# Traditionalism, Transnationalism, and Modernism in Fu Baoshi's 1943 Paintings of the Red Cliff

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines two paintings on the subject of the Red Cliff boat trip (*Chibi zhouyou*) both made in 1943 by the modern Chinese ink painter, Fu Baoshi (1904-1965). In the history of Chinese painting, the Red Cliff is an unfading memorial in the collective memory of Chinese literati, and was a common subject rendered by painters in different times. However, Fu's Red Cliff paintings render a new image of the Red Cliff that differs dramatically from Red Cliff paintings created by pre-modern Chinese painters, and the two Red Cliff paintings made by Fu in the same year also differ a lot from each other in style and compositional mode. In chapter 1, I will discover the ambiguity and flexibility of the Red Cliff as a subject of painting throughout history, which allows painters including Fu Baoshi to create their own imagery of the Red Cliff for certain needs. This section discovers "the Red Cliff" in the world of painting and literature throughout history with visual and documentary materials and will introduce Fu's two 1943 Red Cliff paintings with visual analysis. Chapter 2 will uncover the possible point of origin of Fu Baoshi's images of the Red Cliff paintings, the modern Japanese art world, which served Fu as a source of motifs, painting techniques, and compositional modes and also inspired him to depict Chinese historical figures and stories as modern fantasies of the past. This section will elaborate on the unavoidably international character of Fu Baoshi's art, examines visual evidence and will portray a bidirectional interest between modern China and Japan that enabled painters like Fu Baoshi to benefit from this trend of artistic and cultural exchanges. Chapter 3 will discover the intention and motivations of Fu's making of the 1943 Red Cliff paintings, considering the political environment of Chongqing in the 1940s and Fu's interpersonal relationship with the writer Guo Moruo (1892-1978). Meanwhile, this section will also examine the dilemma and challenge that modern Chinese ink painters had to face, especially in the 1940s during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).

This thesis contributes to a more complete and complex image of the modern Chinese painter Fu Baoshi. Fu enjoys an unchallengeable position as a nationally important artist in mainland China, and Chinese researchers tend to ignore Fu's embracing of foreign elements in his art. More importantly, through the case of Fu Baoshi, whose artistic life reflects the development of *guohua* in twentieth-century

China, this thesis also examines the contradictory character of *guohua* as a modern invention and as an unapproachable ideal, for its concepts and content always contradict each other.

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# INTRODUCTION

What was the motivation behind a modern Chinese painter's creation of an image of an eleventh-century Chinese poet going on a boat trip with his friends to the site of a third-century battle? And how did he make use of a recurring motif in Chinese painting history to express his own artistic and political ideals? Furthermore, what made modern Chinese painting "modern"? And what made modern Chinese painting "Chinese"? How did Chinese painters in the early twentieth-century inherit and develop the so-called "tradition" of Chinese painting? This thesis attempts to offer answers to the questions listed above through examining two paintings made by the modern Chinese ink painter Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965) in 1943 during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The two paintings share the same subject——the Red Cliff Boat trip (C*hibi zhouyou* 赤壁舟遊).[1] One of the Red Cliff paintings is now in the Mactaggart Art Collection and is among many of Fu's paintings overseas. The other Red Cliff painting that Fu made in 1943 is now in the art collection of the Beijing Palace Museum and may bear a complex political importance.

Although Su Shi's boat trip to the site of the Battle of the Red Cliff was a common theme in the history of Chinese painting, Fu's images of the Red Cliff differ notably from pre-modern

[1] In the thirteenth reign year of Han emperor Xiandi 漢獻帝 (208 CE), the Red Cliff was the stage of the battle in which the young Wu general Zhou Yu 周瑜 (175-210) defeated the Wei Kingdom ruler Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220). As one of the most famous battles in Chinese history, the Battle of Red Cliff 赤壁之戰 is known as a heroic event in which a smaller army defeated a larger one, and the result of the battle marked the beginning of Three Kingdoms Era. After more than eight hundred years, the Song Dynasty poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), art name Dongpo 東坡, went on a boat trip to the"Red Cliff" with his friends and latter composed a series of works based on his Red Cliff boat trip.

Red Cliff paintings. To create his own images of the pre-modern subject, Fu actively borrowed motifs, compositional modes, and painting techniques from Western and modern Japanese art. This artistic innovation is partly representative of the development of Chinese ink painting in the early and middle twentieth-century.

Nowadays, Fu Baoshi is one of the most celebrated *guohua* 國畫 painters of the early twentieth-century. However, the art form *guohua* that his paintings are thought to exemplify is much more ambiguous than it is generally recognized. The term "g*uohua*"is usually translated as "traditional Chinese painting" into English and is a complex and contradictory term, as it is always claimed to be old and traditional but is not.[2] In modern and contemporary China, almost everything painted with ink is attributed to the category of *guohua*, no matter if it is a landscape painted by a tenth century literatus or a twentieth-century painting based on a communist leader's poem. This obscures true continuities between pre-modern Chinese paintings and modern Chinese paintings, and it asserts the existence of continuities that may not exist. It is noticeable that although painting in ink and/or colors on silk or paper has a long history in China, *guohua* is a newly invented term in the twentieth-century. It was created for distinguishing Chinese painting traditions from foreign ones and mostly refers to modern works that can differ a lot from pre-modern ones. Since the term *guohua* is complex and makes a nationalistic claim about modern and pre-modern ink painting's continuity, in this research I will use the word "ink painting" when referring to paintings created by modern and pre-modern Chinese painters with ink or ink and colour on paper or on silk.

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[2] For definition of "guohua" and English translation of the term see Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 3 (August 1990): 556.

The establishment of the term *guohua* may have emerged partly as a reaction to modern China's awareness of "art" (*yishu* 藝術 in Chinese and *geijiutsu* 藝術 in Japanese), which was a new concept borrowed from modern Japan along with such terminologies as "science" (*kexue* 科學 in Chinese and *kagaku* 科学 in Japanese) and "democracy" (*minzhu* 民主 in Chinese and *minshu* 民主 in Japanese), indicating the effort of heading towards modernization through introducing Western ideologies. It was at the time when painting was being recognized as a form of "art" that it started to be institutionalized and modernized and played a significant role in the commercial, political and educational fields.[3] Against and also in the middle of this wave of Westernization, when facing an ideological crisis Chinese intellectuals also sought to preserve the essence of China's past, through the "national essence movement" (*guocui yundong* 國粹運動) that flourished from the 1900s to the 1940s.[4] In the world of art, *guohua* or "Chinese painting" (*zhongguohua* 中國畫) was expected to represent the "Chinese spirit" and to distinguish the Chinese painting tradition from Western ones, although lots of *guohua* artists, including painters of the Shanghai school (*Shanghai huapai* 上海畫派) and Lingnan school (*Lingnan huapai* 嶺南畫派) were actively absorbing foreign elements into their artistic

[3] For the formalization of guohua as a modern art practice see Pedith Chan, "The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of Guohua Art Societies in Republican Shanghai," *Modern China*, no. 5 (September 2013): 541-70.

