁷³

Yumeji’s paintings were often accompanied by a song or a verse, and they combined the influence of Western art of the turn of the century with Japanese feeling and *ukiyo-e* style.⁷⁴ In his essay “Cartooning Methods” (*Manhua de miaofa* 漫畫的描法, 1943), Feng Zikai not only expressed appreciation for Yumeji’s competence in synthesizing Western and Japanese art but also conveyed appreciation for the poetic beauty, lyrical quality, and concern for humanity in his works.⁷⁵

Yumeji had been famous in the art scene in Japan since 1905, the year when his illustrations began to be published in journals and newspapers. In Japan, the popularity of illustrations can be traced back to the late Heian period (平安時代 794-1185). The demand for illustrations for newspapers and magazines greatly increased in the mid-Taishō period due to the introduction of the photomechanic technique and a boom in the publishing industry. The time from the late Taishō to the early Shōwa periods, therefore, became the golden time of illustrations in Japan.⁷⁶

The easy, comparatively liberal atmosphere of the Taishō era (1911-1926) prevailed in Japan. From Taishō to the early Shōwa period, Yumeji again did many illustrations

⁷² Ogura, 75; “Sōga no ōgon jidai,” *Nihon bijutsu kan*, 957-958.

⁷³ Ogura, 75.

⁷⁴ Roberts, 170; Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 248.

⁷⁵ Feng Zikai, “Manhua di miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 248.

⁷⁶ “Sōga no ōgon jidai,” *Nihon bijutsu kan*, 958; Lü Jinren 呂敬人, ed., *Riben dangdai chatu ji* 日本當代插圖集 (Anhui: Anhui meishu Publishing Company, 1994), 5-7.

and cover designs for adolescent magazines,⁷⁷ such as *Adolescent Pictorial* (*Shōjo gahō* 少女畫報) (by Tokyosha 東京社), *Elementary Youth* (*Shōgaku shōnen* 小學少年) (by Kenkyusha 研究社), *Elementary Adolescent* (*Shōgaku shōjo* 小學少女) (by Kenkyusha 研究社), and *The Friends of Kids* (*Kodomo no tomo* 子供の友) (by *Fujin no tomo sha* 婦人の友社). Many book covers designed by Yumeji were photomechanized reproductions of Yumeji's original watercolor works. Most commissions that Yumeji took were from the publishing houses and were for covers.⁷⁸

Yumeji is well known as the painter who painted the frail woman with large eyes and a sad face. His *bijin-ga* (美人畫, painting of beautiful women) incorporates influences from *ukiyo-e* and Art Nouveau and suggests desire in the figures' wide, doe-like eyes (Fig. 96). In the early 1920s, he was lighthearted and entranced by the exotic Western fashions and styles of the years after the First World War. Many beauties that Yumeji painted seem particularly Westernized, especially in their makeup and head-on stare, but there is no reason to doubt that they were in fact Japanese (Fig. 97). Yumeji's *bijin-ga* earned him the name of the "modern [Kitagawa] Utamaro [喜多川歌磨, 1753-1806]." ⁷⁹ He also painted children, whose movements and feelings he captured charmingly (Fig. 98, Fig. 99). He was well known as a graphic designer, watercolor painter, and printmaker in Japan. However, Yumeji was a writer, poet, and cartoonist as well.

⁷⁷ Takehisa Yumeji: *kodomo no shiki* 竹九夢二: 子供の四季 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985), 113-117, 126.

⁷⁸ Ogura, 77.

⁷⁹ Roberts, 170; Lawrence Smith, *The Japanese Print Since 1900* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1983), 88.

Between 1900 and 1910, many cartoon magazines, such as *Tokyo Pakku* (東京パッケ) (Meiji [明治] 38 年, 1905) and *Osaka Pakku* (大阪パッケ) (Meiji [明治] 39 年, 1906), appeared, being aimed at the common people instead of elite circles. The first cartoon magazine for children, *Kodomo Pakku* (子供パッケ), was inaugurated in 1924 (Taishō [大正] 13 年), and its contributors included Yumeji (Fig. 100), Takei Takeo 武井武雄 (1894-1983) (Fig. 101), who was an Okaya-born artist and illustrator of children's books, and others.⁸⁰ In addition, Yumeji and Takei Takeo were members of the Japanese Cartoon Association (*Nihon manga kai* 日本漫畫會).⁸¹

In terms of their composition and subject matter, many of Feng's *manhua* works were, no doubt, directly inspired by Yumeji (Fig. 102, Fig. 103) (Fig. 104, Fig. 105). Like Yumeji, Feng accompanied his drawings with a song or verse, giving them a distinctly poetic flavor uncommon in his generation. Although Feng's poetic and lyrical drawings reveal the unmistakable aesthetic and psychological imprint of the work of Takehisa Yumeji (Fig. 106, Fig. 107), the style and approach that he developed were all his own, combining traditional Chinese brush strokes with contemporary social settings, and often lacing them with humor and religious purport. Distinguished from the other contemporary political cartoonists in the Republican era, such as Ye Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907-1995) and Zhang Guangyu 張光宇 (1900-1965), Feng Zikai was the first Chinese artist to paint the lyrical cartoon. He saw cartoons as a pure art form; but more

⁸⁰ Roberts, 171; *Fūshiga kenkyū* 諷刺畫研究 April 1993: 2.

⁸¹ *Fūshiga kenkyū* January 1995: 3-5.

importantly, his strong concern for human fate took precedence over his interest in art.⁸² Like Yumeji's art, Feng is firmly rooted in the prosaic, substantial world of everyday experience. He used traditional brush technique to depict the people and the contemporary scenes around him while preserving a lyrical mood. Feng Zikai's art works include not only the influence of Takehisa Yumeji, but also that of another Japanese artist: Fukiya Kōji (or Kazuo).⁸³

Fukiya Kōji

Born in Niigata Prefecture (新潟縣), Kōji was a painter as well as a famous poet. In 1912, Kōji, with the help of the mayor of Shibata Prefecture, became the artist Otake Chikuha's 尾竹竹波 (1878-1936) pupil when Chikuha held an exhibition in Shibata. Otake Chikuha first studied the *nanga* (南畫) style and then went to Tokyo to become a pupil of Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章 (1842-1913), considered to be the last great representative of the Shijō school (四條派). Chikuha founded the Kawabata Academy of Oil Painting in 1919. Chikuha painted in a delicate traditional manner and was a frequent exhibitor and prizewinner at the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (*Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai* 文部省美術展覽會, also abbreviated as *Bunten*, 文展), and the Exhibition of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (*Teikoku Bijutsu-in tenrankan* 帝國美術院展覽會, or *Teiten* 帝展).⁸⁴ Kōji encountered a great number of Nihonga and Ukiyo-e works,

⁸² Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 136.

⁸³ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 58.

⁸⁴ On October 25, 1907, the Ministry of Education Art Exhibition (or *Bunten*) was inaugurated at the Tokyo Industrial Exposition Art Gallery in Ueno Park. After the twelfth exhibition was held in 1918, the *Bunten*

including those of Kitagawa Utamaro, Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725-1770), and Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694), when he studied with Chikuha in Tokyo,⁸⁵ thus laying a firm foundation for his future artistic career.

In 1914 Kōji went back to Shibata at his father's request. There he painted billboards for a newly founded film firm.⁸⁶ Kōji went back to Tokyo in 1919 and began to work for the Nichibi Design Company (*Nichibi zuansha* 日美圖案社), where he began to work on illustrations. During the same year, with the referral of Yumeji, Kōji was appointed as the chief illustrator of the journal *Adolescent Pictorial* (*Shōjo gahō* 少女畫報) (Fig. 108) (by Tōkyōsha 東京社).⁸⁷

In 1920s Japan, modernists prevailed in the Japanese art world. There was a demand for new tastes and new styles that represented “modern” tastes in all fields. Like Yumeji's career, Kōji's artistic career had an indisputable connection with the flourishing of pictorial magazines. Kōji became a well-known artist in Japan when he began to illustrate Yoshiya Nobuko's 吉屋信子 (1896-1973) famous novel *The Tale of Flowers* (*Hana Monogatari* 花物語) in 1920. Thereafter, new journals such as *The World of Elegant Ladies* (*Shukujokai* 淑女界) (inaugurated in 1921 by Hōbunkan 寶文館) and *The*

was reorganized and renamed as the Exhibition of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (or *Teiten*) in 1919. In 1937, the *Teiten* was renamed Shin-Bunten (New Bunten), when its jurisdiction was transferred back to the Ministry of Education, and lasted until 1943. See Ellen P. Conant, *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868-1968* (St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis Art Museum; [Tokyo]: Japan Foundation, 1995), 96-97.

⁸⁵ Roberts, 71, 123; *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū* 落谷虹兒: 愛の抒情畫集 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985), 122; Unno Hiroshi 海野弘, “Hanayome ningyō wa naze nakuka” 花嫁人形はなぜ泣くか, *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū* 落谷虹兒: 愛の抒情畫集 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985), 93.

⁸⁶ *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 123.

⁸⁷ Unno, “Hanayome ningyō wa naze nakuka,” *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 93-94.

Club of Adolescents (*Shōjo kurabu* 少女俱樂部) (inaugurated in 1923 by Kōdansha 講談社) became his major performance stages. Journals such as the *Adolescent Pictorial* (少女畫報) and the *World of Adolescents* (*Shōjo sekai* 少女世界) were aimed at the girls from elementary school to junior high school. In 1911 the publisher Hōbunkan (寶文館) inaugurated a new magazine, *Reijokai* (令女界), aimed at senior students in high school and single ladies, and many illustrations in this magazine were mainly by Kōji (Fig. 109, Fig. 110). In 1924 Kōji published many copies of his *shigashū* (詩畫集, lit. collections of poem with paintings), including *Dream of the Water Lily* (*Suiren no Yume* 睡蓮の夢) (Fig. 111), *Tragic Smile* (*Kanashiki bishō* 悲しき微笑) (Fig. 112), and *Silver Sand* (銀砂の汀 *Ginsa no tei*) (Fig. 113).⁸⁸ Fukiya Kōji was an illustrator of women's magazines. The great flourishing of adolescent and women's magazines in 1920s Japan, according to Unno Hiroshi, was the similar to that of *manga* for adolescents nowadays.⁸⁹

Between 1919 and 1925, the style of Kōji's illustrations was strongly influenced both by Takehisa Yumeji and by Aubrey Beardsley.⁹⁰ Beardsley was born in 1872 in Brighton, England. His first published work was "The Valiant," a poem in the June 1885 issue of *Past and Present*, the Brighton Grammar School magazine. Two years later his first reproduced drawings, a series of sketches entitled *The Jubilee Cricket Analysis*, appeared in the same journal, and he provided the program book of illustrations for *The Pay of the Pied Piper*, his school's 1888 Christmas entertainment. In 1892, the owner of

⁸⁸ Fukiya Kōji: *Ai no jojō gashū*, 25-29, 127.

⁸⁹ Unno, "Hanayome ningyō wa naze nakuka," *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 96; *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 126.

⁹⁰ Unno, "Hanayome ningyō wa naze nakuka," *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 93.

Evans Bookstore introduced Beardsley to the publisher J. M. Dent. The years 1893-94 were perhaps the most important in Beardsley's career. He was hard at work producing illustrations and covers for books and periodicals, including his first commission, Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* (Fig. 114).⁹¹

Beardsley's fame was established for all time when the first volume of *The Yellow Book* (Fig. 115) appeared in April 1894. This famous quarterly of art and literature, for which Beardsley served as art editor and for which the American expatriate Henry Harland served as literary editor, brought the artist's work to a large public. It was Beardsley's startling black-and-white drawings (Fig. 116), title pages, and covers, which combined with the writings of the so-called "decadents," a unique format, and publisher John Lane's remarkable marketing strategies, made the journal an overnight sensation.⁹²

In 1893 the artist formed an alliance with Oscar Wilde (1854-1900). In February of that year, Wilde's scandalous play *Salome* was published in its original French version. Wilde admired an illustration inspired by the drama, and Beardsley was commissioned fifty guineas to illustrate the English edition (1894). This assignment was the beginning of both Beardsley's celebrity and also of an uneasy, and at times unpleasant, friendship with Wilde, which officially ended when Wilde was convicted of sodomy in 1895. By the time of his death in 1898, at the age of twenty-five, Beardsley had broken through the Victorian unconscious and hurled England into the twentieth century. Although most of

⁹¹ Brigid Brophy, *Beardsley and His World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 37, 60-62; Mary Beth McGrath, "The Life of Aubrey Beardsley," *The Victorian Web* <http://65.107.211.206/art/illustration/beardsley/bio1.html>; Liu Zhengyuan, 208-209.

⁹² Brophy, 75; McGrath <http://65.107.211.206/art/illustration/beardsley/bio1.html>; Liu Zhenyuan, 206-208.

his drawings were for books or magazines seen by few people, his erotic and haunting drawings have been well known for more than a hundred years.⁹³

Kōji's illustrations are marked by lyricism and have found many devotees among girls.⁹⁴ His meticulous fine-line illustrations can be traced to Beardsley. Although illustration brought great wealth and fame to Kōji, in 1925 he brought his wife to France, where he studied oil painting and had his works admitted to exhibitions of Salon d'Autonne in 1926 and the Salon Nationale in 1927.⁹⁵ The reason why Kōji put all the fame and high income behind him, according to Unno Hiroshi, was that at the time, illustration was still not regarded as "fine art" in the Japanese art world, although it did bring great wealth to illustrators.⁹⁶ Commercial art, or design, had little prestige, and other artists considered it to be merely an "applied art."⁹⁷

Because of the death of his son in Tokyo and other family and financial problems, Kōji did not finish his study in France and continued to be an active illustrator when he went back to Japan in 1929. In the same year, *Collection of Fukiya Kōji's Paintings* (Fig. 26) was published in Shanghai. Kōji published another *shigashū* (詩畫集), *A Toy Bride* (*Hanyayome-Ningyō* 花嫁人形), in 1935. The illustrations that he did after 1925 revealed Kōji's great synthesis of the Art Deco style (Fig. 117) that he received in Europe and Japanese taste.

⁹³ Brophy, 70-71; McGrath <http://65.107.211.206/art/illustration/beardsley/bio1.html>; Liu Zhenyuan, 208-211.

⁹⁴ *The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who* (Tokyo: Japan Biographical Research Department, Rengo Press, Ltd., 1958), 186; Laing, 11.

⁹⁵ *The Japan Biographical Encyclopedia*, 186; *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 127; Laing, 11.

⁹⁶ Unno, "Hanayome ningyō wa naze nakuka," *Fukiya Kōji: Ai no jojō gashū*, 95.

⁹⁷ Yutaka Tazawa, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Art* (Tokyo; New York: Kōdansha International Ltd. in collaboration with the International Society for Educational Information, 1981), 389-390.

In the postscript of *Collection of Zikai's Paintings* (子愷畫集), published in 1926,

Zhu Ziqing wrote:

The obvious difference between this collection and the first one [*Zikai manhua*] is the disappearance of poem-paintings. There only are sketches form life.... Another important difference is that there are meticulous [*gongbi*] works in this collection. Zikai told me that he copied [the style] from Hong-er.

這一集和第一集顯然的不同, 便是不見了詩詞句圖。而只留著生活的速寫。...還有一個重要的不同, 便是本集裡有了工筆的作品。子愷告我, 這是“摹虹兒”。⁹⁸

“Hong-er” is Fukiya Kōji, whose Chinese pronunciation is Lu-gu-hong-er. To date we do not have solid documents to confirm whether Feng Zikai encountered Kōji’s works in Japan or not. However, there is a high probability that Feng saw Kōji’s works when he studied in Tokyo (1921), because Kōji had been a well-known illustrator in Tokyo since he began to illustrate Yoshiya Nokubo’s fictions in 1920. There is no doubt that Kōji’s works were published in China before 1929. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2.3.1, in the journal *Chaohua* (朝花),⁹⁹ inaugurated and edited by Lu Xun, we saw two of Kōji’s illustrations published in the issues of February 1929 (Fig. 118) and April 1929 (Fig. 119) respectively. That same year, a book devoted to Fukiya Kōji, *Collection of Fukiya Kōji's Paintings* (Fig. 26), was published by the Morning Flower Society. As mentioned earlier, in the preface to the collection Lu Xun wrote: “However, Beardsley’s lines are too strong. It was at this time the graphic art of Fukiya Kōji was introduced to China. Kōji’s mild brushes harmonize Beardsley’s sharp vigor and cater to the hearts of the young Chinese.

⁹⁸ Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, *Zikai huaji* 子愷畫集 (Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore, 1932), 81-83.

⁹⁹ The weekly journal *Chaohua zhoukan* (朝花周刊) was inaugurated on December 6, 1928, and was changed to 10-day journal, entitled *Chaohua xunkan* (朝花旬刊) after May 16, 1929.

Hence, his [Kōji's] imitators appeared consequently.” And, the reason why Lu Xun published Kōji's collection was “to put a stop to a spate of imitations of his works by a certain Ye Lingfeng.” Lu's words indicated that Kōji's paintings had been available in Shanghai for a while before 1929.

Many of Feng's cover designs and illustrations were rendered in meticulous fine lines (Fig. 120, Fig. 121, Fig. 122). They were different from the traditional Chinese *baimiao* method, and they were not the same as Kōji's styles. From these works, we can see the influence of Kōji and Feng's own internalization, which combined the taste of Chinese literati painting, the lyricism of Kōji and Yumeji, and the animated features of Li Shutong. Besides Yumeji and Kōji, Feng Zikai was greatly influenced by the thoughts of Natsume Sōseki.

3.2.2. Feng Zikai and Natsume Sōseki

Feng Zikai's interest was not only in art and music, but also in literature. He translated many art, music, and literature books from Japanese into Chinese throughout his life. In 1925, Feng translated Kuriyagawa Hakuson's 厨川白村 (1880-1923) collection of essays, *Symbol of Depression* (*Kumen de xiangzheng* 苦悶的象徵), which was published by the Commercial Press. Coincidentally, Lu Xun also translated the same book by Kuriyagawa and had it published in 1924 by the Nameless Society (*Weiming she* 未名社). Feng did not know Lu was translating the book when he was working on this

translation. In 1927, Feng visited Lu via Tao Yuanqing, Feng's student at the Shanghai Normal School, and he expressed his admiration and "apology for his boldness" to Lu.¹⁰⁰

In the following years, Feng translated many books from Japanese into Chinese. For example, he translated *Children's Music* (*Haizimen de yinyue* 孩子們的音樂, published by the Kaiming Book Company in 1927), *Twelve Talks on Modern Art* (*Xiandai yishu shier jiang* 現代藝術十二講, by the Kaiming Book Company in 1929), *Introduction to Art* (*Meishu gailun* 美術概論, by the Dajiang Bookstore [Dajiang shupu 大江書舖] in 1930), and *Introduction to Music* (*Yinyue gailun* 音樂概論, by the Kaiming Book Company in 1932). In the 1950s Feng began to study Russian and translated several works from Russian into Chinese. For instance, he translated *The Teaching Methods of Painting for Elementary and Junior High School* (*Zhongxiaoxue tuhua jiaoxuefa* 中小學圖畫教學法, by the Wanye Bookstore in 1953), *Basic Knowledge of Music* (*Yinyue de jiben zhishi* 音樂的基本知識, by the Wanye Bookstore in 1953), *Notes of a Hunter* (*Leiren biji* 獵人筆記, by Ivan Sergieevich Turgenev, by the Shanghai Culture and Life Publishing Company [*Shanghai wenhua shenghuo chubanshe* 上海文化生活出版社] in 1953), and so forth. We can see that most of the books that Feng translated were either music or art and were published by the Kaiming Book Company. Feng translated many Japanese works of fiction in his late years, such as *The Three-Cornered World* (*Kusamakura* [草枕] by Natsume Sōseki, published by the Beijing People's Literature Publishing Company [*Beijing renmin wenxue chubanshe* 北京人民文

¹⁰⁰ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 73-74.

學出版社] in 1958), *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, by the Beijing People's Literature Publishing Company between 1980 and 1983), and so on.¹⁰¹

In 1913, Uchiyama Kanzō came to China and opened Uchiyama Bookstore in Shanghai.¹⁰² Not only did Uchiyama Kanzō introduce many of the latest Japanese publications, including art and literature, to the Chinese, but he also helped Lu Xun to organize art exhibitions and provided art supplies for artists. The bookstore, which closed in 1945, therefore, became an important site for the exchange of Chinese and Japanese culture in early twentieth-century China. In the essay, “My Bitter Experience of Study,” Feng wrote, “my favorite literary works were those of Robert Louis Stevenson [1850-1894] and Natsume Sōseki.”¹⁰³ Feng Zikai ordered a whole set of *Collections of Natsume Sōseki* (*Sōseki zenshū* 漱石全集), twenty volumes in total, from Kanzō when he went back to Shanghai after the Sino-Japanese War was over. An episode happened when Feng purchased this order: the price that Kanzō asked for the collection was 170,000 *francs* (*fabi* 法幣). Feng said it was really inexpensive, and he paid the amount on the scene. However, Kanzō only had seventeen volumes in stock then and told Feng that he would send the other three volumes to him when he got the order from Japan. Kanzō sent Feng a volume when he got the order from Japan and asked for 10,000 *francs* for the copy. When he received the book, Feng sent another 100,000 *francs* to Kanzō and wrote, “Mr. Uchiyama, I have received the book that you sent to me. The price that you asked for the whole set of collections was really too inexpensive. I hence enclosed another 100,000

¹⁰¹ Feng Zikai, *Feng Zikai manhua quanji*, vol. 16 豐子愷漫畫全集 (Beijing: Jinghua Publishing Company, 1999), 245-247.

¹⁰² Yang Yongde, 38.

¹⁰³ Feng Zikai, “Wo de kuxue jingyan,” *YSJ*, 57.

francs to you.” Kanzō knew that Feng wanted to give him financial support in a difficult time. In *Huajialu* (花甲錄), Uchiyama Kanzō’s memoir, Kanzō mentioned that “It was very hard to find such a considerate person, like Mr. Feng, in Japan, or even in China. I therefore really appreciated [his kindness].”¹⁰⁴ In 1958 Feng translated Sōseki’s novel *Kusamakura* (*The Three-Cornered World*) into Chinese, under the title *Lüsu* (旅宿, or *Caozhen* [草枕]).

Natsume Sōseki (or real name Natsume Kinnosuke 夏目金之助), a novelist and scholar, was born in Edo during the last year of the Tokugawa era. His father was a respected town official and already had a large family when Sōseki was born. The new arrival, therefore, was quickly sent out for adoption, but was eventually returned home after his foster parents divorced in 1874. By the time he was back with his real parents, Sōseki had become very confused and not a little disturbed by his loveless childhood, which became a burden he would carry throughout his life.¹⁰⁵

Born about a year before the major political upheavals that attended the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Sōseki was trained in the traditional Confucian standards of behavior, and he was most adept at Chinese studies, showing a rare talent for composing Chinese poetry when he was at school. However, in 1888 he chose English literature as his subject when he entered junior college and continued to pursue it at Tokyo Imperial University in 1890. In 1900, Sōseki was offered an unusual opportunity to further his studies in England. On his way to England, he stopped by Paris and attended the 1900

¹⁰⁴ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 123-124.

¹⁰⁵ John Lewell, *Modern Japanese Novelists: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Kodansha International Inc., 1993), 283-284; “Xiamu shushi nianpu jishi 夏目漱石年譜記事” <http://www.wisknow.com/version/ad/wh02.html>.

Paris Exposition, a sign of how much the Japanese were impressed by Art Nouveau at the time. Sōseki's selection of English literature as a course of study and his experience living in England at the turn of the century provided him with a catalogue of alternative modes of living and thinking.¹⁰⁶

Upon his return to Japan in 1903, Sōseki was given an opportunity to prove himself at a higher level of teaching. He was teaching English both at the Tokyo First High School (東京第一高等學校) and appointed as a lecturer in English literature at the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1904, he began to teach a course on Shakespeare at the University, and his lectures on literary criticism, delivered during the same year, were later published as *A Study of Literature* (*Bungakuron* 文學論) and *Literary Criticism* (*Bungaku hyoron* 文學評論).

Sōseki's first novel, *I am a Cat* (*Wagahai wa neko de aru* 吾輩は猫である), appeared in the January 1905 issue of *Hototogisu* (不如歸 or 杜鵑). In *I am a Cat*, a satire depicting a cat's-eye view of the world, Sōseki began by postulating the nonhuman viewpoint. The book won such popularity for Sōseki that he had to continue it in subsequent issues. In 1906, he wrote *The Three Cornered World* (*Kusamakura*, or *The Grass Pillow* [草枕]) in poetic style. *The Three Cornered World* can almost be called an

¹⁰⁶ Lewell, 284-285; Van C. Gessel, *Three Modern Novelists: Sōseki, Tanizaki, Kawabata* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1993), 12-13; “Xiamu shushi nianpu jishi” <http://www.wisknow.com/version/ad/wh02.html>.

essay on aesthetics written in a novelistic form. The novel's charming and unpredictable narrative line reveals the author's growing assurance as a storyteller.¹⁰⁷

Sōseki's university post was both influential and well paid; yet, he always had a strong distaste for those who sought to acquire only money and status. For this reason he depicted many of his heroes as being independently wealthy and thus free from the constraints of earning a living.¹⁰⁸ In 1907, Sōseki suddenly abandoned teaching in order to write full time for the *Morning Daily Newspaper* (*Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞) in Tokyo, which was an extremely bold move, for the respected academic position offered rather generous remuneration. Between January and April of 1908, Sōseki published a serial, *The Miner* (*Kofu* 礦工), in the *Asahi shinbun*. *The Miner* was based on a story told to Sōseki by a visitor who had called expressly to offer him material for a novel about hardships in a copper mine. Based on the secondhand experience, *The Miner* was written in a rather experimental, almost a Modernist tone.¹⁰⁹ As a professional novelist now, Sōseki published another serial, *Ten Nights of Dreams* (*Yume jūya* 夢十夜), between July and August of the same year. *Ten Nights of Dreams* is an account of ten separate dreams. All of them are highly surreal, displaying the disturbing beauty of mythology.¹¹⁰

Sōseki's first great trilogy is composed of *Sanshirō* (三四郎, 1908), *And Then* (*Sorekara* それから, 1909), and *The Gate* (*Mon* 門, 1910). The three novels can be read

¹⁰⁷ Natsume Sōseki, *Caozhen* 草枕, trans. Lin Shuifu 林水福 (Taipei: Huatian whenhua Publishing Company, 1995); Lewell, 289; Makoto Ueda, *Modern Japanese Writers and the Nature of Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ Lewell, 290.

¹⁰⁹ Lewell, 290-291.

¹¹⁰ Natsume Sōseki, *Xiamu shushi xiaoshuo xuan* 夏目漱石小説選, trans. Chen Dewen 陳德文 (Changsha: Hunan renmin Publishing Company, 1984), 3.

separately and in any order, as they are not linked by character or action.¹¹¹ In September of 1909, Sōseki made a short trip to Manchuria. After completing *The Gate* (1910), he suffered a severely ulcerated stomach.¹¹²

Sōseki's life and his writings unswervingly confronted the hasty Westernization that began at the end of the nineteenth century. The clash between the group-oriented behavior of Japanese tradition and the individual action of the West is one of the most evident of the conflicts, though by no means the only one, waged in Sōseki's stories. Convinced that it was crucial for a man of the new age to have a strong sense of individualism, Sōseki at the same time realized that the solitary path of individual liberty was often entered upon by acts of egotistical selfishness. In his fictional works he probed into the intellectual core of meaning that this bi-cultural encounter entailed.¹¹³

Despite his espousal of individualism and his respect for the “free yet orderly” society of England, Sōseki was sufficiently well grounded in traditional Japanese and Chinese studies to see the lunacy of discarding his heritage. He believed that Japan should take what was desirable from the West, while retaining the essence of its indigenous culture.¹¹⁴ In 1911, when he gave a series of lectures sponsored by the *Asahi Shinbun*, Sōseki again attacked the craze for Westernization. In addition, his novels abound in betrayals, in the breaking of trust, in the self-seeking rivalries that are the substance of love triangles. In many ways, they were reflections of Sōseki's own anguished experience of betrayal as his parents shuffled him from one foster family to

¹¹¹ Lewell, 291; Natsume Sōseki, *Xiamu shushi xiaoshuo xuan*, 1-3.

¹¹² Lewell, 293; “Xiamu shushi nianpu jishi” <http://www.wisknow.com/version/ad/wh02.html>.

¹¹³ Lewell, 290.

¹¹⁴ Lewell, 289.

another. The burden of the past recurs in most of Sōseki's work, to the extent that it may be considered the central theme of his entire *oeuvre*.¹¹⁵

When Feng Zikai was suffering the pain of the Cultural Revolution, in 1972 in his essay *Tangqi* (塘栖), he wrote down the following words about Sōseki's novel, *Lüsu* (旅宿):

It was hard to find stuff like a train that is adequate to represent the twentieth century civilization... People all said that they took a train; however, I would say that they were carried by a train. There is nothing like a train that despises individualism... when I [Feng Zikai] translated the [*The Three-Cornered World*] fiction, I was laughing at Mr. Natsume's stubbornness on one side, and tried to understand his feelings on the other. It was very hard to find such a person [like Sōseki] who insists on individualism and hates materialism. If there is [such a person], it is I. I have the same feelings that Sōseki has.

像火車那樣足以代表二十世紀的文明的東西, 恐怕沒有了。... 別人都說乘了火車走, 我說是被火車搬運。像火車那樣蔑視個性的東西是沒有的了。...我翻譯這篇小說時, 一面非笑這為夏目先生的頑固, 一面體諒他的心情。在二十世紀中, 這樣重視個性, 這樣嫌惡物質文明的, 恐怕沒有了。有之, 還有一個我, 我自己也懷著和他同樣的心情呢。¹¹⁶

In the essay "Tangqi," Feng mentioned that he took a boat instead of taking a train, which was faster and cheaper, when he went to Hangzhou from Shimenwan, and at the end of the essay, he wrote:

Tangqi is a representative site of the beautiful scenic sites in the Jiangnan area. That I refused the twentieth-century product, the train, and spent more money to take a boat to go to Hangzhou did not mean I was stubborn. Might the only one who could understand why I did so be Natsume Sōseki?

¹¹⁵ Lewell, 289; Gessel, 13-14.

¹¹⁶ Feng Zikai, "Tangqi 塘栖," *YSJ*, 476.

江南佳麗地, 塘栖水鄉是代表之一。我謝絕了二十世紀的文明產物的火車, 不惜工本地坐客船到杭州, 實在並非頑固。知我者, 其唯夏目漱石乎?¹¹⁷

In another essay, “Temporary Departure from Mortal Life” (*Zhanshi tuoli chenshi* 暫時脫離塵世), written in 1972, Feng quoted Sōseki’s words: “Anguish, anger, shouting, and cries are attached to the mortal world. I myself experienced [them all] in the past thirty years, and grew tired of them (苦痛, 憤怒, 叫囂, 哭泣, 是附著在人世間的。我也在三十年間經歷過來, 此中況味嘗得夠膩了。),” and “the type of poems that I like is not something that encourages human sentiment, but that encourages one to give up the secular mind, and to let his heard and mind temporarily leave the mortal life (我所喜愛的詩, 不是鼓吹世俗人情的東西, 是放棄俗念, 使心地暫時脫離塵世的詩。).”¹¹⁸ Feng then said: “Natsume Sōseki is a person who is most like a human being. There are too many people in the world who superficially look like a human being; however, they function like machines in reality, filled with anguish, anger, shouting, and cries” (夏目漱石真是一個最像人的人。今世有許多人外貌是人, 而實際很不像人, 倒像一架機器。這架機器裡裝滿苦痛, 憤怒, 叫囂, 哭泣等力量, 隨時可以運用。), and “How profoundly meaningful life is! It made me often remember Natsume Sōseki!” (人生真乃意味深長! 這使我常懷念夏目漱石!).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Feng Zikai, “Tangqi,” *YSJ*, 478.

¹¹⁸ Feng Zikai, “Zhanshi tuoli chenshi 暫時脫離塵世,” *YSJ*, 465.

¹¹⁹ Feng Zikai, “Zhanshi tuoli chenshi,” *YSJ*, 465-466.

3.3 Feng Zikai and Buddhism

3.3.1 Feng Zikai, Li Shutong, Xia Mianzun, Ma Yifu, and Monk Guangqia

Besides the Japanese influence, Buddhist belief was another significant factor in Feng's artistic career. Feng's advocacy of individualism and humanitarianism were influenced both by the Japanese artists and writer as well as his Chinese mentors. The people who influenced Feng's Buddhist thought were Master Hongyi (Li Shutong), Xia Mianzun, Ma Yifu, and Monk Guangqia.

As mentioned earlier, in the summer of 1912, Li took a teaching position at the Hangzhou First Normal School at the invitation of the president, Jing Hengyi. From then on, Li devoted his time to teaching at the Hangzhou First Normal School. In Hangzhou, Li met Xia Mianzun. Xia was born in Shangyu (上虞) County, Zhejiang Province, in 1886. He passed the district examination and became a *xiucai* (秀才) when he was fifteen years old, and entered Kōbun College (*Kōbun gakuin* 弘文學院) in 1905. Xia later passed the entrance examination and entered the Tokyo High Industrial School (東京高等工業學校) in 1907. However, he did not finish the degree because the Qing government cut his study short for financial reasons.¹²⁰ Xia returned to China in 1907 and taught Chinese and Japanese at the Hangzhou First Normal School, where he was appointed dorm guard as well.

In 1916 Xia read a Japanese article regarding fasting and showed the article to Li. The article talked about how to use fasting to cultivate a fresh body and heart/mind and to cure disease. Because he suffered from neurasthenia, in the winter of 1916, Li went on a

¹²⁰ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 38.

fast for three weeks at the Hupao Monastery (*Hupao si* 虎跑寺) on the outskirts of Hangzhou. In his diary, Li mentioned that he enjoyed fasting, and did not suffer any pain during the fast. During his time at the monastery, Li practiced calligraphy and gave himself a new name, Li Ying 李嬰. “Ying” in Chinese literally means “infant.” The reason that Li adopted this name was because he felt like a newborn baby during the fast.¹²¹ Li became a vegetarian, and grew interested in Buddhism after the fast. He often went back to the monastery for lectures on sutras, and became acquainted with Ma Yifu, a master of the Confucian School, calligrapher, and seal-cutter. Although they had previously met around 1902 when Li was a student at the Nanyang Public School in Shanghai, it was during this time in 1917 that Li and Ma came to know each other better.¹²²

Ma Yifu was born in Shaoxing (紹興), Zhejiang Province. At the age of fifteen (1898), he won the first prize in the country-level examination, which Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren also attended. In 1901, in collaboration with Ma Junwu 馬君武 and Xie Wuliang 謝無量, Ma sponsored the journal *World of the Translation of the Twentieth Century* (*Ershi shiji fanyi shijie* 二十世紀翻譯世界). In 1903, he went to study in America, majoring in Western European Literature. He compiled *Four Histories of the Western European Literatures* (*Ouzhou wenxue sishi* 歐洲文學四史). Later, he went to Germany to study German literature and to Tokyo to study Western philosophy, Japanese and Spanish. Ma returned to China in 1911. He supported the 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun

¹²¹ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 41-42; Chen Xing, *Hongyi dashi yingji*, 41, 59; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 21-23.

¹²² Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 56.

Yat-sen and wrote articles to popularize the Western progressive ideology. After 1937 he devoted himself to the study of ancient philosophy, Buddhism, and literature.¹²³

On January 15, 1918 (lunar calendar), Li Shutong converted to Buddhism under the Buddhist Master Liaowu 了悟法師 at the Hupao Monastery and took the Buddhist name Yanyin 演音, alias Hongyi 弘一. Li studied Buddhist sutras more assiduously after he converted to Buddhism, and he credited all of his achievements to Ma Yifu. In a letter in the spring of 1918 to Liu Zhiping, a student of Li's in Hangzhou who was studying music in Japan at the time, Li wrote:

I do not know how long I can live. I already accumulated a lot of bad karma in the past and have to practice the Buddhist darma immediately. I have gradually got enlightened because Master Ma Yifu has molded my thoughts since last December. I am not interested in worldly business now and have been neglecting [my] worldly duties.

不佞自知世壽不永，又從無始以來，罪業至深，故不得不趕緊修行。自去臘受馬一浮大士之薰陶，漸有所悟。世味日淡，職務多荒。¹²⁴

In the spring of the same year, some Japanese artists, including Ōno Takanori 大野隆德 (1886-1945), Miyake Katsumi, and Kuroda Seiki, visited China. Li introduced Feng Zikai to these artists and asked Feng and Xia Mianzun to be translators, a worldly duty in which he was no longer interested.¹²⁵ On July 13 (lunar calendar, the birthday of Bodhisattva Mahasthamaprapta [大勢至菩薩]) of the same year, when Li was thirty-nine

¹²³ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 55-56; Umberto Bresciani, *Reinventing Confucianism: The New Confucian Movement* (Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute for Chinese Studies, 2001), 87-90.

¹²⁴ *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1 弘一大師文集書信卷(一) (Huhehaote: Neimenggu renmin Publishing Company, 1996), 44.

¹²⁵ Feng Zikai, "Wei qingnian shuo Hongyi fashi" 為青年說弘一法師, *Feng Zikai wenji*, vol. 6 豐子愷文集 (hereafter referred to as *WJ*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi Publishing Company, 1992), 149.

years old, he took the tonsure at the Hupao Monastery and became Monk Hongyi, after disposing of all his worldly goods to his friends and students, including Chen Shizeng, Feng Zikai, and Liu Zhiping. After that Master Hongyi gave up all pursuit of artistic creation, other than calligraphy related to Buddhism.¹²⁶

In an essay entitled “Master Hongyi’s Tonsure” (*Hongyi fashi zhi chujia* 弘一法師之出家), Xia Mianzun blamed himself that he should not have shown Li the article regarding fasting, and should not have kept him staying in Hangzhou when Li wanted to move to Nanjing and Shanghai for other positions.¹²⁷ However, Master Hongyi said: “The reason why I took the tonsure was partly because of the help of Mr. Xia. I will never forget his benevolence (我的出家, 大半由於夏居士的助緣, 此恩永不能忘!).”¹²⁸

The person whom Hongyi admired most at his time was Master Yinguang 印光法師 (1861-1940), regarded as the thirteenth patriarch of Pure Land Buddhism.¹²⁹ The well-known teaching of Master Yinguang (*Yinguang fashi kaishi* 印光法師開示) is:

Whether one is a layperson or has left the home life, one should respect one's elders and should live in harmony with one's peers. One should endure what others cannot endure, and practice what others cannot achieve. One should accept others' difficulties as one's own and help others succeed in their undertakings.

While sitting quietly, one should often reflect upon one's own faults, and when chatting with friends, one should not discuss the rights and wrongs of others. In every action one takes, such as dressing or eating, from dawn to dusk and from dusk until dawn,

¹²⁶ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 61, 64-65; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 24; *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 35, 38.

¹²⁷ Xia Hongning 夏弘寧, “Tongdao zhiji” 同道知己, *Xia Mianzun jiucang Hongyi fashi moji*, 3-4; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 61.

¹²⁸ Hongyi fashi 弘一法師, “Wo zai xihu chujia de jingguo” 我在西湖出家的經過, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 203-205; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 65.

¹²⁹ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 122; *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 64; Zhongliu 中流, “Xidu Yinguang fashi nianpu” 喜讀印光法師年譜, http://www.hkbuddhist.org/magazine/469/469_15.html.

one should not cease to recite the Buddha's name.

Whether reciting silently or in a low voice, one should not let improper thoughts arise. If wandering thoughts appear, one should immediately dismiss them. One should constantly maintain a humble heart; even if one has upheld true cultivation, one should still feel one's practice is shallow and never boast.

One should mind one's own business, not the business of others. One should look only at the good qualities of others, not the bad ones. One should see oneself as worldly and everyone else as Bodhisattvas. If one can cultivate according to these teachings, one is sure to reach the Western Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss.

Homage to Amitabha! Amitabha!¹³⁰

无论在家出家.必须上敬下和.忍人所不能忍.行人所不能行.代人之劳.成人之美.静坐常思己过.闲谈莫论人非.行住坐卧.穿衣吃饭.从朝至暮.从暮至朝.一句佛号.不令间断.或小声念.或默念.除念佛外.不起别念.若或妄念一起.当下就要教他消灭.常生惭愧心及忏悔心.纵有修持.总觉我工夫很浅.不自矜夸.只管自家.不管人家.只看好样子.不看坏样子.看一切人都是菩萨.唯我一人实是凡夫.果能依我所说修行.决定可生西方极乐世界.南无阿弥陀佛! 阿弥陀佛!¹³¹

In 1923, Hongyi begged Master Yinguang several times to be his disciple. Master Yinguang was finally touched by Hongyi's sincerity and took Hongyi as his disciple at the end of the year. Thereafter, Master Hongyi devoted his life to studying the Pure Land and developed an interest in reviving the Vinaya school of Buddhism, the transmission of which had been disrupted since the Tang dynasty.¹³²

Ma Yifu visited Master Hongyi after he took tonsure at the Hupao Monastery, and gave Hongyi a copy of *The Compilation of the Significance of Vinaya Matters at*

¹³⁰ "Teachings of Great Master Yin Guang" http://www.amitabha.com/teachers/yin_guang/yinguang.htm

¹³¹ <http://www.buddedu.com/teaching.htm>

¹³² Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 122.

Lingfeng (*Lingfeng pini shiyi jiyao* 靈峰毗尼事義集要), written by a Ming Dynasty Buddhist Master Ouyi 藕益大師, and *Proper Standards for Administering Precepts at Baohua* (*Baohua chuanjie zhengfan* 寶華傳戒正范), by a Qing Dynasty Master Jianyue 見月律師, specializing in the Vinaya school of Buddhism.¹³³ Later, Hongyi compiled a great number of Buddhist scriptures, including *Chart and Record of the Mark of Monk's Precepts on the Four Division Vinaya* (*Sifenlü biqu jiexiang biaoji* 四分律比丘戒相表記, 1924), published by the China Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局), *Commentary and Subcommentary on the Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Huayan shuchao* 華嚴疏鈔, 1926), and so forth, and always told people to recite “Homage to Amitabha” (*Nanwu A-mi-tuo-fo* 南無阿彌陀佛), a doctrine of universal salvation through belief in Buddha Amitabha.¹³⁴ Hongyi lectured widely on this complex code of discipline in his later years in Zhejiang and Fujian provinces, and he was regarded as the eleventh patriarch to revive the Vinaya School of Nanshan (重興南山律宗第十一代祖師).¹³⁵

Master Hongyi was happy with a torn hand towel and any salty or bitter vegetable. For him, everything in this world was just wonderful. He lived with little desire but plenty of contentment. Xia Mianzun once saw Master Hongyi eating preserved radish and cabbage with great pleasure. He had quite a realization and said: “Only people

¹³³ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 66.

¹³⁴ Wang Qiuxiang 王秋香, “Xiangguang zhuangyan: ji Hongyi fashi shufa de qishi” 香光莊嚴: 寄弘一法師書法的啓示, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 61.

¹³⁵ Feng Zikai, “Wei qingnian shuo Hongyi fashi,” *WJ*, vol. 6, 151; Liu Zhiping 劉質平, “Hongyi dashi yimo de baocun ji qi shenghuo huiyi” 弘一大師遺墨的保存及其生活回憶, *Hongyi fashi hanmo yinyuan*, 208; Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 165.

like Master Hongyi are able to taste the real flavor of preserved radish and cabbage.”¹³⁶

When laypeople asked Master Hongyi for calligraphy, he always wrote sutra scriptures to them. One of Hongyi’s Buddhist disciples asked him: “What the layperson asked for was calligraphy, instead of Dharma, why did you give them [your calligraphy]?” Master Hongyi answered: “My calligraphy represents Dharma. That they asked for my calligraphy meant they asked for Dharma (吾字即佛法, 求吾字即求佛法).”¹³⁷

In 1926, when Feng accompanied Master Hongyi to go to the Society of the World Buddhism (*Shijie fojiaolin* 世界佛教林) in Shanghai, Feng realized that the lay people were the most influential propagandists of Buddhism in the mundane world.¹³⁸ It was also at this time that Feng introduced Uchiyama Kanzō to Master Hongyi. After the meeting, Master Hongyi decided to send a copy of his *Chart and Record of the Mark of Monk’s Precepts on the Four Division Vinaya* (四分律比丘戒相表記), more than 170 volumes (*bu* 部), and *Essence of the Commentary and Subcommentary on the Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Huayanjing shulun zuanyao* 華嚴經疏論纂要), fifteen volumes, to Japan via the help of Uchiyama Kanzō, because Master Hongyi was afraid that it was difficult to preserve those Buddhist canons in China. Upon Hongyi’s requests, Kanzō also ordered some Buddhist scriptures from Japan for the Master.¹³⁹ Hongyi and Kanzō, in a way, wrote an important page in the book of twentieth-century Sino-Japanese cultural exchange.

¹³⁶ Xia Mianzun 夏丐尊, “Shenghuo” 生活, *Xia Mianzun xuanji* 夏丐尊選集 (Taipei: Liming wenhua Publishing Company, 1977), 215-218.

¹³⁷ Wang Qiuxiang, 59.

¹³⁸ Feng Zikai, “Fawei” 法味, *WJ*, vol. 5, 21-34; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 98.

¹³⁹ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 124-125.

In the autumn of 1927, Master Hongyi was on his way to Jiangxi Province and he stayed at Feng Zikai's home in Shanghai for about a month. It was at this time that Feng asked Hongyi to give his house a name. Hongyi asked Feng to write different words on several sheets of paper, and Feng tossed them in front of a Buddhist statue. It happened that two times the words, which Feng picked, turned out to be the same word *yuan* (緣, literally means *pratyaya*). This is how the name "Yuanyuan Studio" (緣緣堂) came about.¹⁴⁰ On September 26 (lunar calendar) of the same year, which was Feng's thirtieth birthday (29 by Western count), Feng also took refuge in Buddhism under the influence of Hongyi. Master Hongyi gave Feng a Buddhist name, Yingxing 嬰行, which literally means "behave like an infant."¹⁴¹ From this choice of names, we can understand how Hongyi expected himself and Feng to keep the naivety and purity that infants possess. For further evidence of Feng's devotions to Master Hongyi, we need look no further than his series of religious art books, *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng huaji* 護生畫集).

3.3.2 *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*

From 1927 to 1973, Feng produced six volumes of religious art books entitled *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, dealing with the Buddhist teaching of non-killing and the preservation of life. This set of books was intended to commemorate the birthdays of Master Hongyi. The first volume was for Hongyi's fiftieth birthday, the

¹⁴⁰ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie*, 6; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 47.

¹⁴¹ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie*, 6; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 47.

second one for his sixtieth birthday. Hongyi died in 1942. Thereafter, Feng continued the rest of the four volumes (one each decade) until Hongyi's posthumous hundredth birthday. Unlike political cartoonists, Feng Zikai used *manhua* (or cartoons) as a lyrical form and a tool to cultivate benevolence and love. In the postscript of volume one, Master Hongyi points out that the principle of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* is “using art as an expedient tool and humanism as the goal (以藝術作方便 人道主義為宗趣).”¹⁴² In the article *Do not Regret It* (*Ze wu hui zhi yi* 則勿悔之已) Feng Zikai also says:

“When I ask an urchin not to trample on ants, it is not because I cherish ants, or because I want to provide food to sustain them; it is because I am afraid that this little cruelty [if it remains unchecked] will turn into aggression in the future, using planes to carry heavy bombs to kill innocent people.”¹⁴³

頑童一腳踏死數百螞蟻 我勸他不要 並非愛惜螞蟻生命 或是想供養螞蟻 只恐這一點殘忍心 擴而充之 將來會變成侵略者 用飛機載了重磅炸彈去虐殺無辜的平民。¹⁴⁴

Therefore, the purpose of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* is to admonish people to treasure their lives and to refrain from killing so that they can cultivate benevolence and promote love.¹⁴⁵

The first volume was finished and published in 1929. However, from the letters between Hongyi, Feng Zikai, and Li Yuanjing 李圓淨 (?-1946), a Buddhist layman, I have discovered that the plan to work on the first volume originated in 1927, the same

¹⁴² Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1 護生畫集 (Shanghai: Haitian Publishing Company, 1993), 101.

¹⁴³ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 144-145.

¹⁴⁴ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 8.

¹⁴⁵ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 3, preface 6-7.

year that Feng Zikai converted to becoming a more committed Buddhist.¹⁴⁶ A point we should be aware of is that originally the plan to publish the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (Fig. 123) was not to commemorate Hongyi's fiftieth birthday. In the beginning, they only planned to publish twenty-four leaves, not fifty.¹⁴⁷ In a letter to Feng Zikai, dated August 23, 1928, Hongyi told Feng: "[I] got another letter from Mr. Li [Yuanjing], and he suggested that we could send some copies of the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* to Japanese friends as gifts (又得李居士書, 彼謂畫集出版後, 擬贈送日本各處)." Hongyi thought that if they wanted to do this, they "need put more effort [into the publication], and it needs at least another half a year [for editing] to make it perfect. If it has to be sent to Japan, a dozen more leaves must be added. Besides, we have to re-edit [the publication] for a better quality to avoid [friends of a] foreign country teasing [us] (則彼畫集更需大加整頓, 非再需半年以上之力, 不能編纂完美, 否則恐貽笑鄰邦, 殊未可也; 若欲贈送日本各處, 非再畫十數頁, 重新編輯不可)." ¹⁴⁸ Coincidentally, the year of 1929 was the year of Hongyi's fiftieth birthday (49 by Western count). Feng, therefore, decided to paint fifty leaves to commemorate Hongyi's birthday.¹⁴⁹ Feng did the paintings, Hongyi wrote the inscriptions, Ma Yifu wrote the preface, and Li Yuanjing was the editor.¹⁵⁰

During the year of 1939, the time of the Second Sino-Japanese War, in order to commemorate his mentor's sixtieth birthday, Feng Zikai, who was then in Yishan (宜山),

¹⁴⁶ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 1-2.

¹⁴⁷ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ Qian Juntao 錢君匋, ed., *Li Shutong* 李叔同 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu Publishing Co., 1993), 124; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 307.

¹⁴⁹ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 2-3.

¹⁵⁰ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 134; *Hongyi fashi huazhuan*, 69, 163.

in today's Guangxi (廣西) Province, painted another sixty leaves, entitled them *Second Volume of Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Xu Husheng huaji* 續護生畫集) (Fig. 124), and sent them to Hongyi, in Quanzhou (泉州), Fujian Province. The book was published in 1940. When Hongyi received these paintings, he was delighted and wrote in a letter to Feng:

Please do the third volume, including 70 leaves, for my seventieth birthday, a fourth volume with 80 leaves for my eightieth, a fifth volume with 90 leaves for my ninetieth, and a sixth volume with 100 leaves for my hundredth birthday. Then, the virtue of the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* will be fulfilled.

朽人七十歲時, 請仁者作護生畫第三集, 共七十幅。八十歲時, 作第四集, 共八十幅。九十歲時, 作第五集, 共九十幅。百歲時, 作第六集, 共百幅。護生畫集功德於此圓滿。¹⁵¹

At the request of Hongyi, Feng replied to his mentor: “If I live so long, I will do it (世壽所許, 定當遵囑。).”¹⁵² Hongyi and Feng Zikai collaborated on the first two volumes. Unfortunately, Hongyi passed away in 1942, and it became Feng's big job to fulfill the rest of the volumes.

If we examine Feng's preface to volume three, we find that Feng Zikai seems to have forgotten the promise he made to Hongyi. In 1949, on a trip to Quanzhou, the place where Hongyi passed away in January of 1942, Feng was shocked and was reminded of his promise, when a monk showed him his letter of reply to Hongyi. In the following three months after the trip, Feng dedicated himself to volume three. Feng Zikai himself did the inscriptions and paintings for the third volume, and Ye Gongchuo 葉公綽 wrote

¹⁵¹ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 3-4.

¹⁵² Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 4.

the postscript. Volume three was finished in the same year and was published in 1950 by the Great Dharmacharka Bookstore (*Dafalun shuju* 大法輪書局).¹⁵³

The fourth volume was finished and published in 1961. Zhu Youlan 朱幼蘭 wrote the inscription. After volume four was published, the Master Guangqia, who was a distinguished monk from Singapore and the person helping Feng find financial support for the publication, and Feng's other friends urged him to finish the remainder of the volumes as soon as he could. Volume five, with the calligrapher Yu Yu's 虞愚 (1909-1989) inscriptions, was completed and published in 1965.¹⁵⁴

The sixth volume was the most arduous of all. The Cultural Revolution began in 1966 and lasted to 1976. During these years, Feng Zikai was beaten severely.¹⁵⁵ His paintings, such as *A-min* (阿咪) (Fig. 125), were regarded as “the poison of anti-socialism” (反對社會主義的毒藥). Paintings like *A Girl in Autumn* (滿山紅葉女郎樵) (Fig. 126) were regarded as “the poisonous grass of anti-Three Red-flag” (反對三面紅旗的毒草), and *Sell Flowers* (賣花女) (Fig. 127) was regarded as “missing the KMT government.”¹⁵⁶ In order to fulfill his promise, even though he had suffered such physical and psychological violence, Feng painted these albums in secret. The last volume, again with Zhu Youlan's inscriptions, was finished in 1973, and Feng died in 1975. The last volume was not published until 1978, when the Master Guangqia got them when he

¹⁵³ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 9.

¹⁵⁴ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 9-11.

¹⁵⁵ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 13.

¹⁵⁶ Xia Zongyu 夏宗禹, ed., *Feng Zikai yizuo* 豐子愷遺作 (Beijing: Huaxia Publishing Co., 1988), preface; Wen Xueyu 文學禹, ed., *Feng Zikai manhua wenxuan ji*, vol. 1 豐子愷漫畫文選集 (Taipei: Bohaitang wenhua Co., 1987), 8.

visited Shanghai. After all six volumes were published, the Master Guangqia donated the original manuscripts to the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (*Zhejiang shengli bowuguan* 浙江省立博物館) in 1985.

In total, there are 450 leaves in the six volumes of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, and all of them are done in monochrome. The simple, spontaneous, and deft brushwork is the most impressive characteristic of the set of books. Feng Zikai's sophisticated skill may be credited to the fact that Feng received his training in Western art, woodcuts, and calligraphy. Like Takehisa Yumeji, he accompanied his drawings with a song or verse, giving them a distinctly poetic flavor uncommon in his generation. In a letter to Feng Zikai, dated August 14, 1928, Hongyi said:

In order to distinguish this book from Buddhist rare books and to attract a greater audience, although we should use Chinese-style paper, the cover design is better in Western-style and printed in two or three colors. As for binding, use Japanese-style binding, which threads to the papers together and is different from the binding style of the Chinese Buddhist sutras.

畫集雖應用中國紙印，但表紙仍不妨用西洋之圖案畫，以二色或三色印之。至於用線穿打，擬用日本式，即是此種之式，係用線索結紐者，與中國佛經之穿訂法不同。¹⁵⁷

Who was the audience they expected? In Hongyi's words, the audience he expected was the person who had at least an elementary school education and people who were not Buddhists.¹⁵⁸ In the letter, Master Hongyi emphasized the significance of cover design

¹⁵⁷ Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 122; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 304.

¹⁵⁸ Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 129; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 315.

and binding because a novel cover design could attract more people's attention and lead them to read the contents.¹⁵⁹

In addition to working on cover designs and bindings, Hongyi also made a lot of comments on Feng's paintings. For example, in a letter to Feng dated August 22, 1928, after Hongyi finished the four poems for *If Sheep Recognized Words* (倘使羊識字), *The Maimed Beauty* (殘廢的美), *The Price of Feasts* (喜慶的代價), and *Hanging Beam* (懸樑), Hongyi wrote:

The meaning of the original painting *Hanging Beam* was too simple. I would like to ask you to repaint it, and rename it as 'Today and Tomorrow.' Also, please put the scene of two ducks swimming on lake and fish playing in the river in the picture. Put the scenes of hanging bean [and the two ducks swimming] in a picture to make contrast. It will make more sense to put today's pleasure and tomorrow's misery in contrast.

按此原畫, 意味太簡單, 擬乞重畫一幅。題名曰“今日與明朝”。將詩中雙鴨泛清波, 群魚戲碧川之景, 補入。與系頸陳市塵, 相對照, 共為一幅。則今日歡樂與明朝悲慘對照, 似較有意味。¹⁶⁰

The inscriptions done by Master Hongyi were in vernacular form. In the postscript of volume one, Hongyi pointed out that the reason he used vernacular poems was to attract a more popular audience (我依畫意 為白話詩 意在導俗 不尚文辭).¹⁶¹

Hongyi, however, was not satisfied with his own vernacular poems. In a letter to Feng, he wrote:

¹⁵⁹ Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 121-122, 129; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 304.

¹⁶⁰ Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 123; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 306.

¹⁶¹ Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 123; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 306.

I have finished sixteen new-style poems. Yet, artistically speaking, the poems I composed were not perfect because they were too lucid, rather than concealed. The deficiency was that they were too vulgar and shallow, lacking profundity. Nevertheless, [I] have to do so in order to lead the public to easily understand them. Even so, [these poems] cannot be regarded as fine arts.

但所作之詩,就藝術上而言,頗有遺憾,一以說明畫中之意,言之太盡,無有含蓄,不留耐人尋味之餘地,一以其文義淺薄鄙俗,無高尚玄妙之致;就此二種而論,實為缺點,但為導俗,令人易解,則亦不得不爾;然終不能登大雅之堂也。¹⁶²

As I mentioned earlier, Hongyi received good classical education when he was young, and his classical poems did attract cultural elite's attention when he arrived in Shanghai in 1898. In a letter to Xia Mianzun and Feng Zikai, dated in 1929, Hongyi wrote:

I have not composed poems in over ten years. Besides, I am not good at vernacular poems at all. Today I reluctantly did it. In the beginning, I did encounter some difficulties; however, many ideas came up later and it became more smoothly when I composed them. If there were any good poems among them, it would be credited to the merits of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.

朽人已十數年未嘗作詩。至於白話詩,向不能作。今勉強為之。初作時,稍覺吃力。以後即妙思泉湧,信手揮寫,即可成就。其中頗有可觀之作,是誠佛菩薩慈力冥加。¹⁶³

Like Lu Xun, Master Hongyi was extremely careful about all aspects of production, including paintings, binding, poems, and so forth. Master Hongyi, not a boastful and bohemian youth any more, credited all his efforts to the grace of deities and made a Bodhisattva vow at the end of the book: “[I] wish all human beings could benefit

¹⁶² Qian Juntao, *Li Shutong*, 126; *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 312-313.

¹⁶³ *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 316.

from the merits [of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*], and go to the Western Paradise with Bodhisattva vows (普願眾生,承斯功德,同發菩提,往生樂園。).”¹⁶⁴

According to Vera Schwarcz’s *Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, there were three generations of modern Chinese intellectuals. The first was the generation from 1898 to 1919; the central figures included Liang Qichao and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869-1936). The second consisted of the generation of 1911; the prominent figures in this generation were Chen Duxiu, Lu Xun, and Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962). The third generation was the student generation of the May Fourth Movement; the important figures in this generation were Luo Jialun 羅家倫 (1897-1969) and Fu Sinian 傅斯年.¹⁶⁵ Liang Qichao was a central figure in China’s modernity movement. He criticized the slavish mentality of the Chinese and advocated the language reform to promote mass literacy. This agenda was followed and even carried further by the second generation of intellectuals, such as Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and Li Shutong (Master Hongyi).

Born into an Anhui official family, Hu Shi studied in Westernized schools in Shanghai. In 1910 Hu won a Boxer Indemnity scholarship (庚子賠款) to enroll at Cornell, where he quickly came under the influence of liberal political philosophy in general and John Dewey’s experimentalism in particular. He returned to China in 1917 and was named by Cai Yuanpei to be a professor of philosophy at Peking University. Hu became a strong backer of the movement to write in the vernacular cadences of ordinary

¹⁶⁴ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, 101.

¹⁶⁵ Schwarcz, 5-9.

speech. He also became an accomplished scholar of literary history.¹⁶⁶ As Jonathan Spence has suggested the May Fourth movement in a broad sense was a country-wide phenomenon, although the formative thinking behind the movement originated to certain degrees with the faculty and students at Peking University.¹⁶⁷ The movement was an attempt to redefine China's culture as a valid part of the modern world. In the attempt, reformers followed different avenues of thought and conduct. For example, some thinkers focused on reform of the Chinese writing style by using contemporary vernacular speech patterns in works of literature, thus putting an end to the inevitable elitism that accompanied the mastery of the intensely difficult classical Chinese. Some had a deep interest in traditional Western art and culture, while others looked to new fashions in graphic designs, realist drama, and other things.¹⁶⁸ By using vernacular poems and borrowing a selective range of Western techniques, such as cover design and binding, Master Hongyi sought to reinforce *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* with a new spirit of enlightenment.

Feng Zikai had a knack for using symbols and abrupt contrast to create powerful images. In this respect he might have been influenced by Master Hongyi and Takehisa Yumeji. These characteristics were particularly apparent in the first volume, in such works as *Today and Tomorrow* (今日與明朝) (Fig. 128), *The Price of Feasts* (喜慶的代價) (Fig. 129), *The Maimed Beauty* (殘廢的美) (Fig. 130), *Execution Ground* (刑場) (Fig. 131), and *Open Coffin* (開棺) (Fig. 132). The lyrical mood can also be found in this

¹⁶⁶ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 304.

¹⁶⁷ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 300.

¹⁶⁸ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 301.

volume, as in *The Instinct for Life* (生機) (Fig. 133), *Silent Appreciation* (無聲的感謝) (Fig. 134) and so on. Although he gave up his pursuit of all artistic creation except calligraphy related to Buddhism, through the publications of vernacular Buddhist scriptures, like *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, Master Hongyi's influence on graphic art and paintings was still far-reaching.

Unlike the first volume with its shocking images of suffering in life, particularly animals, the second one, according to Li Yuanjing, was filled with an air of peace and the pleasure of life.¹⁶⁹ This difference in tone and mood between his prewar drawings and his wartime cartoons was striking. Human warmth, poetic beauty, and philosophical touches infused entirety of the second volume. Unlike other contemporary political cartoonists, Feng showed a different aspect of the wartime cartoon through his deeply-rooted Buddhist ideas of non-aggression and withdrawal in this work.

Feng's ideas of non-aggression and withdrawal that appear in the second volume may have been influenced both by Master Hongyi and Ma Yifu. In a letter to Li Yuanji dated August 21, 1928, Hongyi wrote: "In the future we should adopt some more elegant and mild art works for the second volume, which match the positive side of the preservation of life. We should take out some cruel art works" (將來編第二集時, 擬多用優美柔和之作, 及合於護生正面之意者; 至於殘酷之作, 依此次之刪遺者).¹⁷⁰ In a letter to Feng dated February 9, 1938, Ma Yifu wrote: "I hope you can try to write some anti-war literature in the future, and preserve the hope of humanitarianism for the world"

¹⁶⁹ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 2, 125.

¹⁷⁰ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 164-165.

(愚意此後撰述, 務望盡力發揮非戰文學, 爲世界人道留一線生機).¹⁷¹ In volume two, we find that the subjects of humanitarianism and the intimate bond between human beings and animals prevail in the works.

According to Geremie Barne, Hongyi's efforts to revive the Buddhist School of Discipline in the 1920s and 1930s were a response to the decline of both monastic discipline and public virtue.¹⁷² The doctrinal basis for nonkilling and releasing life (*fangsheng* 放生), the core of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, is generally identified in the *Brahma Net Sutra*, a key text of the Disciplinary School promoted by Hongyi. Addressed to lay disciples of Mahayana Buddhism, this sutra exercised considerable influence in China for over 1,500 years. In his article, "Do not Regret It" (則勿悔之已) and in his paintings, like *The Maimed Beauty* (Fig. 130), Feng is not just attacking the eating of meat. His deep concern is for the mentality that makes one eat meat. It is the same mentality that makes one pick flowers or trample ants.¹⁷³ It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that Feng's understanding of the philosophical need to "protect the heart-mind (*huxin* 護心)" could be attributed to the influence of Hongyi and the tradition of the Disciplinary School.

Basically, the subject matter of volumes two to six, in my opinion, is always the same: concern for humanitarianism, the intimate relationship between human beings and animals, and "old poems in new paintings" (*Gushi xinhua* 古詩新畫). As I mentioned

¹⁷¹ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 163.

¹⁷² Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 183; Christoph Harbsmeier, *The Cartoonist Feng Zikai: Social Realism with a Buddhist Face* (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1984), 97.

¹⁷³ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 8; Feng Zikai, "Fo wu ling" 佛無靈, *YSJ*, 220-223.

earlier, volume three was finished within a short time. We find that the paintings and inscriptions in this volume are sketchier than in the other volumes, even sloppy (Fig. 135). Furthermore, unlike the creative works in the first two volumes, most of which were inspired by direct observation of the world around him, the subject matter in the last four volumes strongly relied on historical stories and anecdotes (Fig. 136; Fig. 137). In a letter to Xia Mianzun and Li Yuanjing, dated 1941, Master Hongyi wrote:

The wide circulation of the first and second volumes of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* did cater to the need of the public. Mr. Feng is willing to do the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes, but I am old and sick now. . . . Mr. Feng wrote me that it was not hard for him to paint. The difficulty that he encountered was the shortage of subject matters. Please put advertisements in the journals *Buddhist Bi-monthly* [*Foxue banyuekan*] and *Heart/Mind* [*Jueyouqing*] to solicit subject matters [from the public], and use my calligraphy and couplets . . . as rewards.

“護生畫集”正續編流布之後，頗能契合俗機。豐居士有續繪三四五六編織弘願，而朽人老病日增，...前年豐居士來信，謂作畫非難，所難者在於覓求畫材。于“佛學半月刊”及“覺有情”半月刊中，刊登廣告，廣徵畫材。其贈品以朽人所寫屏幅，中堂，對聯...爲酬獎。¹⁷⁴

Hongyi died in 1942. Xia Mianzun and Li Yuanjing both passed away in 1946. With the difficulty in finding subjects, particularly when he worked on the last volume,¹⁷⁵ Feng repeated many subjects in the last four volumes.

Paintings on the Preservation of Life was a success and earned a great reputation after the first and second volumes were published. It was widely circulated in the world of Buddhism, and many publishing houses, such as the Dazhong Bookstore (*Dazhong*

¹⁷⁴ *Hongyi dashi wenji shuxin juan*, vol. 1, 181.

¹⁷⁵ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, 12.

shuju 大中書局), the Great Dharmacharka Bookstore (大法輪書局), and the Buddhist Studies Bookstore (*Foxue shuju* 佛學書局), reprinted the publication subsequently. They reprinted at least 1,500 copies every time, which was very unusual at the time. In 1933, the Chinese Society for Protecting Animals (*Zhongguo baohu dongwu xiehui* 中國保護動物協會) published an English version *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, translated by Huang Maolin 黃茂林.¹⁷⁶ In 1954, Raghu Vira produced a new edition of Feng's *Ahimsa in Black and White* with both Sanskrit and English free translations.¹⁷⁷ In 1981, *Vibrations of Ahimsa in China* was published in New Delhi in English. In December 1991, the Buddhist Studies Bookstore in Shanghai edited and published 10,000 copies of *Paintings and Songs on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng ge huaji* 護生歌畫集).¹⁷⁸ We, therefore, can imagine the great impact of these paintings on the general public.

Of course, not all people agreed with the ideology of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*. For example, the left-wing writer Rou Shi 柔石 (1902-1931), originally known as Zhao Pingfu 趙平復, published an essay entitled “Mr. Feng Zikai’s Euphoric Attitude” (*Feng Zikai jun de piaoran taidu* 豐子愷君底飄然底態度), in the journal *Sprout* (*Mengya* 萌芽) in April 1930 in which he criticized Feng as being far away from real society, having lived and made his art in an ivory tower.¹⁷⁹ Cao Juren 曹聚仁, one of Feng’s former schoolmates and now a progressive literary activist, declared publicly that

¹⁷⁶ Feng Zikai, *Feng Zikai manhua quanji*, vol. 14 豐子愷漫畫全集 (Beijing: Jinghua Publishing Co., 1999), 184.

¹⁷⁷ Harbsmeier, 88.

¹⁷⁸ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1 護生畫集 (Beijing: Zhongguo youyi Publishing Co., 1999), 3; Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 142.

¹⁷⁹ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 142; Chen Xing, “Feng Zikai yanjiu di guoqu xianzai yu jianglai,” *Feng Zikai lun*, 2.

it was time that Feng's dangerously pacifist *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* were put to the torch.¹⁸⁰

After Master Hongyi and Xia Mianzun passed away, Feng Zikai became closer to Ma Yifu and the Master Guangqia. In his essay "Narrow Lane" (*Loxiang* 陋巷, 1933), Feng recalled that the first time he met Ma Yifu was at Ma's place in 1918, shortly before Li Shutong took the tonsure. In the essay Feng wrote: "Teacher Li Shutong brought me to Ma's place and introduced Ma to me. All the conversation between Li and Ma that day was about Buddhism and philosophy, which were beyond my understanding at the time."¹⁸¹ After that, Feng visited Ma a couple of times either for the sake of Master Hongyi or himself, and he always felt enlightened and consoled after he talked to Ma.¹⁸²

The first time that the Master Guangqia met Master Hongyi was in Fujian Province in 1929. From November 1932, Hongyi and Guangqia became much closer when Master Hongyi decided to settle down and preach the Vinaya school of Buddhism in Fujian Province because of the nice weather and good atmosphere for Buddhist study there. In Fujian, Master Hongyi founded the Buddhist Academy of the Vinaya School of Nanshan (*Nanshan lixue yuan* 南山律學院) and the Institute of Buddhist Studies (*Fojiao yangzheng yuan* 佛教養正院).¹⁸³

The Master Guangqia began to know and keep in touch with Feng in 1931 via Master Hongyi after he read Feng's collection of prose, *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio* (緣堂隨筆集). The first time that Feng and the Master Guangqia met was not until 1949,

¹⁸⁰ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 145-148.

¹⁸¹ Feng Zikai, "Loxiang" 陋巷, *YSJ*, 61-64.

¹⁸² Feng Zikai, "Loxiang," *YSJ*, 61-64.

¹⁸³ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 162, 199.

when Feng visited Quanzhou to pay homage to Master Hongyi. Coincidentally, the Master Guangqia, preaching in Singapore now, went back to Quanzhou while on his way to Xiamen (廈門) for a precept ceremony. To commemorate the scene and the relationship between the three persons, Feng created a painting (Fig. 138) and gave it to the Master Guangqia as a gift.¹⁸⁴

When Feng was working on the fourth volume of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, he wrote a letter to the Master Guangqia dated to September 20, 1960: “I have invited Mr. Feng Youlan to write inscriptions [for volume four of the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*].” In a letter to Guangqia dated to September 23 of the same year, Feng wrote, however: “Please say that it was Master yourself who wanted to publish [the fourth volume of the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*], and say that Feng sent those paintings to you a long time ago” (此書刊行, 請對外言法師主動, 作為弟過去寄畫。). Because Feng was appointed as the director of the Shanghai Painting Academy (Shanghai huayuan 上海畫院) at the time, publications that he did were supposed to have something to do with socialist revolution, rather than anything with idealism, like Buddhism.

Feng finished the manuscripts for Volume Five in June 1965 and asked the calligrapher Yu Yu for inscriptions. Feng sent all the manuscripts to the Master Guangqia in Singapore for publication at the end of October of the same year.¹⁸⁵ In 1971, besides repainting the old paintings destroyed during the war and the Cultural Revolution in secret, works which were later collected and entitled *My Treasure Broom*, Feng began to

¹⁸⁴ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 183, 200.

¹⁸⁵ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 211.

translate Yusuki Ryoei's *New Interpretation of the Mahayana Theory of Pratiyasamutpade* (大乘起信論新釋) from Japanese into Chinese. Because it was not safe to mail the manuscripts at the time, Feng asked a businessman and layperson, Mr. Zhou Yingnan 周穎南, to bring the translation to the Master Guangqia when Mr. Zhou visited Shanghai. In a letter to Guangqia dated on August 13, 1973, Feng wrote:

In China there is freedom of religion, but we cannot propagandize it. Today I propagandize [Buddhism] abroad in secret, and I dare not to put my name on. This is why I use 'anonymous.' ... You only have to send two copies to me after the translation is published. One is for myself; the other is for Mr. Zhu Youlan. One is not allowed to propagandize [Buddhism] in China.

我國規例, 對宗教信仰可以自由, 但不可以宣傳。弟今乃私下在海外宣傳, 故不敢署名, 而用無名氏也。... 書出版後, 只需寄弟兩冊, 一自存, 一冊送朱幼蘭居士。因在此不宜宣傳也。¹⁸⁶

However, in another letter to the Master Guangqia dated to December 21, 1973, Feng wrote:

A couple of days ago, I got a letter from Mr. Zhou Yingnan and knew that the *New Interpretation of Mahayana's Theory of Pratiyasamutpade* was about to be published. I finished this translation about twenty years ago. Today, [it is] the Master [Guangqia who] plans to publish this translation overseas. ... Please limit the circulation of this publication to the world of religion, and do not publish it in newspapers or journals to propagandize it. Furthermore, please do not send any copy to me after it is published because we do not need this kind of book to propagandize such idealism in China

昨得周穎南先生信, 知"大乘起信論"已付印, 即將出版。此稿係弟二十餘年前舊譯, 今法師在海外出版, 原望部署我姓名, 而

¹⁸⁶ Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 120-122.

寫“無名氏”。發行範圍亦請侷限於宗教界，並勿在報刊上宣傳。¹⁸⁷

Observing the letters above, we can realize the difficult political situation in China and the pain that Feng suffered during the time.

As I have mentioned earlier, in order to fulfill his promise, even though he had suffered physical and psychological violence, Feng painted the albums for the sixth volume in secret. The last volume was finished in 1973, and Feng passed away in 1975. The sixth volume was not published until 1978, when the Master Guangqia got them from Zhu Youlan while visiting Shanghai. To fulfill Master Hongyi and Feng's virtue, The Master Guangqia republished 1,000 copies of each volume, from the first to the fifth volume, and 2,000 copies of the sixth volume, to disseminate Buddhism.¹⁸⁸

Feng Zikai and Hongyi used poems and vernacular inscriptions to attract a wider audience to the doctrine of Buddhism. *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, therefore, is not a rare book; it is a pioneering work of vernacular religious art and humanism in the world. Feng was not a traditionalist, although many of his works were inspired by the rich symbolism of classical poetry. His art works were thoroughly engaged with life and society. The human warmth, poetic beauty, and philosophical touches infused within his works in *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, has won him wide respect and enormous popularity in the world of Chinese art.

¹⁸⁷ Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 123.

¹⁸⁸ Chen Xing, *Qingkong langyue*, 229.

3. 4 Feng Zikai's Philosophy and Art

Recently, four things occupy my mind. They are gods and stars in the heaven, and art and children in the mundane world.

近來我的心爲四事所佔據了。天上的神明與星辰，人間的藝術與兒童。¹⁸⁹

The Birth of *Manhua*

The Chinese term “manhua” (漫畫), or sketchy drawings, was not common in China until 1925. In most current studies, the birth of *manhua* is usually credited to Feng Zikai. However, in his essay “Cartooning Methods” (*Manhua de miaofa* 漫畫的描法, 1943) Feng pointed out that in China it was not he who first used the term “manhua;” it was Zheng Zhenduo, the editor of *Literature Weekly* (文學週報), who first called his paintings “manhua.”¹⁹⁰ Feng Zikai's lyrical sketch *The Crescent* (Fig. 77), first made its appearance in the journal *Our July* (*Women de qiyue* 我們的七月) (Fig. 139) in 1924.¹⁹¹ That lyrical painting strongly attracted Zheng Zhenduo's attention, and Zheng began to solicit from Feng a regular contribution to the *Literature Weekly*. As mentioned earlier, in 1925 Zheng published and entitled Feng's first solo painting publication, *Collection of Zikai's Manhua* (子愷漫畫) (Fig. 78).¹⁹² From then on, “manhua” became a popular term among the Chinese.

The rise of “manhua” in twentieth-century China, however, can be traced to various unorthodox paintings of earlier times. For instance, in his “Sketchy Talk of

¹⁸⁹ Feng Zikai, “Er nü 兒女,” *YSJ*, 30.

¹⁹⁰ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 243.

¹⁹¹ Feng Yiying, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 275; Dai, 150.

¹⁹² Feng Yiying, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 275.

Manhua” (*Mantan Manhua* 漫談漫畫), Lu Xun pointed out that certain traditional Chinese paintings such as the series by Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733-1799) *The Delights of the Ghosts* (*Guiqu tu* 鬼趣圖) (Fig. 140) bore a close resemblance to modern cartoons. Luo Pin, one of the “Yangzhou Eccentrics,” used these eight ghost paintings to ridicule the absurdities of life and to satirize social corruption.¹⁹³ According to Michael Sullivan, Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 was the first competent artist-cartoonist (Fig. 141).¹⁹⁴

Feng Zikai traced the rise of “manhua” art and techniques to the late Qing era, particularly to the painter Chen Shizeng. In his essay “My Cartoons” (*Wo de manhua* 我的漫畫, 1947), Feng wrote,

People always credited the birth of Chinese *manhua* to me, which was paradoxical. When I was still a child, I encountered Chen Shizeng’s small and abbreviated brush paintings, such as *Boating at Dusk is Delightful* [Fig. 39] and *Solitary Hut*, published on the pages of the *Pacific Pictorial*. These drawings were made with a few sketchy lines yet full of vividness. They impressed me greatly, and I thought they were the origin of Chinese *manhua*.

人都說我是中國漫畫的創始者，這話半是半非。我小時後，“太平洋畫報”上發表陳師曾的小幅減筆畫“落日放船好”，“獨樹老夫家”等，寥寥數筆，余趣無窮，給我很深的印象；我認為這真是中國漫畫的始源。¹⁹⁵

In the essay “Cartooning Methods,” Feng wrote,

In the end of the Qing period, *The Pacific Times*, published in Shanghai, carried Chen Shizeng’s impromptu paintings. They were

¹⁹³ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 15, 301; Huang Yuanlin 黃遠林, “Zhongguo gudai manhua shilun” 中國古代漫畫試論, Hong Shi 洪石, ed., *Zhongguo manhua yishu lun* 中國漫畫藝術論 (Changchun: Changchun Publishing Co., 1991), 9-11.

¹⁹⁴ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 119.

¹⁹⁵ Feng Zikai, “Wo de manhua” 我的漫畫, *YSJ*, 316.

small in size, poetic in tone, and painted with little brushes. Unfortunately, most copies of *The Pacific Times* were lost, and I could not show the examples to readers. However, I remember the *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers*, compiled by Mr. Zheng Zhenduo, also have Chen Shizeng's *manhua*-like works. We can imagine Chen's artistic style after looking at the works in the *Beiping Decorated Writing Papers*.

大約是前清末年,上海刊行的“太平洋報”上,有陳師曾先生的即興之作,小型,著墨不多,而詩趣橫生。可惜年代過去太久,刊物散失,無法收集實例來給讀者看。但記得鄭振鐸先生所輯的“北平箋譜”中,有陳師曾先生所作的類於漫畫的作品。看了這些畫箋,也可想像他的作風。¹⁹⁶

As mentioned in Chapter 2.3, Li Shutong was impressed by the brush-like paintings (*maobihua* 毛筆畫) by Miyake Katsumi and others when he was in Japan, and Li solicited and published a great number of brush-like paintings in *The Pacific Times* after he returned to China. Feng's words cited above bear witness to the far-reaching impact of mass printing, like that of *The Pacific Times*, on the public.

In the same article, Feng wrote,

The first time I paid attention to *manga* was about twenty years ago when I was in Japan. Japan is a country where *manga* is very popular. The term *manga* was first created in Japan, and it was introduced to China along with other new terms. The first person who used *manga* was the artist Katsushika Hokusai [1760-1894] of the Tokugawa period [1615-1868].

我最初注意漫畫,是二十年前在日本的時候。日本是流行漫畫的國家。“漫畫”二字,實在是日本最初創用,後來跟了其他種種新名詞一同傳入中國的。日本最初用“漫畫”二字的,叫做葛飾北齋。其人生于德川時代。¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 244.

¹⁹⁷ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 244.

Borrowed from the Japanese word *manga*, the term *manhua* was not a popular term used to cover the range of newspaper and magazine illustrations, caricatures, and cartoons in China until 1925. In the second half of the nineteenth century, foreign language newspapers and journals mushroomed in the treaty ports. Western missionaries played a pioneering role in developing nonofficial newspapers in China. The *North-China Herald* (*Beihua jiebao* 北華捷報), founded in 1850, the *Shanghai Daily* (*Shenbao* 申報), in 1872, *Shiwubao* (時務報), in 1896, and so forth, were well-known and influential newspapers at the time.¹⁹⁸ The most important event in the development of journalism was the establishment of the literary supplement (*fukan* 副刊); it was in these literary supplements that a new mass literature and popular art and culture burgeoned and prospered.¹⁹⁹ The fact that the Western press often supplemented articles with illustrations also had an influential impact. For example, the *Stone-touching Studio Pictorial* (*Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報), founded in 1884 and lasting until 1898, was a supplement to the *Shanghai Daily* and was one of the earliest and most successful of the illustrated newspapers in Shanghai at that time.

As Western-style newspapers arose in the treaty ports of late Qing China, Chinese pioneers, such as Wang Tao 王澐 (1828-1897) and Liang Qichao, launched a new type of political press to introduce new ideas and to call for radical reforms.²⁰⁰ In the late Qing and Republican periods, a number of political drawings appeared in the Chinese press, and Chinese artists employed a variety of words to describe their works, such as *shihua*

¹⁹⁸ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 4; Shi Meiding 史梅定, ed., *Zhuiyi: jindai Shanghai tushi* 追憶: 近代上海圖史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji Publishing Company, 1996), 102-106.

¹⁹⁹ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 5.

²⁰⁰ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 28.

(時畫, paintings on current affairs) (Fig. 142), *xiehua* (諧畫, humorous painting), *xiaohua* (笑畫, comic painting), *gujihua* (滑稽畫, slapstick painting), *fengcihua* (諷刺畫, satirical drawings), *yuyihua* (寓意畫, allegorical pictures) in volume 20 of the *Wushen Whole Year Pictorial* (*Wushen quannian huabao* 戊申全年畫報), published in 1909,²⁰¹ and *Shanghai Punch* (*Shanghai poke* 上海潑克).²⁰² Shen Bochen 沈伯塵 (1889-1920) was the founder and editor of the *Shanghai Punch*, a bilingual comic monthly, and was one of the most influential cartoonists of his generation (Fig. 143). *Shanghai Punch* may be the earliest cartoon magazine in China. First published in 1918, the magazine only published four issues and ceased after Shen Bochen's death in 1919.²⁰³

In 1923, a sketchy painting, *The Belly of the Educational World* (*Jiayujie de duzi* 教育界的肚子) (Fig. 144), by the artist He Yu 禾愚, was published in the supplement of the *Morning Press* (*Chenbao* 晨報), *Weekly Manhua* (*Xingqi manhua* 星期漫畫).²⁰⁴ On May 7, 1916, there appeared another sketchy painting in the *Republican Daily* (*Minguo ribao* 民國日報). The painting was entitled, *Fang Sheng Manhua* (方生漫畫) (Fig. 145),²⁰⁵ and was meant to satirize Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916), a military official in the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911) who became the second provisional president of the Republic of China in 1912 and proclaimed himself emperor shortly before he died.

²⁰¹ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 29; Dai, 885; Gereme Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet: Notes on Feng Zikai and the Manhua," *Papers on Far Eastern History* March 1989: 18.

²⁰² Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 29; Dai, 885.

²⁰³ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 29; Dai, 885; Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 119-120; Kuixi Shen, "Comics, Picture Books, and Cartoonists in Republican China," *Inks: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* November 1997: 9.

²⁰⁴ Li Zhongqing, *Manhua guanggao*, 3.

²⁰⁵ Li Zhongqing, *Manhua guanggao*, 2.

On January 3rd, 1916, we see a news article regarding the artistic activities held at the Chengdong Girls' School published in the *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報) that says,

The Chengdong Girls' School held an art and literature competition at the Global Chinese Student Association on January 1. There were more than 200 participants, and the majority of whom were females. The program included(5) *manhua* [competition], which means [you have to do] the painting quickly and the time limit is 10 minutes....Mr. Li Shutong was the judge of the *manhua* section.

城東女學 前日(一日)假寰球中國學生會開文藝競爭會到者約二百餘人女賓居多...會場節目...(五) 漫畫畫圖極速之謂時間限十分鐘..., 李叔同君評判漫畫。²⁰⁶

We, therefore, know that in China the first person using the term *manhua* was neither Zheng Zhenduo nor Feng Zikai. There were already many art activities regarding *manhua* in China before 1925. In his essay “My Father Chen Shizeng’s *Manhua*” (*Xianfu Chen Shizeng de manhua* 先父陳師曾的漫畫), Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄, Chen Shizeng’s son, pointed out:

The China Art Museum in Beijing collected one of my father’s ink paintings entitled *Astride a Wall* (*Yuqiang* 逾牆) (Fig. 146) painted on satin. The painting depicted a thief astride a wall. Its composition was simple and concise, and it was depicted wholly in *manhua* style. The painting was dated to 1909 and was my father’s earliest *manhua* work that we could find to date.

中國美術館還藏先父創作的題為“逾牆”的水墨絹畫, 畫中描寫一竊賊翻越民宅牆頭的型態, 構圖簡煉, 完全是漫畫筆法。此

²⁰⁶ *Shibao* 時報, 3 January 1916, p 6; Julia Andres, “Ruotihua lunzheng ji xiandai zhongguo meishu shi de jiangou 裸體畫論爭及現代中國美術史的建構,” *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji*, 123; I am grateful to Professor Julia Andrews for bringing this newspaper to my attention and lent it to me so that I may copy it.

圖作于宣統元年 [1909 年], 是迄今發現的先父最早的漫畫作品。²⁰⁷

A significant part of this work is the inscription that Chen Shizeng wrote on it: “The so-called *manhua* means a painting with concise and allegorical meaning, and its painting method is outstanding (有所謂漫畫者, 意簡拙而託意俶詭, 涵法頗著。).”²⁰⁸

According to Huang Dade 黃大德, the term *manhua* could be traced back to March 17, 1904, when a column entitled *shishi manhua* (時事漫畫), using *manhua* to depict current affairs, began to appear in the *Warning Bell Daily* (*Jingzhong ribao* 警鐘日報). The predecessor of the *Warning Bell Daily* was *Warning of Russian Issues* (*E'shi jingwen* 俄事警聞), inaugurated by Cai Yuanpei on December 25, 1903 and renamed *Warning Bell Daily* on April 25, 1904. In *Warning of Russian Issues*, we find pictures accompanying texts and depicting current affairs, although the title varies, such as *tushuo* (圖說) and *xianshi* (現勢). The earliest example I have encountered to date is *Picture of Current Affairs* (*Shiju tu* 時局圖, 1898) (Fig. 147), depicting how imperialism invaded and partitioned China at the time.²⁰⁹ In the March 10, 1904 issue of *Warning of Russian Issues*, an editorial column, entitled “The Beijing Society for Having a Sense of Shame” (*Beijing de zhichi hui* 北京的知恥會), talked about the significance of using pictorial

²⁰⁷ Chen Fengxiong 陳封雄, “Xianfu Chen Shizeng de manhua” 先父陳師曾的漫畫, *Lao manhua*, vol. 2 (Jinan: Shandong hua bao Publishing Co., 1998), 43.

²⁰⁸ Chen Fengxiong, 43.

²⁰⁹ Huang Dade 黃大德, “Zhongguo manhua mingcheng yuanqi kao” 中國漫畫名稱緣起考, *Meishu guan cha* 美術觀察 4 (1994): 60; *Lao manhua*, vol. 1 老漫畫 (Shenyang: Liaoning huabao Publishing Company, 1998), 8-9; Dai, 885.

images to awaken the Chinese people.²¹⁰ A week after the editorial column was published, the satirical or propaganda-like caricatures or cartoons, *shishi manhua* (時事漫畫) (Fig. 148), began to appear in the press. We can therefore trace the appearance of the term *manhua*, as a noun and an artistic term in China, to March 1904.

Despite the fact that the twentieth century use of *manhua* can be attributed to a borrowing from the Japanese word *manga*, according to Gereme Barme, the word actually has a fairly venerable history in the Chinese language. Indeed, one, if not the earliest reference to *manhua* appears in a Song dynasty (960-1279) notebook, the *Rongzhai suibi* (容齋隨筆) of Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202). In the notebook, there is an entry describing two species of birds found in the border region of Yingzhou (瀛洲) and Mozhou (莫洲) (the region of Baoding [保定] in present day Hebei [河北] Province). One is *xintianyuan* (信天緣, literally means “he who trusts in heaven’s providence”); the other is *manhua* (漫畫) (or *bilu* [篋鷺] in modern Chinese) – a bird said to be akin to a wild duck (Fig. 149).²¹¹ Although in this case *manhua* does not have anything to do with paintings, it was nevertheless the earliest occurrence of the term.

Another significant use of the term *manhua* related to painting is found in the writings of Jin Nong 金農 [or Jin Dongxin [金冬心] (1687-1763), one of the “Yangzhou Eccentrics.” In *Mr. Dongxin’s Inscriptions for Miscellaneous Paintings* (*Dongxin xiansheng zahua tiji* 冬心先生雜話題記), one inscription reads as follows:

²¹⁰ Huang Dade, 60-61.

²¹¹ Barme, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 18; Barme, *An Artistic Exile*, 89-91; Gereme Barme, “Manhua zhi shuibian” 漫畫之蛻變, trans. Chen Jun 陳軍, *Feng Zikai lun*, 32; Li Chan 李闡 and Hong Delin 洪德麟, “Manhua shi shemo” 漫畫是什麼, *Manhua baibao xiang* 漫畫百寶箱 (Taipei: Xiongshi Publishing Co., 2000), 14.

“My dwelling is on the bank of the Zhe River. During May seasonal fruits come from the mountains in a veritable flood; the most exceptional are the plums of Xiang Lake, and a basket can be had for a few cash, plums and woven containers being sold together. Their sweet juice tingles the teeth, and one cannot have enough of them. In comparison, the loquats of Dongting are hardly worth relishing. The season has now arrived and I find myself thinking of the flavors of my old home. I casually paint (*man hua*) some broken branches [of the plum] – what difference is there between doing this and “gazing at plums to quench one’s thirst?”²¹²

予家曲江之濱。五月間，時果以蕭然山下湘湖楊梅爲第一，入市數錢，則連籠得之，甘漿沁齒，飽啖不厭，視洞庭琵琶不堪恣大嚼也。時已至矣，輒思鄉味，漫畫折枝數顆，何異乎望梅止渴也？²¹³

Jin Nong began to use “*manhua*” (meaning “casually paint”) as an artistic term, although the word “*manhua*” here is a verb, rather than the noun that we commonly use today. Therefore, the appearance of the word “*man*” and “*hua*” together in a nominal compound in China, according to the documents that we have found to date, should be credited to *Warning of Russian Issues*, and Cai Yuanpei, the chief editor of the *Daily*, played a significant role in promoting this new genre of art in China.

The Definition of *Manhua*

What, then, is *manhua* (or *manga*)? Is its definition the same as that of the Western word “cartoon”? In “The Sketchy Talk of *Manhua*” (*Mantan Manhua* 漫談漫畫), published in 1935, Lu Xun wrote: “*Manhua* is a translation of the word *karikatur*, the *man* of *manhua* has absolutely nothing to do with what in older times the literati

²¹² Barne, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 20.

²¹³ Barne, “Manhua zhi shuibian,” 32.

meant when they talked about ‘casually inscribing’ (*manti* 漫題) a painting, or ‘writing something whimsically’ (*manshu* 漫書).”²¹⁴ However, in “Cartooning Methods” (1943), Feng Zikai wrote:

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

漫畫這個 “漫” 字同漫筆, 漫談等的 “漫” 字用意相同。漫筆, 漫談, 在文體中便是一種隨筆或小品文, 大都隨意取材, 篇幅短小, 而內容精粹。²¹⁵

Shimizu Isao 清水勇夫, a leading historian of Japanese *manga*, also speculates that the word *manga* may actually have been inspired by a Chinese word like “*manbi*” (漫筆).²¹⁶

One of the earliest artists who used the word *manga* or *mangaku* in Japan is Hanabusa Icchō 英一磔 (1652-1724); Itcho published *Mangaku zuko guncho kaku 'ei* (漫畫圖考 – 群蝶畫英) in 1769.²¹⁷ Two years later, Suzuki Kanko 鈴木閑弓 published a collection entitled *Mangaku Essays* (*Manga zuihitsu* 漫畫隨筆) in 1771. The word *mangaku* was later “read as *manga* and subsequently used to denote pictures of scenes observed and depicted at random or in a casual manner.”²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Lu Xun 魯迅, “Mantan manhua” 漫談漫畫, *Xiaopinwen he manhua* 小品文和漫畫 (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1981 [reprint]), 10-12; Barne, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 26.

²¹⁵ Feng Zikai, “Manhua di miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 243.

²¹⁶ Barne, “An artist and his epithet,” 18.

²¹⁷ Barne, “An artist and his epithet,” 20-22.

²¹⁸ Barne, “An artist and his epithet,” 22.

In 1798, Kitao Sei'en 北尾政演 wrote in the introduction of his book *The Passing Seasons* (*Shiki ni yukikai* 四季にの行交): "I often sit by the window of the shop and sketch (*mangaku*) the wayfarers who pass by at the crossroads, the wealthy and poor, men and women, young and old..."²¹⁹ Obviously, the term "*mangaku*" is used here as a verb. Not until 1814, when Katsushika Hokusai of the Tokugawa period published his *Hokusai manga* (北齋漫畫), did the word "*manga*" enter the Japanese language as a popular term. Shimizu interprets Hokusai's use of the word as "casual essays done as paintings" (*e de egaita zuihitsu* 繪畫隨筆).²²⁰

In the Meiji period (明治, 1868-1912), the word "*manga*" came to be used alongside "*toba-e*" (鳥羽繪), "*odoke'e*" (戲繪), "*ponchi*" (from the word "Punch," as in the name of the journal of British humor), "*ōtsu-e*" (大津繪), "*kyōga*" (狂畫), and "*giga*" (戲畫).²²¹ The words "*toba-e*" and "*giga*" can be traced to the second half of the twelfth century, in works such as the hand scroll of *Animal Caricatures* (*Chōjū-giga* 鳥獸人物戲畫), by artist Toba Sōjō 鳥羽僧正 (c. 1053-1140). The hand scroll has been regarded as satire alluding to the decline of the aristocracy after the rise of the warrior class.²²² The term "*ōtsu-e*" (大津繪) originated in the township of Ōtsu outside Kyoto. It had been used to denote a casual sketch through the Edo period, and was commonly employed during the Taishō era (大正, 1912-1926).²²³

²¹⁹ Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 22.

²²⁰ Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 22.

²²¹ Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 22.

²²² Terukazu Akiyama, *Japanese Painting* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1961), 83-84.

²²³ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMHZSF*, 244-246; Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 24.

In the essay “Cartooning Methods,” Feng Zikai pointed out: “The term ‘*manga*’ was officially named in the Tokugawa period, and *manga* art reached its peak at the time. ...There were eight *manga* masters in the Tokugawa era, who were Hanabusa Itcho, Katsushika Hokusai, Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川國芳 (1797-1861), and Sengai 仙崖 (1750-1837).”²²⁴

In the same article, Feng wrote:

The art of *manga* [was] revived in the Meiji period due to the introduction of Western art. It was still very popular nowadays. However, the *manga* style [of the Meiji period] is different from that of the previous era. Very few *manga* at this time were pure in the Japanese style. Most [*manga* of this era] carried the influence of Western art. The noted artists [of this period] included Kawanabe Kyōsai [河鍋曉齋, 1831-1889], Takehisa Yumeji, Kitazawa Rakuten [北澤樂天, 1876-1955], and others.

至明治時代, 西洋美術入日本, 漫畫復興。直至今日, 非常熱鬧。但作風與前不同, 少有純粹的日本漫畫, 大都含有西洋畫風。著名的畫家有 河鍋曉齋, 竹久夢二, 北澤樂天等。²²⁵

Unfortunately, Feng did not talk more about how and why *manga* deteriorated at the end of the Edo period, nor about what he meant by the pure Japanese *manga* style.

Satirical illustrations, especially those that lambasted the government and the fashion and customs of the time (Fig. 150), became increasingly popular during the Meiji period. The rise of this phenomenon could be credited to *The Japan Punch*, founded by the English artist Charles Wirgman (1835-1891), who imitated the British journal of humor in 1862. Due to the pervasive influence of *The Japan Punch* in the Meiji period and beyond, the word *panchi* (the Japanese equivalent of *Punch*) came to be used to

²²⁴ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 247.

²²⁵ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 247.

“denote satirical cartoons, conveying something of the heady ambience of the ‘*bunmei kaika* (文明開化),’ the Meiji Enlightenment.”²²⁶

In the late 1890s, Imaizumi Ippyō 今泉一瓢 (?- 1901) started a cartoon column consisting of satirical drawings of current affairs in his paper *Current Affairs* (*Jiji shinpō* 時事新報). *Current Affairs* already had a current affairs column called *jiji mangen* (時事漫論), literally meaning “casual comments on current affairs,” and the artist Kitazawa Rakuten 北澤樂天, appointed by the paper, was in charge of the satirical drawing of the Sunday supplement, *jiji manga* (時事漫畫).²²⁷ According to Barme, “the popularity of Kitazawa’s own work and the increased use of cartoons in newspapers generally led to *manga* becoming the accepted term describing satirical cartoons on current affairs during the last years of the Meiji and throughout the Taishō periods.”²²⁸

In “Cartooning Methods,” Feng wrote:

Rakuten was a little bit later than Yumeji, and he adopted more Western art methods [in his art]....Some of his paintings were even completely Western style. Therefore, Yumeji’s paintings were rich in the sentiment of the pen and tone of ink (*bimo qingqu*) in which respect Rakuten’s paintings were far behind.

北澤樂天比夢二時代稍后, 其畫采用西法更多, ...有幾幅竟全是西洋畫。因此筆墨情趣, 遠不及夢二之豐富。²²⁹

We, therefore, can see that while Rakuten was widely imitated, Feng Zikai received the distinct impression that the works of Takehisa Yumeji possessed poetic resonance.²³⁰

Feng further wrote:

²²⁶ Barme, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 24.

²²⁷ Barme, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 24.

²²⁸ Barme, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 35.

²²⁹ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 248.

The artistic style of Takehisa Yumeji is a great synthesis of Western and Eastern art. The composition [of Yumeji's paintings] is Western, but the mood is Eastern. The form is Western, but the brush is Eastern. [Yumeji's works are] harmonious in tone. Furthermore, the significant feature of [Yumeji's works] is their rich poetic timbre. Most subjects of the *manhua* artists in previous times were playful, funny, or satirical. Mr. Yumeji disregarded this kind of superficial subject matter, and paid more and deeper attention to subject matter regarding serious life. To read [Yumeji's works] is like reading a [Chinese] four-line verse poem (*jueju*). It is very touching when you recall [his paintings], and the taste can last for a long time.

[竹久夢二] 他的畫風，融化東西洋畫法於一爐：構圖是西洋的，畫趣是東洋的。形體是西洋的，筆法是東洋的。非常調和，有如天衣無縫。還有一點更大的特色，是詩趣的豐富。以前的漫畫家，差不多全以詼諧，滑稽，諷刺，遊戲為主題。夢二先生屏除此種淺近趣味，而專寫深刻嚴肅的人生滋味。使人看了如同讀一首絕詩一樣，餘味無窮。²³¹

Feng further commented: "It is a pity that habits have changed. Today people are more interested in *manhua* which satirize our 'dog-eat-god world' than paintings, which contain poetic quality" (可惜現在時異世遷，人的興味集中在諷刺奪麵包吃的漫畫上，對於此種富有詩趣的畫少有人注意。)²³²

In "Cartooning Methods," Feng defines "*manhua*" as "sketches with emphasis on content (簡筆而重意義的畫)."²³³ In an essay entitled "Appreciation of the Art of Cartoons" (*Manhua yishu de xinshang* 漫畫藝術的欣賞), Feng wrote again: "*Manhua* is a synthetic art, combining painting and texts" (漫畫是一種繪畫文字的綜合藝術),²³⁴

²³⁰ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMHZSF*, 248; Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 24.

²³¹ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMHZSF*, 247-248.

²³² Feng Zikai, "Tan riben de manhua" 談日本的漫畫, *Feng Zikai lun yishu* 豐子愷論藝術 (Taipei: Danqing tushu Publishing Co., 1989), 236; Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 24.

²³³ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMHZSF*, 243.

²³⁴ Feng Zikai, "Manhua yishu de xinshang" 漫畫藝術的欣賞, *XMHZSF*, 196.

and “*manhua* is a synthetic art combining intellectual art and graphic art” (漫畫是思想美與造型美的綜合藝術).²³⁵ In “Cartooning Methods,” Feng points out the significance of texts (or the title), because the texts established the relationship between visual art and the linguistic reference. For example, when we see Figure 151, it is only a drawing or landscape painting without any significant meaning. When we read the title *Last Year’s Teacher* (*Qunian de xiansheng* 去年的先生) (Fig. 152), we realize that it is a picture depicting the difficult economy of the times. Last year’s teacher now becomes a hawker. During the twenties, teachers were not well paid in China and were forced to change their jobs in order to make a living.²³⁶ If there were no text and no emphasis on content or meaning, the image would look like a landscape painting or sketch only. Another example is a picture depicting a man feeding a pig (Fig. 153). By adding the texts *Indirect Self-feeding* (*Jianjie de ziwei* 間接的自餵) (Fig. 154), this work, which is collected in the first volume of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, suggests the purpose of the man’s action. Many actions are taken in society which seem to be done to benefit others, when in fact, the underlying purpose is self-serving.²³⁷ Based on the two examples above, we can see a mutual dependence between visual art and texts. What is essential is that the verbal signs and images function simultaneously; then the message can be easily channeled.

²³⁵ Feng Zikai, “Manhua yishu de xinshang,” *XMHZSF*, 199.

²³⁶ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 243, 266-267; Shuen-shuen Hung, “Feng Tzu-k’ai: His Art and Thoughts” (master’s thesis, Michigan State University, 1986), 54.

²³⁷ Feng Zikai, “Manhua di miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 266-267; Shuen-shuen Hung, 54.

Feng further commented, “*Manhua* in the West is the same as cartoon and caricature” (漫畫在西洋, 相當於 cartoon 及 caricature。).²³⁸ He then went on to write that “the art of *manhua* flourished in China in recent years, and most works were influenced by Western art. Very few *manhua* works [done by Chinese artists] possess the mood of Chinese paintings” 我國近年來漫畫亦甚發達, 大都受西洋的影響。故多模仿西洋西洋畫風, 少有保住中國畫趣味者。).²³⁹ In “My Cartoons,” Feng said:

To my knowledge, the Japanese word ‘*manga*’ can cover everything ranging from Chinese-style impromptu sketches, such as *jijiu hua* and *jixing hua*, to Western cartoons, even though these two forms are so vastly different in mood. The form impromptu painting is rich in the sentiment of the pen and tone of ink, while the cartoon or caricature is merely concerned with satire and humor. The former is created with a scant number of brush strokes; the latter is the product of detailed and fine drawing executed with a pen.

據我所知, 日本的“漫畫”乃兼指中國的急就畫, 即興畫, 及西洋的卡通畫的。但中國的急就, 即興之作, 比西洋的卡通趣味大異。前者富有筆情墨趣, 後者注重諷刺滑稽。前者只有寥寥數筆, 後者常有用鋼筆細描的。²⁴⁰

According to another influential Chinese *manhua* artist, Ye Qianyu, unlike the *Stone-touching Studio Pictorial*, which was only a kind of “recording picture” (*jiluhua* 記錄畫) that portrayed current scenes in a realistic fashion, *manhua*, to some, was “a satirical graphic art form that used distortion and exaggeration to lay bare life’s absurdities. But to others, *manhua* was a kind of ‘social art’ whose content related closely

²³⁸ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 248.

²³⁹ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 249.

²⁴⁰ Feng Zikai, “Wo de manhua,” *YSJ*, 316-317; Barne, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 29.

to the life of the common people.”²⁴¹ Lu Xun described this new art as whose purpose was to “expose, satirize, and even vilify.”²⁴² According to Robert Harvey, a freelance cartoonist and commercial artist, cartoons are “a blend of word and picture – not a simple coupling of the verbal and the visual, but a blend, a true mixture.”²⁴³ That is, “neither word nor picture can make complete sense with the other; they are mutually dependent.”²⁴⁴

Now, let us return to the question we posed in the beginning: what is “manhua” (or “manga”)? Is its definition the same as the Western word “cartoon”? Based upon Feng Zikai’s definitions and examples that we have encountered above, the answer we get here should be positive. The definition of and comparison between the terms “cartoon” and “manhua” (or “manga”) deserve more research. In this dissertation, because of the convention and Feng’s definition, I will use “cartoon” for the term “manhua” in the following writing.

The Technique of *Manhua*

As for the art of *manhua* (or cartoons), Feng Zikai emphasized that all apprentices need to possess two types of training -- technical training (技術的訓練) and intellectual training (思想的訓練). Both types of training are equally important.²⁴⁵ Feng divided cartoons into three categories: “reflective cartoons” (*qinggan manhua* 情感漫畫),

²⁴¹ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 28-29.

²⁴² Barne, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 26.

²⁴³ Robert C. Harvey, *The Art of the Funnies: An Aesthetic History* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 9.

²⁴⁴ Harvey, 9.

²⁴⁵ Feng Zikai, “Manhua yishu de xinshang,” *XMHZSF*, 199.

“propaganda cartoons” (*xuanchuan manhua* 宣傳漫畫), and “satirical cartoons” (*fengci manhua* 諷刺漫畫). He did not think of the latter two as being fine art, because they were used to serve specific purposes. Only reflective cartoons, such as *The Crescent* (Fig. 77) and *The Instinct for Life* (Fig. 133), were what he thought of as fine art, since they can express the artist’s real feelings. Feng said:

I call such works reflective *manhua* because they record a certain sentiment. ...On the surface such paintings are prosaic [*pingdan*]. Therefore, shallow people think them uninteresting. Only those with a great depth of feeling can really appreciate them.