[4] For an account of the national essence movement see Walter Davis, "Art, National Essence Movement in," in *Encyclopedia of Modern China* ed. David Pong (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2009), 113-15.

creations.[5] *Guohua* came into being at a time when China was on its ways to becoming a modern nation and was undergoing reforms, and Chinese art was struggling to find its way of modernization. In this process, Japan, which was then a model of a modernized nation for many Chinese reformers, played a significant role. It is arguable that many modern Chinese painters found models in Japan, where *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese-style painting) had been established in comparison with *yoga* 洋画 (Western-style painting) as means of separating Japanese art from Western artistic traditions and "preserving the national essence" (*kokusui hozon* 国粋保存) of Japan.[6] For many modern Chinese painters, Japan was a source of new motifs, subjects and painting techniques. As James Cahill has pointed out, the artistic interchange between China and Japan in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries is significant and by no means one-way.[7] In the context of ink painting, there was an overlapping of modern Chinese and Japanese painters' efforts of recreating and reinterpreting an East Asian artistic tradition to fit it into the modern context. From the end of nineteenth century to the PRC era, when studying and appreciating modern Japanese art, some modern Chinese painters were rediscovering the "Chinese tradition" in Japan by adapting Japanese painting techniques, motifs, and compositional modes, especially

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[5] Painters came from and active in Guangzhou are known as the Lingnan school. For a study of Lingnan school painters see Christina Chu, "The Lingnan School and Its Followers: Radical Innovation in Southern China," in *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* ed. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 64-79; for an account of Shanghai school painters see Shan Guolin, "Painting of China's New Metropolis: The Shanghai School, 1850-1900," in *A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China* ed. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 20-63.

[6] Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign," 557.

[7] James Cahill, "Nihonga Painters in the Nanga tradition," *Oriental Art*, no. 2 (Summer,1996): 4.

ones from *nihonga*.[8] As a result the establishment of *guohua* in the sense of the "national painting" of China benefitted from the flourishing cultural exchange between China and its neighbor and had an undeniable international characteristic from the beginning.[9] This has been largely ignored by accounts of *guohua* that assume its traditionalism and nationalistic character, which has been done deliberately or unconsciously by *guohua* painters, art critics, and some art historians.

*Guohua* as a painting form went through several significant changes, and as Aida Yuen Wong has argued *guohua* is "more a goal than a established tradition."[10] Moreover, the raison d'etre of *guohua* kept changing from time to time under different social conditions. Although it represented the glory of China's cultural heritages, in the 1920s and 1930s, *guohua's* existence was threatened when a traditionalist attitude was considered heresy in the Maoist era (1949-1978) and the the Communist Party dictated the main subjects for all artists, including those who still painted a reformed version of *guohua*.[11] Since the reform and opening-up (*gaige*

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[8] *Nihonga* 日本画 or Japanese-style painting is a painting form and a new concept being developed in twentieth-century Japan in response to *yoga*——Western-style painting. For a detailed introduction of the development and ongoing of *nihonga* see Ellen P. Cohen, *Nihonga Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting 1868-1968* (Washington: The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1995), 12-14. *Yoga* 洋画 or "Western-style painting," is the term used to describe paintings from Western art traditions like oil painting and water colour. In modern times *yoga* painters frequently depicted the subjects that they were more familiar with, many of which came from Chinese or Japanese classics.

[9] For studies of the international character of modern Chinese ink painting and Sino-Japanese artistic exchange in the early twentieth-century, see *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, ed Joshua A. Fogel (California: University of California Press, 2013).

[10] Aida Wong Yuen, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), xxiii.

[11] Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Right Campaign," 558.

*kaifang* 改革開放) of China, *guohua* has once again become representative of China's cultural heritage regardless of the changing painting practices and modern, nationalistic subjects adopted by contemporary *guohua* painters.[12]

Fu Baoshi, whose tomb and many of whose paintings were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), is now celebrated as an"artist for the people."[13] In 1959, Fu Baoshi completed one of the most well-known paintings in his life together with the Lingnan school painter Guan Shanyue 關山月(1912-2000), titled on one line from Mao Zedong's poem, *How Beautiful This Land Is* (*Jiang shan ru ci duo jiao* 江山如此多嬌). The painting was ordered by Communist Party leaders, who dramatically influenced the composition of the paintings, and the artists were forced to remake the painting several times based on the specific, although totally unprofessional instructions from Communist Party officials.[14] This huge painting, 5.5 by 9 meters, is the most notable artistic product in the Ten Great Building (S*hida jianzhu* 十大建築) project for celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and latter became a photographic background for foreign dignitaries.[15] Nowadays the painting is

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[12] For the development of *guohua* under different social contexts of modern China, see Julia F. Andrews, Claudia Brown, David E. Fraser, and Kuiyi Shen, *Between the Thunder and the Rain: Chinese Paintings from the Opium War to the Cultural Revolution, 1840-1979*, (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2000).

[13] Even before Cultural Revolution, Fu struggled to write piles of self-criticism reports and apologize for his "wrong attitude." Although Fu died just before Cultural Revolution started, he was recognized as an "enemy" during the Cultural Revolution and his remaining family suffered under what he escaped. See Chen Chunaxi*, Fu Baoshi* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiao yu chu ban she, 2000), 90.

[14] Julia F. *Andrews, Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979* (Berkely, University of California Press, 1995), 230-232.

[15] Ibid. For a brief introduction of the Ten Great Buildings project, see ibid., 228.

still hanging on the wall of the Great Hall of People, and large amounts of Fu's artworks were "donated" to the Beijing Palace Museum art collection.[16]

Like *guohua*, Fu Baoshi's art also underwent significant changes.[17] Fu lived through a moment of dramatic change in the history of Chinese ink painting in the twentieth century. Growing up in Xinyu, Jiangxi province in a poor family, Fu quit school several times for economic reasons, and he learned seal carving and painting mostly by himself. He was an unremarkable, poor young man teaching painting in a middle school when his life changed in 1931. In that year he brought his paintings to the painter and art educator Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953), who latter decided to support Fu's studying overseas, and Fu eventually went to Japan in September 1932. It was in Japan in the Imperial Art Academy (nowadays Musashino Art University) where Fu received formal art education for the first time, and after a three-year stay in Japan Fu's painting style changed dramatically from what it was in his early years.

The second turning point in Fu's artistic life came when he moved to Chongqing, the temporary war-time capital in 1939, firstly as a member of Third Bureau of the Department for Anti-Japanese Propaganda in the Politics Division (*Guomin zhengfu junshi wenyuanhui zhengzhibu disan ting* 國民政府軍事委員會政治部第三廳), having been invited by the Communist writer Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978).[18] Fu started to create large numbers of

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[16] Researcher has argued that the process of Fu's paintings being "donated" to the Beijing Palace Museum is unclear. Wang Qi, "Fu Baoshi huazuo rucang gugong bowuyuan de lishi xijie," in *Fu Baoshi yanjiu wenji*, ed. Fu Ershi, 298.

[17] For Fu Baoshi's biography see Ye Zonggao, *Fu Baoshi de shijie* (Taipei: Yizhitang Publishing House), 2004.

[18] Shelagh Vainker, "Fu Baoshi in Chongqing: Some Paintings in European Collections," *Arts Asiatiques* (2012): 91.

paintings, and he started to be well-known as a painter of landscapes and figures. He became well-known especially for his depiction of Chinese historical figures and stories.

In this study I argue that Fu's paintings of the latter type, especially the 1943 Red Cliff paintings, are not merely images of stories that happened in China's past. Besides Fu's personal interest in Chinese history and the traditionalist attitude he seems to have had, there were practical, political reasons for Fu to represent China's past visually. This fit into the overall context of the development of *guohua* during war time, and it indicates Fu's personal artistic and political pursuits.

My thesis examines the two 1943 Red Cliff paintings made by Fu Baoshi, arguing Fu's Red Cliff images and other images of Chinese historical figures and stories were informed by what he had witnessed and studied during his stay in Japan in the 1930s and were also closely related to the political context of Chongqing in the 1940s and Fu's personal relationship with the Communist Party leader in the world of literature, Guo Moruo. Through studying Fu's Red Cliff paintings and the context of his artistic creation in the early twentieth-century, I aim at capturing the contradictory attitude Fu Baoshi adopted as a traditionalist, a nationalist, and a revolutionary ink painter in twentieth-century China, and I argue that Fu's artistic life is a reflection of the development of modern Chinese ink painting in twentieth-century. The trajectory of *guohua* started in modern times, and the art form has a strong nationalistic inclination, as its name suggests. At the same time, from its origins *guohua* has an obviously international character that is consciously or unconsciously hidden or ignored. By studying the case of Fu, I hope to throw light on the concept of *guohua* as a paradox, on conflicts between its concepts and its contents, and on the ontology of *guohua* as a modern phenomenon.