作這種畫,由於感情出於自然,因此稱為感想漫畫。...這種畫表面都平淡,淺率的人看了毫無趣味,深於情感的人始能欣賞。²⁴⁶

In “Cartooning Methods,” Feng lists six methods and four steps of cartooning. The six methods include the realistic method (*xieshi fa* 寫實法) (Fig. 155), metaphorical method (*biyu fa* 比喻法) (Fig. 156), hyperbole method (*kuazhang fa* 誇張法) (Fig. 157), assumptive method (*jiaxiang fa* 假象法) (Fig. 158), key point method (*dianjing fa* 點睛法) (Fig. 159), and the symbolic method (*xiangzheng fa* 象徵法) (Fig. 160); the four steps are to determine the title (*nianti* 拈題), to select the subject matter (*xuancai* 選材), to compose (*goutu* 構圖), and to paint (*zhuomo* 著墨). All of the categories, methods, and steps are mixed and are not really separated in a cartoon work. That is, a satirical *manhua* could be a lyrical *manhua* simultaneously. For instance, Feng drew a building with three floors, and a student is taking an elevator (Fig. 161). The first floor represents elementary school; the second, high school; and the third, university. Rather than moving by

²⁴⁶ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMHZSF*, 249-250; Barme, “An Artist and His Epithet,” 32.

electricity, the elevator is moved by a big coin. It implies that the students are easily promoted to high school or university by means of bribing. This is a reflective and satirical cartoon. By using a metaphorical method, Feng criticized the contemporary educational system in which bribing was the main way for promotion.²⁴⁷

Feng Zikai's Philosophy and Art

Feng himself divided his cartoon art into four periods: a period of old poems (*gushi qi* 古詩期), a period of children (*ertong qi* 兒童期), a period of social phenomena (*shehuixiang qi* 社會相期), and a period of natural phenomena (*ziranxiang qi* 自然相期).²⁴⁸ Again, all of them were mixed. For example, in the late 1930s Feng drew a lot of natural phenomena; however, at the same time he painted “old poems in new paintings” (*Gushi xinhua* 古詩新畫) and children's images, as well. In every period, Feng firmly believed that art is the reflection of life. In his article, “My Painting Tools” (*Wo de huaju* 我的畫具), published in 1935 in the collection *Casual Essays and Manhua* (*Xiaopinwen yu manhua* 小品文與漫畫), Feng mentioned that “*manhua* [artists] should find themes from life. If an artist wanted to acquire skills in the art of *manhua*, he or she should have solid training in sketching life and drawing (漫畫應該從現實生活取材, 要擅長漫畫藝術, 就要有紮實的寫生素描基礎。).”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Feng Zikai, “Manhua de miaofa,” *XMZSF*, 251.

²⁴⁸ Feng Zikai, “Wo de manhua,” *YSJ*, 317.

²⁴⁹ Feng Zikai, “Wo de huaju 我的畫具,” *Xiaopinwen he manhua*, 39.

Feng Zikai and Poetry²⁵⁰

Feng's *manhua* was steeped in classical literature. Feng Zikai's contemporary, Yu

Pingbo wrote:

There is a long history [in China for artists to use] poems as their subject matter. However, to my knowledge, so far there has been no [artist like Feng Zikai who] used the Western painting [method] to depict the Chinese poetic feeling. If there were any, the first would be Mr. Feng.

以詩題作畫料,自古有之。然而借西洋畫的筆調寫中國詩境的,以我所知尚未曾有。有之,自足下始。²⁵¹

Yu, in the codicil to the first collection of Feng's cartoons, *Zikai Manhua* (子愷漫畫), further claimed: "What are herein called '*manhua*' are, quite frankly, an innovation. [Feng] employed the spare gracefulness and vague concept of space in Chinese painting without sacrificing the verve and energy of Western art [in his *manhua*] (所謂漫畫,在中國實為一創格,既有中國畫風的蕭疏,又不失西洋畫法的活潑酣恣。)." ²⁵²

As mentioned earlier, having studied Western art under Li Shutong, Feng went to Japan in 1921 to further his study in Western art at the Kawabata Academy of Oil Painting. Though he did not in the end become a Western-style artist on his return to China, he taught Western art and art theory at various schools and published and translated many essays and books on the topic, such as "Loyalty to Sketching from Life" (*Zhongshi de xiesheng* 忠實的寫生, 1920), "The Life of Van Gogh" (*Guhe shenghuo* 谷訶生活, 1929, Kaiming Book Company), *Twelve Talks on Western Art* (*Xiyang huapai*

²⁵⁰ This chapter presents independent research of mine, although many points here are similar to those in Geremie Barne's book, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai* (1898-1975).

²⁵¹ Yu Pingbo 俞平伯, *Zikai manhua* 子愷漫畫 (Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore, 1929), postscript.

²⁵² Yu Pingbo, *Zikai manhua*, postscript.

shier jiang 西洋畫派十二講, 1930, Kaiming Book Company), *Talk on Western Architecture* (*Xiyang jianzhu jianghua* 西洋建築講話, 1935, Kaiming Book Company), and others. In his writings, Feng mentioned numerous times that in art the cartoon is just like the four-line verse poem (*jueju* 絕句) in Chinese poetry. It was the poetic sentiment revealed in Feng's works that touched many people's hearts and minds. In the preface to *Zikai Manhua* (1925), Zheng Zhenduo wrote: "His [Feng's] *manhua*, *The Crescent*, published in *Our July*, immediately attracted my attention. ... My mind and mood was brought [by his painting] to a poetic wonderland" (他的一幅漫畫“人散後，一鉤新月天如水”立刻引起我的注意。... 我的情思卻被他帶到一個詩的仙境。).²⁵³ Ding Yanyong 丁衍鏞 (1902-1978), an artist and Feng's colleague at the Lida Academy, also wrote: "Mr. Zikai's *manhua* is filled with the mood of 'poem' and 'rhythm.' The 'poetic rhythm' [*shige*] is the life of Mr. Zikai and the life of Zikai's *manhua*" (子愷君的漫畫，充滿了 '詩' 和 '歌' 的趣味。"詩歌" 是子愷君的生命，就是子愷君漫畫的生命。).²⁵⁴ Actually, as mentioned earlier, when Feng encountered Takehisa Yumeji's works in Japan, it was the rich poetic timbre revealed in Yumeji's works that attracted Feng's attention and changed his artistic career thereafter.

Feng was not a traditionalist, although his artistic features and intellectual background revealed his strong connection with traditional Chinese art and intellectual thought. In his early artistic career, many of Feng's artworks were inspired by lines of poetry. The title of *The Crescent*, for instance, was a line from a Song *ci* poem (詞),

²⁵³ Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, *Zikai manhua*, preface 3.

²⁵⁴ Ding Yanyong 丁衍鏞, *Zikai manhua*, preface 11.

Thousand Years – A Summer Scene (千秋歲, 夏景), written by Xie Yi 謝逸.²⁵⁵ It portrayed a scene on a veranda with a bamboo curtain rolled up to allow Feng and his friends to gaze at the moon. Feng seems to be captured by the atmosphere after a gathering. Without painting any person in the picture, the painting, however, exudes strong sentimental feelings, which record the ever-changing moods of meeting and parting in life. By using a traditional brush, classic poem, modern cartoon techniques, and modern urban phenomena in such works as *Quietly up the Western Tower* (*Wuyan dushang xilou* 無言獨上西樓, 1925) (Fig. 162), *Making Friends with Birds* (*Haoniao zhitou yi pengyou* 好鳥枝頭亦朋友) (Fig. 163), and *The Crescent*, Feng conveyed a melancholic and lyrical mood through his works.²⁵⁶

The compositional setting in Feng's art works is uncompromisingly simple and economical, and all the subjects that he chose are from real life. Empathy is what Feng valued. When the painting *Quietly up the Western Tower* was published in *Literature Weekly*, Feng was criticized for his depiction of a contemporary man instead of an ancient figure when he illustrated a line of classical poem. Feng argued that: "I was neither going to paint an historical painting nor illustrating for Emperor Li [of the Southern Tang period]. I was painting the fascinated mood which I got after I read [Emperor] Li's poem. I am a human being living in modern times; therefore, my feelings are of course modern" (我不是作歷史畫, 也不是爲李後主作插畫。我是描寫讀李詞後的體感。我是現代人, 我的體感當然是現代的。).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Feng Yiyong, *Baba de hua*, vol. 1 爸爸的畫 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan University Press, 1999), 13.

²⁵⁶ Su-hsing Lin, "Sense and Sentimentality," 1153.

²⁵⁷ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 27; Shuen-shuen Hung, 42-43.

Besides the depiction of contemporary life, another principal that governs Feng's art is that "ideas come before the brush" (*yizai bixian* 意在筆先).²⁵⁸ This is the underlying principal embodied in Feng's art that makes his artworks significant. In "My Cartoons," Feng said: "[When I paint], ideas always come before the brush. As long as an idea is there, weather the brush is completed does not matter" (作畫意在筆先, 只要意到, 筆不妨不到).²⁵⁹ Paintings such as *The Music Class in Village* (*Cunxuexiao de yinyueke* 村學校的音樂課, 1930) (Fig. 164) and *Shy* (*A-bao chibo* 阿寶赤膊) (Fig. 165) are fantastic examples. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), an Indian poet and Nobel laureate for literature (1913), commented on Feng's paintings:

Description in art need not be detailed as long as it catches the spirit of things. These paintings by your teacher [Feng Zikai] use scant few brush strokes to render the character of a figure. Although there are no eyes on the face, we can see what he sees, and although there are no ears, we can hear what he hears. The conditions expressed by high-level art are precisely of this sort.

藝術的描寫不必詳細, 只要得到事物的精神即可。你的老師這幾幅畫, 就是用寥寥的幾筆寫出人物的個性, 臉上沒有眼睛, 我們可以看到他在看什麼。沒有耳朵, 可以看到他在聽什麼。高度藝術所表現的境地, 就是這樣!²⁶⁰

The earliest extant example of Feng's "elliptical sketches" is *Outside Qingtai Gate* (*Qingtai menwai* 清泰門外) (Fig. 166), dated 1918. The simple sketch, done when he was still a student at the First Normal School, shows a mother with a basket hanging from one arm, her other hand holding onto a child.

²⁵⁸ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 33, 43.

²⁵⁹ Feng Zikai, "Wo de manhua," *Xiongshi meishu* 雄獅美術 77 (1977): 68.

²⁶⁰ Wei Fengjiang 魏風江, *Wo di laoshi tai-ge-er* 我的老師泰戈爾 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin Publishing Co., 1986), 118-119.

Feng's spontaneous and simple brush technique includes vestiges of Chan (禪) painting. Feng was a Buddhist, although he never mentioned that he was a Chan Buddhist. In the essay "Cartooning Methods," however, not only did Feng mention that the Japanese Zen monk Sengai was one of the eight cartoon masters, but also that he was a Zen master with a profound insight into life and that Feng admired Sengai's paintings (Fig. 167) embodying the essence of humor in the Zen tradition.²⁶¹

Feng's spontaneous brushwork and simple compositions recall the paintings of Chen Shizeng and Wang Zhen.²⁶² His connection with Chen via the publications of *The Pacific Times* has been discussed earlier. Feng's connection with Wang Zhen also can be found in Feng's essay, "Taste of Dharma" (*Fa wei* 法味).²⁶³ Born in Shanghai, Wang Zhen was a native of Wuxing (吳興), Zhejiang Province. Wang was the most famous of Wu Changshi's disciples. He studied foreign languages in the Hall of Disseminating Dialects (*Guangfang yanguan* 廣方言館, a foreign-language training and translation institute established by the Qing government),²⁶⁴ and later became a comprador for a Japanese trading company in China in 1900. Wang Zhen was a very active artist in Shanghai, and he was an important member of numerous societies, like the Yu Garden Charitable Association of Calligraphers and Painters (*Yuyuan shuhua shanhui* 豫園書畫

²⁶¹ Feng Zikai, "Manhua de miaofa," *XMHZSF*, 247.

²⁶² Kuiyi Shen, "Traditional Painting," *A Century in Crisis*, 93.

²⁶³ Feng Zikai, "Fa wei," *WJ*, vol. 5, 31.

²⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century, the Qing government regarded all foreign languages as dialects. To disseminate ("guan," in Chinese, literally means broaden or disseminate) and train more people to learn foreign languages ("fangyan," in Chinese, literally means dialects), the government, therefore, entitled the institute as the Hall of Disseminating Dialects. Xue Liyong, 6-7.

善會). He specialized in figures, flowers-and-birds (Fig. 168), landscapes, animals, and especially in painting Buddhist figures (Fig. 169).²⁶⁵

Feng was not the first to depict “old poems in new paintings.” This tradition can be traced back to the late Northern Song period (960-1127). The tradition of direct imperial patronage culminated in the art of Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1101-25), the last emperor of the Northern Song period. In the Imperial Academy of Painting, Huizong emphasized three aspects of painting: realism, a systematic study of the classical painting traditions of the past, and the attainment of a “poetic idea” (*shiyi* 詩意) in painting. His painters were tested for their imaginative capacities in visualizing a poem, and it was the emperor himself who first popularized the actual physical combination of Three Perfections (*sanjue* 三絕) -- painting, poetry, and calligraphy -- in a single work.²⁶⁶

Barne has written with regard to Feng’s “old poems in new paintings”:

It may seem surprising that Feng Zikai should choose lines from classical poetry as the major source for his early work. Since Feng had spent long years acquiring an understanding of and basic competence in Western art, and he began painting for publication at the height of the May Fourth period – the most iconoclastic era in Chinese cultural history – it is ironic that he found inspiration for some of his most memorable and successful works in the familiar and highly structured realm of traditional verse.²⁶⁷

Feng Zikai was a sentimental and emotional artist and writer. His paintings, such as *The Crescent* (Fig. 77) and *Spring in the Metropolis* (*Duhui zhichun* 都會之春) (Fig.

²⁶⁵ Kuiyi Shen, “Traditional Painting,” *A Century in Crisis*, 82-83.

²⁶⁶ Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 176; Richard M. Barnhart, “The Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Song Period (960-1279),” Richard Barnhart et al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 122-123.

²⁶⁷ Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 104-105.

170), and his superb personal essays, such as “Gradual” (*Jian* 漸, 1925) and “A Big Account Book” (*Da zhangbu* 大帳簿, 1927), reveal the sentimental and romantic side of his personality. However, besides his sentimentalism, the reason why Feng shifted his interest from Western art to Chinese literati painting may also have a significant and rational relationship to the whole picture of the art world in China and Japan at the time, which might well explain why Feng chose lines from classic poetry and will not feel his choice is ironic at all.

By the 1920s, the height of the May Fourth period, it was generally acknowledged that “modernity” was equated with “Western civilization” in all its spiritual and material manifestations in China. As mentioned earlier, in 1922, Chen Shizeng published *The Study of Chinese Literati Painting* (中國文人畫之研究). Many early twentieth-century Chinese art historians, such as Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 (1898-1971), Fu Baoshi, Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1894-1952), and Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 had been influenced by the writings of Omura and Chen.²⁶⁸ By the end of the 1920s, the idea that Chinese art was superior to Western art began to spread in China. Many Western-style painters, such as Guan Liang, Xu Beihong, and Lin Fengmian, were greatly influenced by this idea and returned to traditional Chinese painting.²⁶⁹ Feng Zikai was one of them. In the October 1926 issue of *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌), an influential middlebrow publication under the aegis of the Commercial Press from 1904 to 1948,²⁷⁰ Feng

²⁶⁸ Liu Xiaolu, “Dacun xiyai he Chen Shizeng,” 117.

²⁶⁹ Nishimaki Isamu 西槓偉, “Feng Zikai no Chugoku bijutsu yuiron to Nihon” 豐子愷の中國美術優位論と日本, *Hikaku bungaku* 比較文學 39 (1996): 59-62.

²⁷⁰ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 49.

published an essay, “The Characteristics of Chinese Painting: In the Painting is a Poem” (中國畫的特色 – 畫中有詩), where he advocated the three perfections of Chinese painting -- painting, poetry, and calligraphy -- and the late Northern Song literate Su Shi’s 蘇軾 [or Su Dongpo 蘇東坡] (1036-1101) idea that “in the poem there is a painting, and in the painting there is a poem” (詩中有畫, 畫中有詩).²⁷¹ In the January 1930 issue of the same journal, Feng published another influential essay, “The Victory of Chinese Art in the Modern Era” (*Zhongguo meishu youyue lun* 中國美術優越論), in which he asserted the superiority of Chinese art both formally and theoretically.²⁷² In his essay “The Songs of Labors” (*Laozhe zige* 勞者自歌, 1934), Feng mentioned again:

In the portrayal of things, Chinese painting has never emphasized form-likeness, whereas Western painting always has. However, recently Western painting has not emphasized form-likeness. ...We can say that from the Renaissance to the present day, Western painting has been in transition, moving step-by-step over closer to Chinese painting.

中國畫描物向來不重形似, 西洋畫描物向來重形似; 但近來的西洋畫描物也不重形似。...自文藝復興至今日的西洋繪畫的變遷, 可說是一步一步地向中國畫接近。²⁷³

Besides the “Victory” and “Labor” essays, Feng published “The Thought of Chinese Painting: Kinbara Seigo’s Six Laws of Painting” (*Zhongguo de huihua de sixiang: jinyuan shengwu de hua liufalun* 中國的繪畫的思想: 金原省吾的畫六法論) (in *Eastern*

²⁷¹ Feng Zikai, “Zhongguohua di tese – huazhong youshi” 中國畫的特色: 畫中有詩, *Jindai zhongguo meishu lunji*, vol. 1, 19-32.

²⁷² Nishimaki, “Feng Zikai no Chugoku bijutsu,” 174.

²⁷³ Feng Zikai, “Laozhe zige” 勞者自歌, *WJ*, vol. 5, 219.

Miscellany, vol. 27, No. 1),²⁷⁴ and “The Study of the Theory of the Six Laws in Eastern Painting” (*Dongyanghua liufa de lunli de yanjiu* 東洋畫六法的論理的研究) (in *Eastern Miscellany*), among others, to extol the *xieyi* (寫意, literally means “sketching ideas” or “sketching impressions”) tradition of Chinese art.²⁷⁵

One interesting phenomenon was that Feng produced the elliptical sketches, like *Outside Qingtai Gate* (1918), when he was still a student at the First Normal School in Hangzhou. It was also at that time that, under Li’s instructions, Feng was enamored with Western realism, and he, in the 1920s, published many essays, such as “Loyalty to Sketching from Life” (1920) and “The Principles of Art Education” (*Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli* 藝術教育的原理, 1922), to promote Western art and realism. Feng’s abbreviated and simple painting style had originated in late 1910s already. That Feng’s rediscovery of his fascination of spontaneous and poetic painting style occurred during his trip to Japan is no doubt. However, Feng’s classical Chinese education and personality might play significant and intrinsic roles in his artistic career. Chen Shizeng’s paintings greatly appealed to Feng when he was still a student in Hangzhou, as is documented by the precise artistic details that Feng pointed out when he recalled Chen’s paintings (without any copy in hand) about three decades later.²⁷⁶ The encounter with Yumeiji’s artworks in Japan undoubtedly inspired Feng’s return to the “elliptical sketch style” and led him back to traditional Chinese art.

²⁷⁴ Feng Zikai, “Zhongguo di huihua di sixiang: Jinyuan shengwu de hua liufalun” 中國的繪畫的思想: 金原省吾的畫六法論, *Jindai zhongguo meishu lunji*, vol. 1, 133-152.

²⁷⁵ Feng Zikai, “Dongyang hua liufa di lunli de yanjiu” 東洋畫六法的論理的研究, *Jindai zhongguo meishu lunji*, vol. 1, 153-182.

²⁷⁶ Feng Zikai, “Wo de manhua,” *YSJ*, 316.

Comparing Feng's synthesis of Chinese and Western art to that in the works of Li Shutong and Chen Shizeng, again, we see that the discourse of Chinese modernity was deployed by Chinese themselves and that tradition exerted a great influence on Feng's reinvention. Feng's role and efforts in promoting the aesthetics of traditional Chinese painting were obviously important and cannot be ignored.

Feng Zikai and Children

In the middle of the 1920s, Feng created great numbers of cartoons of the behavior and character of children. Feng had a rather idyllic view of children, because he believed that a child's mind is innocent and sincere. His superb personal essays, such as "The Diary of Huazhan" (*Huazhan de riji* 華瞻的日記, 1926), "To My Children" (*Gei wo de haizi men* 給我的孩子們, 1926), "Son and Daughter" (*Ernü* 兒女, 1928) clearly reveal how carefully Feng observed the things around him and how much he loved his mischievous children. The children in his cartoons are always innocent, lovable, and mischievous, as we see in *Peanuts are not Enough* (*Huashengmi bu manzu* 花生米不滿足, 1925) (Fig. 171), *Ruanruan the Bride, Zhanzhan the Bridegroom, Sister Bao Plays the Go-between* (*Ruanruan xianniangzi, zhanzhan xinguanren, baojie zuo meiren* 軟軟新娘子 瞻瞻新官人 寶姐作媒人, 1926) (Fig. 172), *A-bao has Two Legs, The Stool has Four Legs* (*A-bao liangzhi jiao, dengzi sizhi jiao* 阿寶兩隻腳 凳子四隻腳, 1926) (Fig. 173), and *Zhanzhan's Bicycle* (*Zhanzhan de jiaotache* 瞻瞻的腳踏車, 1926) (Fig. 174). Feng's cartoons for children, like his personal essays, are characterized by a blending of

human warmth, poetic beauty, and philosophical touches, and they won high praise among literary luminaries.

The success of Feng's cartoons for children lies in his exact depiction of children's attitude of perceiving. Most of the time, it was children's direct and unpretentious expression that fascinated him. Feng also admired children's creative imagination and ingenuity. In *Zhanzhan's Bicycle*, we see Zhanzhan, Feng's eldest son, pretends that two fans are a bicycle. For the enchanting *Ruanruan the Bride, Zhanzhan the Bridegroom, and Sister Bao Plays the Go-between*, Feng recalled that he brought the children to a relative's wedding. The children imitated the ceremony right after they went back home. Their imitation of adults is not only a mechanical mimicking. There is a deep loving ambition involved in the role-playing.

Feng received a lot of inspiration from children, and he thought that children's noblest heart is what the adults should value and learn. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that most of Feng's writings and cartoons were dedicated to children. In 1932 he published *Children's Cartoons* (*Ertong manhua* 兒童漫畫) through the Kaiming Book Company. From 1936 on, he also published a large number of fairy tales (*tonghua* 童話) in journals such as *New Adolescent* (*Xin shaonian* 新少年) and *The Juvenile Student* (*Zhong xuesheng* 中學生). Feng's first fairy tale, *The Adventure of Small Bill* (*Xiao chaopiao lixianji* 小鈔票歷險記), was published in the January and February issues of *New Adolescent* in 1936.²⁷⁷ Like his sketches of children, most of Feng's stories for children were developed from his close relationship with his own family. By the time he

²⁷⁷ Lin Wenbao 林文寶, *Feng Zikai tonghua ji* 豐子愷童話集 (Taipei: Hongfan Bookstore, 1995), 4.

was twenty-seven years old, Feng was already the father of three children. Observing the stories of “A Summer Afternoon” (*Xiatian de yige xiawu* 夏天的一個下午, 1947), “Plant Orchids Not Weeds” (*Zhonglan bu zhongai* 種蘭不種艾, 1947), and “The World with Sentiment” (*Youqing shijie* 有情世界, 1947), collected in *The Professor Sees a Ghost* (*Boshi jiangui* 博士見鬼) and published by the Children’s Bookstore (*Ertong shuju* 兒童書局) in 1948, we can get an intimate view of Feng’s world with his children. Through children, Feng found that golden key – the world of imagination.²⁷⁸

The Professor Sees a Ghost is a collection of twelve children’s stories written by Feng between October 1946 and July 1947. The stories are arranged neither chronologically nor thematically, and the position of one story does not enhance or dictate that of another. All the themes have the same subtleties, nuances, and small ironies as adult fiction, but their fitness has been dictated solely by Feng Zikai’s attitude toward the perceptivity of his young readers. The stories not only treat the lighter moments of life, such as going on a picnic with the moon as in “A World with Sentiment,” but also confront the harsher realities, like “The Tale of Five Dollars” (*Wuyuan de hua* 伍圓的話).²⁷⁹

Feng added his own illustrations to accompany each of the stories in the collection of *The Professor Sees a Ghost*. In the preface of *The Professor Sees a Ghost*, Feng wrote:

²⁷⁸ Brenda Lei Foster, “Feng Tzu-k’ai and The Professor Sees a Ghost” (Master’s thesis, University of Washington, 1974), 6.

²⁷⁹ Foster, 11.

When I was young I wanted to eat pastries, but the only kind of pastry my mother would buy for me to eat was *Three Fungus* pastry [*Fulinggao* 茯苓糕]. It was very sweet, very fragrant and very tasty. Only after I was slightly older did I know my mother's intention in buying the *Three Fungus* pastry for me to eat. It was because the three fungus, which was put inside the pastry, was a kind of herb medicine. If you ate it, you would grow strong and healthy and live long.

Now that I have grown up, I am no longer so piggish. I do not eat the *Three Fungus* pastry anymore. When I paint or write, however, I take the *Three Fungus* pastry as an example. The *Three Fungus* pastry is not only sweet, but also nourishing, and can make your body grow strong and healthy. As for paintings and writings, they are best when they not only have beauty of form, but also an educational function, and can make the spirit and soul grow strong and healthy. Therefore, for the past several decades my paintings and writings often take the *Three Fungus* pastry as a model.²⁸⁰

Feng's fairy tales, *The Professor Sees a Ghost*, have a "profound significance, imaginative quality, and creative expression, which makes his subjective approach to children's literature anything but mediocre."²⁸¹

In the 1920s and 1930s, many Western fairy tales, like *The Emperor's New Clothes* (*Huangdi de xinyi* 皇帝的新衣), were translated into Chinese and were published in journals like *Education*.²⁸² Besides fairy tales and children's cartoons, Feng also designed many book covers and illustrations, such as *Heart* (or *Coure* [*Aide jiaoyu* 愛的教育]) (Fig. 175), *The Short Story Magazine* (*Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報) (Fig. 176), and *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (*Gelin tonghua ji* 格林童話集) (Fig. 177; Fig. 178).

²⁸⁰ Feng Zikai, *Boshi jiangui* 博士見鬼 (Shanghai: Ertong Bookstore, 1948), preface; Foster, 19.

²⁸¹ Foster, 14.

²⁸² Feng Zikai, "Gudai yingxiong de shixiang" 古代英雄的石像, *WJ*, vol. 5, 176-178.

During the 1910s and 1930s, Chinese intellectuals intensively discussed childhood. As China had a long tradition of Confucianism, filial piety played a significant role in Chinese society, and thus easily became a kind of social repression. In the early Republican era, Chinese intellectuals criticized Confucianism as an obstacle of modernization. Emphasizing the purity and individualism of children became a way to attack feudal Confucianism. Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, and Hu Shi advocated their thoughts by various means such as writing poems, essays, and translating modern literature from the Japanese.²⁸³ For example, Zhou Zuoren wrote a poem, entitled “A Prayer for Children” (*kodomo e no inori* 子供への祈り, 1921), in Japanese. In the poem, Zhou wrote: “You may peacefully go over there/ by jumping over me.” Hu Shi also wrote a poem in Chinese, saying: “I do not want you to become a dutiful son.” These lines express an ideal completely different from the established Confucian idea of filial piety. Lu Xun’s essays, such as “What Kind of Father We Must be Today” (*Women xianzai zenyang zuo fuqin* 我們現在怎樣作父親) (originally published in *New Youth* in January 1919)²⁸⁴ and “Diary of a Madman” (*Kuanren riji* 狂人日記), were the finest example of the anti-Confucianist movement of this period and perhaps had more urgency now than ever. In the “Diary of a Madman,” Lu concludes the tale with one of the most famous phrases in the modern Chinese literary canon: “Might there still be someone who hasn’t

²⁸³ Nishihara Daisuke 西原大輔, “Chugoku ni okeru kodomo no hakken” 中國における子供の発見, *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyu* 比較文學研究 62 (1993): 5-6.

²⁸⁴ Lu Xun 魯迅, “Women xianzai zhenyang zuo fuqin” 我們現在怎樣作父親, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 1, 116-130.

eaten human fresh? Save the children” (沒有吃過人的孩子, 或者還有? 救救孩子...).²⁸⁵

Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren translated several Japanese novels into Chinese to advocate their ideal. For example, Lu Xun translated Arishima Takeo's (有島武郎, 1878-1923) short story “Chiisaki mono e” (小さき者へ) and published a description of his impression in the Chinese magazine, *New Youth* (新青年). Zhou Zuoren also translated Shiga Naoya's (志賀直哉, 1883-1971) “Seibei to hyōtan” (清兵衛と瓢箪). In addition, Natsume Sōseki's “Kakemono” (懸物) and Senke Motomaro's (千家元磨, 1888- 1948) “Bara no hana” (薔薇の花) were translated by Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, respectively. They all deal with childhood. Zhou's essays “Literature of Human Beings” (*Ren de wenzue* 人的文學), published in the *New Youth* in 1918 (vol. 5 No. 6), and “Literature of Children” (*Ertong de wenzue* 兒童的文學), a talk delivered at the Kongde Elementary School (*Kongde xuexiao* 孔德學校) in Beijing in 1920, vividly showed his view of childhood. In the “Literature of Children,” Zhou claimed that: “It is only now that we have come to realize that biologically and psychologically, although they differ from adults to a certain extent, children are still complete individuals, and possess of their own

²⁸⁵ Lu Xun, *Lu Xun xiaoshuo xuan* 魯迅小說選, trans. Yang Xianyi 楊憲益 and Dai Naixuan 戴乃選, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2002), 34; Foster, 5-6; Nishihara, 37-38; Andrew F. Jones, “The child as history in Republican China: A discourse on development,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* Vol. 10, number 3, winter (2002): 705-708.

inner and outer lives” (近來纔知道兒童在生理心理上, 雖然和大人有點不同, 但他仍是完全的個人, 有他自己的內外兩面的生活).²⁸⁶

As mentioned earlier, many Western fairy tales had been translated into Chinese and published by the Kaiming Book Company and the Commercial Press since the 1910s. In addition, a book, called *The Psychology of Children's Drawings* (*Ertong huihua zhi xinli* 兒童繪畫之心理), was published by the Commercial Press in 1937.²⁸⁷ Neither Lu Xun nor Zhou Zuoren was the first person in China to advocate the liberation of children. In the Ming dynasty, a Confucian Li Zhuowu 李卓吾 (1527-1602) already criticized the authority of Confucianism and advocated the integral of childhood.²⁸⁸ In the 1910s and 1920s, China suffered both from colonization by the Imperialist power and a lingering Confucian tradition that prevented China from modernization. Childhood, thus, was much discussed among the Chinese intellectuals and became a symbol of modernization during this period.²⁸⁹ In many of his writings and paintings, Feng criticized that Chinese children's lack of social democracy and lack of parity, and the children in China were forced to act according to the adults' wishes (Fig.179). For instance, Feng recalled an instance in an elementary school where he was an art teacher: “Before he entered the classroom, he saw seven or eight year-old children playing, laughing, and jumping. Feng enjoyed watching the rhythm of their movement. However, a voice from the back (from

²⁸⁶ Zhou Zuoren 周作人, “Ertong de wenxue” 兒童的文學, *Yishu yu shenghuo* 藝術與生活 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shu ju, 1936), 43- 61; Zhou Zuoren, “Ren de wenxue” 人的文學, *Yishu yu shenghuo*, 11-30; Jones, 710.

²⁸⁷ Jones, 695, 708.

²⁸⁸ Nishihara, 41-42.

²⁸⁹ Nishihara, 5-6, 43-48.

the president) frightened the kids and they immediately ran into the class.”²⁹⁰ At that moment, all the kids behaved politely and bowed to Feng mechanically. This is not “true politeness” which derived from the hearts of the children, Feng lamented.²⁹¹

Feng’s respect of children’s individualism is revealed both in his writings and paintings. For example, in his painting *Associations on the Cutting of Hedges* (*Jian dongqing de lianxiang* 剪冬青的聯想, 1949) (Fig. 180), collected in the third volume of the *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, a line of people are having their heads cut off as one would trim a hedge. To Feng, the duty of education is to discover the human nature and to encourage human beings’ creativity. However, education in China at the time, on the contrary, became a threat to the integrity and creativity of children. By using his cartoons such as *Associations on the Cutting of Hedges* and *Certain Kinds of Teachers* (*Mozhong jiaoshi* 某種教師) (Fig. 181), Feng criticized the fact that the teachers of the day played the role of mold maker and destroyed an individual’s progression of learning. Through his vital brushes, Feng’s role in advocating the centrality of children in May Fourth nationalist discourse and his influence on China’s modernization should not be ignored.

Feng Zikai’s Social Life Painting (社會相)

Feng believed that the generosity and kindheartedness of children were the original nature of adults, and Feng’s art was firmly rooted in the prosaic substantial world of everyday experience. Humanistic concern for the people, particularly for laborers and

²⁹⁰ Shuen-shuen Hung, 30.

²⁹¹ Shuen-shuen Hung, 30.

the poor, as in *The Winter of Shantytown* (*Pinminku zhi dong* 貧民窟之冬, 1931) (Fig. 182), *Traveling Barber* (*Yewai lifa chu* 野外理髮處, 1934) (Fig. 183), and *Farmers Toiling in the Twilight* (*Xiaofeng canyue* 曉風殘月, 1934) (Fig. 184), also prevailed in Feng's works. The text of the painting *Farmers Toiling in the Twilight* was from a line of a Song *ci* poem *Yulingling* (雨霖鈴), written by the Northern Song poet Liu Yong 柳永 (c. 987-1053), who described the sorrow of departing lovers.²⁹² Many traditional Chinese artists, like Yu Li 俞禮, have cited lines of poetry and painted in the classic romantic sense (Fig. 185). Unlike the traditionalists, Feng quoted the same line, but successfully transformed the subject of the painting into the hardship of laboring farmers. Feng's art was for his time and for the masses.

Realism had been a principle that governed Feng's art works since he studied art with Li Shutong in Hangzhou, and this principle could be found in all of Feng's works, including his "old poems in new paintings," children's images,²⁹³ and social paintings. During the 1930s, Feng began to paint the world of adults. He dedicated his works to the expression of indignation at social injustice, and many of his works opposed China's increasing social chaos and economic collapse. Such works included *Double Famine* (*Erchong jihuang* 二重飢荒, 1934) (Fig. 186) and *Neighbors* (*Linren* 鄰人) (Fig. 187). Both paintings describe the incongruity of social life in a city like Shanghai. In the painting *Neighbors*, the iron fence between the neighbors is an immediate criticism of human ugliness. With his sympathy and empathy toward living beings, Feng felt sorry for

²⁹² Feng Yiyong, *Baba de hua*, vol. 1, 170-171.

²⁹³ However, Christoph Harbsmeier thought Feng turn to realism after 1926 when he began to paint children's portraits. Harbsmeier, 63.

the people living in the city and losing touch with one another. The construction of the fence is designed to prevent theft by one's neighbor. However, Feng's comment attacks the sickness of the social phenomenon in general rather than the behavior of the two neighbors.²⁹⁴

Another painting by Feng, *Last Kiss* (*Zuihou de wen* 最後的吻, 1934) (Fig. 188), was published in *Free Talks* (*Ziyoutan* 自由談), the supplement of *Shenbao*. In the painting, we see a mother kissing her child before she sends him/her to an orphanage. In the 1930s, due to economic difficulties a lot of families could not afford to raise a child. In the short story *Destroying* (*Cuican* 摧殘), published in the journal *Chaohua* (朝花) (Vol.1, No. 5, July 11, 1929), the left-wing writer Rou Shi wrote: “a poor couple just had a newborn boy. Because they could not afford to raise the kid, the wife surreptitiously to look for a babysitting job at an orphanage after her husband sent their kid to the orphanage, which behavior was illegal at the time....”²⁹⁵ This kind of story happened again and again in the 1930s and the 1940s in Shanghai, although there was no guarantee that all the kids sent to the orphanage would survive. In *Last Kiss*, Feng used the abrupt contrast of a dog feeding a child to create a powerful image. A lady wrote a letter to Feng after she saw the painting in the paper: “you have to compensate me for the tears that I lost after I saw this painting.”²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Su-hsing Lin, “Sense and Sentimentality,” 1150-1152.

²⁹⁵ Rou Shi 柔石, “Cuican” 摧殘, *Chaohua xunkan* 朝花旬刊 (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1982 [reprint]), 131-140.

²⁹⁶ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie*, 32; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 45; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 49.

Many of Feng's paintings, such as *Classmates from Elementary School* (*Xiaoxue shidai de tongxue* 小學時代的同學) (Fig. 189), and *Two Fathers* (*Liangjia de fuqin* 兩家的父親) (Fig. 190), reveal Feng's ideas about the goodness of human nature and the corruption of society. The subject matter, composition, and the contrast that we encounter here undoubtedly betray the influence of Yumeji (Fig. 191). In the painting *Two Fathers*, the two children are friends. The tension comes when they are seen holding hands and looking at the poor child's father pulling along the rich child's father. Feng noted his helplessness to change the situation, but the inequality that existed in society upset him.²⁹⁷

Vestiges not only of Yumeji but also of the Qing artist Zeng Yandong 曾衍東 [or Qidaoshi 七道士] (ca. 1750-1815) may be found in the painting style of Feng.²⁹⁸ Zeng was both an artist and a writer. He had passed the *juren* examination in 1792 and had served as an official. However, he was exiled to Yongjia in his late years.²⁹⁹ Zeng produced humanistic stories about the poor and laborers, and many of the stories collected in his classic *Little Bean Shed* (*Xiao doupeng* 小豆棚) admired the talent of minorities and women.³⁰⁰ Brushstrokes in Zeng Yandong's artworks are founded in the calligraphy of Northern Wei steles and achieve a lively graphic effect. According to Wan

²⁹⁷ Nishimaki Isamu 西楨偉, "Manga to bunka Feng Zikai to Takehisa Yumeji o megutte" 漫畫と文化-豐子愷と竹九夢二をめぐって, *Hikaku bungaku* 比較文學 36 (1993): 93-94, 102.

²⁹⁸ Chen Lianzhen 陳廉貞, "Feng Zikai xiansheng di zengci" 豐子愷先生的贈詞, *Dagongbao* 大公報, 16-17 August 1980, n.p.; I am grateful to Professor Wan Qingli for bringing the artist Zeng Yandong to my attention when I delivered a paper, "Sense and Sentimentality: Feng Zikai and China's Modernity," in the International Symposium on Shanghai School Painting, in Shanghai in December 2001. I am also grateful to Professor Luo Qing [Lo Ching] for his generosity to allow me to view his collection of Zeng Yandong in Taipei in January 2002.

²⁹⁹ Luo Qing 羅青, "Heimo baiyan guan shiqing" 黑墨白眼觀世情, *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 June 1996: 97.

³⁰⁰ Luo Qing, 99.

Qingli, Zeng was a pioneer of the Epigraphic School, and his untrammelled style greatly influenced later artists.³⁰¹ Not only could the simple and spontaneous style of Feng Zikai, but also that of Chen Shizeng be traced back to Zeng's artworks (Fig. 192; Fig. 193).

Feng Zikai's Wartime Paintings and Buddhist Ideas

The Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, and the war greatly changed Feng's attitude toward life and art. His hometown, Shimenwan, was attacked, and his beloved Yuanyuan Studio was destroyed in a Japanese air raid. Feng was unquestionably bitter about the war. He said, "We are 'using killings to end killings.' We are not encouraging killing life. We resist [the Japanese] to protect life" (我們是“以殺止殺,” 不是鼓勵殺生, 我們是爲護生而抗戰。).³⁰² In this period, Feng did numerous propaganda cartoons to record the bestialities of aggression and the ensuing human suffering. Examples of such works are *A Mother's Head Severed* (Fig. 194) and *Refugee (Canghuang 倉皇)* (Fig. 195).³⁰³ However, to Feng, wartime cartoons were mostly expedient tools of propaganda; they could hardly be described as fine art. In one poem from 1938, Feng compared China to a giant tree: "A tall tree is cut down,/ But its life force remains unsevered./ Come spring, it's bursting with shoots;/ How vital the atmosphere!" (大樹被斬伐, 生機並不絕。春來怒抽條, 氣象何蓬勃。).³⁰⁴ Feng's wartime paintings, such as *Let the Blood of the Martyrs Nourish the Flower of Freedom (Sajiang zhonglie xie, zaipei ziyou hua 灑將*

³⁰¹ 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, *Xiongshi meishu 雄獅美術* 264 (1993): 115-116; Luo Qing, 97.

³⁰² Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 8; Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 144-145.

³⁰³ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 135.

³⁰⁴ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 2, 63; Feng Zikai, "Zhongguo jiuxiang dashu" 中國就像大樹, *YSJ*, 224-227; Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 141.

忠烈血, 栽培自由花, ca. 1939) (Fig. 196) and *Resurrection* (*Chongsheng* 重生, ca. 1939) (Fig. 197), collected in the second volume of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, showed that Feng was confident that his country would eventually prevail. Furthermore, in his wartime cartoons, even innocent children were painted as patriotic and strong-willed in their desire to help defend the country (Fig. 198). Children are neither ill-natured nor aggressive; they are simply self-defensive.³⁰⁵ Another instance of Feng's confidence in his country was his naming of his youngest son, Feng Xinmei 豐新枚, who was born during the wartime period. "Xinmei" literally means "new buds." The name, which Feng chose, definitely revealed his hope for his country.

Feng Zikai realized only too well that during the war his favored form of lyrical cartoon was little more than an oddity; indeed, he had been attacked for championing the lyrical cartoon on a number of occasions. When the war broke out, some suggested that he should burn his *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* because of the book's theme.³⁰⁶ However, unlike the brutal and violent cartoons that Feng's contemporaries created (Fig. 199; Fig. 200), Feng's thoughts and art were still consistent (Fig. 201; Fig. 202), although he was faced with a long and painful ordeal as refugee. Even at a time when Feng's own works were showing clear evidence of an increased social awareness and patriotism, his attitude about the deeper and lasting significance of his art had undergone little change.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 141.

³⁰⁶ Feng Zikai, *Husheng huaji*, vol. 1, preface 7; Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture*, 143.

³⁰⁷ Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 32.

In 1940, Yoshikawa Kōjiro, a leading Japanese Sinologist, translated Feng's *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio* (緣緣堂隨筆) into Japanese. He described Feng in his introduction to the translation:

I feel Feng Zikai is the most artist-like artist in China today. This is not because he has many talents and skills, such as playing the piano, drawing cartoons, and writing essays. What I appreciate in him is his artistic honesty, his deep love for all things, and the strength of his moral convictions. If you want to find a writer like Tao Yuanming or Wang Wei in China today, then Feng would be the only one. Among the numerous hypocritical world of Shanghai writers, Feng stands head and shoulders above others.

我覺得，著者豐子愷，是現代中國最像藝術家的藝術家，這並不是因為他多才多藝，會彈鋼琴，作漫畫，寫隨筆的緣故，我喜歡的，乃是他的像藝術家的真率，對於萬物的豐富的愛，和他的氣品，氣骨。如果在現代要想尋找陶淵明王維那樣的人物，那末，就是他了吧。他在龐雜詐偽的的海派文人之中。有鶴立雞群之感。

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Feng's castigation of the popular forms of Buddhism affected his entire attitude, even in the wartime period. In 1938, Feng wrote an article "Buddha has No Magic Power" (*Fo wu ling* 佛無靈), and provided some fascinating insights. When his beloved *Yuanyuan Studio* was burned down in a Japanese air attack, his aunt told him that the Buddha had no magical powers; otherwise, the deity should have surely protected and spared the destruction of Feng's house. Feng burst out in real anger and challenged those ordinary people who misunderstood the doctrines of Buddhism. To Feng, the doctrines of Buddhism had been distorted for years, and the religion had become a means for superstitious practice and had become a way to escape failure. Ordinary people, because

³⁰⁸ Yoshikawa Kōjiro, "Du Yuanyuantang suibi" 讀緣緣堂隨筆, *Zhongri wen duizhao Yuanyuantang suibi* 中日文對照緣緣堂隨筆, trans. Xia Mianzun 夏丐尊 (Shanghai: Kaiming Book Company, 1947), 242-244.

of their failure in love or business, would be converted to Buddhism without knowing its exact doctrines. In Feng's thought, however, Buddhism was the highest realm of life and could be described as the philosophy aiming at the discovery of reality in the innermost recesses of the soul.³⁰⁹

Feng described Master Hongyi as “a person who is 100 percent like a human being” (他是一個十分像人的一個人).³¹⁰ As mentioned earlier at the end of Chapter 3.2, in his essay, “Temporarily Away from Mortal Life” (*Zhanshi tuoli chenshi* 暫時脫離塵世), Feng described Natsume Sōseki as “a person who is most like a human being” (夏目漱石真是一個最像人的人)。We, therefore, can see how significant these two figures' thought was for Feng. Many people thought that the reason why Li Shutong took the tonsure was simply to escape the political and social chaos and that he was afraid to face reality. In his articles, “A Talk to the Youth Regarding Master Hongyi” (*Wei qingnian shuo Hongyi fashi* 為青年說弘一法師, 1943) and “Master Hongyi and I” (*Wo yu Hongyi fashi* 我與弘一法師, 1948), Feng argued that Li Shutong gave up his career as being an educator and an artist because he clearly realized that being a monk is the only way of getting closer to the true essence of reality.³¹¹ Feng categorized a human being's life into three floors (or levels): the material life (物質生活), spiritual life (精神生活), and soul life (靈魂生活). According to Feng, most people in the mundane world are satisfied and stay in the first floor if their material life is good enough. The people further pursuing the

³⁰⁹ Feng Zikai, “Fo wu ling” 佛無靈, *YSJ*, 220-223; Feng Zikai, “Wei qingnian shuo Hongyi fashi,” *WJ*, vol. 6, 153-154.

³¹⁰ Feng Zikai, “Hongyi dashi quanji xu” 弘一大師全集序, *WJ*, vol. 6, 240.

³¹¹ Feng Zikai, “Wei qingnian shuo Hongyi fashi,” *WJ*, vol. 6, 153-154.

spiritual life include intellectuals and artists, who devote their time to academic research or art making, and they stay on the second floor. However, some people are still not satisfied when they live on the second level and want to go to the highest realm of life; they are the religionists. They want to go to the third floor to figure out cosmology and discover the reality of the soul. In his talks, Feng mentioned that there were two reasons to admire Master Hongyi. One was that he was very serious about everything he did (凡事認真); the other was he was versatile (多才多藝).³¹² He further commented that Master Hongyi was a filial son when his mother was alive and even after, because Li changed his name to Li Ai [李哀, “Ai” means sorrow] to commemorate his mother. He then devoted his time and energy to art and teaching when he was studying in Japan and teaching in China. The reason why Li took the tonsure, according to Feng, was not to escape his worldly duties, but because he sincerely wanted to know the doctrine and cosmology of Buddhism.³¹³

Feng Zikai’s Landscape Paintings

The peak of Feng’s creativity in cartoon drawings was in the 1920s and 1930s. His works, in black and white, at that time were forceful and pressing, and most of them were relatively small in size. He did not do many large scale paintings, which required a grand atmosphere, until the late 1930s.

In the late 1930s and 1940s, Feng began to do a lot of landscape paintings in color. Japan’s invasion of China forced many Chinese artists, including Feng, to leave

³¹² Feng Zikai, “Wo yu Hongyi fashi” 我與弘一法師, *WJ*, vol. 6, 398-402.

³¹³ Feng Zikai, “Wo yu Hongyi fashi,” *WJ*, vol. 6, 398-402.

their studio and travel to many parts of the country, which also brought a great change in the style of their works. Many paintings that Feng created in this period were inspired by his journey. In traditional literati landscape paintings, which had dominated the Chinese art scene since the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), “the object in nature served as raw material which must be transformed into an artistic idiom, and the mode of this transformation revealed something about the person who drew them.”³¹⁴ Unlike traditional landscape paintings, Feng’s landscape paintings, in lively brush strokes, witnessed the free and lyrical recording of the natural world (Fig. 203; Fig. 204). All of Feng’s landscape paintings were inspired by the places where he had traveled, and were kept as a personal diary of his own journey. His many landscapes, like *Gazing at the Lake* (*Huoran kailang* 豁然開朗) (Fig.205), communicate the exhilaration of exploration and discovery and a keen sense of curiosity about his physical surroundings. The most remarkable aspect of this painting is its element of surprise. In addition, the spontaneity and humor found in his artworks, like *Air Raid Alarm Plays the Role of a Go-between* (*Jingbao zuo meiren* 警報作媒人) (Fig. 206), ensure Feng’s position as a master of twentieth-century Chinese art.

As Kuiyi Shen has suggested, the color and composition in Feng’s artworks may have been inspired by woodblock landscapes of Andō Hiroshige 安藤廣重 (1797-1858).³¹⁵ Much of the beauty of Hiroshige’s art springs from his sensitive response to variations of weather and the changing seasons, and this feeling for nature links his works

³¹⁴ James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Geneva: Editions d’Art Albert Skira, 1995), 91; Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1985), 191-196.

³¹⁵ Kuiyi Shen, “Traditional Painting,” *A Century in Crisis*, 93.

with the lyrical landscapes of the *yamato-e* (大和繪) school of the Japanese painting of the Heian period, which was believed to be characteristically Japanese.³¹⁶ Rather than mimicking *yamato-e*, what we see in Feng's art is his own internalization and new creation of Chinese landscapes.

Travel offered Feng a great opportunity to learn more about China and to expand his artistic originality. Many of Feng's superb personal essays, like "Climb to the Heavenly Capital" (*Shang tiandu* 上天都, 1961), written after the 1940s, were accompanied by paintings (Fig. 207). As mentioned earlier, Feng studied in Japan for ten months, and he translated many Japanese art, music, and literature books into Chinese. We, hence, can postulate that Feng was familiar with the work of Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1784), a leading *haiku* (俳句) poet³¹⁷ and a master of *haiga* (俳畫, "haikai picture") in the late eighteenth century.

Haiga is a style of painting that attempts to capture the impressionistic and humorous quality of *haiku* poetry. Born near Osaka, Buson went to Edo (now Tokyo) as a youth. For five years (1737-1742) he belonged to a *haikai* linked-verse circle over which Hayano Hajin (1676-1742) presided, where he learned the traditions of the Basho school of *haikai*. Bashō Matsuo 芭蕉 (1644-1694) is known as the first great poet in the history of Japanese *haikai* (and *haiku*). After Hajin's death Buson spent time around Yuki, north of Edo, where he painted, practiced *haikai* and wrote *Elegy to the Old Poet Hokuju* (*Hokuju Rosen wo itamu*). Buson also visited places in northeastern Japan famed

³¹⁶ Akiyama, 179.

³¹⁷ *Haiku* is a form of poetry popular in Japan, which is becoming more widely appreciated around the world in this century.

in Bashō's poetic diary. "The juxtaposition of passages from Bashō's diary with the sketchy portrayal of the poet and his companion reflects the harmonious accommodations of word and image that distinguish *haiga*."³¹⁸ Feng was not a *haiga* painter. However, his paintings and poetry have an intimate relationship, such as *Quietly up the Tower* (Fig. 162) and *Farmers Toiling in the Twilight* (Fig. 184) and his landscape paintings, such as *Gazing at the Lake* (Fig. 205), jolting the traditional Chinese landscape painting into a new perception of the natural world, undoubtedly, revealed the spiritual quality of *haiga* painting.

Feng Zikai – a Neo-literati Artist

Paintings by such minor masters as those who painted *manhua* (or cartoons) or by specialist artists working apart from the major streams of paintings and producing things like cover designs, were usually not considered by Chinese collectors to be respectable additions to a serious collection. As a result, they were ordinarily not preserved. Many artists, like Feng Zikai, who is regarded as a master of the literati-sketch, therefore, were underexamined in the past century.

When modern Chinese art historians have talked about Chinese literati painting (*wenrenhua* 文人畫) coming to an end, they have regarded the cultural and historical background, such as the civil service examination and the practice of calligraphy, as important elements. The theory of literati painting, which was a radical departure from

³¹⁸ Christine Guth, *Art of Edo Japan: The Artist and The City 1615-1868* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1996), 160; I am grateful to Professor James Cahill for bringing the comparison of *haiga* painting and Feng Zikai's art when I presented my paper "Sense and Sentimentality: Feng Zikai and China's Modernity" in Shanghai in December 2001.

visual truthfulness, was formulated by a remarkable coterie of scholars in the late Northern Song, and the central figure of this coterie was Su Shi. For the literati painters, “devices for the rendition of space, height, and distance belonged to the tricks of the professional painter, of no concern to true connoisseurship,” and “the quality of a painting reflects the personal quality of the artist; its expressive content derives from his mind, and no necessary relationship to anything the artist or the viewer thinks or feels about the object represented.”³¹⁹

Born in the late Qing period, Feng received a solid classical education and had practiced calligraphy since he was a child. As mentioned earlier, he often likened his cartoons to the Chinese four-line verse poem, and many of Feng’s paintings were inspired by lines of poetry. Feng was a calligrapher, as well, and his calligraphy was austere and firm. Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛 (1897-1986), Feng’s colleague at the Lida Academy, credited Feng’s firm brush lines to his sincere personality and his solid training in woodcut printing and calligraphy.³²⁰

Besides studying the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303-379 A.D.), who is regarded as the calligraphy’s sage (*shusheng* 書聖) in China, and Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344-386 A.D.), the seventh son of Wang Xizhi, Feng practiced the Northern Wei stele style, Ouyang Xun’s 歐陽詢 (557-641) *Mengdian Tie* (夢奠帖), and the *Suojing Yueyi Tie* (索靖月儀帖). Ouyang Xun’s calligraphy is “powerful, dangerous and

³¹⁹ Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 89-91; Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 191-196.