**State of the field**

My thesis, examining a modern Chinese ink painter's visual representation of Chinese historical figures and stories, draws from scholarship on the development of modern Chinese art, especially studies of *guohua* and studies of Sino-Japanese artistic exchange in the early twentieth-century, which Fu took part in. My research is also built on Chinese and non-Chinese scholarship on Fu Baoshi and research on pre-modern Chinese and Japanese images of Su Shi and the Red Cliff.

Fu Baoshi has been celebrated for his artistic achievement, especially in mainland China, and he also enjoys an international fame after a series of exhibitions held overseas in the late twentieth-century.[19] Thus much scholarship has focused on Fu Baoshi and his art, examining his writing on Chinese art history, his innovation in ink painting, and his relationship with modern Japanese art. Despite Fu's international fame, Chinese scholarship makes up the largest portion of research on Fu Baoshi and his art. Taiwanese scholar Zhang Guoying's 1991 book did an overall analysis of Fu Baoshi, covering Fu's biography, Fu's research on Chinese art, Fu's adaptation of the Qing individualist artist Shitao 's 石濤 (1642-1707) art, and Japanese elements in Fu Baoshi's art. In the fourth chapter the author made a series of vivid comparisons between some of Fu Baoshi's famous paintings, including *Qu Yuan* (1942) and *Song of Pipa* (1948), with paintings by modern Japanese *nihonga* painters, including Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎 (1837-1924), Takeuchi Seiho 竹内栖鳳 (1864-1942), and Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪

[19] For exhibitions of Fu Baoshi overseas, see Anita Chung, "Of history and Nation: The Art of Fu Baoshi," in *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965)*, ed. Anita Chung (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2011), 17.

(1883-1945).[20] Zhang's observations have been followed by lots of scholars, including Aida Yuen Wong and the mainland scholar Lin Mu.[21]

Nowadays, Fu Baoshi's close relationship with the modern Japanese art world is almost a self-evident truth, even being admitted by mainland Chinese scholars.[22] However, Fu Baoshi is more often characterized in China as an "artist for the People"——a zealous communist, a talented painter who vividly transferred Mao Zedong's poetry into images, and an artist who belongs to the PRC and whose paintings were made for "the people." Representative of recent scholarship on Fu Baoshi in mainland China is the 2009 edited volume *Fu Baoshi yanjiu wenji* published by the "Fu Baoshi Research Society" (*Fu Baoshi yanjiu hui* 傅抱石研究会). It contains 57 essays about Fu Baoshi, with half written by Fu's students, friends, and contemporary supporters like Xu Beihong and Guo Moruo. Written by famous, influential artists and collectors, those articles are monumental statements of Fu's achievement rather than critical examinations of his art and are taken as proof of Fu's important position in Chinese painting history. This way of conducting research on artists recalls the way that artists and writers have established their legacies for centuries in pre-modern China. The topics of the research articles on Fu Baoshi include Fu Baoshi's painting style, painting technique, choosing of subjects, and the comparative study of Fu Baoshi and other painters. However, among all the essays, only two

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[20] Zhang Guoying, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1991), 172-189.

[21] Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, 28-34; Lin Mu, *Fu Baoshi pingzhuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe), 2009.

[22] Chen Zhenlian, *Jindai zhongri huihua jiaoliu zhi bijiao yanjiu* Hefei: Anhui meishu chuban she, 2000; Ou Pang, "Jindai zhongguohua chuangzuo zhong de ribenzhuyi qinxiang—yi Fu Baoshi shiniu ticai hua yu Chen zhifo gongbi huaniaohua weili," in *Fu Baoshi Yanjiu Wenji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2009), 215-222.

discuss Fu Baoshi's relationship with the modern Japanese art world, and one is by the Japanese scholar Ajioka Yoshindo.[23] Both of the two essays are almost a review of previous scholarship, especially Zhang Guoying's 1991 book.

As Wan Xinhua has pointed out in his review essay, Fu Baoshi's relatives played a leading role in the study of Fu Baoshi, especially at the starting point of Fu Baoshi studies in the 1980s.[24] Through their efforts more documents and studies of Fu Baoshi are being published; however, the image of Fu Baoshi presented by Fu Baoshi's relatives tend to be one-sided. At the same time, it is clear that with Fu Baoshi's painting *How beautiful This Land Is,* based on a line of Mao Zedong's poetry, still hanging in the Great Hall of People, Fu's position as an important communist artist is unchangeable. This is the biggest obstacle in mainland China for studying Fu Baoshi's art and better understanding the innovation of his art in the process of Chinese art's modernization. It can be concluded that although Fu's work is an important example of the development of Chinese ink painting in twentieth-century, recent study of it in Chinese, especially in mainland China, is stagnant and lacking in new discoveries.

Fu Baoshi's painting and his studies of modern Chinese art history have been examined in English scholarship from different perspectives. Some scholarship has analyzed the transnational perspective of Fu's work that is often ignored by Chinese scholarship. Notably the 2012 painting catalogue *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution: Fu Baoshi (1904-1965),* edited by Anita Chung, presents Fu Baoshi's artistic works of different periods. The catalogue also

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[23] Ou, "Jin dai zhongguohua chuangzuo zhong de ribenzhuyi qinxiang—yi Fu Baoshi shin lishi ticai hua yu Chen zhifo gongbi huaniaohua weili"*,* 215-222. Yoshindo Ajioka, "Jindai zhongri meishu jiaoliu yu Fu Baoshi," in *Fu Baoshi Yanjiu Wenji*, 255-260.

[24] Wan Xinhua, "Fu Baoshi yanjiu sanshi nian pingshu," in *Fu Baoshi Yanjiu Wenji, 323.*

researches Fu's artistic creation in the context of national crisis and social revolution, and it vividly compares Fu Baoshi's works with modern Japanese paintings by such artists as Takeuchi Seiho, Yokoyama Taikan, and Hashimoto Kansetsu. However, lots of the comparisons made in this painting catalogue were already pointed out by Zhang  Guoying in his1991 book, which examined the same paintings and the same artists.[25]

Fu Baoshi's relationship with modern Japanese art has been examined against the background of Sino-Japanese artistic exchange during the early twentieth-century. Tamaki Maeda has pointed out that the changing of Fu's painting style from an orthodox, standardized one to a more expressional, abstract style is a result of Fu's exposure to Japanese artists' works, including ones by Tomioka Tessai and Hashimoto Kansetsu, and also of Fu's rediscovering of the Qing Dynasty artist Shitao in Japan, where Shitao was celebrated as a modern icon.[26] A similar approach can be witnessed in Aida Yuen Wong's 2005 book, where the author examines Fu Baoshi's artistic creation as an example of guohua as "not a westernized reinterpretation of

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[25] *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution Fu Baoshi (1904-1965),* ed. Anita Chung (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 2012.  The catalogue was published after a joint exhibition between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Nanjing Museum. The catalogue also includes three essays by Anita Chung, Julia F. Andrews, Kuiyi Shen, Tamaki Maeda, and Aida Yue Wong. Anita Chung's essay is an overall introduction to Fu's artistic creation under the context of national crisis in twentieth-century China and the artist's biography. Kuiyi Shen's essay discovered the role of Fu Baoshi in the construction of Chinese art history as a modern field. The essay by Tamaki Maeda and Aida Yuen Wong examined the transnational character of Fu Baoshi's art, and finally Julia F. Andrews looks at the transformation of Fu's art in the Maoist era.

[26] Tamaki Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting," in  *Writing Modern Chinese Art: Historiographic Explorations*, ed. Josh Yiu (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2009), 70-81.

tradition, but as a discovery of the Chinese self through its familiar other——Japan."[27] Maeda and Wong define the relationship between Fu Baoshi and the Japanese art world as "kindred spirits" and Japan as a source of artistic inspiration and opportunities by examining Fu's discovery of pre-modern Chinese art preserved in Japan, such as Chan paintings, and identifying the similar compositional mode and style between Fu and some modern Japanese painters.[28] However, neither scholar has examined Fu Baoshi's experience after coming back from Japan in the late 1930s and 1940s, when he settled in Chongqing and reached a peak in his artistic life.

Although Maeda characterizes Fu as an open-minded artist who actively embraced the Japanese artistic world and allowed international elements into his art, Fu is more often examined and described as a passionate nationalist and even a westernizer who went near to Western art through the media of Japan. Kuiyi Shen has pointed out Fu's impact on the construction of Chinese art history in the early-twentieth century and addressed the debt that Fu Baoshi's historicization of Chinese art history owes to Japanese art historical writing. According to Shen, Fu's writing was naive and emotional in his early years, lacked originality after coming back from Japan, and shows a strong nationalistic point of view, especially in the years of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).[29] Different from Shen, Wen Fong has examined Fu's artistic creation mainly in terms of Fu's paintings. By examining the motivation and

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[27] Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, 34.

[28] Tamaki Maeda and Aida Yuen Wong, "Kindred Spirt: Fu Baoshi and the Japanese Art World" in *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution Fu Baoshi (1904-1965),* ed. by Anti Chung, (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2011), 35-40.

[29] Kuiyi Shen, "Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as A Modern Field: A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi," in *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, ed by Joshua A. Fogel (California: University of California Press, 2013), 228-244.

compositional mode of a series of Fu Baoshi's paintings, and by comparing them with modern Japanese paintings, especially the ones by Yokoyama Taikan, Fong concludes that "although Fu admired all the great classical masters, especially Shitao, he departed considerably from their styles."[30] Fong has characterized Fu's painting as typical Westernized Chinese ink painting of the twentieth century and Fu's art as a tool for spreading nationalistic ideas. Capturing Fu as a Westernizer and nationalist, Fong does not mention Fu's contradictory attitude of both being a traditionalist and revolutionary painter whose interest towards China's past and Chinese art history was lifelong and who created large amounts of images of Chinese historical figures and stories.

Primary and secondary resources on modern Sino-Japanese artistic exchange and the development of modern Chinese painting in the twentieth-century help to contextualize Fu Baoshi's artistic creation. Aida Yuen Wong has examined modernism in Chinese art from a transnational perspective and uncovered the relationship between the development of *guohua* and modern Japanese art.[31] Lang Shaojun argues that the use of historical stories and figures to express ideals, such as history painting and idealism in Xu Beihong's art, may have originated from modern Japanese art, as pan-Asianism was flourishing during the late ninetieth and early twentieth-century Japan.[32]

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[30] Wen Fong, *Between Two Cultures: Late-nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Chinese Paintings from the Robert H. Ellsworth Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 117.

[31] Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China.*

[32] Lang Shaojun, *Lun Zhongguo Xiandai Meishu* (Jiangsu: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988).

Finally, my study also benefits from studies of pre-modern Chinese and Japanese imagery of the Red Cliff and Su Shi as well as research on the modern reinterpretation of the Red Cliff in China and Japan. Studies of the portrait of Su Shi in modern China and Japan throw light on the traditionalist attitude shared by some Chinese and Japanese intellectuals in modern times, which even became an entrance of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange in the beginning of twentieth-century before the Second Sino-Japanese War. Ikeda Shigeko's 2006 book examines the history of the "Red Cliff Banquet," a unique way by which pre-modern and modern intellectuals in Japan appreciated Su Shi's Red Cliff Odes and lyrics and celebrated this great literatus.[33] Lai Yu-chih has examined the implications of holding the Red Cliff Banquet in modern times, when Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) and Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927), two famous intellectuals in modern China who lived through the decline of Qing Dynasty (1636-1912), took part in the festivities while in exile in Japan.[34]

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[33] Shigeko Ikezawa, *Riben de chibihui he shousu hui* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006).

[34] Yu-Chih Lai, "Historicity, Visuality and Patterns of Literatus Transcendence: Picturing the Red Clii," in *On Telling Images of China—Essays in Narrative Painting and Visual Culture*, ed. Shan McCausland and Yin Hwang, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), 177-212.

Scholars have done detailed analyses of Red Cliff paintings in China and Japan in pre-modern times.[35] However, very few have mentioned the situation of Red Cliff paintings in modern times. Did Red Cliff painting disappear in modern times? As a painting subject, is the Red Cliff still as common and important as it was in pre-modern time? How did painters in modern times represent this subject? Those questions still remain unanswered.

**Contribution to the Field**

When modern Chinese art history is based on political history, "it tends to privilege some painters, or certain phases of their life that match the decline and revival of Chinese civilization, without necessarily corresponding to the development and achievements of the artists concerned."[36] Fu Baoshi is an artist whose high position in modern Chinese art history is celebrated, especially by mainland China scholars and critics, and is always considered part of the successful development of modern Chinese art. Well known as an innovator, but also credited as the defender of "Chinese tradition" and an admirer of China's past, Fu is closely related to the destiny of *guohua* in modern and contemporary China, especially the development of *guohua* in

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[35] Yu-Chih Lai, "Literatus and the Red Cliff: from Su's Odes on the Red Cliff to the Imagery of Red Cliff," in *A Thousand, Thousand Churning Waves—The Legendary Red Cliff Heritage*, ed. Li Tianmin and Lin Tianren (Taipei: National Palace Museum , 2009), 244-260; I Lo-fen, **"**Fiery Battles and Pure Wanderings: Illustrating the 'Eulogies of the Red Cliff,'" in *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, No. 4 (Summer 2001): 63-102; Itakura Masaaki, "Text and Images: The Interrelationship of Su Shi's Odes on the Red Cliff and Illustration of the Later Ode on the Red Cliff," in *The History of Painting In East Asia: Essays on Scholarly Method* ed. Naomi Noble (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2002), 260-73.

[36] See Josh Yiu, "How Good Are Modern Chinese Landscapes? Genre, Evaluation, and Works By The 'Two Stones'," in *Writing Modern Chinese Art,* ed. Josh Yiu (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2009), 107.

the post-Maoist era as a propaganda tool. What is usually less well-known are Fu's deliberate adoption of elements of modern Japanese painting in his art and his struggle between the old and new, the past and present when innovating in his art.

In both English and Chinese scholarship there is much research on the international character of Fu Baoshi's artistic creation, and scholars have described Fu's experience in Japan in detail. In this thesis, my analysis of the international character of Fu Baoshi's art is largely based on the observations made by previous scholarship especially Zhang Guoying's 1991 book. However, little scholarship has touched on Fu Baoshi's Chongqing years, which was the most important period of development in his artistic life. Also, little writing in English has examined Fu Baoshi's relationship with Guo Moruo, who was influential on Fu's political and artistic activity. My research will fill this gap and examine Fu's artistic innovation not only from the perspective of his adoptions of modern Japanese art but also his adaptation to the situation of Chongqing in the 1940s.

What I want to discover through this study is the contradictory attitude of a modern Chinese painter experiencing the modernization of ink painting in the first half of twentieth-century. Through the case of Fu Baoshi and his representation of a well-known literary and historical subject, my thesis will enlarge the overall understanding of the development of *guohua* and how it fits into the new context in twentieth-century China, especially during the Second Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945), when China was experiencing one of its largest crises in modern times.