³²⁰ Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛, “Feng Zikai di renpin yu huapin” 豐子愷的人品與畫品, *Feng Zikai yizuo* 豐愷遺作 (Beijing: Huaxia Publishing Company, 1988), n.p.

thrusting as halberds in the arsenal” (勁險刻厲, 森森然若武庫之戟),³²¹ and is known for its sense of order and structure. When he was teaching art, Feng always emphasized the significance of practicing calligraphy to his students.³²² The firm and powerful brushwork revealed in such paintings as *The Wonton Stall* (*Hundun dan* 餛飩擔) (Fig. 208) and *Beating of Gongs and Drums* (*Luogu xiang* 鑼鼓響) (Fig. 209) was due to Feng’s solid training in calligraphy.

In his essays, Feng many times brought out the question of the relationship between art and artists. He shared with traditional literati thinking that a man’s painting should be a witness not to his skill with a brush but to his quality as a man. Some scholars thought Li Shutong’s influence on Feng was not in his art but in his emphasis of “the soul of an artist (藝術家的心靈).”³²³ In 1929, Feng published a biography of Van Gogh, “The Life of Van Gogh” (*Guhe shenghuo* 谷訶生活), the only book-length biography of a Western artist published in China before 1949.³²⁴ In his essay, “Basic Outline of Modern Art” (*Jindai yishu gangyao* 近代藝術綱要, 1934), Feng wrote,

[The approach of] the Western art had been toward subjective expression since Cézanne and Van Gogh, and this artistic thread was close to art in the East. Van Gogh was an ‘Oriental trend artist’ (東洋流的畫家). ... Van Gogh had a highly moral quality, and the characteristic of his art was not realism. He, therefore, was an oriental literati artist.³²⁵

³²¹ Yang Renkai 楊仁愷, “Zhong ni Mengdian Tie de liuchuan zhenyan niandai kao” 仲尼夢奠帖的流傳真贗年代考, *Ouyang Xun - Mengdian Tie* (Hong Kong: Hanmoxuan Publishing Co., Ltd., 1997), 52.

³²² Feng Yiyong, “Yishujia Feng Zikai,” *XMHZSF*, 276.

³²³ In an article published by Lu Weiruan (盧瑋鑾) in February 1976, she pointed out that what Li gave Feng was “the heart/mind of an artist;” Chen Xing, “Feng Zikai yanjiu de guoqu xianzai yu jianglai,” *Feng Zikai lun*, 12; Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai di yishu shijie*, 21.

³²⁴ Nishimaki, “Feng Zikai yu Fangao” 豐子愷與凡高, *Feng Zikai lun*, 78.

³²⁵ Nishimaki, “Feng Zikai yu Fangao,” *Feng Zikai lun*, 79.

Disregarding whether Feng's opinion is right or not, we can see here and in Feng's other essays, such as "The Characteristics of Chinese Paintings" and "The Victory of Chinese Art in the Modern Era," how profound the "moral quality" of the traditional literati ideas were in his mind. Yet, unlike the literati theory, departure from visual truthfulness, realism and "art for the sake of life" are important characteristic of Feng's artworks.³²⁶

As mentioned earlier, in the preface to *The Professor Sees a Ghost*, Feng said: "As for paintings and writings, they are best when they not only have beauty of form but also an educational function, and can make the spirit and soul grow strong and healthy." Feng's philosophy of "art for the sake of life" is possibly influenced by his connection with the *Literature Research Society*, which advocated realism and humanism in literature and seeing writing as a form of engagement with life and society,³²⁷ and by his the connection with Japanese Socialism via Takehisa Yumeji and others.³²⁸

Paradoxically, reflective art was what Feng admired most. "Art for the sake of art" rejects the idea that the success of an art object can be measured by its accuracy as a representation or the effectiveness with which it tells a story or suggests a moral. Instead, it implies that an art object is best understood as an autonomous creation to be valued only for the success with which it organizes color and line into a formally satisfying and therefore beautiful whole. If we examine Feng's artworks carefully, we will find that not only were his paintings replete with wisdom, simplicity, and humor (humanism), but they

³²⁶ Feng Yiyong, "Yishujia Feng Zikai," *XMHZSF*, 277; Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 133.

³²⁷ Jia Zhifang 賈植芳 etc., ed., *Wenxue yanjiuhui ziliao*, vol. 1 文學研究會資料 (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin Publishing Company, 1985), 16; Denton, 503.

³²⁸ At the Lu Xun Memorial Hall (魯迅博物館) in Beijing, Feng inscribed the sentence "Spring will not come if we rely on only one swallow (單靠一隻燕子, 春天是不會來的)." The sentence is dated to the winter of 1949 and comes from a Japanese socialist, named Mr. Uenobu (上伸). It is inscribed on a painting which Lu Xun gave Yu Dafu as a gift. Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 71.

also were based on real life (realism). Comparing Feng's works to the works of the old masters and his contemporaries, we can see how Feng successfully bridged subjectivism and objectivism, or realism and expressionism, in his works (Fig. 133; Fig. 210); (Fig. 211; Fig. 212); (Fig. 213; Fig. 214). In both temperament and artistic style, Feng was an inheritor of the *xieyi* tradition of the Ming and Qing.³²⁹ However, Feng's lifelong artistic pursuit was the popularization of art, bringing it closer to the common people. This was a product of China's modernization.

³²⁹ Barne, "An Artist and His Epithet," 34.

CHAPTER 4

FENG ZIKAI'S ART AND THE KAIMING BOOK COMPANY

The cooperation between bookshops and literati was not a novel phenomenon in twentieth-century China. In the Qing Dynasty, many scholar-publishers had regarded publishing as a high-level cultural enterprise and devoted their lives to it. In China, the earliest illustrated book jacket extant could be traced back to the fourteenth century.¹ However, the book jacket with illustration was not very common in China until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when missionaries brought new printing technologies, such as lithography and collotype, to China. Before I discuss the relationship between Feng Zikai and China's new publishing industry, in the first section of this chapter, I scrutinize the development of printing technology in China. Questions such as when the earliest woodblock-carved publication extant was found in China, and when and who began to publish painting manuals, such as *The Plum Blossom Painting Manual* and *Ten Bamboo Studio Painting Manual*, will be scrutinized. Then I discuss how Western technologies, such as lithographic printing and collotype, were introduced to China, why these new technologies replaced the traditional ones, and how these new

¹ Song Yuanfang 宋原放 and Li Baijian 李白堅, eds., *Zhongguo chuban shi* 中國出版史 (Beijing: China Book Publishing Co., 1991), 150-152

technologies, along with a new publishing industry, such as the Commercial Press and the China Book Company, began to change and influence Chinese culture and art.

In the third section of this chapter, I discuss why and how the Kaiming Book Company emerged in the 1920s China and its significance in the history of modern China. The relationship between the Kaiming Book Company and the other publishing houses, like the Commercial Press, is examined here, as well. Then, I analyze how and why Feng Zikai's art and Japanese experience came to be of interest to the new publishing houses. Based upon Feng's activities in the press and the Kaiming Book Company's publications, I examine how artists like Feng and China's new publishing industry took the advantage of new technologies to advocate their ideologies, and, finally, see how they influenced the later generation and Feng's role in art history and culture in China.

4.1. The Publishing Houses and Their Involvement in the Arts in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in China

4.1.1 The History of the Printing Industry Before the Nineteenth Century in China The Sui and Tang Dynasties

The invention of woodblock printing in China can be dated back to the late Sui (589-618 C.E.) and early Tang (618-907 C.E.) periods. According to *Notes from the Shaoshi shan Studio* (*Shaoshi shanfan bicong* 少室山房筆叢) by the Ming scholar Hu Yinglin 胡應麟, "Woodblocks were first used in the Sui Dynasty and became popular in

the Tang Dynasty (雕本肇自隋時, 行于唐世).”² The earliest printed material that have been found to date is a Buddhist sutra in Sanskrit, dated 607 C.E. (Fig. 215) and discovered in 1974 near Xi’an.³ In 1966, in the Sokka Pagoda (釋迦塔) at Pulguk-sa Monastery (佛國寺) in Kyonhiu (慶州), Korea, people found a woodblock-carved publication entitled *Dharani Sutra* (*wugou jingguang datuoluo nijing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經), in which a few words of the Wuzhou Dynasty 武周 (r. 690-705 C.E.) administration were used. Many Chinese and foreign scholars have determined that the carving was engraved and printed in Luoyang (洛陽), China, during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天.⁴ Other woodblock-carved publications from the Tang Dynasty that are extant today include such works as *Mantras of the Dharani Sutra* (陀羅尼經咒) (Fig. 216), carved by the Bian family (卞家) in Chengdu (成都), Sichuan Province, and *The Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang boluo mijing* 金剛波羅密經) (Fig. 217), carved by Wang Jie 王玠 in 868 C.E. The *Diamond Sutra* was found in the Storage Cave (*Cangjing dong* 藏經洞) in Dunhuang. The scripture was in perfect condition and was engraved with the following words: “Made on the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month in the ninth year of the Xiantong period (868 C.E.) by Wang Jie for [my] parents and for wide distribution for the sake of charity” (咸通九年四月十五日王玠爲二親敬造普施).⁵

² *Yinshua zhi guang*, 27-28; Luo Shubao 羅樹寶, ed., *Zhongguo gudai yinshua shi tuce* 中國古代印刷史圖冊 (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 1998), 6-7, 42.

³ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 27-28; Luo Shubao, 6.

⁴ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 30; Luo Shubao, 8-9.

⁵ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 33-35; Luo Shubao, 8-9.

Plenty of documentary records and printed artifacts printed in the Tang Dynasty have survived to the present. In *A History of the Tang and Song Dynasties, Including the Liao, Jin, and Western Xia (Hongjianlu 弘簡錄)* by Shao Jingbang 邵經邦 of the Ming Dynasty, it is written:

The wife of the Emperor Taizong [r. 627-649 C.E.] of the Tang Dynasty, whose last name was Changsun, was a native of Luoyang. ... She passed away at the age of thirty-six and the emperor was deeply sorrowful. Palace officials later submitted to the emperor her ten essays on the “Paradigm of Womanhood” ... When the emperor read them, he praised her and believed that the book could set a good example for posterity, so he ordered that the essays be printed.

[唐] 太宗后長孫氏, 洛陽人, ... 遂崩, 年三十六, 上爲之慟。及宮司上其所撰“女則”十篇。... 帝覽而嘉嘆, 以後此書足垂後代, 令梓行之。⁶

This document, from 636 C.E., is the earliest record of the official use of printing in China.⁷

In the late Tang Dynasty, the printing industry reached its first peak since its invention. Apart from Buddhists, who actively used printing to disseminate their belief, Daoists also began to print books. Feng Zhi 馮摯 said in his *Notes by Yunxian (Yunxian sanlu 雲仙散錄)* that “Xuan Zang (ca. 600-664 C.E.) used *huifeng* paper to print portraits of Puxian [Bodhisattva Samantabhadra] and distributed them free to the public. Each year, five packs were distributed and none remained” (玄奘以回鋒紙印普賢像, 施于四眾, 每

⁶ Luo Shubao, 7.

⁷ Luo Shubao, 6-7.

歲五馱無余。)⁸ The centers of the printing industry also spread from the capital cities of Chang'an (長安) and Luoyang to places such as Sichuan and Dunhuang. Private printing houses began to prosper in the late Tang period, as well, and the private printers published a large number of almanacs that were sold in the market. Although the Emperor Wenzong of the Tang Dynasty 唐文宗 (r. 827-840 C.E.) “prohibited the printing of almanacs (敕禁斷印歷日版),” this did not stop people from printing almanacs altogether.⁹

The Five Dynasties

Buddhism was very popular during the Five Dynasties (907-960 C.E.). Despite the disunity and chaotic situation, the scope of the printing industry kept expanding, and the printing of Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist images was still extremely popular. Many prints of Buddhist scriptures and portraits of deities have survived to the present. Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠, governor of the Guasha region (*Guasha zhou jiedushi* 瓜沙州節度使) in the Later Jin Dynasty (後晉, 936-946 C.E.), was a pious Buddhist. In 947 C.E., he organized the engraving and printing of a large number of Buddhist deities, and distributed them widely. The layout of the prints was characterized by printing the drawing in the upper part of the page and the text in the lower part (Fig. 218).¹⁰

The most important feature of the development of printing in this period was that the government began to coordinate the mass printing of a collection of Confucian

⁸ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 28; Luo Shubao, 6-9.

⁹ Luo Shubao, 8-9, 45.

¹⁰ Luo Shubao, 46-48.

classics, *The Nine Classics* (*jiujing* 九經). The person who initiated this project was Feng Dao 馮道. Under his guidance and with the approval of the rulers, the endeavor began in 932 C.E. and ended in 953 C.E.¹¹ Another person who organized the printing of a considerable number of books in this period was Wu Zhaoyi 毋昭裔, the Prime Minister of the state of Shu. Wu personally bore the cost of hiring people to print *A General Anthology of Prose and Verse* (*wenxuan* 文選), *A Primer for Learning* (*chuxue ji* 初學記), and *Six Models of Mr. Bai's Calligraphy* (*Baishi liutie* 白氏六帖).¹²

The Song Dynasty

The printing industry thrived during the Song Dynasty (960-1280 C.E.). Government departments from the central to the local level dynamically engaged in numerous printing activities. The private printing industry expanded, as well, leading to the existence of printing houses throughout the country. The texts printed in the Song period included Confucian classics, history, philosophy, and *belle-lettres*. In addition, the scale of printing Buddhist scriptures in the Song Dynasty was far greater than that of previous dynasties. For example, at least six editions of the *Complete Collection of Buddhist Scriptures* (*Dazang jing* 大藏經) were printed in the Song Dynasty.¹³ Apart from printing books, new items, including paper money and trademark advertisements (Fig. 56), began to appear.¹⁴

¹¹ Luo Shubao, 8-9, 46.

¹² Luo Shubao, 8-9.

¹³ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 39; Luo Shubao, 55.

¹⁴ Luo Shubao, 10-11.

Techniques of woodblock printing in the Song Dynasty reached a high level of achievement. An important revolution in the printing technology of the Song Dynasty was the invention of movable-type printing. According to Shen Gua's 沈括 (1031-1095 C.E.) *Dream Pool Jottings* (*Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談), a commoner named Bi Sheng 畢昇 used movable-type blocks for printing during the Qingli era (慶曆年間, 1041-1048 C.E.) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960 – 1126 C.E.).¹⁵ The invention of movable-type printing undoubtedly is a significant milestone in the history of printing, and it provided mankind with the technique to speed up the typesetting of books.¹⁶

With regard to the craft of bookbinding, the butterfly style (*hudie zhuang* 蝴蝶裝) was widely used, which in turn gave rise to the rectangular format of binding found in painting and calligraphy albums.¹⁷ Furthermore, the engraving of printing blocks reached a high level in the Song Dynasty. To supplement the shortage of texts and attract readers' attention, woodcut printers began to pay great attention to illustrations (Fig. 219) and typefaces. The woodcut prints produced in the Song Dynasty were not limited to religious propaganda anymore. Between 1101 and 1125 C.E., the Emperor Huizong commissioned the first woodcut catalogue, *Xuanhe bogu tu* (宣和博古圖), documenting the bronze collection of the Imperial Palace. In the Southern Song period (1127 – 1280 C.E.), artistic woodcut prints began to appear. The *Plum Blossom Painting Manual* (*Meihua xishen pu*

¹⁵ Luo Shubao, 10.

¹⁶ Luo Shubao, 10-11, 104.

¹⁷ Luo Shubao, 10-11.

梅花喜神譜) (Fig. 220), painted and edited by Song Boren 宋伯仁, was the first painting manual in China.¹⁸

The Yuan Dynasty

China was again reunified with the founding of the Yuan Empire (1271-1368 C.E.), and great strides were made in printing. In the North, major printing areas centered on cities such as Pingyang (平陽) and Dadu (大都); in the south, Hangzhou and Jianyang (建陽) remained the important centers. There were also many printing houses scattered across the areas of present-day Suzhou (蘇州), Jiangxi (江西), Hunan (湖南), and Hubei (湖北). Both government and private printing in the Yuan Dynasty were very active. Most famous of all was the West Lake Academy (*Xihu shuyuan* 西湖書院), which, in addition to storing the woodblocks of the National Academy of the Southern Song (*Nansong guozijian* 南宋國子監), also collected a large number of printing blocks and published a great number of books. Another characteristic of printing academies in the Yuan Dynasty was that several of them joined forces and divided the labor in the printing of voluminous works. This allowed them to complete the printing of an entire work in a shorter period of time.¹⁹

Great progress was made in printing techniques during the Yuan Dynasty: the major improvements included bookbinding, two-color printing (*shuangse taoyin* 雙色套

¹⁸ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 54-55; Song Yuanfang, 161.

¹⁹ Luo Shubao, 12-13, 69.

印), and the appearance of book jackets with illustrations.²⁰ Two-color printing techniques were fairly sophisticated in the Yuan Dynasty. The earliest existing print of two-color printing,²¹ *Commentaries on the Diamond Sutra* (*Jingangjing zhu* 金剛經注) (Fig. 221), was carved by the Zifu Monastery (資福寺) in 1341 C.E. and printed in red and black.²² *A Story-telling Version of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi pinghua* 三國志平話) (Fig. 222), printed by the Yu family (虞氏) between 1321 and 1327 C.E., included the first book jacket with illustrations.²³

The Ming Dynasty

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.) is the most glorious period in the history of printing in China. The publishing system, similar to the Song and Yuan Dynasties, can be divided into three categories: official publishing institutions, privately funded publishers, and bookshops. Besides large quantities of traditional books, such as the classics, history, philosophy, and *belle-lettres*, many gazetteers, books on science and technology, books on craftsmanship, popular readers, primers, plays, and novels were also printed. Furthermore, the type of characters used specially for printing – the Song typeface (*Songti zi* 宋體字) – became more refined and was widely used. However, the most

²⁰ Luo Shubao, 12-13.

²¹ The invention of two-color printing originated in the Song Dynasty. However, there were only documentary records, but no actual examples. Luo Shubao, 12-13.

²² Luo Shubao, 70; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 102-103.

²³ Luo Shubao, 70.

important development of printing in the Ming Dynasty was the invention of color woodblock printing.²⁴

Official Printing Institutions

The largest official printing house operated by the Ming court was the factory run by the printing factory of the Directorate of Ceremonies (*Silijian jingchang* 司禮監經廠). This printing factory, established in 1421 C.E., employed 350 engravers (*keban gong* 刻版工), 134 printers (*shuayin gong* 刷印工), 189 printing assistants (*zhuopei gong* 擢配工), 293 binders (*zhuangding gong* 裝訂工), and scores of brush-makers (*zhimo gong* 製墨工) and ink-makers (*zhibi gong* 製筆工).²⁵ The scale of religious printing in the Ming Dynasty was very large. The most famous works printed in this period included the *Chinese Tripitaka*, the *Tibetan Tripitaka*, and the *Daoist Canon* (*Daozhang jing* 道藏經).²⁶ In addition, printing by Provincial Commanders' Offices (*fanwang fu* 藩王府) was a significant feature of the printing industry in the Ming Dynasty. As most of these commanders did not have any real administrative responsibilities and as they were wealthy, it became a fashion for them to engage in writing and printing. The publication of local gazetteers, which originated in the Song Dynasty, became a fashion in the Ming period, and new kinds of books on chess, music, and tea, began to be printed.²⁷

²⁴ Luo Shubao, 14-15.

²⁵ Luo Shubao, 14-15, 74.

²⁶ Luo Shubao, 14, 17.

²⁷ Luo Shubao, 14, 17.

Privately Founded Printing and Bookshops

In the Ming Dynasty, the merchant class and common people played more and more important roles in society, and the scale of private printing in the Ming Dynasty became quite large. Popular literature (*su wenxue* 俗文學), which included dramatic novels, musicals, and primers that were widely read by the masses, was printed in large quantities. To attract and cater to the taste of the common people, the owners of bookshops (*shusi* 書肆 or *shufang* 書坊) began to add illustrations (Fig. 223, Fig. 224). At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, books with woodcut prints were still very few in number. However, after the Chenghua (成化, 1465-1487 C.E.) and Hongzhi eras (弘治, 1488-1505 C.E.), because drama and fiction were in vogue, publishers produced more and more books with illustrations to cater to the needs of the public.²⁸

The style of woodcut prints varied in different regions, and prints of the Huizhou school (*Huizhou banhua* 徽州版畫)²⁹ were the most well known. A breakthrough that came during the Ming Dynasty was the invention of color woodblock printing. It used the techniques of color separation delineation (*fense goumiao* 分色勾描), color separation block engraving (*fense keban* 分色刻版), and trapping to produce reproductions of color painting (*zhuse taoyin* 逐色套印) that closely resembled the originals. During the mid-Ming Dynasty, the Huizhou school carvers initiated the process, putting different colors on the entire printing block to print color-pressed reproductions. Between 1619 and 1644 C.E., Hu Zhengyan, a painter and a native of Xiuning (休寧), Huizhou Province,

²⁸ *Yingshua zhi guang*, 78, 81, 93; Song Yuanfang, 162.

²⁹ Plate engraving techniques in the Ming Dynasty were sophisticated, and the Huizhou engravers, represented by the Huang family of Oiu Village, were best known for their craftsmanship. Luo Shubao, 80.

collaborated with the engravers of the Hui School carvers and used the watercolor block printing method (*muban shuiyin* 木版水印), also called the Dou-block method (*douban fa* 餛版法), to produce four volumes of the *Ten Bamboo Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* (十竹齋畫譜) and the *Ten Bamboo Studio Decorated Writing Papers* (十竹齋箋譜) (Fig. 18). Hu's invention was a significant contribution to the development of printing in China, and the two publications that he printed have greatly influenced the development of Chinese and Japanese art even up to the twentieth century.

After the Wanli era 萬曆 (1573-1619 C.E.), many artists joined in the creation of woodcut prints, such as Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 and Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬. For example, Chen made illustrations for *The Romance of the Western Chamber* (*Xixiang ji* 西廂記), and *Leaves of the Water Margin* (*shuihu yezi* 水滸葉子).³⁰ Furthermore, bookbinding during the Ming Dynasty changed from wrapped-ridge binding (包背裝) to thread binding (*xianzhuang* 線裝).³¹

The Qing Dynasty

The printing industry in China reached another peak during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Not only did the scale of printing production greatly expand both in the capital and regional centers, but private printers and workshops also mushroomed. The major characteristic of official printing by the government was the use of bronze movable

³⁰ Song Yuanfang, 164.

³¹ Luo Shubao, 16-17, 83; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 104-105.

type (*tonghuo zi* 銅活字) and wooden movable type (*muhuo zi* 木活字), and the fonts and sizes of movable type proliferated.³²

Official Printing Institutions

The most important official printing institution in the Qing period was the Printing Department of the Imperial Printing Office (*Wuyingdian xiushu chu* 武英殿修書處), established by Emperor Kangxi.³³ In 1703 C.E., the Imperial Printing Office, under the supervision of Chen Menglei 陳夢雷, began to compile the *Imperial Encyclopedia* (*Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成), printed in bronze movable type, and the *Encyclopedia*, including 10,040 chapters in 5,020 volumes, was completed in 1726 C.E., the fourth year of the Emperor Yongzheng's reign.³⁴ During the Qianlong years, under Jin Jian's 金簡 management, the Imperial Printing Office printed *A Collection of Rare Editions of the Imperial Printing Office* (*Wuyingdian juzhenban chongshu* 武英殿聚珍版叢書).³⁵ Besides the *Imperial Encyclopedia* and *A Collection of Rare Editions of the Imperial Printing Office*, the Qing government also produced a great number of prints, such as *Picturing of Tilling and Weaving* (*Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖, 1696) (Fig. 225) and *Celebrating the Emperor's Eightieth Birthday* (*Baxun wanshou shengdian tu* 八旬萬壽盛典圖, 1792) (Fig. 226), which were engraved and printed with bronze plates (*tongke*

³² Luo Shubao, 16-17, 110.

³³ Song Yuanfang, 149.

³⁴ Luo Shubao, 16, 19, 110; Song Yuanfang, 102; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 101; *Qianlong huangdi de wenhua daye*, 102.

³⁵ Luo Shubao, 16, 19; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 101; *Qianlong huangdi de wenhua daye*, 102.

ban 銅刻版) by the Imperial Household Department (*Qing neifu* 清內府) to legitimize the Manchu's rule in China.³⁶

Printing workshops in local governments and organizations during the Qing Dynasty were known as “bookstores” or “book bureaus” (*shuju* 書局). Regional governments became very active in printing after the Tongzhi era 同治 (r. 1862 – 1874 C.E.), when more and more government book bureaus (*guan shuju* 官書局) were established in the provinces. The official bookstores run by local governments included the Jinling Bookstore (*Jinling shuju* 金陵書局), Zhejiang Bookstore (*Zhejiang shuju* 浙江書局), Guangya Bookstore (*Guangya shuju* 廣雅書局), Chongwen Bookstore (*Chongwen shuju* 崇文書局), Sixian Bookstore (*Sixian shuju* 思賢書局), and Yangzhou Poetry Bureau (*Yangzhou shiju* 揚州詩局). The Yangzhou Poetry Bureau, set up by Cao Yin 曹寅, the Lianghuai Salt Administrator (*Lianghuai yanzheng* 兩淮鹽政), was the first bookstore to print the famous *The Complete Poems of the Tang Dynasty* (*Quantangshi* 全唐詩) and the *Peiwen Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* (*Peiwenzhai shuhuapu* 佩文齋書畫譜).³⁷

Privately Founded Printing

Privately founded printing was very common in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. An important development in printing during the Qing Dynasty was the popularization of “private block prints” (*jiake ben* 家刻本) of poems and essays written by officials and

³⁶ *Yinshua zhi guang*, 106; Luo Shubao, 89.

³⁷ Luo Shubao, 18-19, 89; Song Yuanfang, 150.

literati of the day. More and more scholars in the Qing Dynasty became interested in printing books, which stimulated the publishing industry. The scholars commissioned private printers to make fine paper and ink; however, the objective of most private publishers were to lend and circulate books rather than to make a profit.³⁸ A lot of scholar-publishers and collectors regarded publishing as a high-level cultural enterprise and devoted their lives to it. Not only did they publish rare books (*shanben shu* 善本書), but they also published the so-called “Greatest Hit Version” (*jingke ben* 精刻本), which collected writings and poems of famous literati written by well-known calligraphers. The most famous privately founded publisher in the Ming and Qing Dynasties was Mao Jin 毛晉 (1500-1659 C.E.), who devoted his life to publishing. The Jigu Studio (汲古閣) was the well-known collecting library of Mao, and the books printed by the Jigu Studio were all of very high quality.³⁹

Color woodblock printing became very popular in the Qing Dynasty, and one of the most influential kinds of publication of the Qing private printing industry was the New Year picture (*nianhua* 年畫). The earliest New Year picture that we can find to date is *The Four Beauties* (*Simei tu* 四美圖) (Fig. 227), which was engraved and printed by the Ji Family (姬家) in Pingyang (平陽) in the Jin Dynasty (金代, 1115-1234 C.E.).⁴⁰ The New Year picture publishers in the Qing period included Yangliuqing (楊柳青) in Tianjin, Yangjiabu (楊家埠) in Weifang (濰坊), and Taohuawu (桃花塢) in Suzhou. The subject matter of these prints mostly included what the public liked, such as door-gods,

³⁸ Song Yuanfang, 150, 153.

³⁹ Song Yuanfang, 150-152; Luo Shubao, 18-19.

⁴⁰ Luo Shubao, 16, 19, 65; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 66.

crickets (symbol of kitchen gods), beautiful ladies, and motifs symbolizing longevity and good luck. It was not until the 1920s, with the rise of modern offset printing techniques, that new technology gradually replaced hand-made woodblock printing of New Year pictures.⁴¹

Another influential color woodblock publication in the Qing period was the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* (*Jieziyuan huapu* 芥子園畫譜). Like the *Ten Bamboo Studio Calligraphy and Painting Manual* (十竹齋畫譜), the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual*, edited by the Qing artist Wang Gai 王概 and printed between 1679 and 1701 C.E., was produced by the watercolor block printing method.⁴² Traditional Chinese printing reached a pinnacle during the Qing period due to the abundance and subtlety of its colors, and the publications and circulation of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual* greatly influenced not only Chinese but also Japanese artists even up to the first half of the twentieth century.

In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the books printed by the official institutions and private publishers were collections of literature, history, and so forth. The books used by local private schools (*sishu* 私塾), such as *Four Books* (*sishu* 四書), *Five Classics of Confucianism* (*wujing* 五經), *Three Character Classic* (*sanzijing* 三字經), encyclopedias, drama, astrology, folk/ vernacular Buddhist canons, and so on, were usually ignored by the government and literati; these books, therefore, were commissioned by bookshops (*shusi* 書肆 or *shufang* 書坊). The books printed by

⁴¹ Luo Shubao, 18, 21.

⁴² Luo Shubao, 91; *Yinshua zhi guang*, 105.

bookshops included primers, reference books for exams, and books for daily use. These books were inexpensive, and a great number of people needed them. The business of bookshops, therefore, was very good.⁴³

Many owners of bookshops established their shops in the front of their houses and factories in the rear. They not only cut their own printing blocks but also edited, printed, published, and circulated the books. The most well known of these bookshops were the Wuliu Studio (*wuliu ju* 五柳居) and Jiangu Studio (*jiangu tang* 鑑古堂) in Liulichang (琉璃廠) in Beijing.⁴⁴

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, bookshops often cooperated with famous literati to publish good books. Therefore, the cooperation between bookshops and professional editors and authors became a new phenomenon. At the time, bookshops purchased the manuscripts from scholars and sold them after they were published. The relationship was similar to that between modern publishers and writers. In a Qing fictional account, *The Anecdotal History of Men and Letters* (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史), this relationship between bookshops and hired literati editors is described as being very lively. The regulations, editing standards, publishing timing, and pay are all mentioned in detail.⁴⁵

⁴³ Song Yuanfang, 154.

⁴⁴ Song Yuanfang, 154.

⁴⁵ Song Yuanfang, 156-157.

4.1.2. The Development of Publishing Houses and Their Involvement in the Arts in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century China

Western Missionaries and the Development of Printing in China

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese had been using movable characters since the eleventh century. In the West, the screw press had been known for centuries and had been used before the fifteenth century – for pressing grapes, “surfacing” paper, and impressing patterns on textiles. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, words carved on wooden blocks were being printed on paper to accompany pictures of saints and biblical scenes; however, these prints were obtained by placing the sheet on a block of wood and rubbing. About 1440 C.E., Johann Gutenberg of Mainz was the first to mechanize printing, and Peter Schoeffer, a friend of Guttenberg’s, discovered a method for casting letters, especially those with asymmetrical shapes, by using an alloy of lead and antimony. The height of Gutenberg’s art of printing is considered to be his 42-line bible printed in 1450 C.E. For this bible, Gutenberg cast 290 different shapes; the colorful initials and signs were added later by an illuminator and a columnist.⁴⁶ In 1465 C.E., the first nonreligious work, Cicero’s *De Officiis*, appeared. Technical innovations, a marked increase in written communication even outside monastery walls, attempted to reform the church - a first spread of humanistic thought, as well as new art forms were some crucial developments of this time.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Georges Jean, *Writing: The Story of Alphabets and Scripts*, trans. Jenny Oates (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992), 92-94.

⁴⁷ Jean, 94.

Until 1783 C.E. the hand press, which had remained almost unchanged since Gutenberg's time, could produce a maximum of 300 sheets per day. Fitted with a system for exerting pressure in 1807 C.E., the printing machine was improved again in 1812 C.E. when the system of flat plate against flat plate was replaced with a cylinder and a reciprocating bed that carried the type form. The first press of this kind, perfected by Frederich König, was set up in England. At about the same time, the invention of the automatic inking roller and the abandonment of the ink ball also had the effect of speeding up the printing process. With König's invention, the production rate increased to about 1,100 sheets per day, and the first four-cylinder press, invented by Augustus Applegath and Edward Cowper for *The (London) Times* in 1828, enabled a production rate of some 4,000 sheets per day. Applegath and Cowper also invented a type-revolving press, which printed 8,000 sheets per hour. By 1939 *The Times*, a thirty-two-page paper, could be printed at a rate of some 40,000 copies per hour.⁴⁸

In China, Roman Catholic Portuguese traders and missionaries arrived on the coast of Guangdong Province in the South in 1517 C.E. When the Roman Catholic Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (*Limadou* 利瑪竇, 1552-1610 C.E.) arrived in China, the elegantly printed books that he brought with him from Europe shocked the Chinese literati and made them curious.⁴⁹ In 1601 C.E., at the end of the Ming Dynasty, Matteo Ricci received permission from the Ming court to settle in Beijing. Ricci spent the rest of his life in China, and introduced the Christian religion and Western knowledge to the Chinese people. Other Jesuits soon joined him in China. The Chinese admired the highly

⁴⁸ Jean, 105-106.

⁴⁹ Song Yuanfang, 180.

educated Jesuits, especially for their knowledge of mathematics, science, and technology, and the Ming court appointed a group of Jesuits headed by Joannes Adam Schall von Bell to head the Office of Astronomy (*Qintianjian* 欽天監), which determined the official annual calendar, which was extremely important for agriculture and ritual purposes.⁵⁰

As the Manchus overthrew the Ming court and established the Qing Dynasty in 1644, they kept the calendar and retained the Jesuits in important positions. In the mid-seventeenth century the Dutch and the British, who were Protestant Christians, also arrived in southern China and sought trading privileges. However, the Qing government did not give them permission to enter the country but restricted them to trading through officially designated merchants in Guangzhou. The British attempted to open up China to Western-style trade by resorting to military force, defeating China in the Opium War (1839-42).

The Treaty of Nanjing (*Nanjing tiaoyue* 南京條約) ended the Opium War and opened five Chinese cities as so-called treaty ports to foreign traders and Christian missionaries. Many missionaries from European and American denominations, both Protestant and Catholic, soon followed. Missionaries established schools, hospitals, and other projects that contributed to the modernization of China, but they made few converts. Christian missionaries founded schools that helped develop modern Chinese education, such as Yanjing University (*Yanjing daxue* 燕京大學) in Beijing, its associated Harvard-Yanjing Institute, and St. John's University (*Shengyuehan daxue* 聖約翰大學) in Shanghai. They opened the first schools for girls in China, as well as Western-style

⁵⁰ Perkins, 86.

museums, libraries, magazines, and newspapers. In addition to their contribution to culture, the missionaries also promoted public health, trained doctors and nurses, established hospitals open to all Chinese, set up orphanages and asylums for the blind and insane, and provided technical training in agriculture and engineering.⁵¹

When the Western missionaries tried to promote their faith in China, the first tools they tried to use were books and publications. They not only built churches, schools, and hospitals, but also launched editing and publishing activities in China.⁵² According to Lin Yu-tang 林語堂 (1895-1976), “the so-called modern press, edited and published for the benefit of the general public, had its origin in the beginning of the nineteenth century and was largely developed through the efforts of the early missionaries.”⁵³ In the first half of the nineteenth century, the dominant missionary journalists in China were William Milne (Milin 米憐), Rev. Robert Morrison (Ma Lixun 馬禮遜), Charles Friedrich August Gutzlaff, James Legge (Li Yage 理雅各, 1815-1897), and Walter Henry Medhurst (Mai Dusi 麥都司, 1796-1857). Some of these missionaries worked with Chinese associates, Morrison worked with Liang Yafa 梁亞發, who was baptized in 1816 in Malacca, and

⁵¹ Perkins, 86-87.

⁵² Song Yuanfang, 204.

⁵³ Lin Yu-tang received a rudimentary education from a private teacher which he described as a traditional Chinese education. In 1912, he entered the St. John’s University in Shanghai and later studied in the art department of Harvard University in the United States in 1919 for a M.A. degree in literature. Thereafter, he studied philology at Leipzig University in Germany, where he was granted a Ph.D. degree in 1923. Lin returned to China in the same year to take up several teaching positions in universities, including Beijing University. Yu-tang Lin, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 78.

James Legge, with Wang Tao, a great Chinese scholar with a rather original mind who inaugurated the *Cyclical Daily* (*Xunhuan ribao* 循環日報) in Hong Kong in 1874.⁵⁴

In 1807 Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, was sent by the London Missionary Society (*Lundun budaohui* 倫敦佈道會) and arrived in Guangzhou, China. After he arrived in Macao, Morrison began to learn Chinese to accelerate his mission. In 1814, Morrison established a printing factory in Malaysia with the assistance of Chinese cutters and printers, Liang Yafa, Cai Gao 蔡高, and Qu Ya'ang (屈亞昂). He also compiled the first Chinese-English dictionary, entitled *Huaying zidian* (華英字典) or *Ma-li-xun zidian* (馬禮遜字典), and translated the Bible into Chinese. Morrison launched the practice of printing Chinese books in Western-style moveable type. The first Chinese monthly to be published in the Chinese language was the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (*Chashisu meiyue tongji zhuang* 察世俗每月統計傳, 1815-1821), first published on August 5, 1815, in Malacca by Morrison and William Milne.⁵⁵

In 1831 the British missionary W. H. Medhurst established a lithographic printing factory in Macao.⁵⁶ In 1843 Medhurst set up the London Missionary Society Press (*Mohai shuguan* 墨海書館) in Shanghai. The Press was the first Western-style publishing house in China proper, owing to lead-type equipment to print brochures commissioned by churches.⁵⁷ The word “lithography,” derived from Greek, means “stone writing.” It is a

⁵⁴ Yu-tang Lin, 79; Xu Yingjian 許瀛鑑, ed. *Zhongguo yinshua shi luncong* 中國印刷史論叢 (Taipei: Zhong guo yin shua xue hui, 1997), 350, 489; Guo Fengyang 郭汾陽 and Ding Dong 丁東, *Shuju jiucong* 書局舊蹤 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu Publishing Company, 1999), 2.

⁵⁵ Perkins, 86; Xu Yingjian, 352; Song Yuanfang, 181, 220-221; Yu-tang Lin, 91.

⁵⁶ Xu Yingjian, 350; Song Yuanfang, 181.

⁵⁷ Song Yuanfang, 183, 204.

flat-surface or *planographic* printing method, that depends on the antipathy of grease and water. The principles of lithography were accidentally discovered and then perfected in Munich in the 1790s by a young actor/playwright, Alois Senefelder (1771-1834).⁵⁸ The introduction of lithographic printing into Shanghai during the nineteenth century began to change the nature of Chinese publishing. For example, the quality of printed materials improved, the production volumes increased, and the cost decreased.

The first group of Protestant missionaries to arrive from the United States was the American Board, which belonged to the Congregationalist denomination. In 1844 the American Presbyterian Church set up the *Hua-hua Bible Bookstore* (*Hua-hua shengjing shufang* 花華聖經書房) in Macao. In 1845, the Bookstore was moved to Ningbo, in Zhejiang Province, where it was renamed the *American Presbyterian Mission Press*, or *Mei-hua shuguan* (美華書館) in Chinese. In 1858, the Presbyterian Church sent William Gamble (Jiang Beili 姜別利, 1830-1886) to Ningbo to take charge of the Press's business. In 1860, the Press moved again to Shanghai.⁵⁹

Timothy Richard and the Christian and Literature Society of China

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the missionary journalists of China included Charles Batten Hillier, Alexander Wylie, Joseph Edkins, Timothy Richard (Li-ti-mo-tai 李提摩太), and, above all, Young J. Allen (Lin Yuezhi 林樂知).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Donald Staff and Deli Sacilotto, *Printmaking: History and Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, c1978), 183.

⁵⁹ Perkins, 86; Song Yuanfang, 182-183; 204; Xu Yinjian, 353-354.

⁶⁰ Yu-tang Lin, 79, 225; Xu Yingjian, 350, 489; Guo Fenyang, 2.

In 1870 Timothy Richard, a British missionary, was sent to China. He advocated that “word is the most powerful tool in China to do a successful mission.”⁶¹ The American missionary Alexander Williamson (Shu Lianchen 書廉臣) also said: “if we want to influence the Chinese, we have to use publications....We will not be satisfied until we enlighten Chinese people’s thought. And the first group in China we have to try to influence is the literati.”⁶² Timothy Richard proposed that the main targets of the books published by the Christian and Literature Society of China (*Guangxue hui* 廣學會), established in 1887, were the Chinese Confucian literati and the people who possessed power and influence. In the beginning, the Society translated and published a lot of books every year. They usually gained funds either domestically or from abroad. What they had to do was to circulate their publications. In the beginning they usually sent books to officials directly, or distributed gratis to Chinese scholars at the provincial civil service examinations. The civil service exam system was abolished in 1905, and missionaries began to send books to new schools and provincial officials. The books published by the society did gain a good reputation among Chinese literati. Also, many reformists, such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, had a close relationship with the society.⁶³ Besides translating Western books, the missionaries began to launch newspapers in China as well.

As just mentioned, the first Chinese monthly to be published in the Chinese language was the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (察世俗每月統計傳), initially published on August 5, 1815 in Malacca by Morrison and William Milne. Because there was still

⁶¹ Song Yuanfang, 205.

⁶² Song Yuanfang, 170-171.

⁶³ Song Yuanfang, 205-207.

no market for Chinese periodicals, this magazine was distributed gratis to Chinese scholars at the provincial civil service examinations in Canton, together with other religious tracts.⁶⁴ After that, many journals, including foreign and Chinese languages, were launched by Western missionaries in Nanyang, Hong Kong, Macao, and Canton. These publications included *A Monthly Record of Important Selections* (*Texuan cuoyao meiyue tongji zhuan* 特選撮要每月統計傳, 1823-1826), published in Batavia in Chinese, *Universal Gazette* (*Tianxia xinwen* 天下新聞, 1828-1829) in Malacca in Chinese, *The Eastern Western Monthly Magazine* (*Dongxinyang kao meiyue tongji zhuan* 東西洋考每月統計傳, 1833-1837) in Guangzhou and Singapore in Chinese, *The Bee Chinese Press* (*Mifeng huabao* 蜜蜂華報), and so forth. *The Eastern Western Monthly Magazine* was the first Chinese monthly to be published in China proper. Before the publication of *The Eastern Western Monthly Magazine*, there were two other magazines in Chinese published outside China -- *A Monthly Record of Important Selections* and the *Universal Gazette*. *The Bee Chinese Press* was the first foreign language paper published in China.⁶⁵ However, the *North-China Herald* (*Beihua jiebao* 北華捷報, 1850) was the first foreign language press inaugurated in Shanghai; it later became the *North-China Daily News* (*Zilin xibao* 字林西報) and was the most influential Western language press in China.⁶⁶

Among the journals published by foreigners, the most important was the *Chinese Globe Magazine* (*Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報), whose original title was *Church News*

⁶⁴ Song Yuanfang, 220-221.

⁶⁵ Song Yuanfang, 221.

⁶⁶ Song Yuanfang, 221; Shi Meiding, 102; Yu-tang Lin, 92.

(*Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報), inaugurated in 1868 as a weekly and changed into a monthly in 1874. The missionary Young J. Allen (or Lin Yuezhi) was the editor of the *Church News*, and he saw the value of a secular paper in helping to broaden the knowledge of the Chinese people and modernize their general outlook. In 1881 Allen established the East and West Academy (*Zhongxi shuyuan* 中西書院) in Shanghai to educate Chinese people. Later, with funds from the American government (Boxer Indemnity scholarship 庚子賠款), Allen founded Dongwu University (*Dongwu daxue* 東吳大學), merging with the faculty and students of the East and West Academy in Suzhou. In 1923 the Jinglin Hall (景林堂), literally meaning “to admire (Mr.) Lin” (Lin was Allen’s Chinese last name), was established in Dongwu University in honor of Allen’s contribution.⁶⁷

By the end of the 1880s, a great number of Chinese-owned papers began to appear. For example, *Zhongwai xinbao* (中外新報), published in 1858, was founded by Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳.⁶⁸ Moreover, Wang Tao, the father of Chinese journalism, inaugurated the *Cyclical Daily* in Hong Kong in 1874. Rong Hong 容闳 launched *Huibao* (匯報) in Shanghai in 1874, and *Shiwubao* (時務報), with Liang Qichao as the chief editor, was inaugurated in Shanghai in 1896. Most founders of such papers were people who had received Western knowledge. Many Chinese periodicals of this period were inspired by the Western press and had something to do with it. With the introduction of Western lithography, mechanized printing, and mechanized paper into China, the format of the press in China, whose original format was that of the book, began to change. The

⁶⁷ Yu-tang Lin, 223-224; Xue Liyong, 42-43.

⁶⁸ Yu-tang Lin, 224; Shi Meiding, 106.

total number and variety of papers increased.⁶⁹ Besides reformist paper, like *The Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報), a number of papers for women and leisure and popular periodicals in the vernacular language also began to appear. All of these periodicals played a very important role in the general intellectual awakening of China before the establishment of the Republic in 1912.⁷⁰

The Publishing Houses and Their Involvement in the Arts in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century China

According to Mayching Kao, in order to facilitate the introduction of Western science and technology in the second half of the nineteenth century, a few books on the subject of drawing were translated and their illustrations, faithfully copied in China. The first comprehensive and systematic study of art that was available in the Chinese language was John Fryer's (Fu Yalan 傅雅蘭, 1839-1928) translation, *A Primer of Western Painting* (*Xihua chuxue* 西畫初學), which in six volumes introduces the principles and techniques of Western painting.⁷¹ In 1877, John Fryer established the *Enlightenment Study Society* (*Yizhi shuhui* 益智書會) in China. Other art books that Fryer translated included *The Engineer and Machinist Drawing Book* by V. Lebland and J. Armengaud (1872), *Aids to Model Drawing* by F. Richardson (1885), and *Drawing Instructions* (1888).⁷² Another work relevant to art is *First Lessons in Drawing* (*Lunhua qianshuo* 論畫淺說), translated by J. M. W. Farnham. Under such circumstances Western

⁶⁹ Yu-tang Lin, 225-227.

⁷⁰ Yu-tang Lin, 225-227.

⁷¹ Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 376.

⁷² Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 376; Song Yuanfang, 204.

art began to reach the Chinese people and gained a new respectability and significance in the art world in China.⁷³

The *Xujiahui Tushanwan Press* (徐家匯土山灣印刷所)

As mentioned earlier, in the mid-nineteenth century Western art was being taught in a small way by the Jesuits in their Tushanwan Arts and Crafts Center (土山灣畫館) (Fig. 228) in Shanghai. The object of the crafts center was to train Chinese in Western-style painting and sculpture to disseminate the Jesuits' religion, and for this purpose the Jesuits cultivated the first group of Chinese artists, such as Xu Yongqing, Zhou Xiang, and Zhang Yuguang, to learn Western art.⁷⁴ In 1876 the crafts center also established a printing factory named the Xujiahui Tushanwan Press.⁷⁵ In 1855, a Frenchman, M. Gillot, invented the photoengraving technique. In 1901 the missionaries at the crafts center began to apply the new technology to printed books and taught the new technology to two Chinese apprentices, Gu Zhangquan 顧掌權 and Xu Kangde 許康德. By 1875, the printing press at the crafts center began to utilize the collotype plate (*keluo ban* 珂羅版), which was invented by a German, Joseph Albert, to print religious portraits like the *Virgin and Child*.⁷⁶ The first lithographic printing factory in China was the one established by W. H. Medhurst in Macao in 1831. Although the Xujiahui Tushanwan

⁷³ Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement," 376-377.

⁷⁴ Xue Liyong, 56.

⁷⁵ Wang Shucun 王樹村, "Ji 'hujing kaicai tu' zhongxi yuefenpai" 記滬景開彩圖－中西月份牌, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 2 (1959): 57.

⁷⁶ Song Yuanfang, 184; Xue Liyong, 56; Xu Yingjian, 356.

Press was located in Shanghai, since the press only published religious books,⁷⁷ its significance had been underexamined in the past century. The Stone-touching Studio Lithographic Printing Press (*Dianshizhai shiyin shuju* 點石齋石印書局) has received much more attention.

The Stone-touching Studio Lithographic Printing Press (點石齋石印書局)

In 1872 an English trader Ernest Major (Meicha 美查) established the Stone-touching Studio Lithographic Printing Press and *Shenbao* (申報),⁷⁸ a lithographically printed newspaper aimed at Chinese readers, in Shanghai. The Majors subsequently acquired several Chinese book companies and undertook the photolithographic printing of Chinese books.⁷⁹ In 1884 the press began to publish a lithographically printed pictorial magazine called the *Stone-touching Studio Pictorial* (*Dianshizhai huaobao* 點石齋畫報, 1884-1898) (Fig. 229). The pictorial was a tri-monthly supplement to the *Shenbao*, which generally contained eight leaves of illustrated stories and advertisements. The contents of the pictorial varied and the subject matter ranged from ghost stories to current affairs in the West.⁸⁰ The pictorial has been widely discussed by scholars, such as Rudolf G. Wagner, Christopher A. Reed, Ye Xiaoqing 葉曉青, and Li Xiaoti 李孝悌, and their opinion regarding the pictorial's influence has varied. Western influence on the content

⁷⁷ Wang Shucun, 57; Xue Liyong, 56.

⁷⁸ Christopher A. Reed, "Re/Collecting the Sources: Shanghai's *Dianshizhai* Pictorial and its Place in Historical Memories, 1884-1949," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* Vol. 12 No. 2, Fall (2000): 49-50.

⁷⁹ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 182; Shi Meiding, 100.

⁸⁰ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 182; *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou renmin Publishing Company, 1983).

of the pictorial is apparent; however, some of the subject matter and the manner of presentation still possessed traditional Chinese elements. Aimed to inform and enlighten readers by illustrating the wonders of the world, the success of the *Stone-touching Studio Pictorial* was a response to the growing demand for knowledge of the world outside of China, and it did influence China's modernization and globalization.⁸¹

Illustrated papers were popular in Western countries, but the style had never been heard of in China. Lithographic printing, therefore, drew much attention. For instance, in a book, *Dream Record of Songnan* (*Songnan mengying lu* 淞南夢影錄), written by the Qing scholar Huang Shiquan 黃式權, Huang wrote:

The books printed by lithographic printing and Western stones looked like a mirror, and the quality was very smooth. . . . Thereafter, the Majors established the Stone-touching Studio Lithographic Printing Press, and specialized lithographically printed painting books, which made the Chinese jealous.

石印書籍, 用西國石版, 磨平如鏡, . . . 此後美查開辦點石齋石印書局, 專門石印畫冊, 更使中國人羨慕不已。⁸²

Further, it said: “the success of the Major brothers’ business inspired many Chinese to inaugurate book companies, such as the *Baishi Studio*, run by a Ningponese, and *Tongwen Bookstore*, by a Cantonese.”⁸³ Wu Youru 吳友如 (d. 1893), one of the most

⁸¹ Xiaoqing Ye, “Popular Culture in Shanghai 1884-1898” (Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 1991); Rudolf G. Wagner, “Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai di Dianshizhai huabao” (進入全球想像圖景: 上海的點石齋畫報), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 4 (2001): 1-96; Li Xiaoti, “Zuoxiang shijie haishi yongbao xiangye – guankan Dianshizhai huabao di butong shiye” (走向世界, 還是擁抱鄉野 – 觀看點石齋畫報的不同視野), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 3 (2002): 287-293; Christopher A. Reed, “Re/Collecting the sources: Shanghai’s *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and its place in historical memories, 1884-1949,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* Vol. 12, No. 2, Fall (2000): 44-71.

⁸² Song Yuanfang, 183; Xu Yingjian, 349.

⁸³ Xu Yingjian, 359.

talented and ambitious painters in the late Qing period, had worked for the Majors for five or six years and later set up a competing firm, the Fleeting Shadow Pavilion (*Feiyingge* 飛影閣), and a magazine, the *Fleeting Shadow Pavilion Pictorial* (*Feiyingge huabao* 飛影閣畫報) (Fig. 230).⁸⁴ In 1881, the Tongwen Bookstore (*Tongwen shuju* 同文書局) and Hongbaozhai Lithographic Printing Press (*Hongbaozhai shiyin ju* 鴻寶齋石印局) were established. The latter was responsible for printing the *Fleeting Shadow Pavilion Pictorial*.⁸⁵

The Tongwen Bookstore was established by Xu Hongfu 徐鴻復 (or Xu Yuzi 徐裕子), a Cantonese, and Xu purchased 12 lithographic printing machines. The objective of the bookstore was to reprint Chinese classic rare books, but it also lithographically printed reproductions of calligraphy and painting. The most significant contribution of this bookstore, however, was to reprint 10,000 volumes of the *Imperial Encyclopedia* (*Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成).⁸⁶

In 1902, in cooperation with Lian Quan 廉泉 and Ding Baoshu 丁寶書, Yu Fu 俞復 founded the Wenming Book Company (*Wenming shuju* 文明書局). Initially it was well known for publishing textbooks and primers, including five *New Painting Manuals* (*Xinxi huatie* 新習畫帖), four *Drawing Manuals* (*Qianbi huatie* 鉛筆畫帖), and three *Drawing Manuals for Higher Elementary School* (*Gaoxiao qianbi huatie* 高小鉛筆畫

⁸⁴ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 182.