**Methodology**

Aida Yuen Wong has described *guohua* as "more a goal than an established tradition" and "a phenomenon intertwined with transnationalism and modernism."[37] My research will examine the practice of a *guohua* artist and his attitude towards the modernization of Chinese ink painting under a special context. When analyzing Fu Baoshi's artistic life, I am also discovering the conditions of the development of *guohua* in the first half of twentieth-century.

In this research I view *guohua* as not only a new invention in twentieth-century China but also an art form coming into being at a special time period and developing based on a modern Chinese painter's reinterpretation and imagination of the past, sometimes through a foreign lens. Most of my understanding will come from formal and iconographical analysis of images. The images I will look at can be roughly distributed into three categories——images made by Fu Baoshi, images made by modern Japanese painters, and images created by pre-modern Chinese painters. I consider the second and third type of images as the possible origins of Fu's artistic innovation. Few researchers working on modern Chinese art devote lots of attention to pre-modern images. In this research, since I aim at characterizing Fu's artistic innovation in relation to a long-existing painting subject in pre-modern Chinese ink painting, I will trace the iconographical history of pre-modern Red Cliff paintings. To contextualize Fu's artistic activity in the 1940s, I will examine his interpersonal relationship with Guo Moruo, which also implies the political importance of an ink painter's work in the 1940s during the Second Sino-Japanese

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[37] Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China,* xxiii, xxx.

War. I will also examine the interrelationship between Fu's artistic activity and his art historical research, which few scholars who have studied Fu Baoshi have done.

In understanding the implications of Fu's 1943 Red Cliff paintings and the dilemma and contradictions faced by most *guohua* artists in modern China, my research will offer some possible clues rather than one single answer. This case study of Fu Baoshi will lead the readers in multiple directions to understand the painter's life and struggle in approaching an unapproachable ideal——*guohua*, the "traditional painting" in a modern time.

**Outline of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of three sections. In section one I will examine the iconographical history of Chinese Red Cliff paintings by analyzing images of Red Cliff made by pre-modern Chinese painters. I will also describe the key motifs, painting techniques and compositional mode of Fu Baoshi's two 1943 Red Cliff paintings. I propose that although it used some of the key features developed by pre-modern painters, Fu's Red Cliff paintings, especially the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, are almost figure paintings that make Su Shi once again the main character in the image and that differ dramatically from pre-modern Red Cliff landscape paintings.

In the following two sections I examine the motivation and inspiration of Fu's artistic innovation by examining the possible sources of his reinterpretation of China's past and the context of his artistic activity in 1940s, when he composed large amounts of images about Chinese historical figures and stories, including the two 1943 Red Cliff paintings. In section two I will consider transnational elements of Fu's artistic creation by examining what Fu discovered

and witnessed in Japan in the 1930s and the imagery of Su Shi and the Red Cliff created by modern Japanese intellectuals and artists in the first half of the twentieth-century. Section three will centre on Fu Baoshi's artistic activity in Chongqing in the 1940s in relationship with his political attitudes and his personal relationship with the Communist literary giant Guo Moruo. Considering both the international and the traditionalist character of Fu's art and his nationalist approaches to art in 1940s, I propose that Fu's 1943 Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting is a representation of his political ideal of staying in the same campaign with his big supporter in the 1940s, although it also represents Fu's traditionalist ideal in art at the same time.

# CHAPTER 1: IMAGES OF ILLUSION——FU BAOSHI'S 1943 RED CLIFF PAINTINGS AND THE DEPICTION OF THE RED CLIFF THROUGHOUT CHINESE ART HISTORY

## Introduction

The Red Cliff is a long-existing subject in pre-modern Chinese ink painting, although under the same title "the Red Cliff," the images rendered by painters in different time are very different from each other. The modern Chinese ink painter Fu Baoshi, who is well-known for his great enthusiasms for Chinese art history, painted the theme of the Red Cliff many times in his life, and two of his Red Cliff paintings were made in the year of 1943. This section examines the features of Fu Baoshi's two 1943 Red Cliff paintings in consideration of the variability and contradiction of the Red Cliff as a subject of painting throughout history. In this section, I argue that the visual representation of Red Cliff boat trip changes dramatically throughout history, and there does not exist a close connection between the pre-modern Red Cliff paintings and Fu Baoshi's 1943 depictions of the Red Cliff, which emphasize figures rather than landscapes.

## Visualizing the Red Cliff——"Telling a Dream in a Dream"

In the author's preface for his 1942 solo exhibition in Chongqing, Fu wrote that there are four main sources of his painting's subjects: nature, poetic painting based on pre-modern Chinese

poetry, Chinese historical stories, and works by the old masters.[38] Among them Fu mentioned Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip (*Chibi zhouyou* 赤壁舟遊) in the third category——paintings of Chinese historical stories. Fu argued that painting of historical stories is the "main source for figure painters," and he discovered the Red Cliff subject from his study of Chinese painting history and worked on "creating new images based on old subjects."[39]

Fu's own writing in 1942 did not tell the whole story of his discovering and developing the Red Cliff as a subject——at least he did not mention the very early Red Cliff painting he made in 1936 (Fig. 22) just after coming back from Japan in the style of the modern Japanese *nihonga* painter Hashimoto Kansetsu (Fig. 23). Among his many paintings of Chinese historical stories and figures, Fu painted the theme Red Cliff many times in his life and made at least two

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[38] Fu wrote: "自題材來檢討一番。拙作題材的來源，很顯著的可以分為四類。即：1．擷取大自然的某一部分，作畫面的主題。2．構寫前人的詩，將詩的意境，移入畫面。3．營制歷史上若干美的故事。4．全部或部分地臨摹古人之作。" Fu, "Renwu Chongqing huazhan zixu," in *Fu Baoshi Yishu Suibi,* ed. Cheng Mingshi (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenyi Chubanshe, 2012), 107.

[39] Ibid.*,* 110.

Red Cliff paintings in 1943 during his days in Chongqing in the middle of Second Sino-Japanese War. [40]

One of the Red Cliff paintings made by Fu in 1943 is now in the Mactaggart Art Collection in Edmonton, Alberta (Fig. 10). In the image, the painter set the figures on a little boat on a heavily-inked background. On the river there is Su Shi's little boat carrying two guests and a fisherman. Su Shi can be recognized from his symbolic "Dongpo hat" (*Dongpo jin*東坡巾) and is sitting between the two guests.[41] The guest sitting on the right side of Su Shi is depicted as a monk who is raising up his head and probably appreciating the full moon in the sky, which also appears as a reflection on the water. The guest sitting on the left side of Su Shi carries a wine cup in his hand. The painting was not depicted from a bird eye perspective, and as a result Su Shi's little boat is closer to the viewer, making it possible to see even their facial expression. On another Red Cliff painting that Fu made also in 1943 which is now in the art collection of the Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 12), the painter depicted the figures even larger on a simpler

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[40] On the website of Beijing Palace Museum, the online introduction of the Red Cliff painting by Fu Baoshi wrote that Fu painted this subject many times in his life. See Wang Qi, "Fu Baoshi Chibi zhouyou tuzhou," Beijing Palace Museum, accessed September 10, 2018, https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/232716.html?hl=傅抱石赤壁舟游图轴. Besides the two 1943 Red Cliff paintings here are the other Red Cliff paintings by Fu that I found or that were mentioned by other scholars. The painting album of Fu Baoshi published by National Palace Museum includes two Red Cliff paintings by Fu, one made in 1946 and the other one undated. See Chen Kangshun, *Paintings by Fu Pao-Shih* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994), 42, 116. In her essay Vainker mentioned that Fu's output in 1944 includes three paintings on the subject of the Red Cliff, see Vainker, "Fu Baoshi in Chongqing: Some Paintings in European Collections," 91. Laing mentioned three Red Cliff paintings by Fu, one dated to 1947 and the other two to 1964. See Ellen Johnston Laing, *An Index to Reproductions of Paintings by Twentieth-Century Chinese Artists* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 143, 146.

[41] On most portraits Su Shi the poet always wears a dark square hat, *jiaojin* 角巾, which latter became the symbol of Su Shi.

background, and it is noticeable that the three main figures——Su Shi and the guests——display almost the same gesture as they do in the Mactaggart Collection Red Cliff painting.

Fu is definitely not the first one who visualized Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip. The origin of Red Cliff paintings in history are the texts left by Su Shi, including his two Red Cliff odes and one Red Cliff lyric.[42] Su Shi's literary compositions on the subject "Red Cliff" includes two Red Cliff Odes——the *Former Red Cliff Ode* (*Qian chibi fu* 前赤壁賦) and the *Latter Red Cliff Ode* (*Hou chibi fu* 後赤壁賦)—— and one Red Cliff lyric, *To the tune "Recalling Her Charms," Cherishing the Past at Red Cliff* (*Niannujiao chibi huaigu* 念奴嬌 赤壁懷古). The odes and lyrics are an expression of Su Shi's feeling of meditating on the past (*huai gu* 懷古), and are also an exclamation of his personal destiny through the lens of his understanding of history. Among them, *The Former Red Cliff Odes* which begins with "It was the autumn of the year renxu (1082)," recorded the conversations between Su Shi and the guests and is usually considered as a demonstration of Su Shi's philosophical thoughts as a synthesis of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. The *Latter Red Cliff Ode* begins with "On the night of the full moon in the tenth

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[42] The two odes and one lyric are the most famous literary works about the Red Cliff by Su Shi. Su Shi also mentioned Red Cliff in several of his letters and composed the comparably infamous poem *Liwei Chuidi Bing Yin* 李委吹笛并引 which is also about Red Cliff boat trip. See Yu Wentao, "Zaoqi chibitu de shijue biaoda" *Rongbaozhai,* no. 2 (2016): 126. For a study and English translation of Su Shi's Red Cliff odes and lyrics, see Robert E. Hegel "The Sights and Sounds of Red Cliffs: On Reading Su Shi," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (winter 1998): 11- 30; Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Images, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 222-227. For a study and English translation of Su Shi's Red Cliff odes and lyrics, see Robert E. Hegel "The Sights and Sounds of Red Cliffs: On Reading Su Shi," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (winter 1998): 11- 30; Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Images, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1994, 222-227.

month of the same year," which was composed at the same year of the *Former Red Cliff Ode*, mainly described happenings during Su Shi's second Red Cliff boat trip.

The Song Dynasty poet Su Shi is not only one of the most celebrated Chinese poets throughout history. As an icon Su Shi is arguably the ideal model of Chinese literati, who is always described as not only a poet but also a painter, an art critic, a writer, and a historian.[43] As talented as he was, Su Shi's political life was a big failure, which is also a typical character of Chinese literati. It was during his time in exile in Huangzhou 黃州 that Su Shi made his trip to the site of the "Red Cliff," which he took as the historical site of the Red Cliff battle. The legendary story of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip, the value of a series of Su Shi's Red Cliff literature, along with the fame of the Red Cliff as the relics of a famous battle all together made the Red Cliff a pilgrimage site which was latter represented visually by Chinese painters in different times as an unfading memorial in the collective memory of Chinese literati. However, it should be noticed that images of the Red Cliff developed by different painters of various time differ from each other in compositional mode, content, motifs, and even format.

Interestingly, in his own account Fu did not assign the subject of the Red Cliff into the category of poetic painting but described it as a subject of Chinese historical stories and figures. What did Fu emphasize in his own visual representation of Red Cliff? In what way did Fu's Red Cliff paintings resemble or differ from the source he mentioned, pre-modern Red Cliff paintings? Is there a real continuity between Su Shi's text, pre-modern Chinese painter's Red Cliff paintings, and Fu Baoshi's version of this long-existing subject, as Fu suggested in his own writing?

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[43] For a detailed study of Su Shi see Egan, *Word, Images, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi.*

To answer these questions it is worth examining the Red Cliff as a subject presented by pre-modern Chinese painters throughout history. The remaining Red Cliff paintings nowadays can be distributed into two categories——landscape paintings and narrative paintings typically mounted in handscroll format. The narrative handscrolls of the Red Cliff are always based on the *Latter Red Cliff Ode,* which is more of a travel narrative, except the last paragraph, and contains more description about events during Su Shi's second trip to the Red Cliff. A typical example of Red Cliff narrative handscroll painting, and also one of the earliest remaining Red Cliff paintings, is in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, attributed to the Song Dynasty painter Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲常(dates unknown) (Fig. 1).

Images of Su Shi, including his portrait, and the stories of what happened around him were firstly created by Su Shi's students, friends and relatives.[44] During Su Shi's lifetime, a group of literati gathered around him, known as the "Sichuan Faction" (*shudang* 蜀黨), formed a political ally and also an artistic network with Su Shi as the center. The Song painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106) , a fellow townsman of Su Shi, is known as part of the "Sichuan Faction," and it is noticeable that Li was Qiao Zhongchang's teacher. However, art historians believe the

[44] See Masaaki Itakura, "Text and Images: The Interrelationship of Su Shi's Odes on the Red Cliff and Illustration of the Later Ode on the Red Cliff by Qiao Zhongchang,"in *The History of Painting In East Asia: Essays on Scholarly Method* ed. Naomi Noble (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2002), 422-434.

painting, dated to twelfth century, is not the original handscroll made by Qiao Zhongchang, but a copy of the same period.[45]

The Nelson-Atkins "Qiao Zhongchang" handscroll represents the typical style of Li Gonglin—— *bai miao* 白描 drawing. As the name suggests, this technique only uses ink and mainly ink lines to depict the outline of scenery and characters to represent as many details as possible. The long handscroll can be divided to seven different scenes, and it is clear that the painting is based on the *Latter Red Cliff Ode*, not only as the content of the images suggests, but also because the original text was written besides each scene of the story.[46] As a narrative handscroll, the "Qiao Zhongchang" Red Cliff includes lots of details from the original text of Su Shi's *Latter Red Cliff Ode*. It is a painstaking effort of storytelling, a visual representation based on but not limited to the content of the text. The figures——Su Shi, his wife, and the two guests ——were clearly depicted. In the image Su Shi is always bigger than the other characters. This treatment of character is typical for most of the narrative paintings in which the central character is always depicted bigger than the other characters.

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[45] The painting was unsigned, and it is highly possible that the painting was not by Qiao himself. The oldest inscription In the painting dated 1123 by Zhao Lingzhi 趙令畤 (1051-1134), who was a member of the Song Royal family and a painting collector, dates the painting to twelfth century. See I Lo-Fen, **"**Fiery Battles and Pure Wanderings: Illustrating the 'Eulogies of the Red Cliff,'" *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, no.4 (2001): 67.

[46] For study of the Nelson-Atkins "Qiao Zhongchang" handscroll see Stephen Wilkinson, "Paintings of 'The Red Cliff Prose Poems' in Song Time," *Oriental Art*, new series, no. 1 (1981): 76-89; Jerome Silbergeld, "Back to the Red Cliff: Reflections on the Narrative Mode in Early literati Landscape Painting," *Art Orientalis* (1995): 19-38; Itakura, "Text and Images: The Interrelationship of Su Shi's Odes on the Red Cliff and Illustration of the Later Ode on the Red Cliff by Qiao Zhongchang," 422-434.