⁸⁵ Wang Shucun, 57.

⁸⁶ Xu Yingjian, 183-184, 360.

帖).⁸⁷ Their business developed quickly by the end of the same year, and the company began to publish a great number of miscellaneous notes (*biji* 筆記), which greatly contributed to the preservation of Chinese culture.⁸⁸ In 1904, the Wenming Book Company hired Japanese technicians to assist the Chinese in setting up color-lithographic printing. In China, the Wenming Book Company was the first press that owned machines using this technique, and it was very successful.⁸⁹

In the spring of 1904, Kang Youwei instructed Di Baoxian 狄葆賢 [or Di Pingzi 狄平子] (1872-1940) and Luo Xiaogao 羅孝高, who were both exiled in Japan due to their support of the failed Hundred Days Reform, to return to Shanghai and prepare for the establishment of a new daily, *Shibao* (時報) (or *Eastern Times*). Di Baoxian, a native of Liyang (溧陽) County, Jiangsu (江蘇) Province, was a member of a family that had held office for generations. His father had been a magistrate in Jiangxi (江西) Province, and Di, a celebrated scholar in his own right, became a graduate of the provincial-level civil service examination (*juren* 舉人) at an early age.⁹⁰

The most basic innovation of the *Eastern Times* was its format and layout. While all previous Chinese newspapers had been printed in the shape of a book, the *Eastern Times* was the first “folio newspaper” -- a sheet of paper folded once to produce two leaves, or four pages, with printing on both sides of the four pages. Thereafter, most

⁸⁷ Li Chao, 166.

⁸⁸ Song Yuanfang, 194; Guo Fenyang, 122.

⁸⁹ Song Yuanfang, 184-185; Wang Shucun, 57.

⁹⁰ Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 32-34; *Zhongguo meishu cidian*, 249.

newspapers in China adopted this new format.⁹¹ Besides, the *Eastern Times* was the first newspaper to incorporate a literary section within its own pages. “All of these innovations in form, style, and content helped to make the *Eastern Times* the most widely read reform journal in the early twentieth century. Its popularity was enhanced by the expansion of newspaper distribution networks in the last Qing decade.”⁹²

Di Baoxian, from a wealthy family and the publisher of the *Eastern Times*, was also a cultural entrepreneur. In Shanghai he established a publishing house, the Youzheng Book Company (*Youzheng shuju* 有正書局), and contracted with two Japanese technicians to teach the technique of collotype to its staff. As one of the first publishing houses in Shanghai to use this technique (Fig. 231), the Youzheng Book Company was renowned for its reprinted texts and reproductions of rubbings from stone tablet inscriptions and paintings, such as Wang Meng’s *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (*Qingbian yinju tu* 青卞隱居圖) (Fig. 232) and *Masterpieces of Chinese Paintings* (*Zhongguo minghua ji* 中國名畫集) (Fig. 233), together with new publications. Di himself was an artist and he was very active in involving artistic activities. For example, he participated in the first national fine arts exhibition run by the Ministry of Education of the Republican government in 1929, and two pieces of his painting and calligraphy (Fig. 234; Fig. 235) were reproduced in the *Meizhai tekan* catalogue.⁹³ With the founding of the Youzheng Book Company and the *Eastern Times*, to which he provided 70 percent

⁹¹ Judge, 36; Song Yuanfang, 230.

⁹² Judge, 39.

⁹³ *Meizhan tekan*, n.p.

of the original capital, Di made a great contribution to disseminating art in China in the early twentieth century.⁹⁴

In addition to the Youzheng Book Company, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2.4, the Gao brothers set up the Shenmei Bookstore in Shanghai in 1912 and published the *True Record* (Fig. 70) to disseminate Chinese and Western art and their ideas. Their bookstore-publishing house was as much concerned with introducing new art, mainly what they had learned in Japan, as with making money. It was a private capitalist venture, but its purposes were both public and esthetic.⁹⁵

With the introduction and wide circulation of Western printing technology, the technique of block printing went out of fashion. The printing format of block printing now could serve as an artistic form only, and not as a printing technique.

The Commercial Press and the China Book Company

As Leo Lee stated in his *Shanghai Modern*: “Benedict Anderson’s widely cited book had led us to believe that a nation is first an ‘imagined community’ before it becomes a political reality. ... The technical means of representing this ‘imagined community’ ... are the two forms of print culture – newspaper and the novel.”⁹⁶ Lee also argued that “the nation as an ‘imagined community’ in China was made possible not only by elite intellectuals, such as Liang Qichao, who proclaimed new concepts and values, but also, more importantly, by the popular press.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Judge, 47.

⁹⁵ Fu Licui, 705; Croizier, *Art and Revolution*, 68.

⁹⁶ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 45-46.

⁹⁷ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 46.

Before I discuss Feng Zikai and the Kaiming Book Company, in this section I briefly scrutinize the two largest publishers, the Commercial Press and the China Book Company, in Shanghai,⁹⁸ and identify the different marketing strategies between them and the Kaiming Book Company.

The Commercial Press (*Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館) was established in 1897 before the founding of the Wenming Bookstore and Youzheng Book Company. The success on an organizational and financial level of the three leading publishing enterprises of the 1920s and 1930s, that is, the Commercial Press, the China Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局), and the World Bookstore (*Shijie shuju* 世界書局), enabled these companies to distinguish themselves from the dozens of small individual proprietorships that crowded around them.⁹⁹ The Commercial Press played a significant role in China's modernization and the development of publishing houses in China, not only due to its own huge publications but also due to its relationship with the founding of the China Book Company (1912) and the World Bookstore (1921). Even the establishment of the Kaiming Book Company (1926) had an intimate relationship with the Commercial Press. In this section, I will discuss the significance of these new publishing houses and how they emerged in China and their significance.

⁹⁸ Christopher A. Reed's Ph.D. dissertation, "Gutenberg in Shanghai: Mechanized Printing, Modern Publishing, and Their Effects on the City, 1876-1937," discusses in detail the development of the publishers in Shanghai.

⁹⁹ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 334.

The Commercial Press

The founders of the Commercial Press included Xia Ruifang 夏瑞芳, Bao Xian'en 鮑咸恩, Bao Xian'chang 鮑咸昌, Bao Xian'heng 鮑咸亨, and Gao Fengchi 高鳳池, (or Gao Hanqing 高翰卿). They were all from poor families, and all of them were pious Presbyterian Christians. Xia Ruifang was born in Qingpu County (青浦縣), near Shanghai. Since the financial situation of his family was not good, both of his parents went to Shanghai to make money. His mother was a servant in a clergyman's home. The clergyman sent Xia to an elementary school run by Presbyterians. Since Xia's performance in elementary school was very good, the pastor sent him to the Qingxin School (*Qingxin shuyuan* 清心書院), run by Presbyterians, for advanced study, where Xia studied the Bible, English, and so forth. The school also set up factories, and all students in the school had to engage in labor. The tuition was waived as long as the students were Christian. Xia and the Bao brothers became good friends when they studied at the Qingxin School.¹⁰⁰ The Bao brothers were from Ningbo. They met a pastor from America and converted to Christianity through the pastor's influence. All three brothers studied at a Christian-run elementary school and then entered the Qingxin School. After they graduated, they were sent to the *American Presbyterian Mission Press* (*Meihua shuguan* 美華書館) as apprentices. Bao Xian'en learned how to cut, Xian'heng, printing,

¹⁰⁰ Zhang Xichen 章錫琛, "Mantan Shangwu yinshu guan" 漫談商務印書館, *Shangwu yishu guan jiushi nian – wo he Shangwu yinshu guan 1987-1987* 商務印書館九十年 – 我和商務印書館 1897-1987 (hereafter referred to as *SWJS*) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1987), 103.

and Xian'chang, how to arrange type. Gao Fengchi was from Qingpu County as well, and he was a senior staff member at the American Presbyterian Mission Press at the time.¹⁰¹

When Xia graduated from the Qingxin School, he was introduced to a hospital as a nurse. Since the job did not match his interests, he transferred to the *Wenhui Press* (*Wenhuibao* 文匯報), where he learned how to arrange English type. Three years later he worked for the *North-China Daily News* (*Zilin xibao* 字林西報) as the chair of typesetters. Xia's relationship with the Bao family became closer after he married the younger sister of the Bao brothers. After Xia and the Bao brothers had some savings, they decided to establish a small printing factory together. Since all of them could speak English and had connection with some foreign businessmen, they thought that it should be not difficult for them to get some commissions. Gao Fengchi was invited to join in this investment as well. On February 11 of 1897, the company was officially inaugurated, and Xia was assigned as the president. The eldest sister of the Bao brothers named the company "Shangwu yinshuguan," which literally means "commercial printing press," and she gave it the English title "Commercial Press."¹⁰²

In the beginning the business of the Commercial Press was printing only, and most of the commissions were from churches.¹⁰³ Since Shanghai was an important treaty port at the time and a lot of young people desired to become compradors, to learn English became very popular. All the founders of the press were from Christian schools and the textbook they studied in school was a *Primer*, which was a textbook designed by the

¹⁰¹ Zhang Xichen, "Mantan Shangwu," *SWJS*, 103.

¹⁰² Zhang Xichen, "Mantan Shangwu," *SWJS*, 103; Song Yuanfang, 188.

¹⁰³ Zhuang Yu 庄俞, "Tantan woguan bianji jiaokeshu di bianqian" 談談我館編輯教科書的變遷, *SWJS*, 62.

British for Indian elementary school students and was imported from India. In addition to taking commissions from churches, the press hired people to translate the *Primer* into Chinese and published it in a bilingual version. The translation was entitled *Basic Chinese and English (Huaying chujie 華英初階)*, and the business became very successful. Thereafter, the press translated another advanced textbook into Chinese, and entitled it *Advanced Chinese and English (Huaying jinjie 華英進階)*. These two books were re-edited and published a couple of times and were widely circulated among the Chinese public for more than ten years.¹⁰⁴ Translating Japanese books was another popular enterprise among the publishers since Chinese people were thirsty for new knowledge at the time. To expand the press's business, Xia Ruifang, the manager of the press, decided to hire two persons good at Japanese and had them translate numerous books into Chinese.¹⁰⁵

The Commercial Press was not satisfied with printing only the lucrative English textbooks. The need for new textbooks became urgent among Chinese intellectuals after the Hundred Days Reform. The Commercial Press was not the first to publish textbooks. As mentioned earlier, the Wenming Book Company was the earliest publishing house to publish textbooks, like the *Primer (Mengxue keben 蒙學課本)*, for the newly established modern schools. In 1902 the press appointed Zhang Yuanji 張元濟, the cashiered Hanlin scholar and former imperial tutor, as the director of the Editorial and Translation Department (*Bianyi suo 編譯所*). They used Japanese textbooks as blueprints, and

¹⁰⁴ Zhang Xichen, "Mantan Shangwu," *SWJS*, 104-105.

¹⁰⁵ Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, "Bianji xiaoxue jiaokeshu zhi huiyi" 編輯小學教科書之回憶, *SWJS*, 55-61; Song Yuanfang, 188.

compiled elementary school textbooks for subjects such as Chinese, history, geography, and so forth. The first textbook for basic elementary school (初等小學), *Latest Chinese Textbook* (*Zuixin guowen jiaokeshu* 最新國文教科書), was published in 1902. At the time, many textbooks were published; however, only the *Latest Chinese Textbook* followed the regulations set by the Education Department (*xuebu* 學部) of the Qing court. The circulation of the *Latest Chinese Textbook* was more than 100,000 copies, and it was very successful. Between 1904 and 1911, textbooks published by the press on a wide range of topics, such as *Brief Textbook* (*Jianming jiaokeshu* 簡明教科書, 1909) and *Self-Education for Girls* (*Nüzi xiushen* 女子修身, 1907), subsequently appeared.¹⁰⁶

In 1911 the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China was established, and a new educational system and regulations were set up. Since the educational system had been changed, the textbooks also had to be modified. The first textbook published by the press after 1911 was *New Textbook of the Republic* (*Gongheguo xin jiaokeshu* 共和國新教科書). Thereafter, the press, alert to the change in the government, published numerous textbooks, which covered the subjects of Chinese, arithmetic, history, geography, etc. and occupied a large segment of the textbook market. In order to meet the need of the changing society and markets, not only did the press expand its capital and equipment to set up a bigger enterprise, but it also hired many talented intellectuals, such as Zhang Yuanji, Gao Mengdan 高夢旦, Hu Yuzhi, and Cai Yuanpei, to join its editorial teams.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Zhuang Yu, "Tantan woguan bianji jiaokeshu di bianqian," *SWJS*, 62-63; Song Yuanfang, 188-189.

¹⁰⁷ Zhang Xichen, "Mantan Shangwu," *SWJS*, 106-109.

In addition to school textbooks, the Commercial Press, under the supervision of Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1980), also launched two well-known “repositories” (*wenku* 文庫), the *Eastern Repository* (*Dongfang wenku* 東方文庫, 1923-1934) and the *All-Comprehensive Repository* (*Wangyou wenku* 萬有文庫, 1929-1934). These repositories were clearly intended for the task of inculcating new knowledge.¹⁰⁸ The Commercial Press also published a great number of modern reference works, such as *The New Dictionary* (*Xin zidian* 新字典, 1912), *The Encyclopedic Dictionary* (*Ciyuan* 辭源, 1916), and high quality reproductions of traditional texts, like the *Library of Chinese Classical, Historical, Philosophical and Literary Works* (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, 1920).¹⁰⁹

To cater to the growing needs of the society, the Press published numerous magazines to meet the needs of various audiences. *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌, 1904-1948) was probably the most influential one. The *Eastern Miscellany* may be considered a middlebrow publication under the aegis of the Commercial Press, and it was intended for an urban readership. Launched in 1904 as a monthly, it was changed to a fortnightly and was published until 1948.¹¹⁰ Before 1909 the editor was Xu Ke 徐珂. From 1910 on, at the suggestion of Du Yaquan 杜亞泉, the chair of the Science Department, the press expanded the magazine’s size and imitated the format of *Sun* magazine, one of the best selling Japanese magazines at the time.¹¹¹ It’s table of contents, including journalistic reports, political commentary, and cultural criticism with

¹⁰⁸ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 55.

¹⁰⁹ Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 337.

¹¹⁰ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 47.

¹¹¹ Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 111.

translations and learned articles, made the magazine eclectic. As Leo Lee has commented: “the journal’s miscellaneous contents may have lacked a distinct character, but therein lay its purpose and appeal.”¹¹²

Although the *Eastern Miscellany* was the flagship periodical of the Commercial Press, it still vied for attention with at least eight other publications by the same company, which were *Education Journal* (*Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌), *Student Magazine* (*Xuesheng zazhi* 學生雜誌), *Youth Magazine* (*Shaonian zazhi* 少年雜誌), *Ladies’ Journal* (*Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌), *English Magazine* (*Yingyü zazhi* 英語雜誌), *English Weekly* (*Yingyü zhoukan* 英語周刊), *The Short Story Magazine* (*Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報), and *Agriculture Magazine* (*Nongxue zazhi* 農學雜誌).¹¹³ The magazines that were attacked by the May Fourth intellectuals most severely were *Education Journal*, *The Short Story Magazine*, and *Ladies’ Journal*.¹¹⁴

The *Education Journal* was inaugurated and edited by Lufei Bohong 陸費伯鴻 (or Lufei Kuei 陸費逵). Schools and universities were the most dependable patrons of the Chinese magazine publishers between 1904 and 1937.¹¹⁵ Although the object of the magazine was to discuss education and academic phenomena, its practical purpose was to advertise the press’s textbooks and to get in touch with schools. A survey list asking people to fill out blank fields including names of schools, teachers, presidents, and student numbers was attached to the magazine. If one filled out the survey and mailed it

¹¹² Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 48.

¹¹³ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 49; Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 111-119.

¹¹⁴ Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 114.

¹¹⁵ Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 336.

back to the Commercial Press, one would receive free copies of the magazine for a whole year.¹¹⁶

The Short Story Magazine, in particular, has received wide notoriety in post-May Fourth accounts as a bastion of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School of fiction (or *Yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派).¹¹⁷ The Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School of fiction, including love, scandal, detective, comic, and martial arts stories, was highly popular in the 1910s and 1920s, and the term “mandarin ducks and butterfly” was coined by progressive May Fourth intellectuals to criticize popular urban fiction, particularly sentimental love stories.¹¹⁸ *The Short Story Magazine* was inaugurated in 1910, and the first chief editor was Xu Zhiyan 許指嚴, who had a close relationship with the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School. The second chief editor was Yun Tieqiao 愷鐵樵. Yun graduated from Jiaotong University (*Jiaotong daxue* 交通大學) and was good at English and Chinese classics. He was interested in foreign, realistic literature and his translation style closely followed that of Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924), who translated a large number of fictional works into Chinese, like *La Dame Aux Camélia* by Alexandre Dumas. Yun was also interested in Chinese medicine. He became more and more interested in Chinese medicine and eventually resigned his position as editor to run a hospital. Thereafter, Wang Chunnong 王純農, (or Wang Yunzhang 王蘊章), whose novels were greatly complimented by the people of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School, became the chief editor of the magazine. Wang also edited *Ladies' Journal*. Along with the May

¹¹⁶ Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 114.

¹¹⁷ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 49.

¹¹⁸ Denton, 505.

Fourth Movement (1919), the Literature Reform and “liberating women” movements forced the two magazines to change chief editors.

Then, in 1920, Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰 (1896-1981), also known as Mao Dun 茅盾, assumed editorship and turned *The Short Story Magazine* overnight into a journal of New Literature.¹¹⁹ After Shen took over the editorial position, the contents of *The Short Story Magazine* became different. However, because of conflicts and rumors, the Commercial Press appointed Shen to the Chinese Department and assigned Zheng Zhenduo to be chief editor.¹²⁰

The China Book Company

As mentioned earlier, the *Education Journal* of the Commercial Press was inaugurated and edited by Lufei Bohong. Lufei Bohong, a native of Tongxiang County, Zhejiang Province, began to work for the Press in 1908 and was promoted to direct both the publishing and communications departments in 1909; at the same time, he became editor of the *Education Journal*.¹²¹

In the months before the 1911 Revolution, various politically astute editors at the Commercial Press suggested that it prepare Republican textbooks. However, Zhang Yuanji, the director of the Editorial and Translation Department, insisted in adopting a

¹¹⁹ Mao Dun 茅盾, “Shangwu yinshu guan bianyi suo he gexin ‘xiaoshuo yuebao’ di qianhou” 商務印書館編譯所和革新小說月報的前後, *SWJS*, 140-197; Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 49; Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 115-116.

¹²⁰ Zhang Xichen, “Mantan Shangwu,” *SWJS*, 116.

¹²¹ Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 349; Xiong Shanghou 熊尙厚, “Lufei Kuei xiansheng” 陸費達先生, *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju* 回憶中華書局 (Beijing: China Bookstore, 1987), 1.

wait-and-see attitude.¹²² Because Lufei strongly disagreed with Zhang's decision on the textbooks, he cooperated with Dai Kedun 戴克敦 and Shen Zhifang 沈知方 (1882-1939). The three men soon began to meet secretly at Lufei's house and compiled a set of new textbooks late into the night. To avoid the attention of both their Commercial Press colleagues and the Qing court, Lufei arranged to have the textbooks printed at a Japanese-owned print shop. Later, Lufei resigned from the Commercial Press, and along with his co-conspirators founded the China Book Company on January 1, 1912 when the Chinese Republic was established; its new textbooks were immediately successful in the textbook markets.¹²³

“Revolutionary” and “republican” were the two important slogans that Lufei Bohong weaved into his business. The manifesto of the China Book Company, composed by Lufei himself, stated that “the foundation of the state is concerned with education, and the foundation of education is truly the textbook; [when] education is not revolutionary the state finally has no way of being stabilized, and [when] textbooks are not revolutionary, the purpose of education has no way of being achieved.”¹²⁴ The textbooks for the elementary and middle schools, *Textbooks for New Educational System* (*Xin xuezhi jiaokeshu* 新學制教科書) and *New Textbooks for the Education of Common People* (*Xinbian guomin jiaoyu jiaokeshu* 新編國民教育教科書), adorned with the new national flag on the cover, appeared in 1913, and they successfully hit the textbook

¹²² Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 10, 349-350.

¹²³ Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 351-352.

¹²⁴ Reed, “Gutenberg in Shanghai,” 352.

markets.¹²⁵ From 1904 to 1912, the Commercial Press's textbooks were distinguished by their covers featuring a yellow dragon, a symbol of the Qing dynasty. Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876-1973), a part-time editor at the Commercial Press, proposed printing a new national flag on the books' covers, but the editorial teams of the Press decided to print it on the first page instead. The strategies that the China Book Company used won the markets.¹²⁶ Furthermore, since all of the capital of the China Book Company was invested and owned by the Chinese, the China Book Company ruthlessly attacked the Commercial Press's joint investment with the Japanese and issued advertisements calling for the Chinese to use Chinese textbooks. The China Book Company successfully carved out a niche for itself and became a competitor of the Press in the textbook markets. The Commercial Press supplied sixty percent of the textbooks for the whole country, while the China Book Company supplied thirty percent.¹²⁷

Besides publishing textbooks for elementary schools, the China Book Company published books of classics, reference books, and texts on social science, literature, and art.¹²⁸ The company founded an art department and Zheng Wuchang, an influential traditional artist, was appointed as the chair of the department. Zheng devoted his life to study the theory of Chinese art. Many books that he wrote, such as *Comprehensive History of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huaxue quanshi* 中國畫學全史) and *History of*

¹²⁵ Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 2.

¹²⁶ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 354; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 2.

¹²⁷ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 354; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 2; Song Yuanfang, 194.

¹²⁸ Song Yuanfang, 194.

Chinese Art (Zhongguo meishu shi 中國美術史), were published by the China Book Company.¹²⁹

The company also published a large number of magazines to cater to the needs of the public. In 1915, the China Book Company reorganized as a joint-stock limited liability corporation. At the same time, it finally absorbed the Wenming Book Company, which closed its business due to the severe competition between the Commercial Press and the China Book Company.¹³⁰ The success of *The China Big Dictionary (Zhonghua dazidian 中華大字典)* and the magazine *Grand China (Da zhonghua 大中華)*, edited by Liang Qichao, expedited the firm's growth; soon, the China Book Company had forty branches nationwide and over 2,000 employees.¹³¹

In 1917, however, because Shen Zhifang, the assistant manager of the China Book Company, was called to account for embezzled funds entrusted to the firm, Lufei was implicated in malfeasance, which nearly brought down the publishing and bookselling kingdom that Lufei had been striving to build since 1911.¹³² Shen Zhifang, like Lufei Bohong, later betrayed the China Book Company and established the World Bookstore in 1921. After a long time of hardship to rebuild his firm, Lufei established Shanghai's China Educational Instruments Factory (*Zhonghua jiaoyu yongju zhizao chang 中華教育用具製造廠*) in 1929. In 1930, when Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, the director of the China Book Company, was appointed Minister of Industry (實業部長) in the Nanjing

¹²⁹ Huang Yongchuan, 541.

¹³⁰ Zhang Xichen, "Mantan Shangwu," *SWJS*, 106.

¹³¹ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 356-357; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 3.

¹³² Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 359-360; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 3.

government, Lufei promoted Kong's connection to the China Book Company by having him selected as chairman of the board. Exploiting his official influence, Kong brought considerable business in the factory's direction.¹³³ In 1932, the China Book Company augmented its printing plant, and it soon began to print government securities, small denominations of currency, and cigarette boxes. By 1934, the China Book Company had opened an advanced printing plant in Kowloon (九龍), Hong Kong, chiefly to print currency and government securities. In 1936, part of the Educational Instruments Factory was dispersed. Because of the company's good connections with the Nationalist government, a subsidiary called Bao'an Industries (保安實業公司) was created to manufacture rubber boats, gas masks, nautical lights, and other products necessary for national defense.¹³⁴ Although the China Book Company was still the second biggest supplier of textbooks in China, its focus and interest after 1937 seems to have switched to printing government securities, and to the national defense industry.

4.2 Feng Zikai and the Kaiming Book Company

The May Fourth Movement and the Kaiming Book Company

Founded in Shanghai in 1926 by Zhang Xichen 章錫琛 (1889-1969), the Kaiming ("Enlightened") Book Company (*Kaiming shudian* 開明書店) was a product of the May Fourth-style discursive battle for intellectual legitimacy. On May 4, 1919, about 5,000 university students in Beijing protested the Versailles Conference (April 28, 1919)

¹³³ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 364-365; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 4.

¹³⁴ Reed, "Gutenberg in Shanghai," 365-366; Xiong Shanghou, "Lufei Kuei xiansheng," *Huiyi Zhonghua shuju*, 4.

awarding Japan the former German leasehold of Jiaozhou (膠州), Shandong Province. Demonstrations and strikes spread to Shanghai, and a nationwide boycott of Japanese goods followed. The May Fourth Movement began as a patriotic outburst of new urban intellectuals against foreign imperialists and warlords. Intellectuals identified the political establishment with China's failure in the modern era, and hundreds of new periodicals, written in the vernacular and devoted to culture and politics, were founded in this period to attack Chinese traditions and turn to foreign ideas and ideologies.¹³⁵ The movement also promoted political participation by women and educational reforms. Hundreds of new schools, often with radical curricula, were set up. Problems of international politics and domestic social organization began to receive intensified scrutiny. Although many of the "May Fourth" journals did not last, their names, such as *Young China* (*Shaonian zhongguo* 少年中國), *New Society* (*Xin shehui* 新社會), and *The New Women* (*Xin funü* 新婦女), still echo the excitement of the time. The term May Fourth Movement, according to Jonathan Spence, is therefore both limited and broad, depending on whether it is applied to the demonstrations that took place on that particular day or to the complex emotional, cultural, and political developments that followed.¹³⁶

According to his autobiography, Zhang received a classical Chinese education when he was a child and learned Japanese at the Eastern Language School (*Dongwen chuanxisuo* 東文傳習所) when he was 16 (1905). He later studied at the Tongyi School (*Tongyi xuetaang* 通藝學堂) (1906), although he did not finish his studies due to his

¹³⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 288-289; Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 153.

¹³⁶ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 299-301; Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 159.

marriage in 1907. In collaboration with a friend, Zhang established the Yude Primary School (*Yude xuetang* 育德學堂) in 1909 and had more than a hundred students, which was very unusual in Zhang's hometown at the time. In 1909, in order to become a better teacher, Zhang entered the Shanhui Normal School (*Shanhui shifan xuetang* 山會師範學堂) to continue his education. Paradoxically, the Yude Primary School was closed when Zhang graduated from the Normal School, since he had to finish one year's practical training after he graduated according to the requirements of the Normal School. With the recommendation of the president, Zhang Haisheng 張海生, Zhang Xichen taught at the Mingdao Girls' School (*Mingdao nizi shifan xuetang* 明道女子師範學堂) and other schools.¹³⁷

In 1912, with Zhang Haisheng's recommendation again, Zhang Xichen began to work for the Commercial Press and was appointed to be the editor of the *Eastern Miscellany* (東方雜誌). In 1919 the chief editor of the *Eastern Miscellany*, Du Yaquan 杜亞泉, quit his position and was put in charge of the Science Department. It was Tao Xingcun 陶惺存 who took the chief editor's position after Du left. However, Tao passed away soon later. It was Qian Zhixiu 錢智修 who took the position of the chief editor of the *Eastern Miscellany*. In 1920, with Qian's recommendation, Zhang Xichen became the

¹³⁷ Zhang Xichen 章錫琛, "Cong shangren dao shangren" 從商人到商人, *Zhang Xichen xiansheng danchen yibai zhounian jinian wenji* 章錫琛先生誕辰一百周年紀念文集 (hereafter referred to as *ZXCWJ*) (Shanghai: Chuban shiliao bianjibu, 1990), 249-255; Mixian 密先, "Zhang Xichen xiansheng nianbiao" 章錫琛先生年表, *ZXCWJ*, 235-238.

chief editor of the *Ladies' Journal* (*Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌), which was inaugurated in 1915.¹³⁸

As mentioned earlier, the *Education Journal* (教育雜誌) and the *Ladies' Journal* were attacked severely after the May Fourth Movement in 1919. The Commercial Press, therefore, changed a lot of editorial staff to cater to the new cultural environment. With the help of Zhou Jianren 周建人, Zhang Xichen began to edit the *Ladies' Journal* in January 1921. Zhang and Zhou translated and published a great number of articles in vernacular Chinese to introduce women's status in other countries and to liberate and raise women's role in Chinese society. They also set up columns for readers to discuss and express their opinion. Zhang's new editorship of the *Ladies' Journal* was very successful, and the circulation of the journal increased to 10,000 or more from 2,000-3,000 copies.¹³⁹ In 1922, in collaboration with Wu Juenong 吳覺農 and Chen Xuezhao 陳學昭, Zhang established the Society of Women's Studies (*Funü wenti yanjiuhui* 婦女問題研究會). Due to his success in the *Ladies' Journal* and activities on the study society, Zhang was regarded as a specialist in women's issues (婦女問題專家).¹⁴⁰

In January of 1925, Zhang edited a special issue of the *Ladies' Journal* on the "new sexual morality (*xin xingdaode zhuanhao* 新性道德專號)." The issue published Zhang's article, "What is the New Sexual Morality?" (*Xin xingdaode shi shemo* 新性道德是什麼?) and Zhou's "The Scientific Criteria of Sexual Morality" (*Xingdaode de*

¹³⁸ Zhang Xichen, "Cong shangren dao shangren," *ZXCWJ*, 257; Mixian, *ZXCWJ*, 235-238.

¹³⁹ Zhang Xichen, "Cong shangren dao shangren," *ZXCWJ*, 257.

¹⁴⁰ Mixian, "Zhang Xichen xiansheng nianbiao," *ZXCWJ*, 238.

kexue biao zhun 性道德的科學標準), which openly advocated free love and sexual liberation.¹⁴¹ The special issue was attacked by many conservatives, like Chen Bainian 陳百年 (or Chen Daqi (陳大齊), a professor at Peking University. Chen Bainian published an article, “A New Amulet of Polygamy” (*Yifu duoqi de xinhufu* 一夫多妻的新戶符), in the journal, *Modern Critique* (*Xiandai pinglun* 現代評論) to criticize Zhang Xichen and Zhou Jianren’s advocacy of the new sexual morality. Although Zhang and Zhou tried to publish essays to defend their opinion, their articles were not accepted by other journals. It was Lu Xun who published Zhang and Zhou’s articles in his weekly journal *Mangyuan* (莽原) and who wrote comments to support them. To flatter and comfort the conservatives, Wang Yunwu, the chair of the Editorial and Translation Department at the Commercial Press, appointed Zhang to the Chinese Department.¹⁴² Thereafter, the new editor of the *Ladies’ Journal*, Jiang Shaoying 蔣少英, only published articles about how to bake a cake, feed children, and be a good woman. Hu Yuzhi, the editor of the *Eastern Miscellany*, Zheng Zhenduo, the editor of *The Short Story Magazine*, Wu Juenong, and other influential May Fourth intellectuals were furious after they learned that Zhang’s editorship had been taken away. In defiance of the Commercial Press’s decision to suppress their radical voice, Zhang and his supporters, including Feng Zikai, Hu Yuzhi, Zheng Zhenduo, and others, proceeded to found an even more avant-garde journal, *New Women* (*Xin nüxing* 新女性). In January 1926 *New Women* appeared. Because Zhang

¹⁴¹ Zhang Xichen, “Cong shangren dao shangren,” *ZXCWJ*, 257; Zhang Xichen, “Yige zui pingfan di ren” 一個最平凡的人, *ZXCWJ*, 265.

¹⁴² “Zhang Xichen xiansheng xiaozhuan” 章錫琛先生小傳, *ZXCWJ*, 204; Zhang Shimin 章士敏, etc. “Zhang Xichen luezhuan” 章錫琛略傳, *ZXCWJ*, 208; Wu Wenqi 吳文祺, “Huiyi chubanjie de jiechu rencai Zhang Xichen xiansheng” 回憶出版界的傑出人才章錫琛先生, *ZXCWJ*, 22.

Xichen, Hu Yuzhi, and Zheng Zhenduo were still working at the Commercial Press at the time, the publication of *New Women* was under Wu Juenong's name. However, Zhang was dismissed right after the Commercial Press realized Zhang's engagement in the new publication.¹⁴³

With the help of friends, Zhang obtained work teaching at numerous schools, like the Shenzhou Girls' School (*Shenzhou nixue* 神州女學), after he lost his job at the Commercial Press. However, the radical stand on issues of gender and sexuality that continued in the new magazine made it an enormous success. Due to the success of *New Women*, with a circulation of 3,000 to 5,000 copies for each issue, Zhang quit his teaching position. Many of his friends encouraged him to publish more books or to establish a bookstore. With Zhang's pension of 2,000 *yuan* from the Commercial Press and support from his younger brother, Zhang Xishan 章錫珊, they expanded their single-journal production into a publishing house – the Kaiming Book Company - in August 1926.

Through his publications and business, Zhang and his colleagues further promoted Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu's ideas and advocacy. From the founding of *New Youth* in 1915, Chen Duxiu championed the cause of women's rights.¹⁴⁴ In an essay in *New Youth* titled "My Views on Chastity" (*Wo de jielie guan* 我的節烈觀), written in July 1918, Lu Xun held up muddled attitudes about women to ruthless scrutiny, pointing

¹⁴³ Zhang Shimin, "Zhang Xichen luezhuan," *ZXCWJ*, 208; Zhang Xichen, "Cong shangren dao shangren," *ZXCWJ*, 257-258; Zhang Xichen, "Yige zui pingfan di ren," *ZXCWJ*, 265; Wu Juenong 吳覺農, "Huainian laoyou Zhang Xichen" 懷念老友章錫琛, *ZXCWJ*, 6-7; "Zhang Xichen yu Lu Xun" 章錫琛與魯迅, *ZXCWJ*, 34.

¹⁴⁴ Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 161.

out that “the current one-sided view of chastity for women (when it was not demanded of men) had all the logic of Kang Youwei’s insistence on restoring the Emperor, or of those spiritualists who wished to invoke the spirit of the ancient philosopher Mencius to solve China’s problems.”¹⁴⁵ Zhang Xichen’s Society of Women’s Studies (婦女研究會) later translated many articles and books, such as *Ten Talks on Women’s Problems* (*Funü wenti shijiang* 婦女問題十講), *Knowledge of Sex* (*Xing de zhishi* 性的知識), and *Essays on the New Sexual Morality* (*Xin xingdaode taolun ji* 新性道德討論集).¹⁴⁶ At the time, more schools for girls and women were founded, society grew more willing to tolerate and even encourage such new establishments, and a fresh pool of emancipated teachers (both men and women) swiftly emerged to staff them. Popular accounts of heroines in other nations and romantic stories about women were also widely read. Besides the Society of Women’s Studies, the Kaiming Book Company was closely associated with the Lida Academy (立達學園) and Literary Research Association (*Wenxue yanjiuhui* 文學研究會). With its close ties to these three societies, particularly the Literary Research Association, the Kaiming Book Company also became a major publisher of New Literature (*Xin wenxue* 新文學). Generally speaking, Kaiming’s production during this early period manifested the same features and orientation that characterized most other May Fourth-style publications.

¹⁴⁵ Lu Xun, “Wo de jielie guan” 我的節烈觀, *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 1, 103-115; Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 166-167.

¹⁴⁶ Zhang Xichen, “Cong shangren dao shangren,” *ZXCWJ*, 258-259; Mixian, *ZXCWJ*, 239; Liu Zengren 劉增人, *Shangao shuichang: Ye Shengtao zhuan* 山高水長葉聖陶傳 (Taipei: Yeqiang Publishing Company, 1994), 117.

In 1929, due to the great business of the company, Zhang decided to expand its capital to 50,000 *yuan* and reorganized his bookstore as a joint-stock limited corporation. Xia Mianzun, Du Haisheng, Feng Zikai, and others were the stock holders. The capital they collected was more than 50,000 *yuan*, which exceeded their expectations; therefore, they decided to set up a printing factory, the Meicheng Printing Company (*Meicheng yinshua chang* 美成印刷廠).¹⁴⁷ Wu Zhongpan 吳仲盤, Zhang's brother-in-law, was the manager of the Printing Company. Du Haisheng was elected to be the manager of the company, Xia Mianzun was appointed to be the director of the editors, and Zhang himself was put in charge of the publishing and circulating business. In 1931, due to a shortage of capital, they decided to expand their stock plan again to 100,000 *yuan*, and the printing company, from 20,000 to 40,000 *yuan*. In 1937, their capital increased to 300,000 *yuan*.¹⁴⁸ Compared to the investment of the Commercial Press and the China Book Company at the time, the capital and investment of the Kaiming Book Company was really nothing. However, unlike the Commercial Press and the China Book Company, the Kaiming Book Company was the only press owned and operated by intellectuals. With the efforts of the Zhang brothers and Wu Zhongpan, the Kaiming Book Company soon became one of the six largest book companies in China.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Zhang Xichen, "Cong shangren dao shangren," *ZXCWJ*, 259; Wang Zhiyi 王知伊, "Zang Kaiming shudian di chuanxin jingshen" 贊開明書店的創新精神, Wang Zhiyi, *Kaiming shudian jishi* 開明書店紀事 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin Publishing Company, 1991), 6.

¹⁴⁸ Zhang Xichen, "Cong shangren dao shangren," *ZXCWJ*, 259; Wu Juenong 吳覺農, "Wo he Kaiming shudian de guanxi" 我和開明書店的關係, *Wo yu Kaiming* 我與開明 (Beijing: China Youth Publishing Company, 1985), 82; Zhang Shimin 章士敏, "Zhang Xichen xiansheng zhuanlue" 章錫琛先生傳略, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 174.

¹⁴⁹ Wu Juenong, "Huainian laoyou Zhang Xichen," *ZXCWJ*, 8; Mixian, *ZXCWJ*, 240.

Textbooks for Middle Schools

Before 1949, textbooks for primary and middle schools and reference books were regarded as the two most important businesses for publishing houses. As mentioned earlier, the Commercial Press and the China Book Company were the major competitors in the textbook markets after the Republic of China was established. Between 1928 and 1930 the Kaiming Book Company reoriented itself from its May Fourth intellectual crusade to its low-profile, enduring project of popularizing new culture. To compete and carve out a niche on the textbook markets, the Kaiming Book Company also began to publish textbooks for primary and middle schools. In 1928, Zhang Xichen inaugurated what might be called “sheet texts” (*Kaiming huoye wenxuan* 開明活頁文選, hereafter the KHW), the most renowned innovation of the Kaiming Book Company. The KHW was greatly welcomed by teachers and students among the middle schools because they could buy a single sheet of the anthology if their budget was limited or have the company bind them together if they bought or collected a number of sheets. Not only did the KHW bring the company a lot of profits, but, due to its high quality, it also established the Kaiming Book Company’s great reputation.¹⁵⁰ It was the success of the KHW that carved out a niche in the textbook markets for the Kaiming Book Company. In 1936, they had already published more than 1,600 pieces of KHW, including works in classical Chinese, like Bo Juyi’s 白居易 (772-846) *The Songs of Everlasting Sorrow* (*Changhen ge* 長恨歌), and vernacular essays, such as Lu Xun’s “Call to Arms,” Zhu Ziqing’s *The Sight of a Back* (*Beiyong* 背影), Cai Yuanpei’s “The Relationship between Art and Science”

¹⁵⁰ Zhang Xichen, “Kaiming huoye wenxuan” 開明活頁文選, *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 207-210; Wang Zhiyi, “Zhan Kaiming shudian,” *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 6-7.

(*Meishu yu kexue de guanxi* 美術與科學的關係), and Feng Zikai's "Leisure Life"

(*Xianju* 閒居).¹⁵¹ Although it published textbooks for elementary schools as well, the Kaiming Book Company maintained middle school students as its target audience.

In addition to the KHW, the Kaiming Book Company published a mathematics textbook, *Kaiming Arithmetic* (*Kaiming suanshu* 開明算術), for middle schools. It was edited by Liu Xunyu 劉薰宇 and Zhang Kebiao 章克標. The company also published the *Kaiming First English Book* (*Kaiming diyi yingwen duben* 開明第一英文讀本, 1929) (Fig. 236), which was edited by Lin Yu-tang, the famous essayist and professor of English, and illustrated by Feng Zikai. The *Kaiming First English Book* was a success, and it soon replaced the *Model of English Reading* (*Mofan yingyu duben* 模範英語讀本), which was edited by Zhou Yueran 周越然 and published by the Commercial Press.¹⁵² Accompanied by many illustrations (Fig. 237), which was unusual at the time, the

Kaiming First English Book circulated widely. Here is an advertisement for the book:

In terms of illustrations, [we] invited the well-known artist Feng Zikai to do it, rather than inviting the artisans who were good at the *xiuxiang* images. All the illustrations [that Feng does] carry fine arts flavor. Each volume insert three-color copper plate images and all of the images are works of famous Western artists. This kind of illustration is the vanguard of all textbooks in China.

插圖方面, 特請名畫家豐子愷先生擔任, 不去請教那些描寫繡像式圖畫的畫匠, 所作之圖, 每幅都有美術的意味, 各冊並插入三

¹⁵¹ "Kaiming huoye wenxuan xinyin pienmu" 開明活頁文選新印篇目, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 April 1931 postscript 1-5; Liu Zengren, 118; Guo Fenyang, 86; Ye Zhishan 葉至善, "Jinian xuecun xiansheng" 紀念雪村先生, *ZXCWJ*, 31; Mixian, *ZXCWJ*, 240; Wang Zhiyi, "Zan Kaiming shudian," *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 7.

¹⁵² Wang Zhiyi, "Kaiming shudian jishi" 開明書店紀事, *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 100.

色銅版圖,均係西洋名畫家的作品。像這樣的插圖,在中國一切教科書中,可說是第一種。¹⁵³

In his memoir, Chen Yuan 陳原, a juvenile student in the 1930s and now a senior editor in Shanghai, wrote:

It was really tedious when I was reading the *Model of English Reading*, which could not stir my interest in English at all. Later, I began to be interested in English because I read the *Kaiming First English Book*. Not only was the *Kaiming First English Book* edited in a novel way, but it was also accompanied with many elegant illustrations.¹⁵⁴

The *Kaiming First English Book* was the first choice for schools for more than 20 years, and Lin Yu-tang was awarded 30,000 *yuan* in copyright royalties for this single book. The large profit of this project significantly brought the Kaiming Book Company to its growth. The success of Lin Yu-tang's *Kaiming First English Book* made many competitors jealous. The World Bookstore soon published its *Standard English Reading* (*Biaozhun yingyu duben* 標準英語讀本), edited by Lin Handa 林漢達; however, the contents and format of *Standard English Reading* were very close to Lin's. Zhang Xichen considered this to be plagiarism that violated the copyright of the Kaiming Book Company, and he warned the World Bookstore, requesting that they stop circulating the *Standard English Reading*. Shen Zhifang, the owner of the World Bookstore, however, ignored Zhang's warning and sued the Kaiming Book Company for libel. Zhang appealed to the Ministry of Education in Nanjing. The Ministry of Education compared the two

¹⁵³ “Kaiming yingwen duben yinxing zhiqiu” 開明英文讀本印行旨趣, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 February 1930, n.p.

¹⁵⁴ Chen Yuan 陳原, “Wo yu Kaiming shudian” 我與開明書店, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 7.

books and thought the World Bookstore did plagiarize Lin Yu-tang's book. The Kaiming Book Company, in the end, won the lawsuit.¹⁵⁵

In 1930, at the invitation of Zhang Xichen, Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶 (1894-1988) quit his job at the Commercial Press and became one of the editors at the Kaiming Book Company. Born in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province, Ye received a classical Chinese education when he was a child. In late 1915, Ye left for Shanghai, where he taught Chinese and compiled textbooks for the Commercial Press. He was one of the founders of the Literary Research Society in 1921, along with Zheng Zhenduo and Mao Dun. Most of his works during this period were published in either *The Short Story Magazine* or *Literature* (*Wenxue xunkan* 文學旬刊), a periodical published every ten days. In 1923, after he taught at the Hangzhou First Normal School at the request of Zhu Ziqing, he was appointed as an editor at the Commercial Press in Shanghai, where he served until 1930 when he transferred to the Kaiming Book Company.¹⁵⁶

The primary task that Ye carried out for the Kaiming Book Company was to compile Chinese textbooks. In June 1932, eight volumes of *Kaiming Chinese Textbooks* (*Kaiming guoyu keben* 開明國語課本), compiled by Ye for basic primary school students (初小) and illustrated by Feng Zikai, appeared, and this set of textbooks was very successful. It was reprinted more than 40 times before 1949. In June 1934, in collaboration with Feng Zikai again, Ye published another four volumes of *Kaiming*

¹⁵⁵ “Kaiming shudian wei yingwen duben song'an da chuixun zhu jun bing xiw ge jie 開明書店為英文讀本訟案答垂詢諸君並謝各界,” *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 October 1930, frontispiece; Wu Wenqi, “Huiyi chubanjie,” *ZXCWJ*, 23; Wu Yan 吳岩, “Caomu wuyan huai yulu” 草木無言懷雨露, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 86.

¹⁵⁶ *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Writers*, 341-342.

Chinese Textbooks for senior primary school students (高小). The latter four *Kaiming Chinese Textbooks* were reprinted 27 times before July 1937.¹⁵⁷

New Literature and Fairy tales

In addition to textbooks, the Kaiming Book Company translated and published a lot of New Literature works for middle school students, such as *Heart*, translated by Xia Mianzun and illustrated by Feng Zikai, Ba Jin's 巴金 fictional works *Annihilation* (*Miewang* 滅亡) and *Home* (*Jia* 家), Mao Dun's *Midnight* (*Ziye* 子夜, 1933), and so forth.¹⁵⁸ Lin Yu-tang's *Kaiming First English Book* and Xia Mianzun's translation *Heart* were the bestsellers of the Kaiming Book Company. Both books greatly influenced a large number of middle school students before 1949.¹⁵⁹

Fairy tales (*tonghua* 童話) were another area of the Kaiming Book Company's publishing activity. In 1923 Lu Xun translated Vasili Eroshenko's (Ai-luo-xian-ke 愛羅先珂, 1890-1952) *Oblako persikovogo tsveta* into Chinese and entitled the book *Peach-Colored Cloud* (Fig. 15). In addition, Lu Xun also translated many of Hans Christian Anderson's (1805-1875) fairy tales into Chinese and published them in the pages of *The Short Story Magazine*.¹⁶⁰ According to Mao Dun, Sun Yuxiu 孫毓修 was the father of fairy tales in China (中國有童話的開山祖師). Most fairy tales that Sun edited were

¹⁵⁷ Liu Zengren, 120-121.

¹⁵⁸ Liu Zengren, 118; Guo Fenyang, 88.

¹⁵⁹ Song Yunbing 宋云彬, "Kaiming jiushi wo suo zhidao de Kaiming shudian" 開明舊事 – 我所知道的開明書店, *ZXCWJ*, 185.

¹⁶⁰ Duanmu hong liang 端木蕻良, "Ke'er qinqi caoyuan zai Kaiming" 科爾沁旗草原在開明, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 18.

translated from Western fairy tales. When Mao Dun worked with Sun at the Commercial Press, Sun suggested to Mao Dun that they should compile Chinese fables, and Sun thought the books for young adults were to introduce scientists and inventors or anecdotes. In 1917, *Fairy Tales I* (*Tonghua diyi ji* 童話第一集), published by the Commercial Press, appeared. *The Chinese Fables I* (*Zhongguo yuyan chubian* 中國寓言初編), compiled by Sun and Mao Dun, was published in October 1917, and was reprinted three times by November 1919.¹⁶¹

Between 1927 and 1937 the Kaiming Book Company published *Collection of World Young People's Literature* (*Shijie shaonian wenxue congkan* 世界少年文學叢刊), which many translations from *Anderson's Fairy Tales*, like *Pinocchio* (*Muou qiyu ji* 木偶奇遇記) (Fig. 238), which was translated by Xu Tiaofu 徐調孚.¹⁶² In 1929 the Kaiming Book Company published the *Biography of Anderson* (*An-tu-sheng zhuan* 安徒生傳), in which Gu Junzheng 顧均正 introduced not only the life of Anderson, but also the characteristics of Anderson's fairy tales.¹⁶³ Ye Shengtao also translated and wrote many fairy tales in Chinese, such as the *Scarecrow* (*Daocao ren* 稻草人) and *Statues of Ancient Heroes* (*Gudai yingxiong de shixiang* 古代英雄的石像, 1936). Again, Feng was the contributor of the cover designs and illustrations of these fairy tales. An advertisement for the *Statues of Ancient Heroes* said, "For young people, it [*Statues of Ancient Heroes*] is

¹⁶¹ Mao Dun, "Shangwu yinshu guan," *SWJS*, 151-154, 161.

¹⁶² "Shijie shaonian wenxue congkan mulu" 世界少年文學叢刊目錄, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 October 1932, n.p.

¹⁶³ Chen Yuan, "Wo yu Kaiming shudian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 9; Chen Bochui 陳伯吹, "Muge shengsheng yixian qian" 牧歌聲聲一線牽, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 14-15; Tang Xiguang 唐錫光, "Kepu duwu de changdao zhe Gu Junzheng" 科普讀物的倡導者顧均正, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 113.

spiritual supplies. Adults, however, will not regard it as a book only for kids. Mr. Feng Zikai did 20 illustrations [for this fairy tale]. It is very precious.” (在少年青年, 這是精神上的糧食; 而在成年, 也絕不看作專對孩子講的話。豐子愷氏作圖二十幅, 極名貴。).¹⁶⁴

Art and Music

Besides publishing textbooks, New Literature and fairy tales, the Kaiming Book Company made a lot of effort to promote art and music. According to Qian Juntao and Feng Yiyang, Feng Zikai's *Introduction to Music* (*Yingyue rumen* 音樂入門, 1926) (Fig. 239) was reprinted 28 times by 1949. *Introduction to Music* was adopted as a textbook by many schools and was widely circulated. It influenced many pioneering Chinese musicians.¹⁶⁵ Besides the *Introduction to Music*, the Book Company published Feng's *Music for Children* (*Haizi men de yingyue* 孩子們的音樂) (Fig. 240), *Knowledge of Music* (*Yingyue de changshi* 音樂的常識) (Fig. 241), *Fifty Well-known Chinese Songs* (*Zhongwen mingge wushi qu* 中文名歌五十曲, 1927), Huang Hanqiu's (黃涵秋) *How to Play the Harmonica* (*Koqin chuizou fa* 口琴吹奏法), and Qian Juntao's *Collections of Well-known Chinese Songs* (*Zhongguo mingge xuan* 中國名歌選), *Collections of Songs for Harmonica* (*Koqin mingqu xuan* 口琴名曲選, 1935), and *Music Collections for*

¹⁶⁴ *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 June 1931, n.p.

¹⁶⁵ Qian Juntao 錢君匄, “Wo zai Kaiming de qinian” 我在開明的七年, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 61.

Primary Schools (Xiao xuexiao yinyue ji 小學校音樂集).¹⁶⁶ Besides books, the company also sold music supplies, such as music scores and harmonicas, and the business was very successful. When Lin Yu-tang's *Kaiming First English Book* was published, to help students improve their pronunciation the company hired a professor, Dr. Jones, who recorded audiotapes to supplement the books.¹⁶⁷

In terms of fine arts, the company subsequently published *Collection of Baoyi's Paintings (Baoyi huaji 抱一畫集)*, *Collection of Guan Zilan's Paintings (Guan Zilan huaxuan 關紫蘭畫選)*, *Collection of Tao Yuanqing's Paintings (Tao Yuanqing huaji 陶元慶畫集)*, and Feng Zikai's *Collection of Zikai's Paintings (Zikai huaji 子愷畫集, 1927)*, *A History of Western Art (Xiyang meishu shi 西洋美術史, 1928)*, *Paintings on the Preservation Life (1929)*, *Twelve Talks on Western Art (Xiyang huapai shier jiang 西洋畫派十二講, 1930)*, *Painting and Literature (Huihua yu wenxue 繪畫與文學, 1934)*, *Cartooning Methods (Manhua de miaofa 漫畫的描法, 1943)* (Fig. 242), and so forth.¹⁶⁸ Feng's publications inspired many readers' interest in art and music in the 1930s and 1940s, which I will discuss in the following section.¹⁶⁹ Although the Commercial Press and the China Book Company also published books on music and art, these were few in

¹⁶⁶ Qian Juntao, "Wo zai Kaiming de qinian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 61; Feng Yiying, "Feng Zikai yu Kaiming shudian" 豐子愷與開明書店, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 119.

¹⁶⁷ "Kaiming yingyu zhengyin pian 開明英語正音片," *Zhong xuesheng* January 1943, frontispiece; Wang Zhiyi, "Zan Kaiming shudian," *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 8.

¹⁶⁸ "Kaiming shudian chuban tushu fenlei mulu" 開明書店出版圖書分類目錄, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 September 1934, 1-6; Qian Juntao, "Wo zai Kaiming de qinian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 61; Chen Yuan, "Wo yu Kaiming shudian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 8.

¹⁶⁹ Ge Baoquan 戈寶權, "Yi wo yu Kaiming de jiaowang" 憶我與開明的交往, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 37.

number.¹⁷⁰ The art and music books published by the Kaiming Book Company, however, played a rather significant role in disseminating music and art education in early twentieth-century China.

The Juvenile Student and the Kaiming Correspondence School

In the September 1947 issue of *Kaiming* (開明), the official journal of the company inaugurated in July 1928, the advertisement division wrote an ad in which they mentioned that the objectives of the company could be represented by their four journals, namely, *The Juvenile Student* (*Zhong xuesheng* 中學生), *Kaiming Youth* (*Kaiming shaonian* 開明少年), *Chinese Monthly* (*Guowen yuekan* 國文月刊), and *English Monthly* (*Yingwen yuekan* 英文月刊). The target audience of *The Juvenile Student* was middle school students and those who could not go to school (它的讀者對象當然是中等學生, 無論在學的或失學的). *Kaiming Youth* was designed for senior primary school students and junior middle school students (它的讀者對象是高級小學和初級中學的學生). The objective of the *Chinese Monthly* was to discuss the theory and pedagogy of how to teach Chinese (討論國文教學的理論跟方法) and to provide materials and references for teaching Chinese (供給國文教學的教材和參考資料).¹⁷¹ Therefore, in addition to being the vanguard of the women's liberating movement, the Kaiming Book Company was also at the forefront of developments in middle school education. After discontinuing the

¹⁷⁰ Qian Juntao, "Wo zai Kaiming de qinian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 61.

¹⁷¹ *Kaiming* 開明 September 1947; Wang Zhiyi, "Kaiming – wenhuaren ban de shudian" 開明-文化人辦的書店, *Kaiming shudian ji shi*, 2.

publication of *New Women* in 1930,¹⁷² Zhang Xichen turned away from his target audience of the high-profiled “new youth” to the mundane “middle school students.” By targeting this new audience, the Kaiming Book Company intended to create a much broader readership than before.

In January, 1930, the Kaiming Book Company inaugurated a new monthly, *The Juvenile Student* (Fig. 243), the most influential journal published by the company. Feng Zikai, Xia Mianzun, Gu Junzheng, and Zhang Xichen were the editors of the journal. The welcome article of the first issue, written by Xia Mianzun, said:

Except schools, very few people [or institutes] are concerned with the future [of middle school students]. It was really a strange thing and a pity. We [the Kaiming Book Company] realized this problem and wanted to make some contributions to the millions of middle school students. Our magazine’s mission is to ameliorate the shortage of educational texts for middle school students, to offer various kinds of knowledge and entertainment, to lead them to the future, and to answer any questions they may have. Besides, [the Kaiming Book Company will be] a place where the middle school students can publish their works.

除學校本身外，未聞有人從旁觀心于近況與前途，這不可謂非國內的一件怪事和憾事。我們是有感於此而奮起的。願借本志對全國數十萬的中學生諸君，有所貢獻。本志的使命是：替中學生諸君補校課之不足；供給多方的趣味與知識；指導前途；解答疑問；且作便利的發表機關。¹⁷³

To encourage students from poor families to continue their education, a “Scholarship for Young Students” (*Zhong xuesheng quanxue jiangxuejin* 中學生勸學獎金), which was renamed a “Loan for Young Students” (*Zhong xuesheng quanxue daijin* 中學生勸學貸金)

¹⁷² “Funu wenti yanjiuhui wei xin nuxing feikan qishi” 婦女問題研究會為新女性廢刊啓事, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 January 1930, n.p.

¹⁷³ “Fakan ci” 發刊辭, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 January 1930, n.p.; “Zhong xuesheng fakan ci” 中學生發刊辭, *Kaiming shu dian jishi*, 211.

in May 1931, was inaugurated by the company in January 1930, and Feng Zikai was one of the nine-committee members of the scholarship.¹⁷⁴ In 1933, the Kaiming Book Company set up an informal school, the Kaiming Correspondence School (*Kaiming hanshou xuexiao* 開明函授學校), for those who could not go to school. The company even inaugurated a magazine, *Member's Club Quarterly* (*Sheyuan julebu* 社員俱樂部) (Fig. 244), to make the students of the Correspondence School interact with each other.¹⁷⁵ Feng Zikai was put in charge of the art and music section at the Kaiming Correspondence School.¹⁷⁶ Another journal for middle school students was the *New Adolescent* (*Xin shaonian* 新少年), inaugurated in 1936. The target audience of the *New Adolescent*, once renamed *Kaiming Youth*, was junior middle school students, and the contents were simpler than that of *The Juvenile Student*. Again, Ye Shengtao, Gu Junzheng, and Feng Zikai were the editors of the journal.¹⁷⁷

The Juvenile Student was a journal that widely circulated among middle school teachers and students before 1949. Its contents, including art, science, new knowledge, etc., were very comprehensive and functioned like an encyclopedia for middle school students. Many articles published in the journal were to lead juvenile students to a right direction in their life.¹⁷⁸ For example, Zhang Xichen and Feng Zikai's autobiographies, "From A Merchant to A Merchant" (*Cong shangren dao shangren* 從商人到商人) and

¹⁷⁴ *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 May 1931, n.p.; Xiang Jinjiang 向錦江, "Kaiming shudian jiaoyu le zhengzheng yidai qingnian" 開明書店教育了整整一代青年, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 99; The Loan for Juvenile Students was cancelled in September 1932, see *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 Spetemper 1932, n.p.

¹⁷⁵ Zhang Kebiao 章克標, "Kaiming hanshou xuexiao jianshu" 開明函授學校簡述, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 247-251.

¹⁷⁶ Liu Zhengren, 126; Zhang Kebiao, "Kaiming hanshou xuexiao," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 248.

¹⁷⁷ Lin Wenbao, 3; Liu Zhengren, 118; Wang Zhiyi, "Kaiming shudian jishi," *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 97.

¹⁷⁸ Wu Juenong, "Huainian laoyou Zhang Xichen," *ZXCWJ*, 8.

“My Bitter Experience of Study” (*Wo de kuxue jingyan* 我的苦學經驗), both were published in the January 1931 issue of *The Juvenile Student* (No. 11) to encourage students by telling them how Zhang and Feng became a successful publisher and artist.

In the aftermath of the May Fourth New Culture Movement, a sizable audience emerged that anxiously sought new ideas and information. Through the interaction of readers and editors, the influence of the publishing houses and the May Fourth intellectuals reached a broader audience than before. One significant feature of *The Juvenile Student* was the establishment of the columns “Hospital Articles” (*Wenzhang bingyuan* 文章病院), “Readers’ Pages” (*duzhe zhi ye* 讀者之頁),¹⁷⁹ and “Question and Answer” (*Wenda* 問答). Readers were encouraged to publish their essays or new style poems in the “Readers’ Pages”. In “Hospital Articles” the student readers were heartened to criticize any articles that were published in any journals in terms of ideas, grammar, and so on.¹⁸⁰ In the “Question and Answer” column, student readers posted any question regarding music, art, science, etc. on the pages, and the editors of the company answered the questions in each issue. We find that many readers of *The Juvenile Student* were interested in music and art, and they asked Feng numerous questions. For instance, in the July 1930 issue (No. 6), a student asked, “Is there any reference book in China for beginners in graphic design (初學圖案畫有什麼中國出版的參考書籍)?” Feng answered, “There are some reference books about graphic art in China. [For example,] the Kaiming Book Company has published one, that is, *Collection of Zhifo’s Pattern* (初

¹⁷⁹ “Duzhe zhi ye” 讀者之頁, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 May 1930, 99-120.

¹⁸⁰ *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 February 1932: 127-144; Tian Shiyong 田世英, “Yinshui siyuan yi Kaiming” 飲水思源憶開明, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 73.

學圖案畫, 關於畫法的參考書, 中國似有出版品。作品參考書, 開明書店已有一冊出版, 即之佛圖案集。)’¹⁸¹ In the January 1931 issue (No. 11), another student asked:

I really want to learn cartooning, but I do not know how to start. Is there any manual for cartoons? Please recommend [any reference to me], and please tell [me] where it is published and how much it cost.

我很想學漫畫, 但不知從何著手? 有沒有關於漫畫練習的畫本, 請介紹。並請說明何處出版, 價值若干?

And, Feng answered:

[You] have to start from life drawing if you want to learn cartooning. You cannot only copy a manual for pencil drawing. There is no cartooning manual published in China to date, so I am not able to recommend any reference book to you. However, if you diligently practice life drawing and can draw whatever you see, it is very close to the [method] of cartooning.

學習漫畫, 須先習寫生畫, 不可僅臨鉛筆畫本。漫畫的練習本, 我國沒有出版, 無可介紹。但你倘能勤習寫生畫, 眼睛看到了東西, 手便能畫出的時候, 學習漫畫的路就很近了。¹⁸²

These columns became significant communication channels for the educational community and helped many students get new information.

The purpose of Fine Arts Competition reflected the Kaiming editors' commitment to reaching a broad general audience and advancing popular knowledge and art. From issue 11 (1931, January), *The Juvenile Student* inaugurated a Fine Arts Competition (*Meishu jingsai* 美術競賽) and Literature Competition (*Wenyi jingsai* 文藝競賽) for students and subsequently published the winners' works in the journal. The Fine Arts

¹⁸¹ “Wenda” 問答, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 July 1930, 9.

¹⁸² “Wenda” 問答, *Zhong xuesheng* January 1931, 7.

Competition included the genres of pencil drawing (鉛筆畫, No. 12, December 1931) (Fig. 245), seal carving (石章雕刻, No. 13), photography (攝影, No. 14), design (圖案畫, No. 16, June 1931) (Fig. 246), satirical painting (諷刺畫, No. 24, May 1932), cover design (書面圖案, No. 27, September 1932) (Fig. 247, Fig. 248), landscape painting (山水畫) (Fig. 249), *manhua* on current affairs (時事漫畫) (No. 39, November 1933) (Fig. 250; Fig. 251), illustration (頭花圖案) (No. 40, December 1933) (Fig. 252), and others. The competition began in January 1931 and continued 40 times until December 1933.

Instead of paying cash, the Kaiming Book Company sent gift certificates to the student contributors, and this strategy not only encouraged student readers to get involve in Kaiming's journalistic discourses but also served to reduce the production costs.¹⁸³ This kind of competition and purpose, however, was not novel in China at the time. As mentioned earlier, the critical commentaries on current affairs (*shiping* 時評) of the *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報) and “Solicitation Satirical Paintings” (Fig. 11) and “Solicitation Brush Painting from Elementary School Students” (Fig. 10) on *The Pacific Times* might be the pioneers in disseminating art to the public through the printed mass media. Yet, *The Juvenile Student* perhaps was the first one to publish winners' artworks in the media. When the competition was over, a new column, “Youth Art” (*Qingnian meishu* 青年美術) (from February 1934, No. 42), became a new venue for middle school students to publish their art works. Many students, such as Qian Juntao (Fig. 253; Fig. 254), Tang Yingwei 唐英偉 (Fig. 251), Shen Zhenhuang 沈振黃 (1911-1944) (Fig. 246;

¹⁸³ Sun Yuan 孫源, “Wo cong zheer qibu” 我從這兒起步, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 72.

Fig. 247), and Chen Baoyi (Fig. 44), were the frequent contributors or winners of the “*Solicitation Satirical Paintings*,” “*Fine Arts Competition*,” or “*Youth Art*” when they were middle school students. Tang Yingwei later became an important artist in the Chinese woodcut movement, and Shen Zhenhuang was appointed as the art editor of the Kaiming Book Company after he graduated from middle school.¹⁸⁴ The spontaneous and simple brush strokes showed in Qian Juntao’s *Violin Cello* (Fig. 253)¹⁸⁵ reveal the influence of his teacher, Feng Zikai. Besides Qian, many student contributors’ artworks showed the influence of Feng’s artistic style (Fig. 255, Fig. 256, Fig. 257).¹⁸⁶ Again, these publications give us an idea about the way that the publishing houses promoted art and interacted with the public through the new printing technology.

In the words of Ye Zhishan 葉至善, Ye Shengtao’s son, “Reading *The Juvenile Student* was a necessity for those middle school students who were concerned with fine arts and education.”¹⁸⁷ At the forefront of educational reform in the Republican period, the Kaiming Book Company publicly aimed to introduce “new knowledge” to young adults. While the journals such as *Eastern Miscellany* and *The Young Companion* (*Liangyou* 良友) (Fig. 258) appealed to general or female audiences, *The Juvenile Student* became known as the voice of students and educators. The Kaiming authors and editors turned away from the characteristic May Fourth passionate attacks on the evils of Chinese society and the call for social reforms and revolution. Instead, they started to

¹⁸⁴ Qian Juntao, “Wo zai Kaiming de qinian,” *Wo yu Kaiming*, 60.

¹⁸⁵ *Yiban* 一般 September 1926, frontispiece.

¹⁸⁶ “Di jiuci meishu jingsai – xuexiao shenghuo manhua” 第九次美術競賽-學校生活漫畫, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 November 1931, no.4, 7.

¹⁸⁷ Liu Zengren, 126.

give priority to long-range plans to teach the young generation basic knowledge in the arts and sciences so that they would have the ability to both envision and construct a new society.

The Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in August 1937, and the Kaiming Company and the Meicheng Printing Company were burned to ashes. In September of the same year, Zhang Xichen and Ye Shengtao planned to resume the Editorial Department in Hankou (漢口); however, their plan could not be fulfilled, because all machines and paper were looted by Japanese soldiers when they were shipped to Hankou.¹⁸⁸ In May 1939, *The Juvenile Student* was renamed the *Juvenile Student Wartime Semi-Monthly* (*Zhong xuesheng zhanshi banyuekan* 中學生戰時半月刊) and resumed publication in Guilin (桂林). In August 1942, under the supervision of Ye Shengtao, the Kaiming Book Company was reopened in Chengdu. In July 1945, *Kaiming Youth* (開明少年) was inaugurated in Chongqing (重慶), the capital during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Both the headquarters of *The Juvenile Student* and *Kaiming Youth* were moved back to Shanghai in February 1946 when the war was over in August 1945.¹⁸⁹

Compared to the great number of short-lived publications in the Republican period, *The Juvenile Student* was long-lived and successful. In September 1949, when *The Juvenile Student* and *Progressive Youth* (*Jinbu qingnian* 進步青年) merged together, *The Juvenile Student* had published 215 issues.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Liu Zengren, 126-127.

¹⁸⁹ Liu Zengren, 127.

¹⁹⁰ Liu Zengren, 118, 128.

Reference Books

Reference books were another important market for publishers in the Republican period. In 1916 the Commercial Press published *The Encyclopedic Dictionary* (*Ciyuan* 辭源), and later the China Book Company also published *The China Big Dictionary* (中華大字典) and *Ci Hai* (辭海) to carve out a niche in the lucrative markets for such works.¹⁹¹ In 1932 (or 1934), the Kaiming Book Company published a reference book for classical Chinese, *Ci tong* (辭通). The work had been rejected by the Commercial Press, since Wang Yunwu thought the book was too scholarly and would not make a great profit. After reading the draft, Zhang Xichen thought that the book was worth publishing, although it might not be very profitable. *Ci tong* turned out to be successful beyond all expectations. Thereafter, in addition to publishing books and journals for middle school students, the Kaiming Book Company began to publish or reprint classic and rare books, such as *Twenty-five Histories* (*Ershi wu shi* 二十五史) and *Supplement to Twenty-five Histories* (*Ershi wu shi bubian* 二十五史補編).¹⁹²

Feng Zikai and the Kaiming Book Company

The Kaiming Book Company was established by a circle of the intellectual elite, or *wenhuaren* (文化人), literally meaning “cultured persons,” and most of them were not rich. The reason the company could carve out a niche in the severe competition among the publishers was partly due to the success of the royalty system. The so-called “royalty

¹⁹¹ Wu Wenqi, “Huiyi chubanshe,” *ZXCWJ*, 24; Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫, “Ji Zhang Xuecun xiansheng de sanjian shi” 記章雪村先生的三件事, *ZXCWJ*, 55.

¹⁹² Guo Fenyang, 87; Wu Wenqi, “Huiyi chubanjie,” *ZXCWJ*, 25.

system” involved writers converting their royalty into investment to support the Kaiming Book Company. Many writers, such as Wang Jingzhi 汪靜之, Feng Zikai, Ba Jin, and Lin Yu-tang, had done this to support the company.¹⁹³ Also, most editors of the Kaiming Book Company were or had been teachers in primary or middle schools. They knew the strengths and weaknesses of the textbooks published by the Commercial Press and the China Books Company and knew what the students needed. In addition, the Kaiming Book Company published a great number of high-quality books that were rejected by other publishers, such as *Ci tong*, Lin Yu-tang’s *Kaiming First English Book*, which had been rejected by the Beixin Bookstore (*Beixin shuju* 北新書局) due to high royalty expense,¹⁹⁴ and *Haishang shulin* (海上述林, 1936), compiled by Lu Xun after Qu Qiubai’s 瞿秋白 (1899-1935) death in 1935 in memory of Qu.¹⁹⁵ The main goal of the Kaiming Book Company was to introduce “new knowledge” to young adults instead of only to make profits. The writer Ke Ling 柯靈 commented that “Among the publications of the Kaiming Book Company, it was impossible to find any work that flatters the public. The company never published any bad books, such as detective and martial arts stories.”¹⁹⁶ This was why the Kaiming Book Company could gain such a great reputation among the elite.

¹⁹³ Wang Jingzhi 汪靜之, “Wo zhenyang cong yonghu nüquan dangshang le gudong” 我怎樣從擁護女權當上了股東, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 88-89; Wang Zhiyi, “Kaiming – wenhuaren ban de shudian,” *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 2.

¹⁹⁴ Wang Zhiyi, “Kaiming shudian jishi,” *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 100.

¹⁹⁵ Shi Xiaochong 石嘯沖, “Bupingfan de liushi nian” 不平凡的六十年, *Wo yu Kaiming*, 69.

¹⁹⁶ Wang Zhiyi, “Ye Shengtao xiansheng bianji sixiang jishi” 葉聖陶先生編輯思想紀實, *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 19.

Although the Kaiming Book Company had branches all over China, Zhang did very careful surveying before he established a new one. According to Zhang Shimin 章士敏, Zhang Xichen's son, to save expense and expand his business, Zhang Xichen signed contracts with local bookstores in other cities at first and had the bookstore put a sign "Kaiming Book Company's Special Contract Distributor (開明書店特約經銷店)" in the store to sell the publications of Kaiming.¹⁹⁷ Unlike the Commercial Press and the China Book Company, which had numerous branches all over China, Zhang insisted on not setting up a branch if the profit of the local bookstores did not reach a certain standard. Along with their high quality publications, this was why the Kaiming Book Company could compete with the Commercial Press, the China Book Company, and other publishers.

In 1925, Feng's first solo painting publication, *Collection of Zikai's Manhua* (Fig. 78), appeared, and it was published by Zheng Zhenduo's Literary Weekly Society (文學周報社). Thereafter, the Kaiming Book Company published a great number of Feng's cartoon works, including *Collection of Zikai's Paintings* (*Zikai huaji* 子愷畫集, 1927) (Fig. 259), *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* (*Husheng huaji* 護生畫集, 1928), *Students' Cartoons* (*Xuesheng manhua* 學生漫畫, 1931) (Fig. 260), *Children's Cartoons* (*Ertong manhua* 兒童漫畫, 1932) (Fig. 261), *Phenomenon of the Mundane World* (*Renjianxiang* 人間相, 1935) (Fig. 262), *Collection of Zikai's Cartoons* (*Zikai manhua quanji* 子愷漫畫全集, 1945), *Reborn Cartoons* (*Yousheng huaji* 又生畫集, 1947) (Fig.

¹⁹⁷ Wang Zhiyi, "Zan Kaiming shudian," *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 8; Zhang Shimin, "Zhang Xichen luezhuan," *ZXCWJ*, 219.

263), and so forth. Besides the Kaiming Book Company, Feng was also commissioned by other publishing houses to do cover designs and illustrations. For example, the Guoguang Press (國光印書局) published Feng's *Pictures of Brightness* (*Guangming huaji* 光明畫集), a revision of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, in 1931, and the Tainma Bookstore (天馬書局) published Feng's cartoon collections *Rainclouds* (*Yunni* 雲霓) and *Voices from the City* (*Duhui zhi yin* 都會之音) in 1935. Feng also contributed many illustrations and cartoon works to journals, such as *The Short Story Magazine*, *Education Journal*, and *Taibai* (太白), and to newspapers, like *Shenbao*.

Besides cartoons and illustrations, Feng published a large number of essays regarding art and music, as mentioned earlier, at the Kaiming Book Company. In 1929, Feng was invited to work as an editor in the Kaiming Book Company. In 1931, he published his first collection of prose, *Sketches of Yuanyuan Studio*. As he does in his *manhua* paintings, Feng expresses his philosophy of life through descriptions of trivial things in daily life, making them full of food for thought. In the spring of 1933, a new *Yuanyuan Studio* was established in Shimenwan, Feng's hometown. Feng quit his teaching jobs in Shanghai and moved back to his hometown to do freelance work. However, he was still the editor of the *New Adolescent* (新少年) and a frequent contributor of *The Juvenile Student*. For example, in almost every issue of *The Juvenile Student*, a special column, "Cartoons of the Young Students' Life" (*Zhong xuesheng shenghuo manhua* 中學生生活漫畫) or "Zikai's Manhua" (*Zikai manhua* 子愷漫畫), was created for Feng. Also, Feng was the major contributor to the column, "Talks on

Arts” (*Meishu jianghua* 美術講話), in which he published many important essays on art, such as, “Why Do We Learn Painting” (爲什麼要學圖畫?)¹⁹⁸ and “Appreciation of the Art of Cartoons” (漫畫藝術的欣賞).¹⁹⁹ In addition, Feng was a committee member of the Scholarship for the Young Student and the instructor for the Kaiming Correspondence School. Feng’s artistic career had an intimate relationship with the Kaiming Book Company until the company merged with the Youth Publishing Company (*Qingnian chubanshe* 青年出版社) and became the China Youth Bookstore (*Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe* 中國青年出版社) in 1953.²⁰⁰

The Kaiming Book Company had not only a close relationship with the Literary Research Association (文學研究會) and the Society of Women’s Studies (婦女研究會), but also one with the faculty of the Lida Academy (立達學園). The Lida Academy was founded in 1925 by Kuang Husheng and Feng Zikai, and the school boasted many renowned men of letters, such as Xia Mianzun, Mao Dun, Hu Yuzhi, Zhang Kebiao, Liu Xunyu, and Liu Shuqin 劉叔琴. Many of them joined the staff of the Kaiming Book Company as well. Unlike other schools, there was no official president in the Lida Academy. All the faculty had to take turns to take care of the administrative business of the school. Besides being intellectually able, faculty members had to be capable of inspiring students and uniting with them in the responsibilities of campus life. The school had its own farm, and all students and faculty members had to participate in farm work

¹⁹⁸ Feng Zikai, “Wei shemo yao xue tuhua” 爲什麼要學圖畫, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 January 1930, 83-88.

¹⁹⁹ Feng Zikai, “Manhua yishu de xinshang” 漫畫藝術的欣賞, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 June 1935, 175-182.

²⁰⁰ Guo Fenyang 86; Wang Zhiyi, “Kaiming shudian jishi,” *Kaiming shudian jishi*, 88.

service. The school gave primary attention to the education of students according to the highest standards through labor and learning.²⁰¹ The Lida Academy attempted to develop the students' capacity to question, think, and create. At the same time, the Academy was concerned with the whole person and the development of character and personality and with each person's commitment to those vocations that bring fulfillment in service to humanity.²⁰²

The Academy's objectives of a well-rounded education, termed whole-person education (*Quanren jiaoyu* 全人教育), and liberal education (*Ziyou jiaoyu* 自由教育) were unique in 1920s China; however, these goals were heavily weighted with the intellectual trends popular in Taishō Japan (1911-1926). In the Taishō era, an easy, comparatively liberal atmosphere prevailed in Japan. The term "whole-person education" was first used by Kohara Kuniyoshi 小原國芳, the founder of Tamagawa Gakuen (玉川學園), in August 1921.²⁰³ Many faculty members of the Lida Academy, including Feng Zikai, Xia Mianzun, Zhang Kebiao, and Liu Shuqin, received an education in Japan at that period. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the school was based on Taishō educational thought.²⁰⁴ In September 1922, Qi Senhuan 祁森煥 and Liu Shuqin published an article, "Introduction of Japan's Liberal Education" (*Riben ziyou jiaoyu*

²⁰¹ Zhang Kebiao, "Kuang Husheng xiansheng jiaoyu sixiang yu shijian pienduan" 匡互生先生教育思想與實踐片段, *Kuang Husheng he Lida xueyuan jiaoyu sixiang jiaoxue shijian yanjiu* 匡互生和立達學園教育思想教學實踐研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue Publishing Company, 1993), 5-6.

²⁰² "Lida xueyuan zhiqū" 立達學園旨趣, *Kuang Husheng he Lida xueyuan jiaoyu sixiang jiaoxue shijian yanjiu*, 107-109; Nishimaki Isamu 西槇偉, "Lida xueyuan de jiaoyu sixiang yu dazheng shiqi ziyou zhuyi jiaoyu sichao" 立達學園的教育思想與大正時期自由主義教育思潮, *Kuang Husheng he Lida xueyuan jiaoyu sixiang jiaoxue shijian yanjiu*, 99; Cai Duan 蔡端, "Kuang Husheng jiaoyu sixiang qianjie" 匡互生教育思想淺介, *Kuang Husheng he Lida xueyuan jiaoyu sixiang jiaoxue shijian yanjiu*, 41-43.

²⁰³ Nishimaki, "Lida xueyuan de jiaoyu sixiang," 98.

²⁰⁴ Nishimaki, "Lida xueyuan de jiaoyu sixiang," 96.

shuo zhi jieshao 日本自由教育說之介紹), in the pages of *Education Journal* (教育雜誌). In March 1926, Liu Xunyu also published an article, “The Origin of Whole-Person Education” (*Quanren jiaoyu lun faduan* 全人教育論發端), in *Education Journal* (Vol. 18, No. 3) to advocate the whole-person education. We, therefore, can see the intimate connection between the Lida Academy and the world of Japanese culture and education in the 1920s.

As we have just mentioned, many faculty members of the Lida Academy were also staff members of the Kaiming Book Company. Zhang Xichen, the proprietor of the company, was one of the founders of the Lida Study Society (*Lida xuehui* 立達學會). Although Zhang had never been to Japan, he studied Japanese when he was a youth and had a close tie with the Lida Academy. Thus, it is not surprising to see that Japanese thought and the Japanese artistic styles of Feng came to be of special interest to the Kaiming Book Company. From the catalogue that Kaiming published, we find that many publications were translated from Japanese. For example, the book *Ten Talks on Women's Problems* (*Funü wenti shijiang* 婦女問題十講), whose author was Honma Kyuyu 本間九雄, was translated by Zhang Xichen, and *Recent Conception of Love* (*Jindai de lianai guan* 近代的戀愛觀), written by Kuriyagawa Hakuson, was translated by Xia Mianzun into Chinese.²⁰⁵ Xia Mianzun's *Heart* (or *Coure*) was also a translation from Japanese, rather than directly from Italian.

²⁰⁵ “Funu wenti yanjiu hui congshu mulu” 婦女問題研究會從書目錄, *Zhong xuesheng* 中學生 November 1933, n.p.

Like the Kaiming Company's books on women's studies and New Literature, many of Kaiming's publications on music and art also carried the Japanese influence. For instance, Li Shutong and Feng's *Paintings on the Preservation of Life*, designed and bound in the Japanese style, was published by the company. Feng Zikai's *Life and Music* (*Shenghuo yu yinyue* 生活與音樂) and *Music for Children* (*Haizi men de yinyue* 孩子們的音樂) were translations from Japanese as well. Not only did Feng publish and translate essays to disseminate aesthetic and music education, but he also took numerous commissions of illustrations and book jackets, such as *Pinocchio* (Fig. 238) and the *Kaiming First English Book* (Fig. 236), from the Kaiming Book Company. Through the great circulation of these publications, Japanese models and influence were introduced to a Chinese audience.

During the first half of the 1920s, industrial production boomed with the general prosperity following War World I. Lithographic, offset, and photomechanical printing techniques enjoyed expanded application, and the field of commercial art became active. One of the innovations of the publishing world in Europe, Japan, and China was the simultaneous appearance of so-called "high art," such as Art Nouveau, Cubism, and Expressionism, in both fine art and commercial art contexts (Fig. 37, Fig. 238, Fig. 244). Art became a commercial venture and obtained new value in China in the second of the nineteenth century. In particular, the art of printmaking gained an increased sense of acceptability as an art form for a new class of consumers with excess capital and increased leisure time. "The demands of an enlarged literate and semi-literate public in Shanghai also resulted in a rapid increase in the printing industry. It was those demands

that gave birth to a new hybrid form of entertainment intended for mass appeal, often called illustrated newspaper or pictorial journals.”²⁰⁶

A crucial element in Feng’s success was the development of the modern printing industry and the proliferation of publishing houses, which brought the publication of books, urban magazines, and newspapers, and spread popular culture and art to the masses. In so doing, not only did they create a new category of professional artists comprised of men from previously distinct classes, but the publishing houses also provided the source of income for many of the early adherents of the Western-style movement. During the 1920s, the May Fourth intellectuals, like Zhang Xichen, set up publishing houses and tried to disseminate their cultural mission while marketing their cultural commodities. Many of them, like Feng Zikai, tried to expand their social influence while taking advantage of new popular patronage, such as middle school students and petty urbanites, to earn an income.

According to Feng Zikai’s autobiography, it was the *Poems of A Thousand Poets*, which Feng’s father had selected and which had woodblock illustrations on every page, that began to attract Feng’s interest in art and led Feng to his artistic career.²⁰⁷ We, therefore, can see how illustrations influenced the public’s aesthetic education. As we just mentioned, accompanied by Feng’s illustrations and cover design, Lin Yu-tang’s *Kaiming First English Book* successfully replaced the *Model of English Reading* (模範英語讀本), published by the Commercial Press, and it brought a lot of profits both to the

²⁰⁶ Thomas Suchan, “A Brief Analysis of Some of the Themes Found in the Dianshizhai huabao,” unpublished.

²⁰⁷ Barne, *An Artistic Exile*, 20.

author and the publisher. Lin's book could soon replace the Commercial Press's version partly because of Feng's novel illustrations.²⁰⁸ Also, as just mentioned, in collaboration with Ye Shengtao, Feng illustrated the *Kaiming Chinese Textbooks* for basic and senior primary schools students, and both texts were reprinted over 40 times and 27 times respectively. Feng's art works again not only brought the company a lot of profits but also greatly influenced a great number of young readers. Lu Xun mentioned that:

The original purpose of illustration was to decorate books and to increase the interest of readers. However, the power [of illustrations] can supplement what words cannot reach. Therefore, [illustrations] can be one kind of propaganda art.

書籍的插畫,原意是在裝飾書籍,增加讀者的興趣的,但那力量,能補助文字之所不及,所以也是一種宣傳畫。²⁰⁹

In July 1939, the Kaiming Book Company published Feng Zikai's *Illustrated Our Story of A-Q* (*Manhua A Q zhengzhuan* 漫畫阿Q正傳) (Fig. 264). In the preface of the book, Feng wrote, "I translated it [*Our Story of A-Q*] into painting in order to make it more convenient for the public to read. It was like I installed a microphone in Mr. Lu Xun's talk and made his voice louder" (我把牠們譯作繪畫,使牠們便於廣大群眾的閱讀,就好比在魯迅先生的講話上裝一個麥克風,使他的聲音擴大。)²¹⁰

The appearance of illustrations accompanying texts could be traced back at least to the *Print of Bodhisattva Manjusri* (Fig. 218) of the Five Dynasties and *A Guide to the Chan Master Manjusri* of the Song period (Fig.219). In the Ming Dynasty, popular

²⁰⁸ Chen Yuan, "Wo yu Kaiming shudian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 7.

²⁰⁹ "Lu Xun lun shuji zhuangzheng," *Lu Xun yu shuji zhuangzheng*, 610; *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 4, 340.

²¹⁰ Feng Zikai, *Lu Xun huihua xiaoshuo* 魯迅繪畫小說 (Hong Kong: Wan ye Bookstore, 1954); Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 78.

literature, such as dramatic novels, musicals, and primers, began to be widely read by the masses. To attract more readers to buy it, illustrations began to play a significant role in books. Along with the growth of visual communication in popular literature, art began to reach the public. In a letter to Meng Shihuan 孟十還 (May 22, 1935), Lu Xun wrote:

Illustration has been welcomed [by the public] all the time. I remember when the illustrated version of *Strange Tales of Liaozhai* appeared in the end of the nineteenth century; it attracted many people to buy it. It was very pleasant. Some children bought the book because of the illustrations, which led them to read the contents. I, therefore, think that illustration is not only interesting but also useful for people. However, due to the high expense of publications, publishers were not very willing to include illustrations. This was why very few illustrated books have been published recently.

歡迎插圖是一向如此的, 記得十九世紀末, 繪畫的“聊齋誌異”出版, 許多人都來買, 非常高興的, 而且有些孩子, 還因為圖畫, 才去看文章, 所以我以為插圖不但有趣, 且亦有益; 不過出版家因為成本貴, 不大贊成, 所以近來很少插畫本。²¹¹

The fact that not all of Feng's illustrations were related to the contents of essays that they accompanied reveals the immature state of graphic art in the early twentieth-century Chinese art world. For example, Feng's satirical cartoon *Double Famine* (Fig. 186) was originally published in issue number 54 of *The Juvenile Student* (April 1935), and it was accompanied by an article, “How to Study China's Financial Problems” (怎樣研究中國底金融問題). In addition, Feng's work, *Demonstration* (*Huihao* 揮毫) (Fig. 265), was published in issue 50 of the same journal (December 1934), and it was accompanied by Feng's essay, “Art of the Monastery” (*Si de yishu* 寺的藝術).

²¹¹ “Lu Xun lun shuji zhuangzheng,” *Lu Xun yu shuji zhuangzheng*, 8-9.

Besides contributing to the field of illustration, Feng was the pioneering cover designer in China. As mentioned in Chapter 4.1, *A Story-telling Version of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Fig. 222), was the first book jacket with illustrations in China. In 1844 the American Presbyterian Church set up the *Hua-hua Bible Bookstore* (花華聖經書房) in Macao, which was renamed the American Presbyterian Mission Press, or *Mei-hua shuguan* (美華書館), in 1845. In China, it was the American Presbyterian Mission Press that first began to use lead type to print books. It became very common to apply lead type to print books when the Commercial Press was established in 1897. However, it was not until 1900 that books in China began to be printed on double sides and bound in the western-style. The first book printed on double sides that adopted western-style binding was *Regulations of Eastern Languages* (*Dongyu zhenggui* 東語正規), published by the Zuoxin Society (作新社). The authors of *Regulations of Eastern Languages* were Ji Yihui 戢翼翬 and Tang Bao'e 唐寶鏗. Ji Yihui was one of the first 13 Chinese students studying in Japan. In collaboration with a Japanese friend, Ji established the Zuoxin Society in Shanghai. *Regulations of Eastern Languages* was a book designed for Chinese speakers to learn Japanese, and it was reprinted 10 times by 1906.²¹²

According to Julia Andrews, “the development of cover design as a commercial practice and as art grew out of the shift from string-bound books to stapled or glued bindings that accompanied changes in printing technology and in the entire concept of the

²¹² Cao Yuting 曹予庭, “Woguo diyi ben liangmian yinshua xishi zhuangding de shu he zuoxin she” 我國第一本兩面印刷西式裝訂的書和作新社, *Chuban shiliao* 出版史料 May 1987: 121.

book.”²¹³ Early lithographically produced or typeset books, even translations, tended to bear on their front cover some variation of the traditional calligraphic label, like *La Dame aux Camélias* (*Chahuanü yishi* 茶花女遺事) (Fig. 266).²¹⁴ Moreover, many books in China began to be bound on the left side, a convention that was totally from the West.

In Feng’s own words:

The combination of sophisticated thought and perfect artistic form is the basic criterion of an excellent artwork. [Because] cover design is fine art, it certainly possesses this criterion, as well... Cover designs should not only be decorative, but also relate to the content of the books. Cover design is the symbol of the contents....An excellent cover design can increase readers’ interest and help them to understand the contents.

深刻的思想內容與完美的藝術形式的結合，是優良藝術作品的根本條件。書籍裝幀既屬藝術，當然也必具備這條件...。蓋書籍的裝幀，不僅求其形式美觀而已，又要求能夠表達書籍的內容意義，是內容意義的象徵。...所以優良的書籍裝幀，可以增加讀者的讀書興趣。可以幫助讀者對書籍的理解。²¹⁵

If we examine Feng’s book designs, we can find that his cover designs are consistent with this philosophy (Fig.236, Fig. 241). In addition, Feng Zikai’s cover designs possess a significant feature in that they are very Art Nouveau-like, which may be traced back to Feng’s own or Li Shutong’s Japanese experience. The examples of works with this feature that we have encountered include *Our July* (Fig. 139), *Pinocchio* (Fig. 238), and *Kaiming First English Book* (Fig. 236). Feng also said:

Another requirement of cover design is that [a cover] should possess the characteristic of Chinese books. We of course can

²¹³ Andrews, “Commercial Art,” *A Century in Crisis*, 184.

²¹⁴ Andrews, “Commercial Art,” *A Century in Crisis*, 184.

²¹⁵ Feng Zikai, *Juntao shuji zhuangzheng yishu xuan* 君匋書籍裝幀藝術選 (Beijing: Beijing remin meishu Publishing Co., 1963), preface.

adopt strengths from other countries. However, [the cover design that we make] should keep the characteristic of Chinese [culture] and make readers realize immediately that it is a Chinese book.

對於我們的書籍裝幀, 還有一個要求: 必須具有中國書籍的特色。我們當然可以採取外國裝幀書籍藝術的優點, 然而必須保有中國的特性, 使人一望而知是中國書。²¹⁶

Due to the circulation of books with innovative cover designs and illustrated art periodicals, art appreciation was no longer limited to a few private art collectors. Cover designs, therefore, became important vehicles for the spread of new ideology, rather than mere commercial products. Feng, a cover designer and illustrator, took advantage of the new opportunity that emerged at this time. The line, form, and color that Feng created for his cover designs allowed him to project with equal importance the thematic and emotional contents of the books themselves. With the incorporation of solid training in Chinese painting and calligraphy in the Western-style books that he designed, Feng not only showed a renewed sensitivity to his culture, but also succeeded in creating harmony and balance between Chinese, Japanese, and Western art.

Bridging Fine Art and Public Art

The advent of modern print culture radically redefined the relationship between writers and the public. The examples we have encountered so far include the Fine Arts Competition of *The Juvenile Student* and columns, like the “*Questions and Answer*.” More evidence could be seen in other presses. For instance, after his *manhua* work *Last Kiss* (Fig. 188) was published in the pages of *Shenbao* in 1934, Feng received a letter

²¹⁶ Feng Zikai, *Juntao shuji zhuangzheng yishu xuan*, preface.

from a female reader who wrote: “I was in deep sorrow after I read your painting and my tears burst out like rain. I want you to compensate me for my tears.”²¹⁷ As mentioned earlier, the audience of *Paintings on the Preservation of Life* that Master Hongyi targeted was the people who had at least an elementary school education. In an article, “The Popularization of Art and Literature” (*Wenyi de dazhonghua* 文藝的大眾化, 1930), Lu Xun also wrote:

Art and literature originally should not be only limited to the elite circle to appreciate [them]. Art and literature should be such that only a few, mentally retarded people, could not appreciate them. ... However, readers should at least have the ability to read. Besides, [the readers] should have general common sense and knowledge.

文藝本應該並非只有少數的優秀者才能夠鑑賞 而是只有少數的先天的低能者所不能鑑賞的東西 但讀者也應該有相當的程度 首先是識字 其次是有普通的大體的知識 而思想和情感 也需大抵達到相當的水平線。²¹⁸

After the civil service examination was abolished in 1905 and the new education reform was established in China, through the efforts of modern educators and publishers, the borderline between the elite class and the public continued to break down, and art appreciation was no longer limited only to the elite.

In the twelfth century the scholar literati culture began to form in China, and by the sixteenth century scholars had a fully developed sense of self-awareness and viewed their class as an independent entity. According to Shih Shou-chien, “as the historical

²¹⁷ Chen Xing, *Feng Zikai de yishu shijie*, 32; Wu He, *Foxin yu wenxin*, 49-51.

²¹⁸ Lu Xun 魯迅, “Wenyi de dazhonghua” 文藝的大眾化, Lin Min 林敏 and Zhao Suxing 趙素行, *Zhongguo lianhuanhua yishu wenji* 中國連環畫藝術文集 (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin Publishing Company, 1987), 3.

bearers of academic intellect and power, members of the elite class have traditionally held little regard for those they considered beneath themselves and the popular culture by which such commoners lived....Not only did the scholars wish to distinguish themselves entirely from the common class, they also had an acute fear of being influenced in any way by popular culture.”²¹⁹ The relationship between the academic intellect and popular culture, however, was continually changing in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. For example, in the early Qing Dynasty, literati entrepreneurs, like some of the Yangzhou Eccentrics, adapted their art to the art market.²²⁰

As mentioned earlier Feng Zikai was a sentimental and emotional artist, and his paintings, such as *The Crescent* (Fig. 77) and *Last Kiss* (Fig. 188), showed his competence in synthesizing traditional Chinese literati painting and Western art training. By infusing uncommon lyrical sense and humanistic concern in his art, Feng Zikai’s artworks not only attracted the attention of elite circles but also appealed to the general public. Unlike the traditional scholars of Imperial China, who lived out a much sharper dichotomy between engagement in state values and urban professionalism, not only did the twentieth-century elite, such as Zhang Xichen and Feng Zikai, accept popular art and culture, but they also utilized their own writings and ventures like the Kaiming Book Company to disseminate their art through the mass print media. It was the first time that the style of the May Fourth intellectuals’ communication with their buying public became less instructive and didactic and more interactive and dynamic. In collaboration with the

²¹⁹ Shih Shou-chein 石守謙, “Wen Zhengming and the Effects of Popular Culture,” *Taiwan 2002 nian Dongya huihua shi yantao hui lunwen ji* 台灣 2002 年東亞繪畫史研討會論文集 (Taipei: National Taiwan University, Department of Art History, 2002), 308.

²²⁰ Jonathan Hay, “Wen Zhengming, Stone Lake, and the Aesthetics of Disjunction,” *Taiwan 2002 nian Dongya huihua shi yantao hui lunwen ji*, 178-179.

publishing houses, graphic artists, like Feng Zikai, redrew the boundary between the elite and public culture.

After carving out a niche in the lucrative textbook markets, Feng's graphic works became the signature of and marketing strategy for the Kaiming Book Company, which is witnessed by their advertisements. Feng's art works became collectable because they are very precious. The publishing house utilized Feng's illustrations as bait to attract reader's attention. Feng Zikai himself commented that: "[The funding of] my *Yuanyuan Studio* was [from the royalties that I earned from my publications] written by my red pen" (這緣堂是我那支大紅色派克鋼筆裡寫出來的!).²²¹ We, therefore, can imagine how the publishing houses provided a source of income for many professional artists, like Feng. More importantly, by seizing the new popular trend exemplified by the new, Japanese-influenced style of Feng and his circle, we see new forms of Chinese modernity created by followers, like Qian Juntao and Tao Yuanqing.

4.3. Feng Zikai's Role in Art History and Culture in China

Through the circulation of his artworks, Feng greatly disseminated his humanitarianism and poetic styles to the public, and it contributed to the flowering of graphic art in China in the late 1920s and 1930s. Humanitarianism had been a core aspect of Cai Yuanpei and Lu Xun's thought. To disseminate Cai and Lu's ideology, in addition to working for publishing houses, Feng Zikai, in collaboration with Liu Zhiping and Wu Mengfei, established the Shanghai Arts Normal School in 1919 and inaugurated an

²²¹ Chen Xing, *Xianhua Feng Zikai*, 129.

official journal, *Aesthetic Education* (美育), in 1920. The welcome section of *Aesthetic Education* said: “We, colleagues in the art world, want to utilize this opportunity to cultivate a new philosophy of life by using aesthetic education. ...and hope to use beauty to replace mysterious religions” (我們美育界的同志, 就想趁這個時機, 用藝術教育來建設一個新人生觀....希望用美來代替神秘主義的宗教。).²²² The declaration of the *Aesthetic Education* exactly echoed Cai’s 1917 speech “Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education.” Also, as mentioned earlier, Feng used his brush and publications to “make Lu Xun’s voice louder.” Feng succeeded in implementing Cai Yuanpei, Lu Xun, and Li Shutong’s ideology and aesthetic philosophy through his involvement at the Lida Academy, the Kaiming Book Company, and the Shanghai Arts Normal School. At the Shanghai Arts Normal School, Tao Yuanqing and Qian Juntao studied art under Feng Zikai. Qian maintained a close relationship with Feng his whole life, and his career in graphic art has an intimate relationship with Feng. In this section, I will introduce Tao and Qian’s artworks and their achievements in the modern Chinese art history and examine how Feng influenced them in their artistic careers and others.

Tao Yuanqing

Born in Shaoxing (紹興), Zhejiang Province, Tao Yuanqing (1893-1929) was without doubt one of the most significant Chinese graphic designers of the twentieth century. Tao Yuanqing worked at the *Shibao* publishing company (*Shanghai shibao she* 上海時報社) and was appointed as the editor of *Pictorial Weekly* (*Tuhua zhoukan* 圖畫

²²² *Meiyu* 美育, No.1 (1920) n.p.; Ruan, 24-25.

周刊).²²³ At the same time Tao studied Western art at the Shanghai Arts Normal School, in which Feng Zikai greatly influenced Tao's graphic designs.²²⁴ After he graduated from the Shanghai Arts Normal School, Tao taught graphic design at the Lida Academy and then at the Provincial Taizhou Six Middle School (*Taizhou shengli liuzhong* 台立六中), and he was very active in the field of graphic design.²²⁵

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2.3, Lu Xun met Tao Yuanqing in 1924. Tao seems to have begun designing modern book covers the same year with a commission for Lu Xun's Chinese translation of *Symbol of Depression* (苦悶的象徵) (Fig. 19). After that, Lu and Tao's relationship appears to have become rather close. Due to Tao's early death and the destruction of his memorial museum during the Sino-Japanese War, few of Tao's works survive. Although Tao was trained entirely in China, the style of his body of work, "in its simplicity, asymmetry, and sometimes casual quality," reveals his interest in Japanese design (Fig. 267, Fig. 268).²²⁶ When Tao worked at the *Shibao* publishing company, he had a lot of opportunities to read Japanese graphic design books, such as the painting books of Sugiura Hisui 杉浦非水 (1876-1965),²²⁷ which undoubtedly influenced his works. However, in addition to indicating his interest in Japanese style, Tao's graphic designs also reveal his preference for native Chinese style.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2.3, in 1928 Tao Yuanqing, Qian Juntao and Lu Xun met in Shanghai. Tao suggested to Lu that they could use some ancient bronze

²²³ Wu Guanghua 吳光華, *Qian Juntao zhuan* 錢君匋傳 (Beijing: Beijing meishu sheying Publishing Company, 2001), 17.

²²⁴ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 186.

²²⁵ Liu Zhengren, 115; Wu Guanghua, 36.

²²⁶ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 186; Menzies, 16, 43.

²²⁷ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 36; Wu Guanghua, 16.

vessels or stone rubbing motifs in cover designs. Tao's *Wondering* (Fig. 21) and *Worker Zweilov* (*Gongren Sui-hui-lue-fu* 工人綏惠略夫, 1927) (Fig. 269),²²⁸ composed of flat shapes in profile view, suggest that Tao was inspired by figures engraved on clay slabs from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. – 221 C.E.).²²⁹

Qian Juntao divided Tao's works into two categories. One consists of covers that are essentially decorative, such as Lu's translation *Symbol of Depression*, Xu Qinwen's collection *Hometown* (*Guxiang* 故鄉) (Fig. 20) (although the painting *Girl in Red Robe* originally was not designed for Xu's book jacket), *Out of the Ivory Tower* (*Chule xiangya zhita* 出了象牙之塔, 1925) (Fig.267) and *Snot A-er* (*Biti A-er* 鼻涕阿二) (Fig.270).²³⁰

The images in the other group are related to the content of the books or to their titles, and this feature may have come from Tao's teacher, Feng Zikai. The latter group includes Tao's covers for the collections *Wandering* (1926) (Fig. 21) and *The Tomb* (1927) (Fig.22).²³¹ The pattern of tomb mounds that Tao created was highly abstract work.²³²

Besides Tao Yuanqing, Qian Juntao was another of Feng's students at the Shanghai Arts Normal School, and Qian's artistic career and thought has a closer tie with Feng Zikai.

Qian Juntao

Born in Tongxiang county (桐鄉縣), Zhejiang Province, Qian Juntao, whose original name was Qian Yutang 錢玉棠, best exemplifies Feng's influence and the

²²⁸ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 6-8, 14.

²²⁹ Minick, 28.

²³⁰ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 11.

²³¹ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 11.

²³² Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 186-187.

flowering of graphic design in late 1920s and 1930s China. In 1923, with the help of Qian Zuomin 錢作民 and Feng Zikai, Qian was exempted from taking the entrance examination and enrolled at the Shanghai Arts Normal School, where he studied design, music, and painting with Wu Mengfei, Liu Zhiping, and Feng Zikai. Liu and Feng particularly influenced him in music as well as art.²³³ At the Normal School, Qian studied not only Western art but also calligraphy under Feng Zikai. Feng himself was a calligrapher and he insisted on training in calligraphy when he taught art at schools. The calligraphy that Feng had his students study included *Eulogy of Shimen* (*Shimen song* 石門頌), *Twenty Dedicatory Inscriptions at the Longmen Buddhist Caves* (*Longmen ershi pin* 龍門二十品), the Stone Drum script (*Shigu wen* 石鼓文), and so forth.²³⁴ Qian received solid training in calligraphy when he was studying at the Arts Normal School. In a letter to Qian, Feng told Qian that besides being trained in calligraphy and artistic technique, possessing sophisticated thought is another important element for artists, and he encouraged Qian to study more books.²³⁵ At the Shanghai Arts Normal School, Qian met Tao Yuanqing and became acquainted with Tao until his death. Through the help of Tao, who often showed graphic design books to Qian, Qian began to be interested in a career in graphic design.²³⁶ In his autobiography, Qian also mentions that his early works

²³³ Andrews, "Commercial Art," *A Century in Crisis*, 188; Qian Juntao, *Juntao shuji zhuangzheng yishu xuan* epilogue; Feng Zikai, *Feng Zikai jingpin huaji* 豐子愷精品畫集 (Singapore: International Press Co. Pte. Ltd., 1988), 11; Wu Guanghua, preface 11, 1, 9.

²³⁴ Wu Guanghua, 20-24.

²³⁵ Wu Guanghua, 32.

²³⁶ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 14; Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao shuji zhuangzheng yishu xuan*, epilogue.

were strongly influenced by Japanese art, because most reference works that he read were from Japan.²³⁷

After graduating from the Shanghai Arts Normal School in 1925, Qian taught graphic design at the Zhejiang Special Art School (*Zhejiang yishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 浙江藝術專門學校), where, in collaboration with Chen Xiaokong 陳嘯空 and Shen Binglian 沈秉廉, he organized the Spring Bee Painting Society (*Chunfeng huahui* 春蜂畫會). At this time (the late 1920s), Qian began to compose and publish lyrical songs in Zhang Xichen's magazine *New Women*. Qian and Zhang, therefore, became acquainted with each other. At Zhang Xichen's invitation, Qian later joined the staff of the Kaiming Book Company and was given charge of the art and music section. Qian took many commissions for cover designs when he worked at the Kaiming Book Company. Due to his heavy teaching load, in 1933 Qian quit his position at the Kaiming Book Company. Thereafter, it was Shen Zhenhuang and Mo Zhiheng 莫志恒 (Fig. 271) who were given charge of the art section.²³⁸

The book jackets that Qian designed for the Kaiming Book Company included those for the journal *New Women* (Fig. 272), one for Wang Jingzhi's poem collection, *Lonely Country* (*Jimo de guo* 寂寞的國), one for Li Jinming's 黎錦明 *Shadow* (*Chenying* 塵影, 1927) (Fig. 273), and one for Feng Zikai's *Music for Children* (*Haizi men de yingyue* 孩子們的音樂) (Fig. 240). In the late 1920s, Qian employed primarily vegetal motifs with a rather lyrical sense in his works, as in *Two Trails of Blood* (*Liangtiao xueheng* 兩條血痕,

²³⁷ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 36.

²³⁸ Qian Juntao, "Wo zai Kaiming de qinian," *Wo yu Kaiming*, 59- 60.