Several observation can be made about the Nelson-Atkins "Qiao Zhongchang" Red Cliff handscroll: it is based on one specific text by Su Shi——the *Latter Red Cliff Ode*. There is a very close relationship between Su Shi's original text and the image of the "Qiao Zhongchang" Red Cliff handscroll. The images represent the story told in Latter Red Cliff Ode in detail, with Su Shi as the main character. The narrative features of the image are very clear. Even if the viewers have not read Su Shi's text at the time when viewing the image, it should not be too difficult to understand the content of the work.

The typical style of Red Cliff narrative handscroll in the Song time can also be traced through a painting made by the Ming literati painter Wen Zhenming 文徵明 (1470-1559). Wen Zhenming's narrative handscroll *Painting of Latter Red Cliff Ode after Zhao Bosu* (*fang Zhao Bosu Hou chibi tu* 仿趙伯驌後赤壁圖) (Fig. 2) is a copy of an original work by the Song imperial family member and painter Zhao Bosu 趙伯驌 (1124-1182). According to the inscription left by Wen Zhenming's son, Wenjia 文嘉 (1501-1583), the painting was made for a friend of Wen Zhenming who owned the original painting but was forced to send it to a powerful political figure. Wen's inscription begins with a line stating "(Red Cliff) is a classical painting subject for the Song royal painting school, so Zhao Bosu, Boju painted this theme many times. I too have seen many Red Cliff paintings by them."[47] Wen Jia's inscription indicates the popularity of Red Cliff painting during Song Dynasty, when it was even a subject at the Song Imperial Painting Academy. Also, according to the inscription, Wen Zhenming must have been familiar

[47] Zhao Bojun 趙伯駒(1120-1182) was a member of the Song royal family and a painter. Wen's inscription reads: "<赤壁圖> 乃宋時畫院中題，故趙伯驌、伯駒皆常寫，而予皆及見之." For a detailed analysis of Wen Zhenming's Red Cliff narrative handscroll, see Lai, "Literati and the Red Cliff: from Su's Odes on the Red Cliff to the Imagery of Red Cliff," 453.

with the style of the original painting before making the copy. *Painting of Latter Red Cliff Ode after Zhao Bosu* is in the blue-green style of landscape, which is an old painting style popular in the Tang and Song Dynasty, and a style favored by Wen Zhenming himself.[48] Since the original painting is lost, it is nearly impossible to make a comparison between Zhao Bosu's Red Cliff original and Wen Zhenming's Red Cliff image. It is probable that in using the blue and green painting technique Wen Zhenming was showing his skill of archaizing (*fanggu* 仿古) to the viewers. The Wen Zhenming handscroll is also based on Su Shi's *Latter Red Cliff Ode*, the same as the Nelson-Atkins Red Cliff handscroll. Among all the characters on the handscroll, Su Shi, wearing a Dongpo hat (*Dongpo jin* 東坡巾), shows the viewer his identity by clothing rather than by size, as it was on the Nelson-Atkins handscroll. Also, compared with the great efforts the painter made for depicting the environment——including the trees, the water waves, the strange stones and the mountains——the figures in the painting were depicted in a relatively rough way, such that their faces are almost featureless and their body line is rigid, as on most of the landscapes by Wu school painters. Unlike the Nelson-Atkins handscroll, the original text of Su Shi does not come together with the images. Although the images still have a very strong narrative feature, the painter may expect the viewers to have already read the text before viewing the images.

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[48] Blue-green landscape (*qing lu shan shui* 青綠山水)is a painting style using mineral dyes to paint the landscape with mainly blue and green colors. It was popular especially in Tang and Song Dynasty. This painting style is always being described as "ancient." A representative of blue green landscape is the *Qianli Jiangshan Tu* 千里江山圖 by the Song royal painter, the student of the Song emperor Huizong 徽宗, Wang Ximeng 王希孟 (1096-1119).

Nowadays most of the remaining Red Cliff paintings are in the second category of Red Cliff painting——the Red Cliff landscape——partly because Red Cliff is a *shengji* 勝跡 (renowned historical site) throughout history and especially after Su Shi's visiting. According to Wu Hung, a *shengji* is a place that "attracted generations of people to visit and to leave their marks there, and which has become a persistent subject of literary and artistic commemorations and representations."[49] In other words, *shengji* is always timeless, bearing the collective memories of literati in different times and receptively recorded by words and images. There are many *shengji* sites in Chinese history that are not only sites for visiting but also subjects for literary and visual composition, like the famous Mt. Huang that had been painted by many different painters. Although Mt. Huang and Red Cliff are both *shengji* sites, the difference is obvious——people can always find the specific geographical location of Huangshan and visit it. However the geographical location of Red Cliff is somehow unclear. Throughout history there are nine places claiming themselves to be the real Red Cliff.[50] Although Su Shi's visit brought fame to the Huangzhou site, most modern historians as well as pre-modern Chinese scholars agree that the relics of the Red Cliff battle is not the Huangzhou Red Nose mountain that Su Shi visited, as the Chinese ancient geography book *The Commentary on the Water Classic* (*shui jing*

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[49] Wu Hung. "Ji: Traces in Chinese Landscape and Landscape Painting," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (2008): 188.

[50] See Masaaki Itakura, "Japanese Rendering: Depictions of Red cliff in Japanese Paintings," in *A Thousand, Thousand Churning Waves—The Legendary Red Cliff Heritage*, ed. Li Tianmin and Lin Tianren (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2009), 260.

*zhu* 水經注) indicates.[51] As an educated literatus who had a special interest in history, it is highly possible that Su Shi "mistook" the site of Red Cliff on purpose for his literary composition.[52] The same may be said for painters, whose depiction of the "Red Cliff" may come from their imagination of the bygone history and understanding of Su Shi's texts, rather than the geographical feature of one specific site.

The earliest remaining Red Cliff landscape is by the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234) painter Wu Yuanzhi 武元直 (dates unknown) (Fig. 3). In the painting, the huge body of the mountains take up a large portion of the image, with Su Shi's little boat drifting pass the feet of the highest peak. There is a strong contrast between the massiveness of the mountain and the tininess of Su Shi's boat, such that the existence of the latter is nearly being swallowed by the former.

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[51] In the Ming *leishu* 類書 encyclopedia *Assembled Illustration of the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth and Man* (*san cai tu hui* 三才圖會), the Ming scholar Wang Qi 王圻 pointed out this "mistake" of Su Shi and his followers in the short article "Study of the Red Nose Mountain" (赤鼻山考), making it clear that the Battle happened in the south bank of Yangtze River, while Huangzhou and the "Red Nose Mountain" Su Shi went to is on the north bank. The short article wrote: "… …赤壁當在江南，亦不應在江北。宋李壁詩云：赤壁危磯幾度過, 沙洲江上鬱嵯峨，近人誤信黃州, 是猶賴水經能正訛" see Wang Qi, *San Cai Tu Hui,* (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1985), 349. Besides pointing out the location of the historical relic, this article also made clear that Su Shi's visit makes people believe that the Red Cliff is in Huangzhou. This source is cited in *A Thousand, Thousand Churning Waves—The Legendary Red Cliff Heritage*, ed. Li Tianmin and Lin Tianren (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2009), 38-39.

[52] According to documentary and archeological evidence, the real Red Cliff should be in Hubei Provience, Pujin 湖北蒲圻. An anecdote reads Su Shi mistook Red Nose as Red Cliff because he could not recognized the difference between the pronunciation of local accent. However, some art historian nowadays asserts that as a historian himself, Su Shi did know the location of the real Red Cliff but still mistook "Red Nose" mountain as Red Cliff on purpose since he was in exile in Huangzhou and couldn't go to the real Red Cliff when he went on the boat trip. See Itakura, "Japanese Rendering: Depictions of Red cliff in Japanese Paintings," 260.

In the painting there are no inscriptions of the original text, and it is hard to decide on which specific text Wu Yuanzhi based his image of the Red Cliff. Compared with the narrative handscroll, the painting has fewer narrative features, and the whole image is more about showing the concept of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip. It can be observed that figures, as well as the boat are tiny and less important in comparison with the landscape.