1927) (Fig. 274) and *Literary Arts and Sex* (*Wenyi yu xingai* 文藝與性愛, 1928) (Fig. 275). Qian's early graphic design betrayed Feng Zikai's poetic tendency and vestiges of the Art Nouveau style. The naturalistic inclination, however, was a prominent characteristic of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Natural plant, bird, and animal form were a powerful source of inspiration for many designers. William Morris (1834-1896), regarded as the movement's most outstanding master, used them almost exclusively in his textile and wallpaper designs.²³⁹ The educational system of the Shanghai Arts Normal School, which Qian attended, was based on William Morris' thought on art education.²⁴⁰ In Chen Zhifo's essay "Arts and Crafts" (*Meishu yu gongyi* 美術與工藝) (published in *Association of Chinese Art Quarterly* [中國美術會季刊], Vol I, no.2, 1936),²⁴¹ he also mentioned William Morris and advocated that art and crafts should fit into the practical and daily life, this notion was the guiding principle of this movement.²⁴² As mentioned earlier, "art for the sake of life" was the guiding principal of Feng's artistic career. We thus should not be surprised that the artistic languages of Art Nouveau and the Arts and Crafts movements were infused into Qian's artworks.

Many of Qian's works reveal his artistic originality. For example, the compositions of *Maona fanna* (茂娜凡娜) (Fig.276) and *Spring Day* (*Chunri* 春日, 1930) (Fig. 277) are rather innovative, and the cover for Rou Shi's *Three Sisters* (*San jiemei* 三姊妹, 1929) (Fig. 278), defined by their crisp compositions are novel creations. Qian's works carried

²³⁹ Penny Sparke, *Design Source Book* (London: QED Publishing Ltd., 1986), 12.

²⁴⁰ Wu Mengfei, 45.

²⁴¹ Li Youguang, 135-139.

²⁴² Sparke, 12; Li Youguang, 135-139.

nationalistic sentiment as well. In his book, *Qian Juntao's Graphic Design (Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu 錢君匋裝幀藝術)*, Qian mentioned that:

When I studied design in the beginning, I tried to make some cover designs. Because most reference books in China at the time were imported from Japan, I was, therefore, unconsciously influenced by Japan. However, many patterns and colors of Japanese book cover designs were inspired by Dunhuang cave paintings and other classic art of China.

我最初學習圖案, 試作書面, 因為當時所有的參考書都是從日本進口的, 不知不覺間受了日本的影響。其實日本書面設計的形象和色彩, 很多是從中國敦煌石窟藝術以及其他古典藝術流傳過去的。²⁴³

Not only were Qian's artworks inspired by the heritage of the Dunhuang and Yungang caves but also by ancient bronze vessels and Han stone rubbing motifs.²⁴⁴ Covers such as *The Imperial Palace in the Thirteenth Year of the Republic (Min shisan zhi gugong 民十三之故宮)*, by the Kaiming Book Company) (Fig. 279) and *Ancient People (Gudai de ren 古代的人)* (Fig. 280) well exemplify this trend.²⁴⁵ In addition, he also applied the motifs of seal carving (Fig. 281) and calligraphy to his artworks.²⁴⁶ Many works that we have encountered above, like *Spring Day*, betrayed Qian's solid training in calligraphy and his great synthesis of commercial and fine art. To Qian, to possess nationalistic sentiment and the characteristics of modernity are equally important in his graphic design.²⁴⁷ Only modernized and creative cover designs could "commercially" attract and intellectually

²⁴³ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu 錢君匋裝幀藝術* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1992), 43.

²⁴⁴ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu*, 44.

²⁴⁵ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 6-8, 14.

²⁴⁶ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 14, 38.

²⁴⁷ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu*, 44.

lead people to read the contents, and they were a significant way to enlighten and lead the Chinese people to modernization.

Qian's works also carry a strong non-objective art tendency. The covers for Ba Jin's *New Life* (*Xinsheng* 新生, 1933) (Fig. 282) and *Snow Man* (*Xueren* 雪人, 1930) (Fig. 283) are the best examples of this. In Qian's own words, he thought that if artists just depicted things the way they look, there would be no difference between art and photography.²⁴⁸ Besides composition, color was another important consideration when Qian designed his works. Because of the limitations on printing technology and its expense in the 1920s and 1930s, book designers had to display some sophistication in arranging and composing colors before the books were published.²⁴⁹ Many of Qian's works betray his preference for sharp contrasts (Fig. 284, Fig. 285), which was designed to attract readers through visual stimulation.

"Music" is another characteristic of Qian's cover designs (Fig. 284, Fig. 240). Influenced by Liu Zhiping and Feng Zikai, Qian composed and published a great number of lyrical songs and music books. In July 1938, Qian Juntao established his own firm, the Wanye Bookstore (萬葉書店). The objective of the Wanye Bookstore was to promote and publish music books, although it also published many art books, such as Feng's *Album of Large Trees* (*Dashu huace* 大樹畫冊), *Album of Brush Paintings* (*Maobi huace*

²⁴⁸ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao lunyi*, 37.

²⁴⁹ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu*, 25-30.

毛筆畫冊) (Fig. 286), and *Cartoons of the Aftermath* (*Jieyu huace* 劫餘畫冊).²⁵⁰ After 1945, most book jackets that Qian designed were only for books of music.²⁵¹

Another interesting phenomenon I would like to mention here is the use of the motifs of Egyptian art. The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb by Howard Carter in 1922 inspired an Egyptian style that reached its apogee in the 1930s.²⁵² In China, we can see the news published in journals such as the *Young Companion* and *Eastern Miscellany*.²⁵³ Egyptian motifs also appeared in the works of Fukiya Kōji (Fig. 287) and Chen Zhifo (Fig. 288). Qian Juntao's Egyptian motifs (Fig. 289; Fig. 290) were undoubtedly inspired by this great discovery. The influence of Hollywood entertainment also cannot be ignored.

In the third Chapter of *Shanghai Modern, The Urban Milieu of Shanghai Cinema*, Leo Lee has pointed out that in the 1920s, movie going was the predominant leisure habit for many writers of New Literature in general and Shanghai writers in particular.²⁵⁴ Lee mentions that although the emergent world of consumerism and commodification in Shanghai did not entirely replicate the American culture of high capitalism, the massive influx of glamorous pictures of Hollywood stars that were reproduced in magazines such as *Young Companion* and *Lin Loon Lady's Magazine* (玲瓏婦女圖畫雜誌) had a great impact on the Chinese public.²⁵⁵ Hollywood in the 1920s and 1930s provided millions of people across North America and Europe with the opportunity to escape the stress and humdrum existence of everyday life. Actors and actresses became stars and role-models

²⁵⁰ Feng Zikai, *Feng Zikai jingpin huaji*, 10.

²⁵¹ Qian Juntao, *Qian Juntao zhuangzheng yishu*, 18; Wu Guanghua, 430.

²⁵² Sparke, 102.

²⁵³ *The Young Companion* 1 (1926): 8-9; *Eastern Miscellany* Vol.22, No.1, 1925.

²⁵⁴ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 91.

²⁵⁵ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 85-88.

for adoring cinema audiences and dictated changing fashions of beauty, style and behavior.²⁵⁶ In the magazine *Young Companion*, we can see a lot of photographs introducing Hollywood actor and actresses. The January 31, 1934, issue of *Lin Loon Lady's Magazine* is a special issue devoted entirely to Hollywood movie stars.²⁵⁷ Qian's Egyptian images reveal that the striking decorative Hollywood style also could be seen in Shanghai.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Impressionism, Cubism, Dadaism, Constructivism, Fauvism, and Surrealism were embraced by many young Chinese artists. The growth in the Chinese urban middle class during the twentieth brought about an entirely new market for art, literature, entertainment and leisure. By the end of the second decade of the twentieth-century, many advertising agencies had been established in China's major cities to act as media agents for foreign companies wishing to expand their foreign trade. For example, as early as the 1910s, the American Tobacco Company (*Yingmei yancao gongsi* 英美煙草公司) had introduced offset lithograph printing, formed its own advertising department, and set up an art school for the sole purpose of training commercial artists.²⁵⁸ This increasing demand for artists trained in the Western style further encouraged the development of educational programs in Western design and advertising. When the National Beiping College of Art (*Guoli Beiping meishu xuexiao* 國立北平美術學校) was established in 1918, its objective was claimed to be "to promote art education in society, meet the needs of art teachers, and improve the design quality of

²⁵⁶ Sparke, 128-129.

²⁵⁷ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 87.

²⁵⁸ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 76.

industrial products.”²⁵⁹ Also, in 1920, a course on craft and design (*gongyi tuan* 工藝圖案) was offered at the Shanghai Painting and Art Institute (*Shanghai tuhua meishuyuan* 上海圖畫美術院), which was renamed the Shanghai Art Academy (*Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao* 上海美術專科學校) in 1921. When the Lida Academy was established in 1926, three departments were founded: Chinese Literature (*Zhongguo wenxue xi* 中國文學系), Western Art (*Xiyang hua xi* 西洋畫系), and Design (*Tu'an hua xi* 圖案畫系).²⁶⁰ We, therefore, can see that the art world in the 1920s gradually began to pay attention to the significance of graphic design and applied art.

More evidence of the flowering of graphic design may be seen in the pages of many journals. As mentioned earlier, Li Shutong and the staff of the Kaiming Book Company encouraged the public and student readers in particular to submit their graphic works to the pages of their press and journals, and many well-known twentieth-century Chinese artists, such as Chen Baoyi and Qian Juntao, participated in such activities when they were still students. Before he became a popular graphic designer, Qian Juntao published numerous graphic works on the pages of *New Women, General* (Fig. 291),²⁶¹ and *The Juvenile Student* (Fig.292).

In 1929, when the first National Art Exhibition was held in Shanghai, in the two volumes of the *Meizhan tekan* (美展特刊) catalogues (The National Fine Arts Exhibition of 1929), only twelve works of art were reproduced in the section on Craft Art (*Gongyi meishu* 工藝美術). Among these works, only two design (*tu'an*) works (Fig. 293, Fig.

²⁵⁹ Ruan, 102.

²⁶⁰ *Yiban* 一般 September 1926: 155.

²⁶¹ *Yiban* September 1926: frontispiece.

294) were selected. One of which was Qian Juntao's. In the April 1931 issue (No. 14) of *The Juvenile Student*, a special report, "Pattern of Futurism in Modern Industry" (Fig. 295), was published, and it introduced current Western artistic trend to readers. Also, as mentioned earlier, the Fine Art Competition (of *The Juvenile Students*), which includes the categories of cover design (*Shumian sheji* 書面設計), book pattern (*Shumian tu'an* 書面圖案), illustration (*Tuhua tou'an* 圖花頭案), and design (*Tu'an hua* 圖案畫), was established to encourage student readers to become involved in graphic art.

The second National Art Exhibition was held in Nanjing in 1936, and a catalogue, *A Special Collection of the Second National Exhibition of Chinese Art under the Auspices of the Ministry of Education*, which included three volumes, was published. The first part of the catalogue was *The Famous Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of Tsin, T'ang, Five Dynasties, Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing Dynasties* (晉唐五代宋元明清名家書畫集).²⁶² The second part was *Modern Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* (*Xiandai shuhua ji* 現代書畫集). The third part of the catalogue was *Modern Chinese Occidental-Painting, Design, and Sculpture* (現代西畫圖案雕刻集), and it was divided into three sub-categories: "Western Art" (*Xihua zhi bu* 西畫之部), "Design" (*Tu'an zhi bu* 圖案之部), including forty-one pieces of artworks, and "Sculpture" (*Diaoke zhi bu* 雕刻之部). The works selected in the Design section included commercial advertisement (Fig. 296), wall paper design (Fig. 297), book cover designs (Fig. 298), and so forth. Like other products of artistic movements in China during this period, the works included here converged

²⁶² In pinyin system the title should be *The Famous Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of Jin, Tang, Five Dynasties, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties*.

around various kinds of Cubist, Mechanical, or Art Deco imagery, and much of their design quality was very sophisticated and elegant, which highlights the significance of the publications in the role of disseminating art to the public.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Born about three years after the first Sino-Japanese War and passing away during the Cultural Revolution, Feng Zikai's life, like China itself, confronted great political chaos and shocks from the West and Japan. Feng received both a classical Chinese education and a Western-style education. Like many May Fourth intellectuals, Feng stood at a crossroads in the unfolding of modern China when he was a youth, and there he wavered. On a trip to Japan, Feng encountered Takehisa Yumeji's artworks, which greatly synthesize Western and Eastern art and possess strong humanistic concern. Influenced by Chen Shizeng and Omura Seigai, who proclaimed the superiority of Eastern art over its Western counterpart in the 1920s, Feng believed that China should take what was enviable from the West while retaining the essence of Chinese indigenous culture. Feng picked up his brushes again and successfully created his own style, which combined the Western painting methods, Chinese lyrical feeling, and his humanistic concern for all beings.

The expansion of new education in the late-imperial and early Republican eras demanded both the development of new schools and mass-oriented, mechanized publishing companies. The Commercial Press, the China Book Company, and the

Kaiming Book Company were established after new printing technology was introduced into China in the late nineteenth century. The boom in the publishing industry brought about the publication of books, magazines, and newspapers, and it spread art and popular culture to the public. With commissions from publishing houses, many artists like Feng began producing new genres of art, such as cartoons and graphics, in large numbers and had them published in the pages of journals and solo publications to cater to the growing needs of the public.

By infusing uncommon lyrical sense and humanistic concern into his art, Feng's artworks not only attracted the attention of many May Fourth intellectuals, such as Zheng Zhenduo and Zhang Xichen, but also appealed to the general public. To profit from the new market niche in textbooks and to promote their ideology, China's new publishing houses, like the Kaiming Book Company, seized the popular trend exemplified by the new Japanese-influenced style of Feng. Unlike his predecessors such as Liang Qichao and Chen Duxiu, who criticized the evils of Chinese society, Feng advocated humanitarianism, individualism, and the centrality of children via his artworks and promoted aesthetic education through his engagement in the publishing industry.

Like the artistic careers of Takehisa Yumeji and Fukiya Kōji, Feng's artistic career had an incontrovertible connection with the flourishing of the publishing industry. In collaboration with the Kaiming Book Company, Feng shared his Japanese experience, artistic styles, and Buddhist belief with many of his colleagues and many young readers. Through the distribution of publications, new artistic trends prevailed in the life of the Chinese and the art world in the 1920s and 1930s. More importantly, through Feng's

interactions with readers, his artistic style and his thought greatly influenced the masses. The new fashions that were created by Feng and publishing houses not only brought them a lot of profit but also had a great impact on later generations. Many of Feng and the Kaiming's young readers, such as Qian Juntao and Tang Yingwei, later became leading artists in China's art scene.

Since commercial art and popular art were not regarded as fine art in the past, many artists like Feng have been underexamined. My dissertation serves to supply the missing link in art history between the early stages of commercial and popular art and the variety of art forms that are recognized as fine art today, such as computer graphic arts and art websites. For example, the graphic artist Fukiya Kōji later became a popular animation artist in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁶³ In contrast to the sophisticated scholarship developed over the past few decades on modern Chinese literature and pre-modern art, the field of modern Chinese art history still lags far behind. Many issues, such as lay Buddhist art, graphic art, and the relationship between technology and art, still wait to be examined. My dissertation supplies a missing page of the history of art and invites more people to contribute to this field. There is a common saying in Chinese “*Weiji jiushi zhuanji* (危機就是轉機)” – which may be translated as “A moment of crisis can bring a turn for the better.” The contributions of Feng Zikai and the Kaiming Book Company bid us to consider whether China's twentieth century was not merely “a century of crisis,” but also “a moment to bring China for the better.”

²⁶³ Fukiya Kōji: *Ai no joiō gashū*, 106-111.

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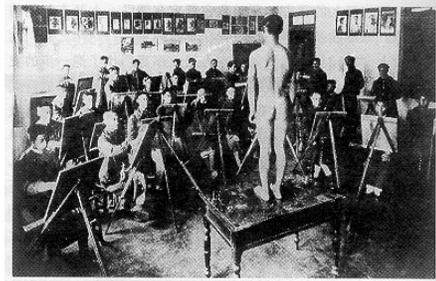
Zhu, Boxiong 朱伯雄 and Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林. *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian, 1898-1949* 中國西畫五十年, 1898-1949. Beijing: Renmin meishu Publishing Company 人民美術出版社, 1989.

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APPENDIX



Figure 1
Fanmin (Li Shutong):
The Painting Methods of Western Art



附圖：1914年，李叔同首用人體模特進行美術教學時留影。第二排左起第三人（站立者）為吳夢非先生，后排右起第二人為李叔同先生

Figure 2
Nude model
at the First Normal School in Hangzhou, 1914

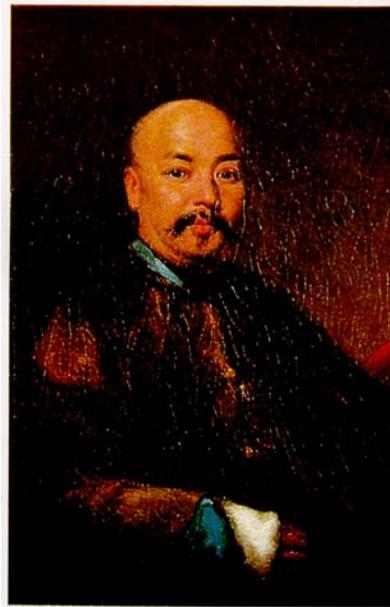


Figure 3 Guan Qiaochang, *Self-portrait painting*



Figure 4
Li Shutong, *Morning*, 1909-1910



Figure 5
Kojutsu Hakubakai gashū



Figure 6
Li Shutong, *Study of Nude*, before 1910

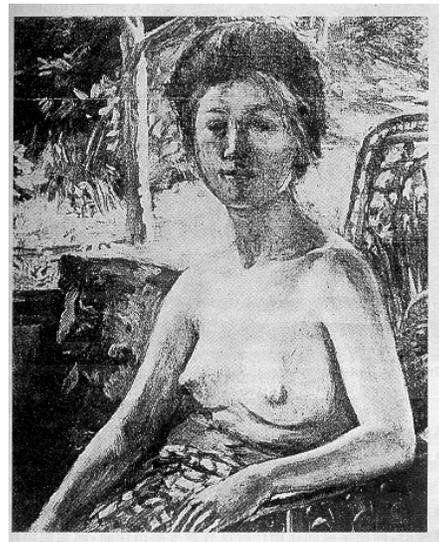


Figure 7
Kuroda Seiki, *Nude*, 1907

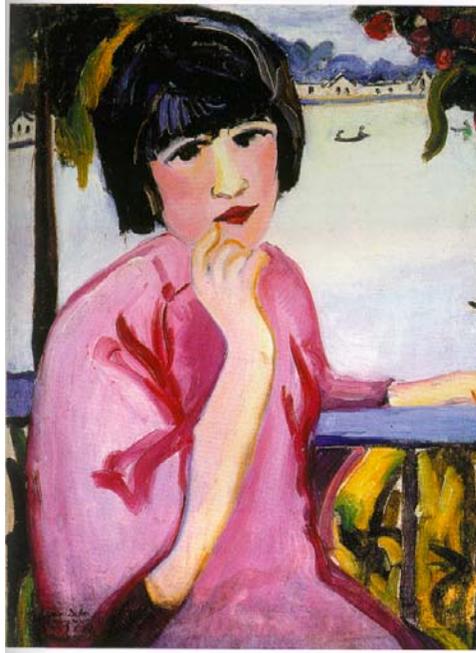


Figure 12 Guan Zilan, *Lady Next to Beach*, 1921

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Figure 13 ad for Chen Baoyi's publication, *The Basis of Oil Painting Methods*

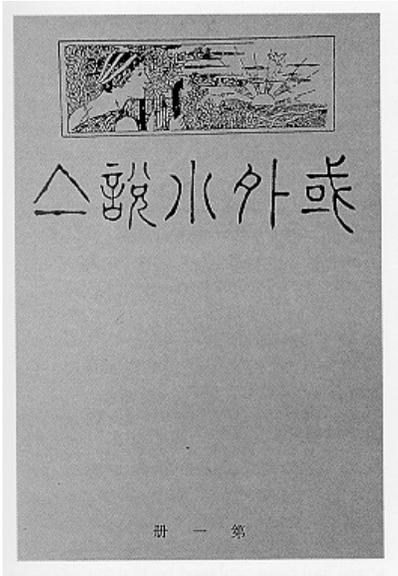


Figure 14
Stories from Foreign Countries

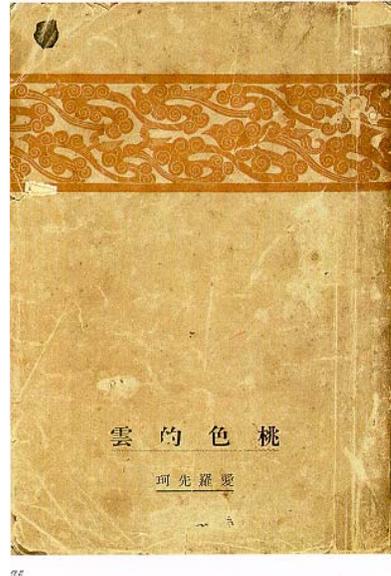
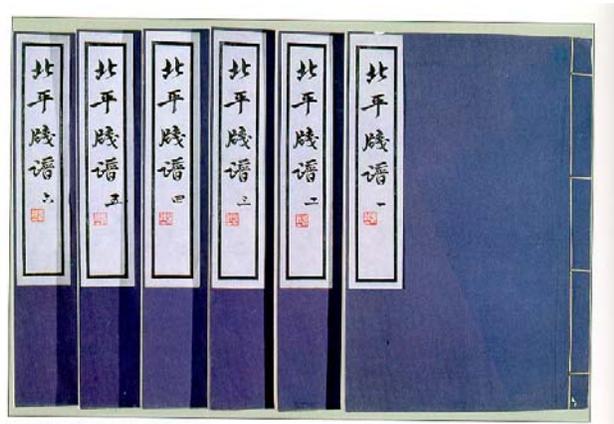


Figure 15
Peach-Colored Cloud, 1923



79

Figure 16
Exploring the Heart, 1926



魯迅與鄭振鐸合編的《北平箋譜》

Figure 17
Beiping Decorated Writing Papers

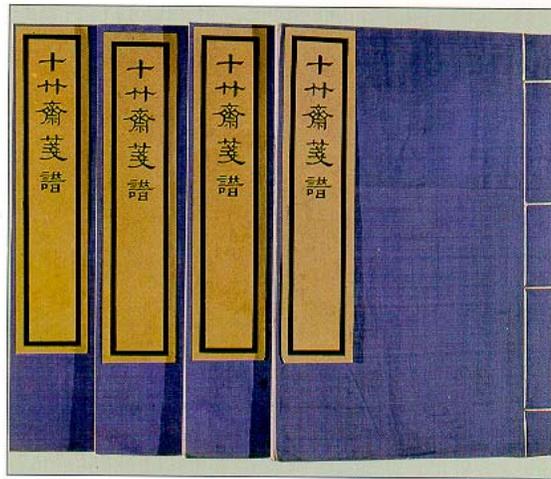


Figure 18
Ten Bamboo Studio Decorated Writing Papers



Figure 19 Tao Yuanqing
Symbol of Depression, 1924



Figure 20 Tao Yuanqing
Hometown, 1926



Figure 21 Tao Yuanqing
Wandering, 1926

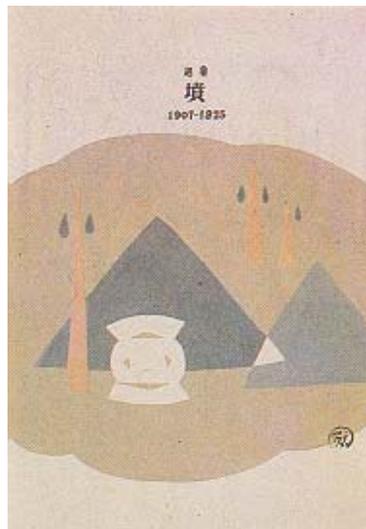


Figure 22 Tao Yuanqing
The Tomb



Figure 23
Chaohua Magazine



Figure 24
Illustration adopted in the *Chaohua*

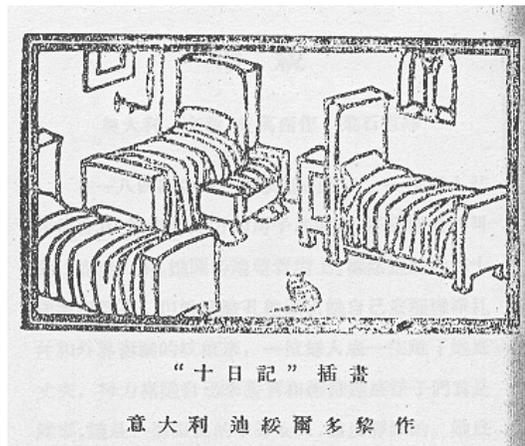


Figure 25
Illustration adopted in the *Chaohua*

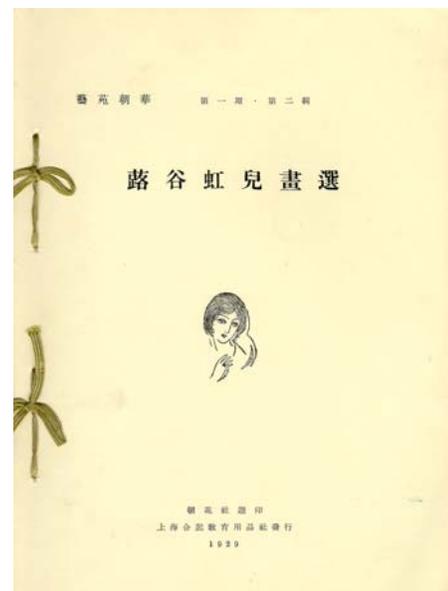


Figure 26
Collection of Fukiya Kōji's Paintings

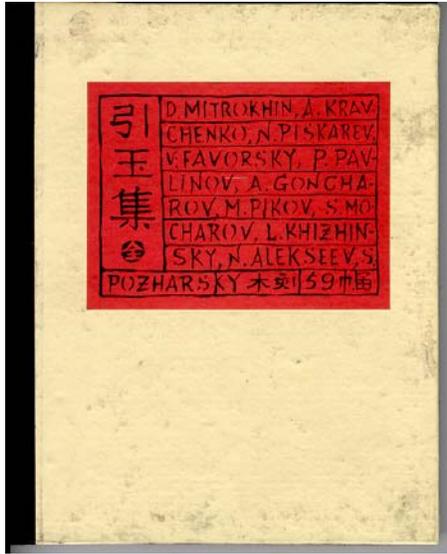


Figure 27
Yinyu ji



Figure 28
Carl Meffert's *Shimintu zhi tu*



Figure 29 Chen Tiegeng
Under the Threat of Bayonets, 1933

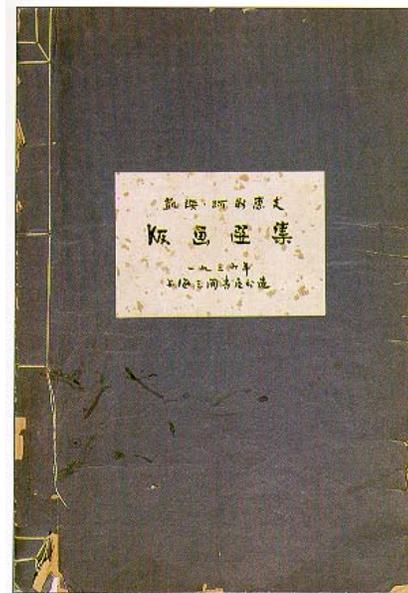


Figure 30
Selected Prints of Kaethe Kollwitz, 1936

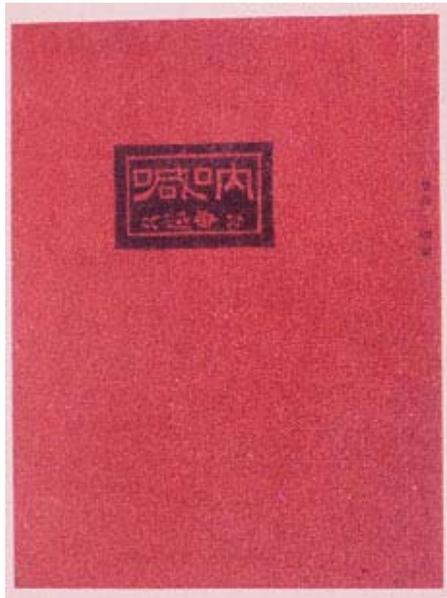


Figure 31
Call to Arms, 1926



Figure 32 *Small Music Magazine*
 Designed by Li Shutong



Figure 33
The Musical Magazine



Figure 34 Miyake Katsumi
Violin Concert in Music Hall



Figure 35 Toda Kenji
The Music of Japanese Beggars



Figure 36 Asai Chu
Illustration for *I am a Cat*



Figure 37 Fujishima Takeji
Illustration for Magazine *Stars*



Figure 38 Chen Shizeng
Begging Food



Figure 39 Chen Shizeng
Boating at Dusk is Delightful



Figure 40 Zhou Chen
Beggars and Street Characters, 1516



Figure 41 Li Shutong
Various Physiognomy of Cunwu, 1909

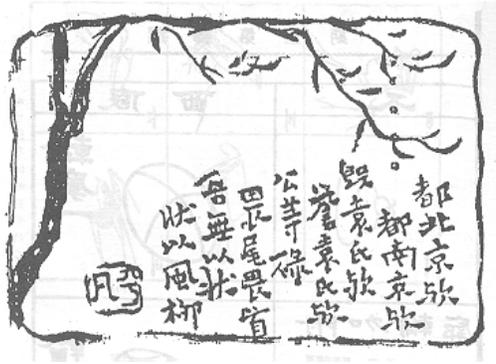


Figure 42 Li Shutong
Brush painting (Untitled)



附圖十：李叔同發表於1912年2月28日《民聲日報》的三幅漫畫之二——《休戰》的《遊日戰圖》時國強寧從果圖

Figure 43 Li Shutong
Brush painting - *Armistice*

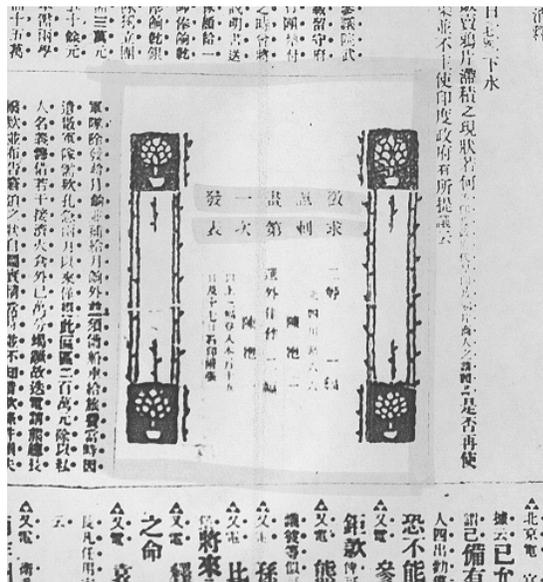


Figure 44 Chen Baoyi won a *Jiazuo* prize



Figure 45 Li Shutong
The Pacific Times heading

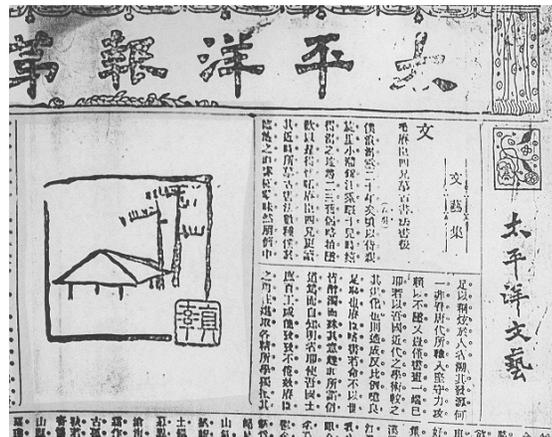


Figure 46 Li Shutong
The Pacific Times illustration



Figure 47 Li Shutong
Seal script

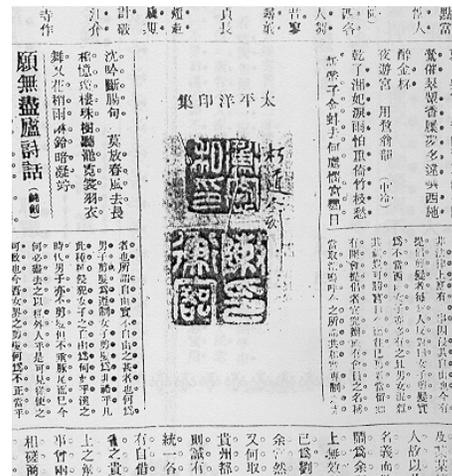


Figure 48
Pacific Seal Collection



Figure 49 Ad for *Canned Milk*
drawn by Li Shutong



Figure 50 Ad of the *South Society*
drawn by Li Shutong



Figure 51
Japanese fabric textile design, 1904



Figure 52 attributed to Li Shutong
*Decorative Painting Popular
in Europe and America*



Figure 53 Cultural News

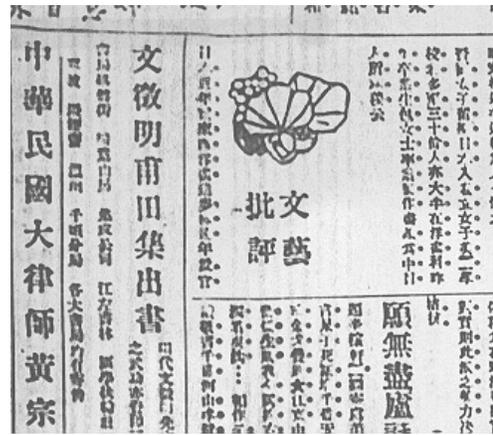


Figure 54 Cultural Criticism

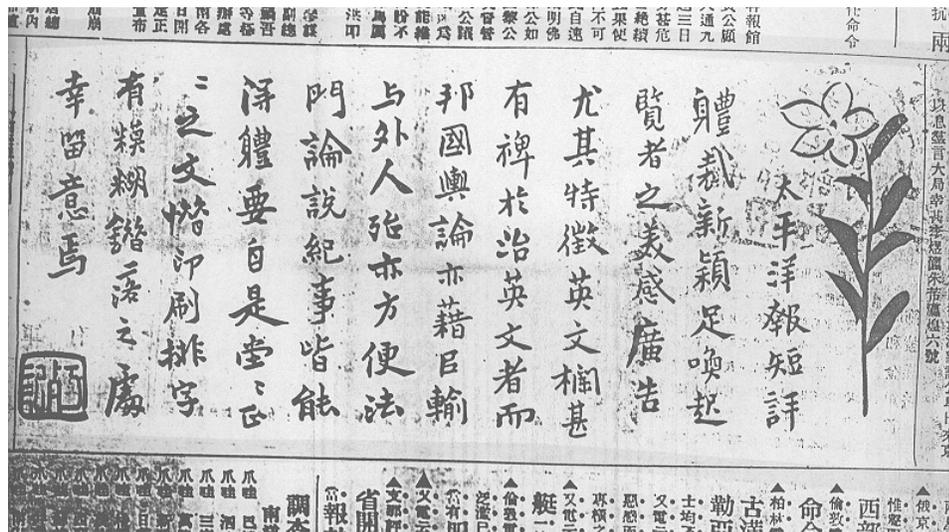


Figure 55 Short criticism written by Chen Shizeng



Figure 56
The earliest existing commercial example
The Northern Song Dynasty



Figure 57
Ad for Sewing Machine



Figure 58
Display advertisements



Figure 59
Display advertisements

太平洋眼 (余序)

英海有攻守同盟之論。而使之
余僅省一事曰南洋風雲全委
急矣。

三級以上之締結必有一互引
之實爲之。俄英與德不。四世
界之關係。俄英與德不。四世
力而知之。然則何小而竟。四
南。俄王之英下。俄王之英
定。交前。天。日。余。下。其。于
香港。澳門。聞。

對。于。南。洋。羣。島。之。位。置。惟。之。于
英。出。展。之。於。新。故。英。於。港
視。者。不。於。港。而。於。南。洋。之。時
運。可知。也。故。諸。君。若。生。存。於
於。二。國。在。南。洋。之。時。應。求。其
辦。

雖然。英。海。軍。即。無。世。界。的。眼

英商公國英

鐘頭牛奶牌

公行足始直發總總
司貨銀標內爲批運

上海北四川路

EVANS

伊文思書館

美國出版英文書

共和民國最適用

印刷所 威海衛路廿六號 電話三一七〇

商印文

事務所 江西路八十五號 電話九一八

Figure 60 Ads on *The Pacific Times*

上海報界四十餘年所未見

太平洋 破天荒最新式之廣告

中國開關以來四千餘年所未見

我最新式之廣告。特選歐美最新式之廣告。其
我最新式之廣告。特選歐美最新式之廣告。其
我最新式之廣告。特選歐美最新式之廣告。其

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廣告一版。每不。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其

二、上海新式廣告。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其
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廣告一版。每不。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其

三、上海新式廣告。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其
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廣告一版。每不。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其

十、上海新式廣告。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其
廣告一版。每不。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其
廣告一版。每不。其效力甚大。本報最新式之廣告。其

Figure 61 Ad for *The Pacific Times*, by Li Shutong



Figure 62 Ad for
Collection of Chinese and Japanese Master Paintings



Figure 63
Essays on Advertising

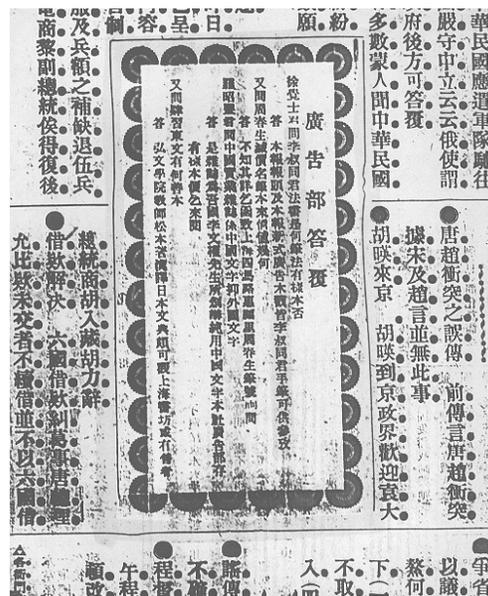


Figure 64
Answer readers' question regarding advertisement



Figure 65 Chen Shizeng
Rickshaw



Figure 66 Chen Shizeng
Qi Lady



Figure Chen Shizeng
Looking at the Paintings



Figure 68 Chen Shizeng,
Studio by the Water



Figure 69 Chen Shizeng
Green Banana and Chrysanthemum



Figure 70
The True Record



Figure 71 Gao Jianfu
Strong Devour the Weak, 1928

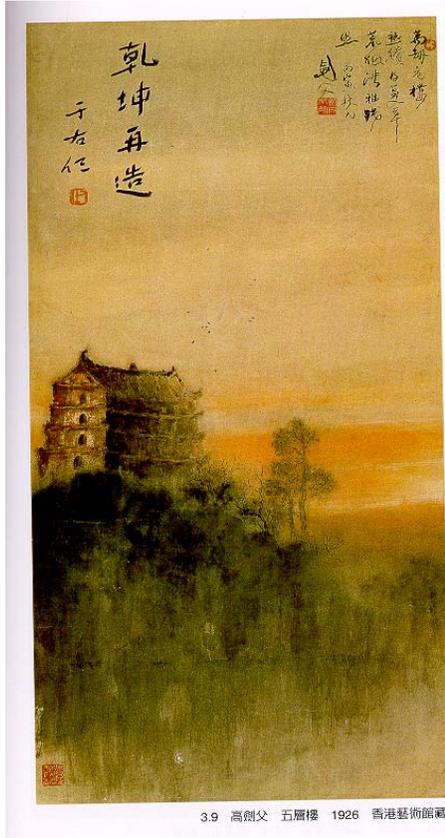


Figure 72 Gao Jianfu
Five-Storeyed Tower, 1926



Figure 73 Chen Shuren
Kapok Tree

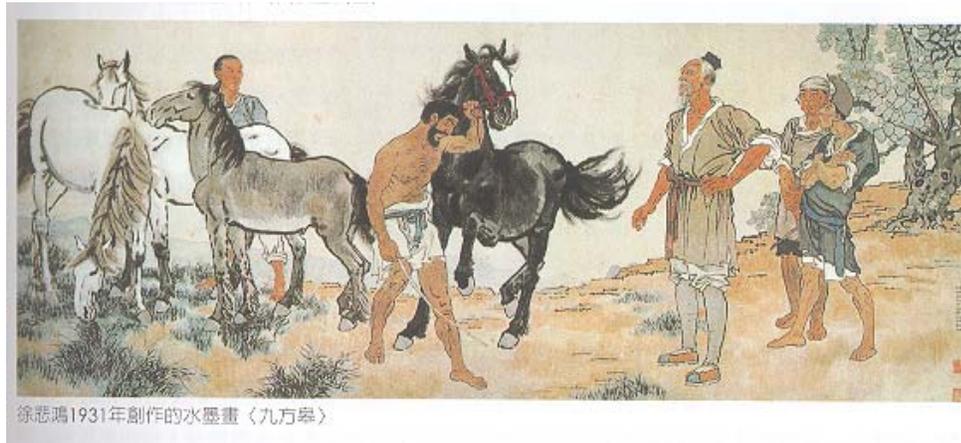


Figure 74 Xu Beihong
Jiu fang gao, 1931



Figure 75 Lin Fengmian
Figures of Chinese Opera



Figure 76 Feng Zikai
A Lady Visitor – Ningbo Women's Normal College, 1922



Figure 77 Feng Zikai
The Crescent, 1924



Figure 78 Feng Zikai
Cover of *Zikai Manhua*

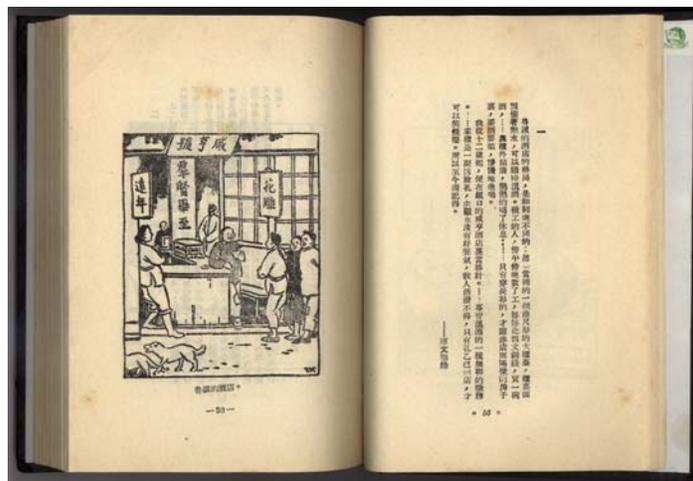


Figure 79 Feng Zikai
Illustrations on Lu Xun's Essays



Figure 80 Ren Xiong
Album after the Poems of Yao Xie, 1850-1851

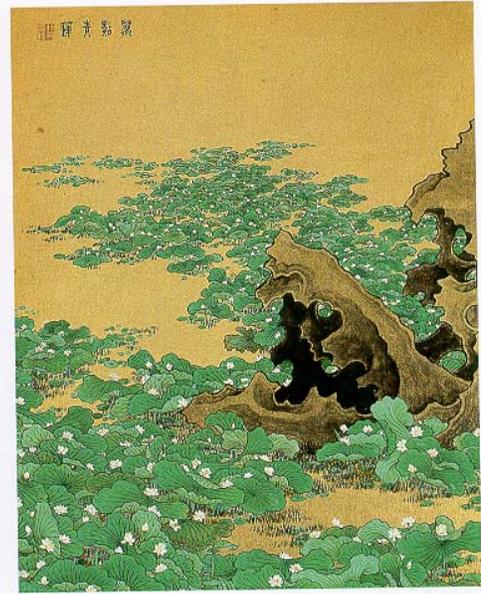


Figure 81 Ren Xiong
The Ten Myriads, ca. 1856



Figure 82 Chen Shizeng
Album of Beijing Customs, 1915



Figure 83 Chen Shizeng
Album of Miscellaneous Painting



Figure 84 Wang Zhen
Fate



Figure 85 Wang Zhen
Dragon

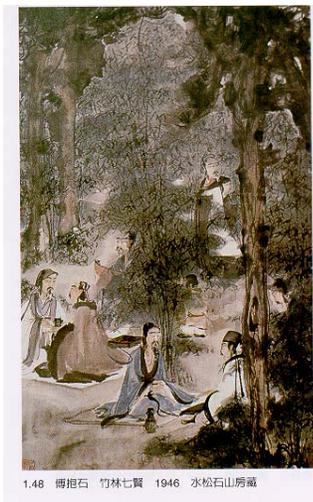


Figure 86 Fu Baoshi
Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove



Figure 87 Zhang Daqian
Afternoon Rest, 1951



Figure 88 Feng Zikai
Illustration for Yu Pingbo's *Memory*



Figure 89 Fujishima Takeji
Playing the Flute, 1901



Figure 90 Takehisa Yumeji
Cover of *Collection of Chinese Songs, 1924*



Figure 91 Takehisa Yumeji
Cover of *Spirit of Dream, 1924*



Figure 92 Takehisa Yumeji
Ad for *Minatoya*



Figure 93 Takehisa Yumeji
Only 15 Cents, ca. 1910

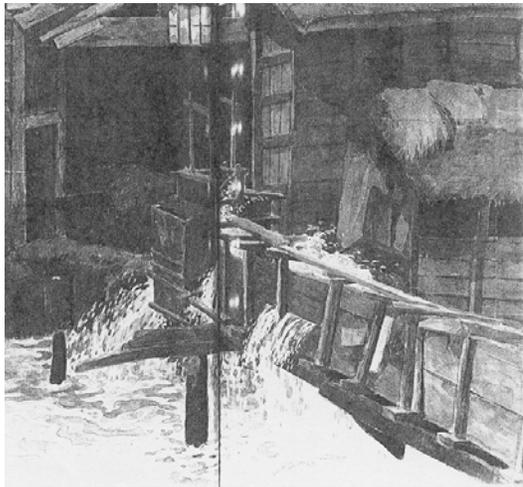


Figure 94 Takehisa Yumeji
Broken Heart, 1908



Figure 95 Takehisa Yumeji
Troubled Happiness, 1909



Figure 96 Takehisa Yumeji
Black Cat, 1921



Figure 97 Takehisa Yumeji
Winter in the North, 1921



Figure 98 Takehisa Yumeji
Children, 1915

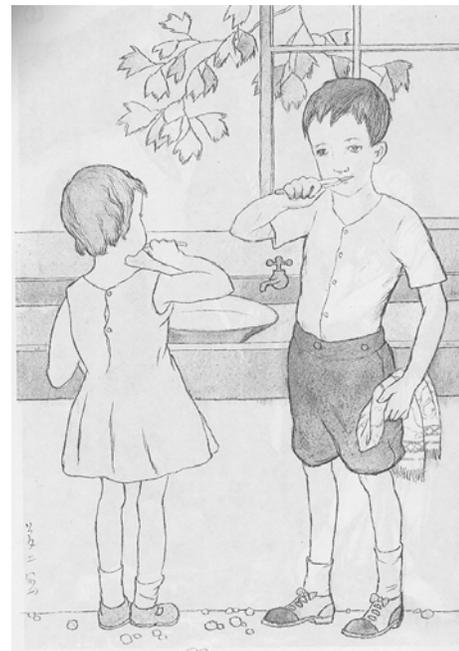


Figure 99 Takehisa Yumeji
Children Brush the Teeth, 1916



Figure 104 Takehisa Yumeji
Ah, Spring



Figure 105 Feng Zikai
Cover for *Zikai Manhua*



Figure 106 Takehisa Yumeji
Praying, 1916



Figure 107 Feng Zikai
Waiting



Figure 108 Fukiya Kōji
Cover of *Adolescent Pictorial*, 1923



Figure 109 Fukiya Kōji
Reijokai, 1925

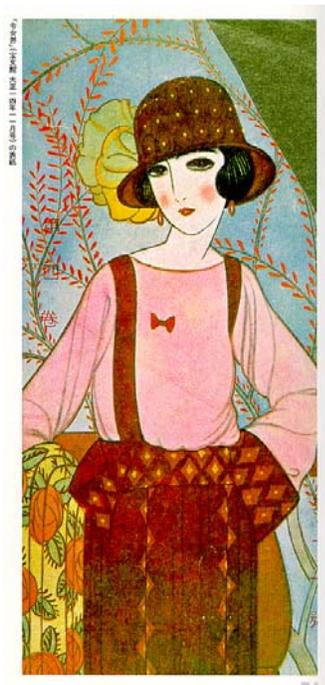


Figure 110 Fukiya Kōji
Reijokai, 1925



Figure 111 Fukiya Kōji
Dream of the Water Lily



Figure 112 Fukiya Kōji
Tragic Smile

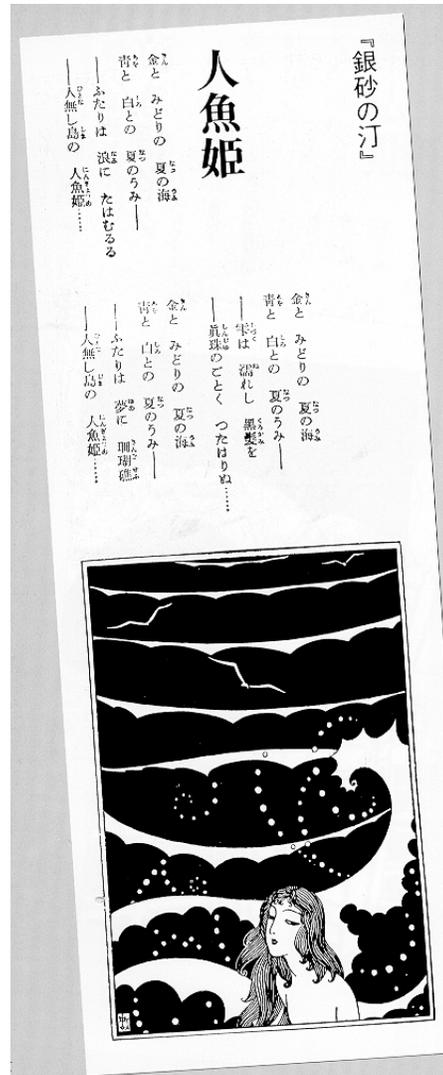


Figure 113 Fukiya Kōji
Silver Sand



Figure 114 Aubrey Beardsley
Morte D'Arthur

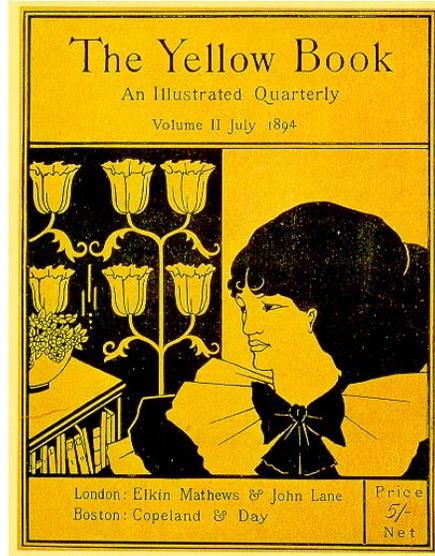


Figure 115 Aubrey Beardsley
The Yellow Book



Figure 116 Aubrey Beardsley
Illustration for *Salome*

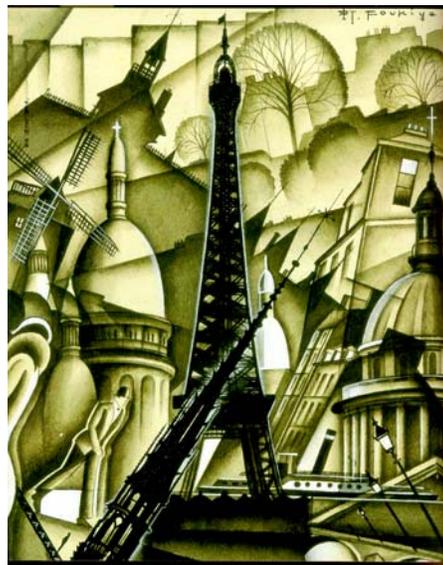


Figure 117 Fukiya Kōji
Walk in Paris



Figure 118 Fukiya Kōji
Illustration in *Chaohua*



Figure 119 Fukiya Kōji
Illustration in *Chaohua*



Figure 120 Feng Zikai
Illustrations in *The Short Story Magazine*

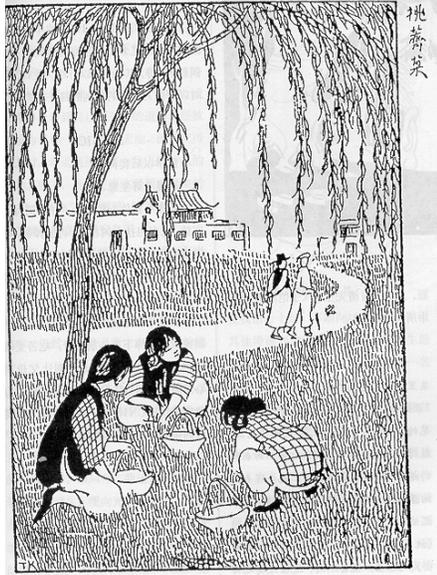


Figure 121 Feng Zikai
Picking Vegetables

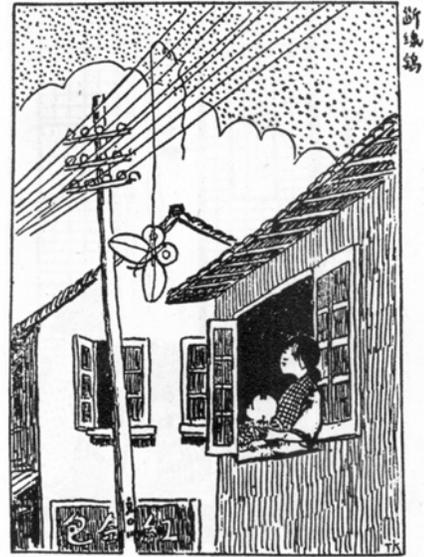


Figure 122 Feng Zikai
Broken Kite

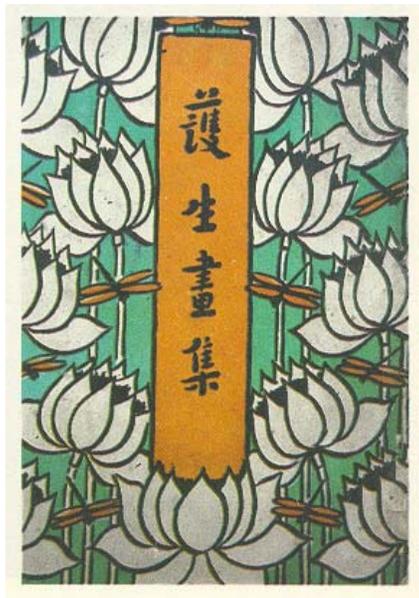


Figure 123 Feng Zikai
Cover of Paintings on the Preservation of Life



Figure 124 Feng Zikai
Cover of the Second Volume of the Paintings on the Preservation of Life



Figure 125 Feng Zikai
Illustration of *A-min*



Figure 126 Feng Zikai
A Girl in Autumn



Figure 127 Feng Zikai
Sell Flowers

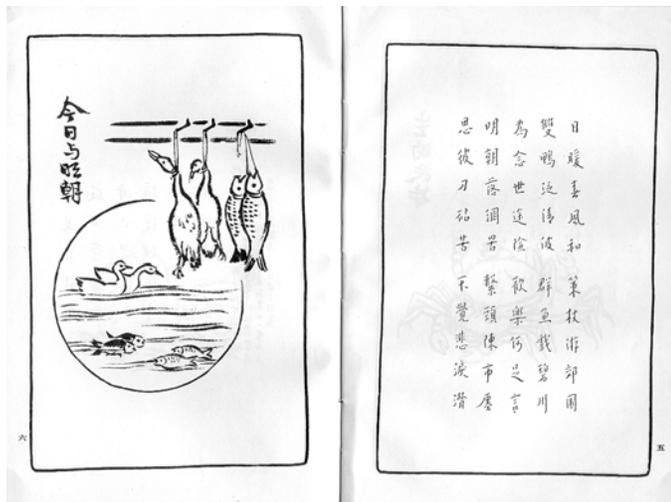


Figure 128 Feng Zikai
Today and Tomorrow



Figure 129 Feng Zikai
The Price of Feasts



Figure 130 Feng Zikai
The Maimed Beauty

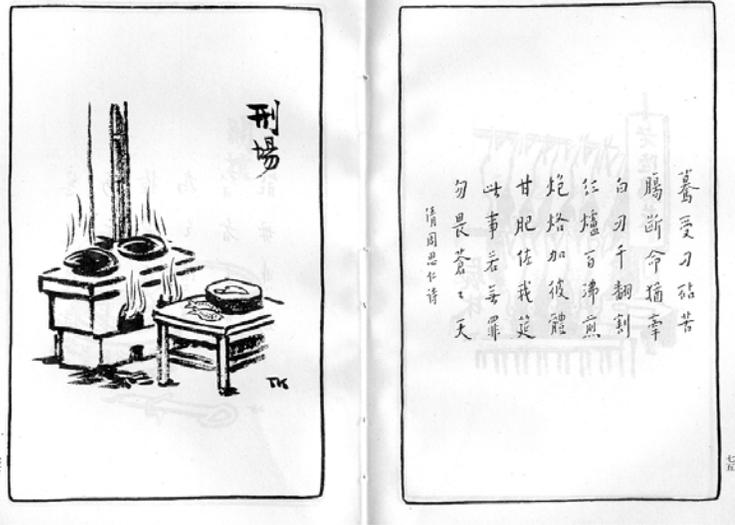


Figure 131 Feng Zikai
Execution Ground

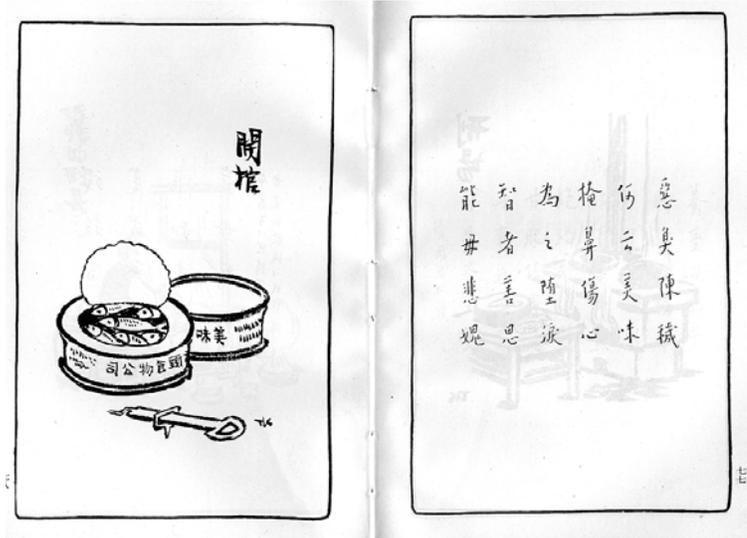


Figure 132 Feng Zikai
Open Coffin

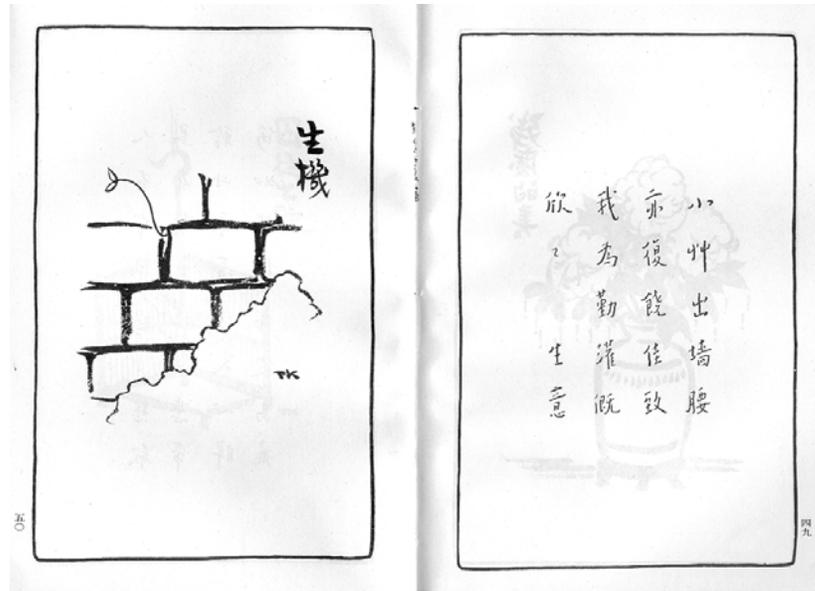


Figure 133 Feng Zikai
The Instinct for Life



Figure 134 Feng Zikai
Silent Appreciation



Figure 135 Feng Zikai
Pull Arrow



Figure 136 Feng Zikai
Historical Anecdote

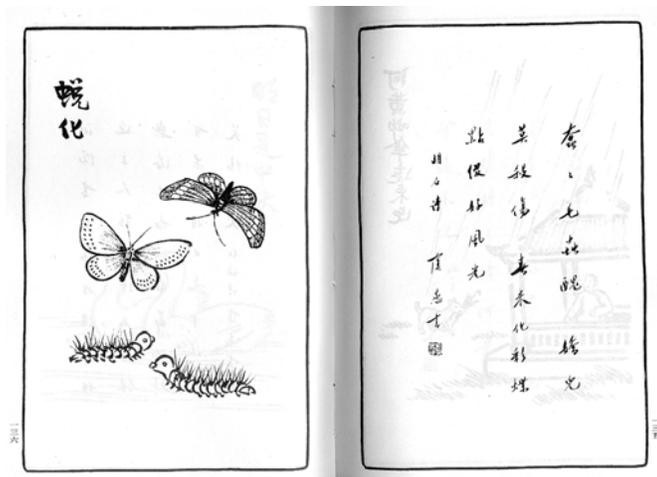


Figure 137 Feng Zikai
Historical Anecdote



Figure 138 Feng Zikai
Teacher was gone When I Arrived



Figure 139 Feng Zikai
Our July, 1924



Figure 140 Luo Pin
The Delights of the Ghosts



Figure 141 Zhang Yuguang
Satirical cartoon, 1911



Figure 142 *Eastern Times (Shibao)*
Painting on current affairs, 1909



谁谓中国国民尚能享受自由幸福耶? (1918) 沈泊尘

Figure 143 Shen Bochen
Satirical cartoon, 1918

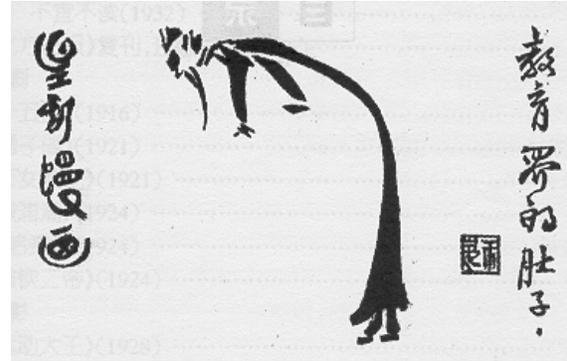


Figure 144 He Yu
The Belly of the Educational World



Figure 145 Fang Sheng Manhua



图① 逾墙 1909年 陈师曾

Figure 146 Chen Shizeng
Astride a Wall



Figure 147 Xie Zhuntai
Picture of Current Affairs, 1903



Figure 148
Shishi manhua



Figure 149
Manhua Bird

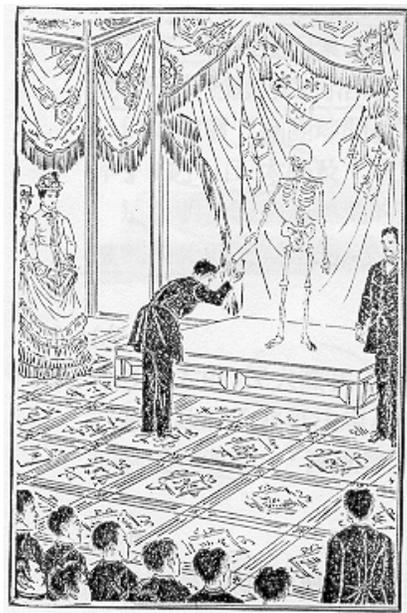


Figure 150
Meiji satirical illustration



Figure 151



Figure 152 Feng Zikai
Last Year's Teacher



Figure 153



Figure 154 Feng Zikai
Indirect Self-Feeding



Figure 155 Feng Zikai
Buying Rice Dumpling, 1925



Figure 156 Feng Zikai
Education



Figure 157 Hyperbole Method



Figure 158 Feng Zikai
Study Hard



Figure 159 Feng Zikai
Betrayer

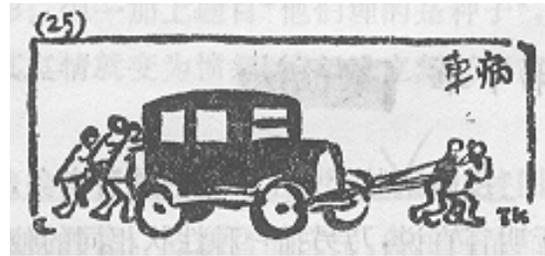


Figure 160 Feng Zikai
Sick Car



Figure 161 Feng Zikai
Elevator of Education

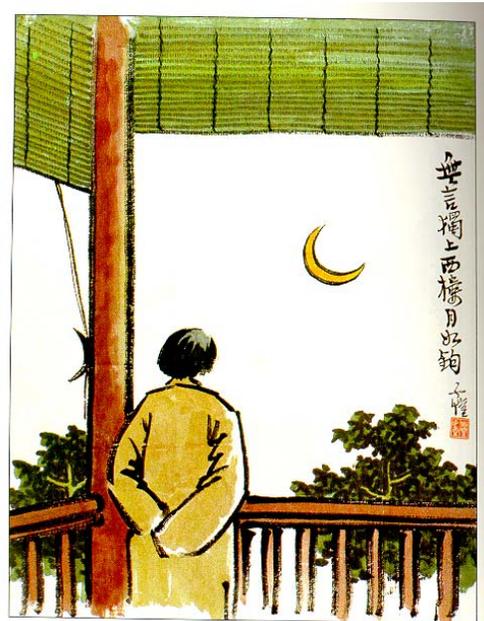


Figure 162 Feng Zikai
Quietly up the Western Tower



Figure 163 Feng Zikai
Making Friends with Birds



Figure 164 Feng Zikai
The Music Class in Village, 1930



Figure 165 Feng Zikai
Shy



Figure 166 Feng Zikai
Outside Qingtai Gate



Figure 167 Sengai
Nasen Cut the Cat



Figure 168 Wang Zhen
Wisteria, 1923



Figure 169 Wang Zhen
Putai, 1921



Figure 170 Feng Zikai
Spring in the Metropolis



Figure 171 Feng Zikai
Peanuts are not Enough, 192



Figure 172 Feng Zikai
Ruanruan the Bride, Zhanzhan the Bridegroom, Sister Bao Plays the Go-between



Figure 173 Feng Zikai
A-bao has Two Legs, The Stool has Four Legs
 1926



Figure 174 Feng Zikai
Zhanzhan's Bicycle, 1926

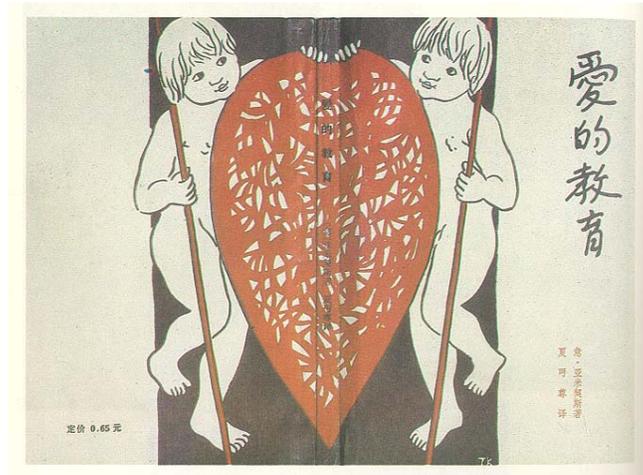


Figure 175 Feng Zikai
Cover of Heart



Figure 176 Feng Zikai
Illustration for *The Short Story Magazine*



Figure 177 Feng Zikai
Illustration for *Red Riding Hood*



Figure 178 Feng Zikai
Illustration for *Snow White*



Figure 179 Feng Zikai
The Suffering of Children



Figure 180 Feng Zikai
Associations on the Cutting of Hedges, 1949



Figure 181 Feng Zikai
Certain Kinds of Teachers



Figure 182 Feng Zikai
The Winter of Shantytown, 1931



Figure 183 Feng Zikai
Traveling Barber, 1934



Figure 184 Feng Zikai
Farmers Toiling in the Twilight, 1934

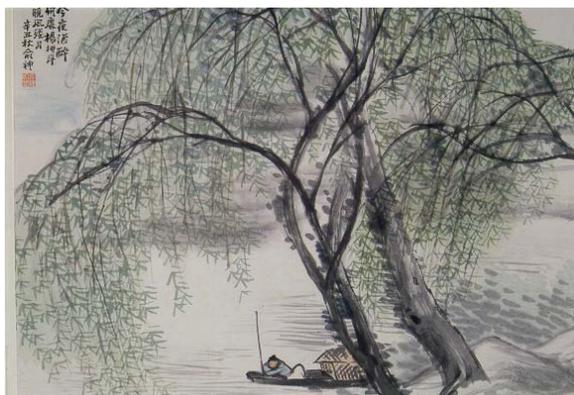


Figure 185 Yu Li
Landscape



Figure 186 Feng Zikai
Double Famine, 1934

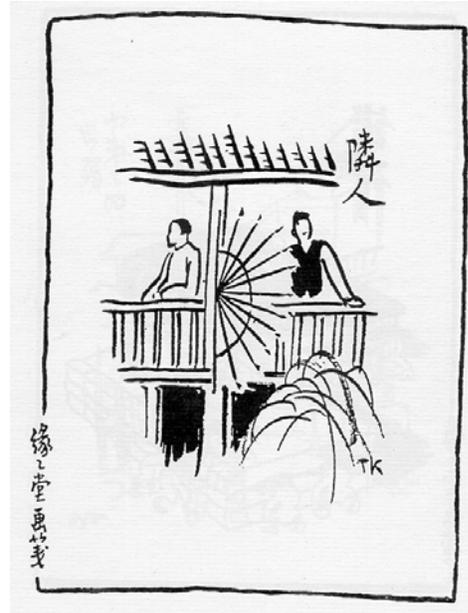


Figure 187 Feng Zikai
Neighbors

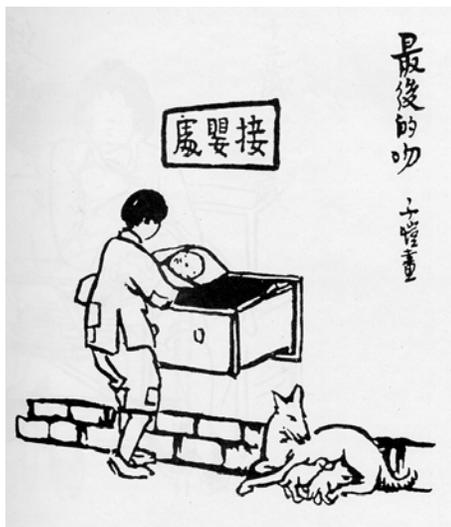


Figure 188 Feng Zikai
Last Kiss, 1934

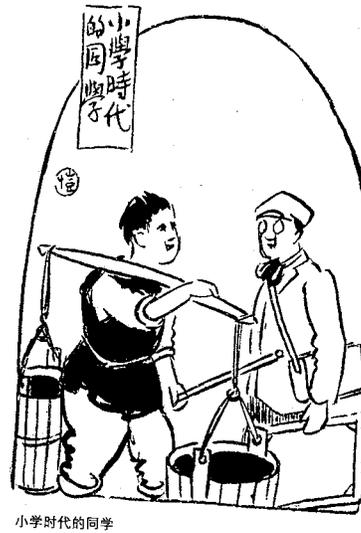


Figure 189 Feng Zikai
Classmates from Elementary School

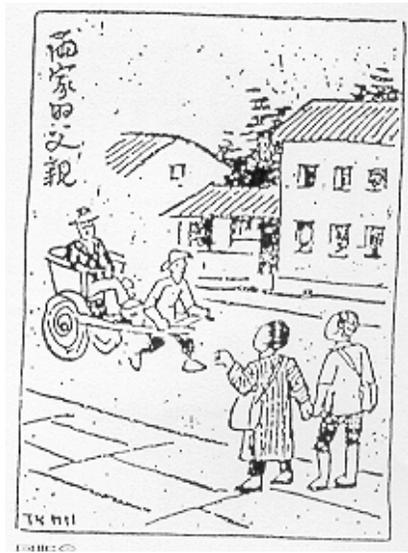


Figure 190 Feng Zikai
Two Fathers



Figure 191 Takehisa Yumeji
Classmate from Elementary School

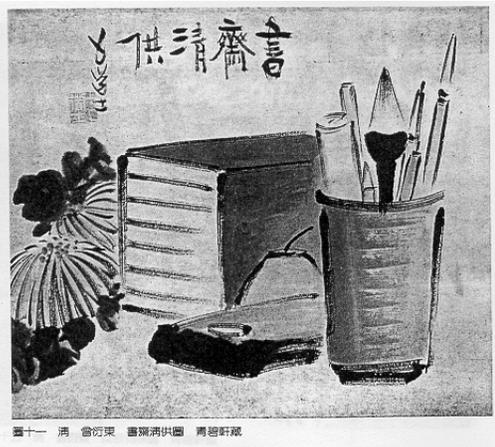


Figure 192 Zeng Yandong
Studio



Figure 193 Zeng Yandong
River Scene in Autumn



Figure 194 Feng Zikai
A Mother's Head Severed



Figure 195 Feng Zikai
Refugee



Figure 196 Feng Zikai
Let the Blood of the Martyrs Nourish the Flower of Freedom, ca. 1939



Figure 197 Feng Zikai
Resurrection, ca. 1939

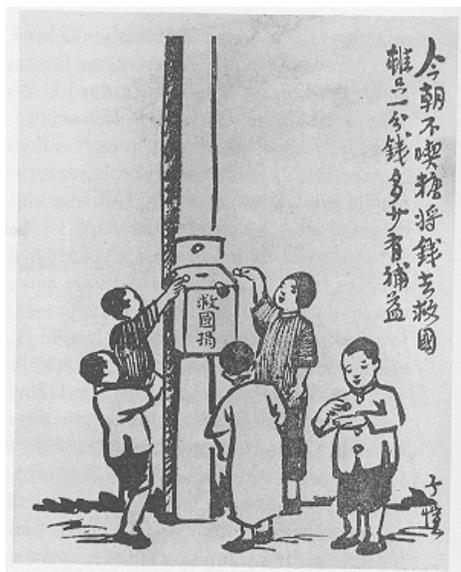


Figure 198 Feng Zikai
Patriotic Children, 1939



Figure 199 Tan Bi
Brutal Japanese Soldiers

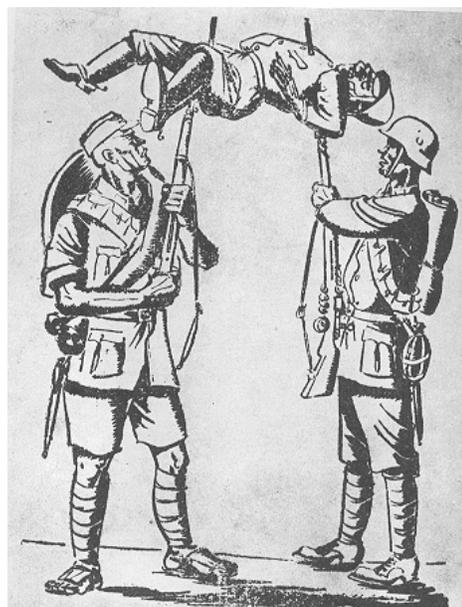


Figure 200 Wang Zimei
Let's Beat Our Enemy Together



Figure 201 Feng Zikai
War and Flower



Figure 202 Feng Zikai
*Were I am an Angel,
 I would Stop the Bomb in the Air*

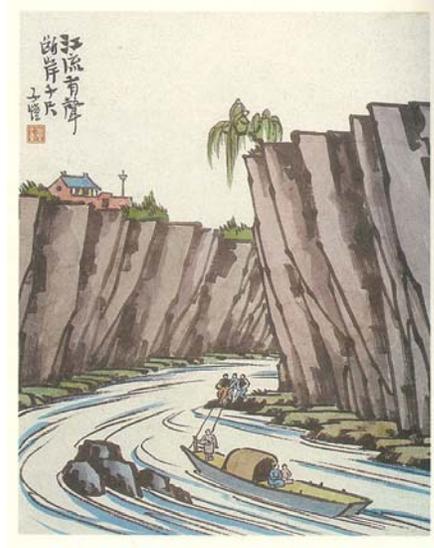


Figure 203 Feng Zikai
A River Murmuring at a High Hill

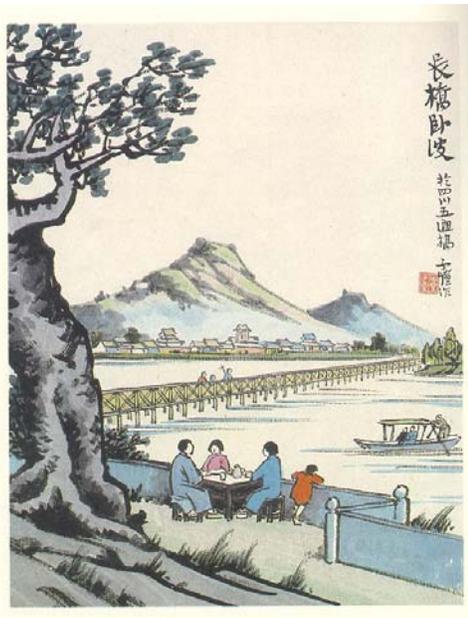


Figure 204 Feng Zikai
A Long Bridge over River Waves



Figure 205 Feng Zikai
Gazing at the Lake

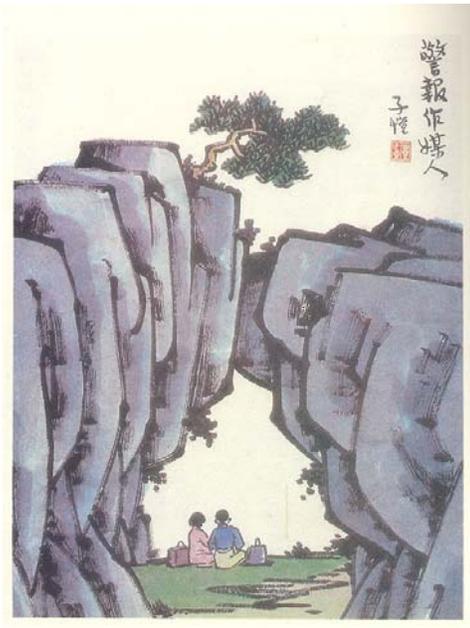


Figure 206 Feng Zikai
Air Raid Alarm Plays the Role of a Go-between



Figure 207 Feng Zikai
To Reach the Acme



Figure 208 Feng Zikai
The Wonton Stall



Figure 209 Feng Zikai
Beating of Gongs and Drums

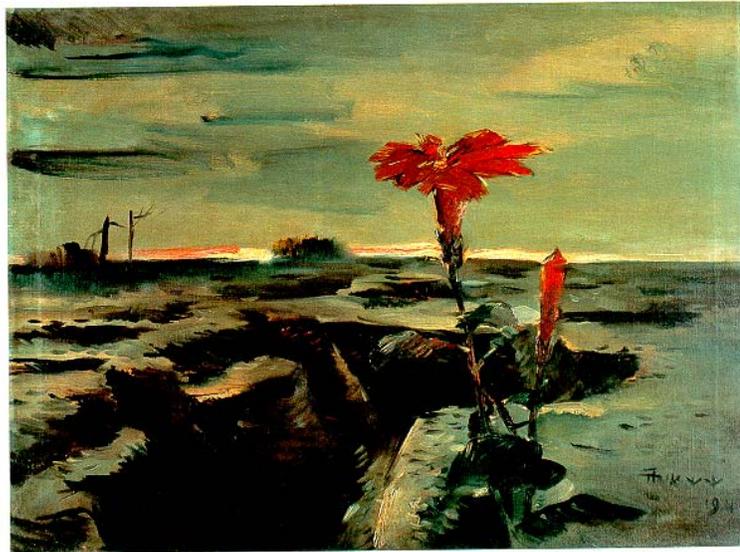


Figure 210 Chen Qiuchao
Flower Above the Trenches, 1940



Figure 211 Feng Zikai
Ear Cleaning

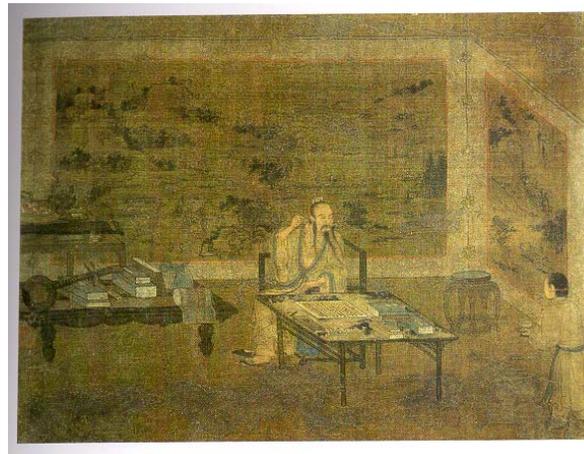


Figure 212 Anonymous, N. Song Dynasty
Ear Cleaning



Figure 213 Feng Zikai
Cool Down



Figure 214 Ren Yi
In the Cool Shade of the bamboo Tree, 1888

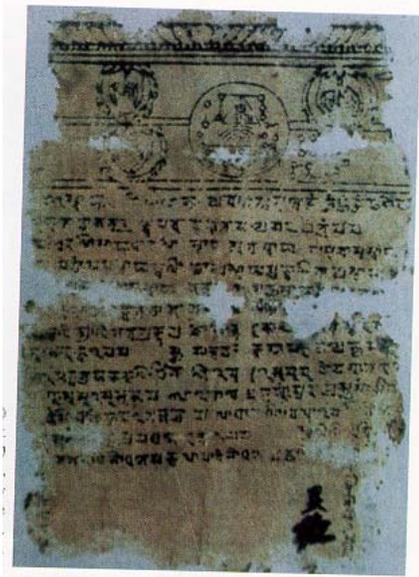


Fig. 215 Earliest woodblock-carved publication
Dated: 607 C.E.

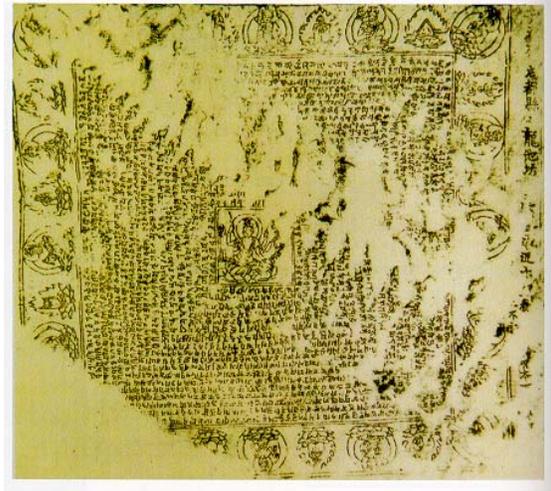


Fig. 216 The *Dharani Sutra*
Dated: the 8th century



Fig. 217 The *Diamond Sutra* (金剛波羅密經)
Carved by Wang Jie, 868 C.E



文殊師利菩薩像 (五代刻印)
A portrait of Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Supreme Wisdom.



Fig. 218 *Print of Bodhisattva Manjusri* Fig. 219 *A Guide to the Chan Master Manjusri*
Five Dynasty Engraved in the Song Dynasty

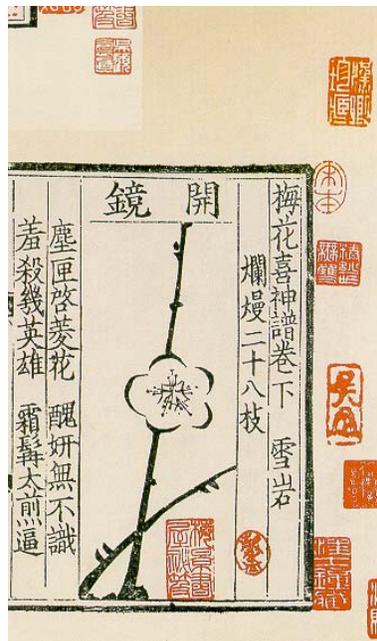


Fig. 220 *Plum Blossom Manual*



Fig. 221 Commentaries of the Diamond Sutra
Printed in two-color printing, Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368)



Fig. 222 A Story-telling Version of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms
Dated to 1321 – 1327



Fig. 223 Illustration of fiction
(三歲平妖傳), the Ming Dynasty



Fig. 224 Illustration of fiction
(奇妙全像西廂記), 1499



Fig. 225 Picturing of Tilling and Weaving, 1696

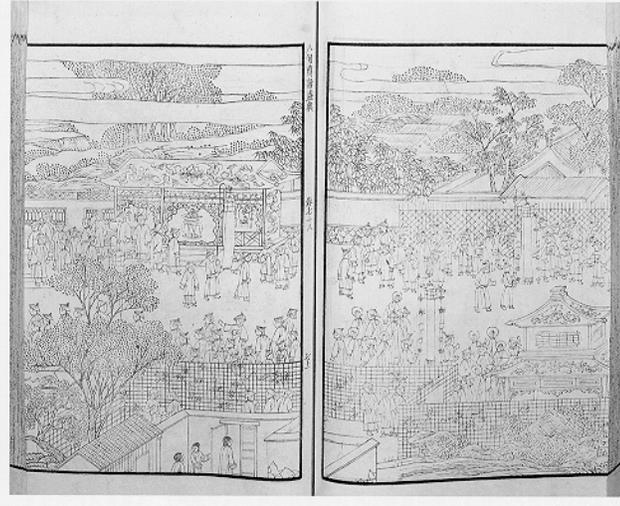


Fig. 226 *Celebrating the Emperor's Eightieth Birthday*

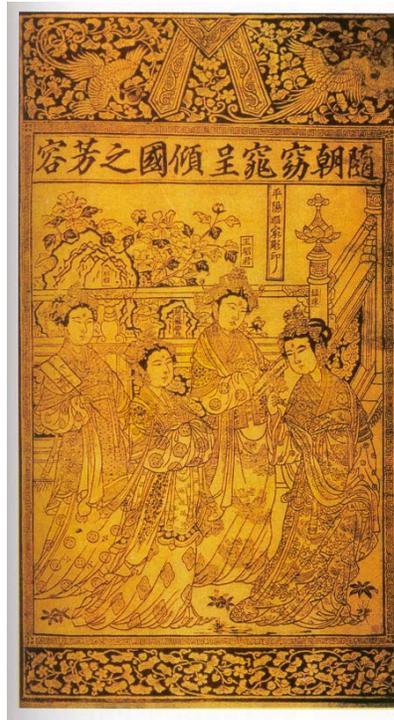


Fig. 227 *The Four Beauties*



Fig. 228
The Tushanwan Crafts Center



Fig. 229
The Stone-touching Studio Pictorial



Fig. 230
Fleeting Shadow Pavilion Pictorial



Fig. 231
The Youzheng Book Company and technique of collotype
(*Shibao*, 1909, Dec. 13, first page)



Fig. 232 Ad for Wang Meng's
Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains
(*Shibao*, 1909, Dec. 14, unpagued)



Fig. 233 Ad for
Masterpieces of Chinese Painting Vol. 7
(*Shibao*, 1909, Dec. 13, unpagued)

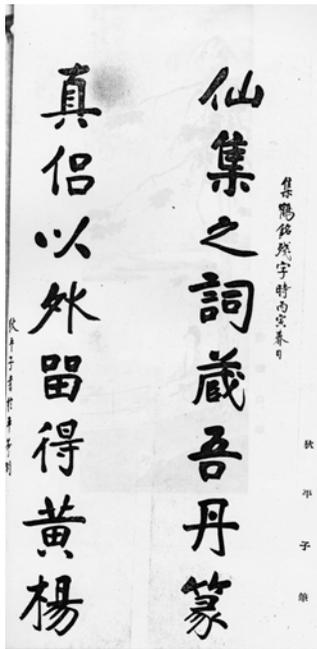


Fig. 234 Di Pingzi
Couplet



Fig. 235 Di Pingzi
Ink Bamboo



Figure 236 Feng Zikai
Kaiming First English Book



Figure 237 Feng Zikai
Illustration of the *Kaiming First English Book*



Figure 238 Feng Zikai
Pinocchio



Figure 239 Feng Zikai
Introduction to Music, 1926

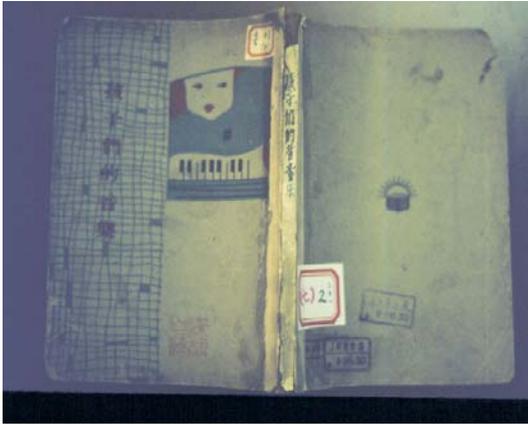


Figure 240 Qian Juntao designed
Music for Children



Figure 241 Feng Zikai
Knowledge of Music



Figure 242 Feng Zikai
Cartooning Methods, 1943



Figure 243
The Juvenile Student

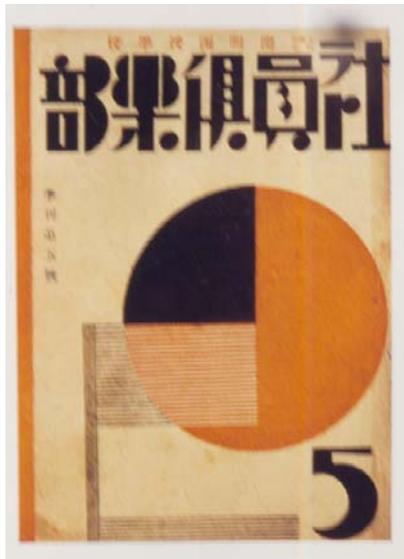


Figure 244
Member's Club Quarterly
For the Kaiming Correspondence School



Figure 245
Pencil Drawing
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 246
Design
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 247
Cover Design
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 248
Cover Design
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 249
Landscape
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 250
Manhua on Current Affairs
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student

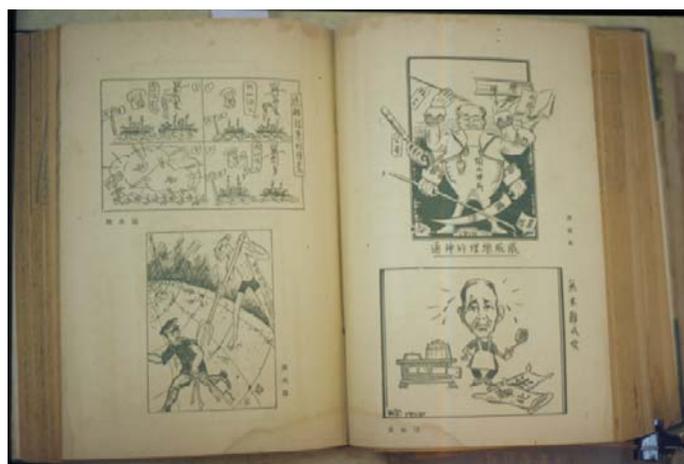


Figure 251
Manhua on Current Affairs
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student

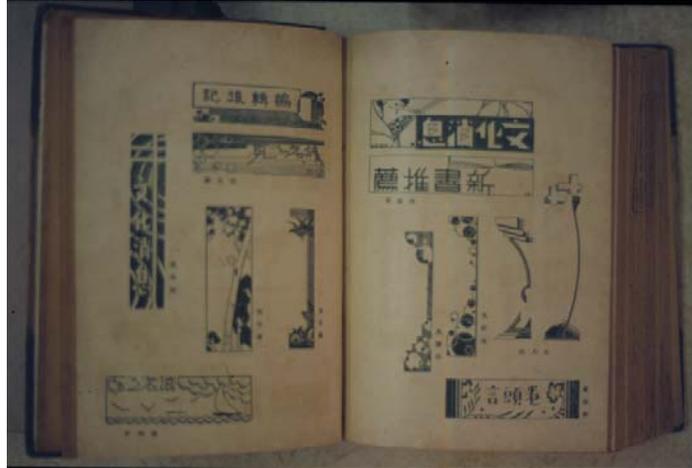


Figure 252
Illustration
Fine Arts Competition
The Juvenile Student



Figure 253 Qian Juntao
Violin Cello, 1926



Figure 254 Qian Juntao
Cover Design



Fig. 255 Student's work
From Fine Arts Competition
(attributed to Mo Zhiheng)

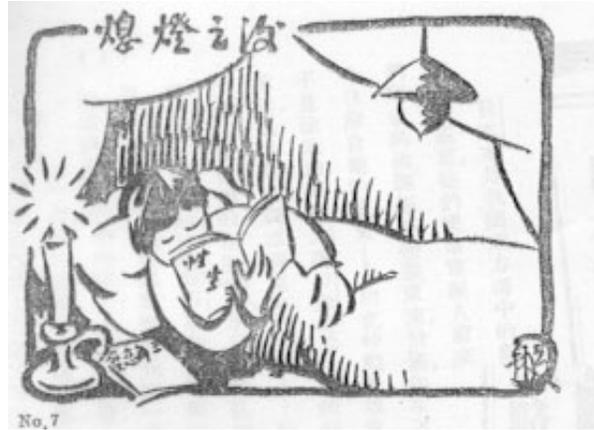


Fig. 256 Student's work
From Fine Arts Competition



Figure 257 Student's work
From Fine Arts Competition



Figure 258
The Young Companion



Figure 259 Feng Zikai
Collection of Zikai's Paintings, 1927

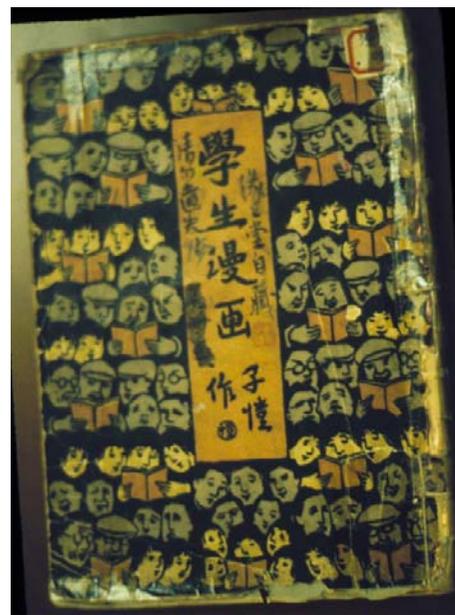


Figure 260 Feng Zikai
Students' Cartoons, 1931



Figure 261 Feng Zikai
Children's Cartoons, 1932



Figure 262 Feng Zikai
Phenomenon of the Mundane World, 1935



Figure 263 Feng Zikai
Reborn Cartoons, 1947



Figure 264
Illustrated Our Story of A-Q



Figure 265
Demonstration



Figure 266
La Dame aux camellias (Chahuanü yishi)

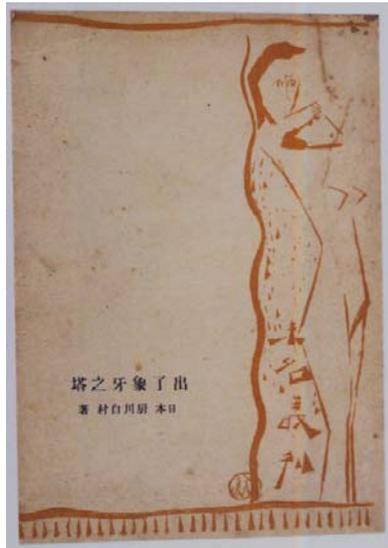


Figure 267 Tao Yuanqing
Out of the Ivory Tower



Figure 268 Sugiura Hisui
Poster



Figure 269 Tao Yuanqing
Worker Zweilov



Figure 270 Tao Yuanqing
Snot A-er



Figure 271 Mo Zhiheng
Fables of Aesop



Figure 272 Qian Juntao
New Women



Figure 273 Qian Juntao
Shadow



Figure 274 Qian Juntao
Two Trails of Blood



Figure 275 Qian Juntao
Literary Arts and Sex

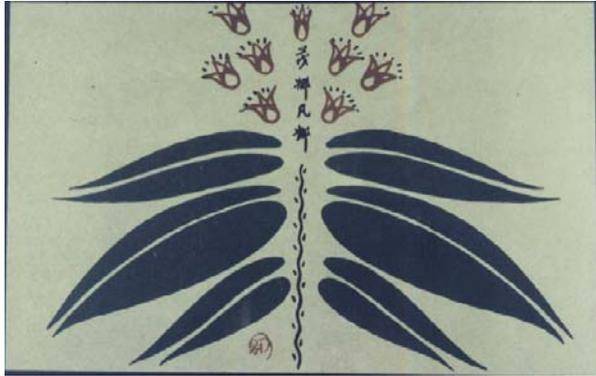


Figure 276 Qian Juntao
Maona fanna



Figure 277 Qian Juntao
Spring Day



Figure 278 Qian Juntao
Three Sisters

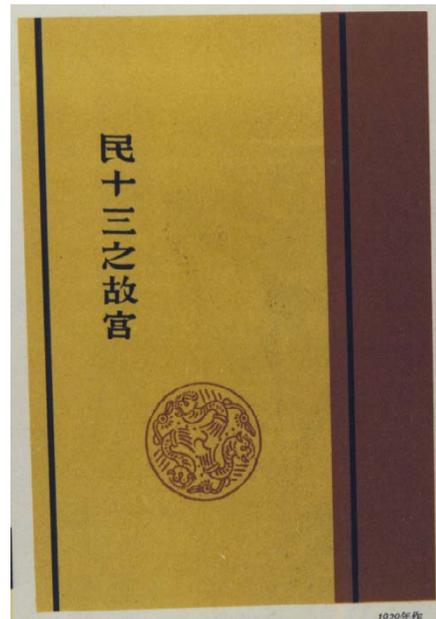


Figure 279 Qian Juntao
*The Imperial Palace
in the Thirteenth Year of the Republic*



Figure 280 Qian Juntao
Ancient People



Figure 281 Qian Juntao
Collection of Tang Poems

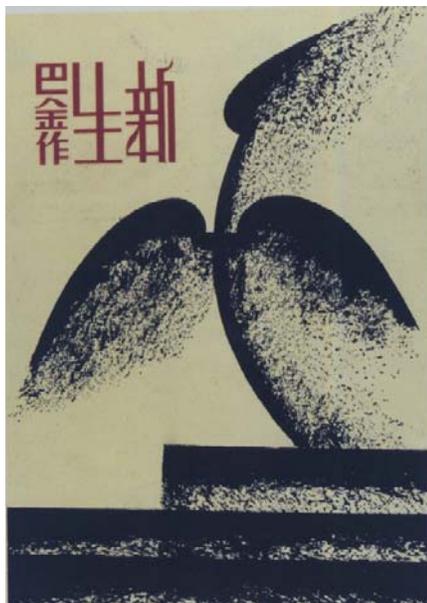


Figure 282 Qian Juntao
New Life



Figure 283 Qian Juntao
Snow Man



Figure 284 Qian Juntao
Collection of Harmonica Music

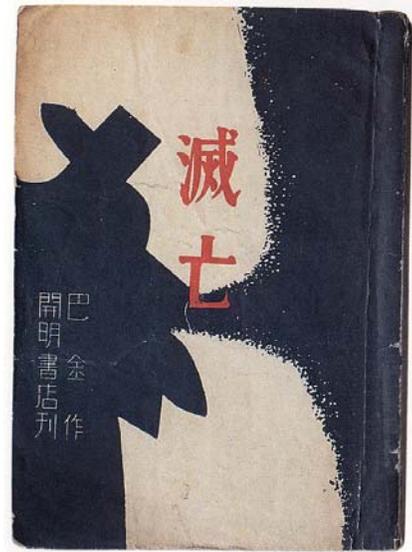


Figure 285 Qian Juntao
Annihilation



Figure 286 Feng Zikai
Album of Brush Paintings



Figure 287 Fukiya Koji
Illustration, 1924

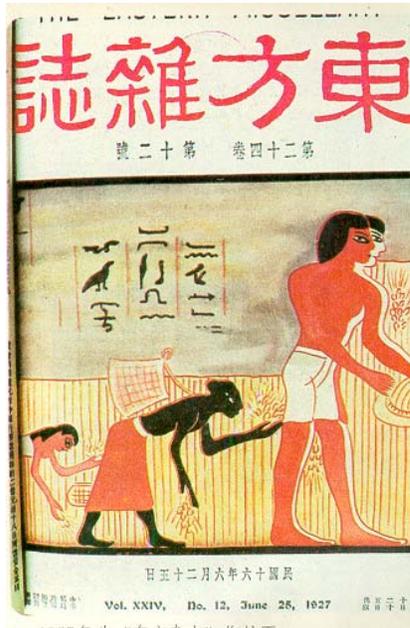


Figure 288 Chen Zhifo
Cover of *Eastern Miscellany*



Figure 289 Qian Juntao
Cover of *Eastern Miscellany*

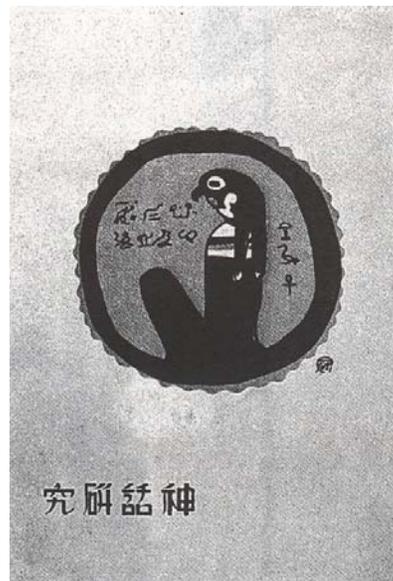


Figure 290 Qian Juntao
Study of Mythology



Figure 291 Qian Juntao
Violin Cello, 1926



Figure 292 Qian Juntao
Cover Design

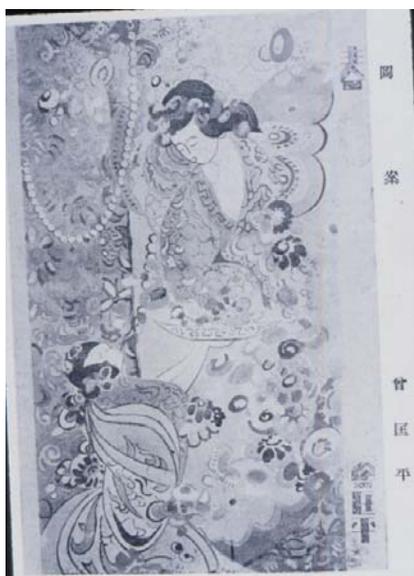


Figure 293 Zeng Kuangping
Design from Meizhan tekan

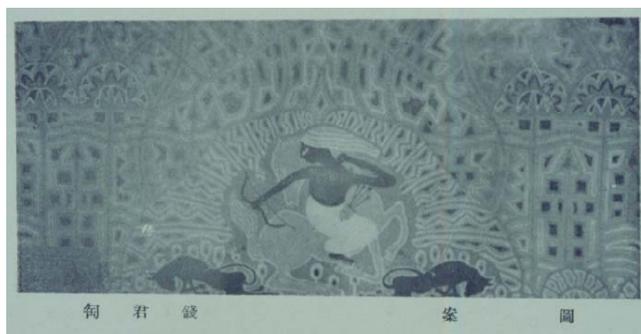


Figure 294 Qian Juntao
Design from Meizhan tekan



Figure 295
Pattern on Futurism in Modern Industry

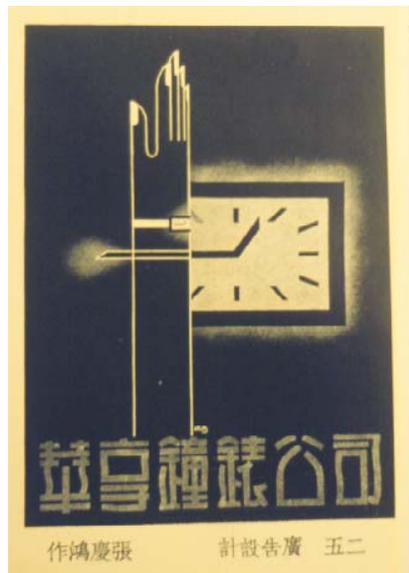


Figure 296
 Commercial design



Figure 297
 Wall paper design

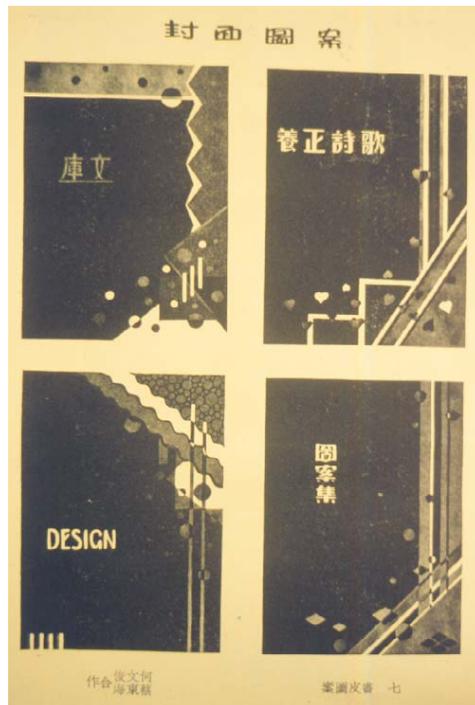


Figure 298
Book cover design