If Wu Yuanzhi's Red Cliff is a great effort of depicting mountains, another Red Cliff painting by the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) painter Li Song 李嵩 (Fig. 4) featured different details from the whole imagery of Red Cliff scenery. On the Red Cliff fan leaf by Li Song, which is much smaller in scale, the massive body of the mountain was hidden, with only its foot shown to the viewers, indicating the steepness of the cliff. The painter's painstaking effort of painting water brought Su Shi and his guests together with the viewers in the middle of a swift and violent river, and it even looks like that Su Shi's boat is going to hit the rock in the next second. This scene, making the viewers wonder how could Su Shi and his guest still enjoy their their trip without risking their life, is far from what was described in the *Former Red Cliff Ode,* such as "Light breeze came gently; Nary a wave rose from the water" (*qing feng xu lai, shui bo bu xing*, 清風徐來，水波不興). It recalls instead a line from Su Shi's Red Cliff lyric *To the tune "Recalling Her Charms," Cherishing the past at Red Cliff* , "The great river flows east, Its wave scouring away" (*da jiang dong qu, lang tao jin*, 大江東去, 浪濤盡).

Although still an indispensable part of the image, it is clear that the sense of being of the figures decreases if compared with the narrative handscroll. Also, it can be observed that the close relationship between text and image dropped significantly in Red Cliff landscape paintings

——the images are not based on one specific text by Su Shi but render an overall imagery of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip. Different from the long, detailed Red Cliff narrative handscroll, Red Cliff as a subject of landscape continued to be popular in the following years and was a favored painting subject by Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) painters. Painters tended to combine the composition of the Red Cliff with the painting subjects that they were familiar with. A typical example is the Red Cliff painting by the Ming painter Ding Yuchuan 丁玉川 (Fig. 5). The image shows a little boat carrying Su Shi and his guests past the cliff, and trees rowing on the cliff stretching the branches to the bottom shows the precipitousness of the cliff. This image of the Red Cliff, hiding the huge body of the mountains and showing only part of the cliff to the viewers, is totally different from Wu Yuanzhi's Red Cliff painting and renders a more peaceful, tranquil impression of the Red Cliff with an image of a literatus passing a cliff with his little boat. The strong contrast of the massiveness of the mountains and the boat, and the turbulence of the speeding water has disappeared. Su Shi's little boat even has a ceiling, the typical style of boat that literati in the Jiangnan area took when they enjoy some time on a lake. If this looks familiar, this image of Red Cliff recalls another typical painting subject favored by Zhe school (*zhe pai* 浙派) painters during Ming Dynasty——fishing in retirement (*yu yin* 漁隱). If we compare Ding Yuchuan's Red Cliff with a painting by Jiang Song 蔣嵩 depicting a retiring scholar going fishing (Fig. 6), it can be noticed that the two paintings share the same compositional mode and the same key motifs. The only big difference seems to be that in Jiang Song's painting there is only a fisherman and a scholar on the boat, who can not be Su Shi and his friends.

In the Ming dynasty, large numbers of Red Cliff paintings were made by Wu school (*Wu men hua pai* 吳門畫派) painters, especially by Wen Zhenming and his followers. As a well-known Su Shi fan, Wen Zhenming alone made at least more than ten Red Cliff paintings during his life time, and the documentary evidence and the remaining paintings show that there is a great number of Red Cliff paintings made by the people around Wen Zhenming, including Wen's relatives and students.[53] As with the Red Cliff paintings made by Zhe school painters, lots of the Red Cliff paintings made by Wu school painters represented a very similar image to each other. If we compare the Red Cliff fan leaf by Wen Zhenming (Fig. 7) to the Red Cliff handscroll by Wen Boren(Fig. 8), it can be noticed that both painters rendered a very peaceful image of a literatus's boat trip drifting pass a cliff by allowing large portion of blankness on the middle of the image, representing the tranquilness of the water. Unlike the imagery of the Red Cliff created by the Song painters like the great waves moving fiercely on Li Song's Red Cliff painting, and giant mountains so massive and steep in Wu Yuanzhi's Red Cliff landscape, Wu school painters' Red Cliff boat trip depicts the scenery of a literatus visiting a beautiful place with his friends on a peaceful night. On the part of the cliff, both painters added a small waterfall on the cliff, which was not mentioned in Su Shi's original text at all, which is arguably a new invention in the imagery of Red Cliff made by Wu school painters.[54]

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[53] For a list of Red Cliff painting and calligraphy copies by Wen Zhenming and his followers (son, nephew, and students), see Wang Jue, "Sui lei fu gan: cont ming wen pai chi bi fu ti chai hui hua kan shan shui hua shu qing de cheng shi hua," *Studio of Glorious Treasure* (2012): 106-109.

[54] I, "Fiery Battles and Pure Wanderings: Illustrating the 'Eulogies of the Red Cliff,'" 63-102.

When large numbers of Red Cliff paintings were made, the image started to become highly stereotyped. The Ming painter Chen Chun 陳淳 (1482-1544) expressed his confusion in the artist's inscription in his 1537 Red Cliff painting now in Osaka Art Museum, writing:

> A visitor brought a calligraphic copy of the *Former Red Cliff Ode* to my cottage. I did not remember when I had written it. He asked me to add a picture to it. But I had never seen the Red Cliff; how could I portray it? The visitor insisted and insisted; and reluctantly I picked up my brush. Looking at the picture I have just completed: the Cliff seems no more than a piece of fragmented rock in the river; and who can tell that the figures in the boat are Su Shi and his guests? This is like telling a dream in a dream; isn't it ridiculous?[55]

Does a painter have to go to visit the Red Cliff to compose a Red Cliff painting? The answer might be no. As a painting subject of landscape painting, the Red Cliff is more of a spiritual dreamland rather than physical, geographical site, leaving painters a large space to develop an image of the Red Cliff  themselves regardless of the specific geographical features. An interesting and a little bit abnormal example is the Red Cliff painting by the the late Ming painter Chen Jiasui 程嘉隧 (1565-1643) (Fig. 9) . The oversimplified image even looks like a draft rather than a complete painting. However, the image  does include all the key motifs of Red Cliff paintings——a cliff, trees growing on top of the cliff, a little boat carrying three people and a boat man passing the cliff.  As simple as it is, viewers who are familiar with this subject can

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[55] Chen Chun's inscription wrote: "客有攜《前赤壁賦》來田舍, 不知余何時所書, 乃欲補圖。余於赤壁, 未嘗識面, 烏能圖之? 客強不已, 因勉執筆圖。既玩之，不過江中片石耳。而舟中之人, 將謂是坡公與客也。夢中說夢, 寧不可笑耶? " This source is cited in Wu, "Ji: Traces in Chinese Landscape and Landscape Painting," 192.

still recognize the image as a Red Cliff painting, without referring to details of Su Shi's original text.

Both the quality and the quantity of the remaining Red Cliff painting in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) suggests the decline of this painting subject, although paintings about Su Shi were still made by the Yangzhou painters, and the story of Su Shi's Red Cliff trip was being told in dramas and stories.[56] As a dreamland hiding in the fog, an unapproachable pilgrim destination that only exist in painters' imagination, the images of Red Cliff lost their attraction to the painters and the viewers when too many similar images were being rendered by different painters. As the Ming literati painter Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521-1593) suggested in his poem *Like A Trip to Red Cliff* (*si chi bi you* 似赤壁遊):

> On a painting there is a boat with three people on it;
> Then People believe it is Red Cliff boat trip.
> Still showing the the mountain and the river;
> But we don't know who are those people on that boat.[57]

**The Details of Fu Baoshi's Two 1943 Red Cliff Paintings**

Although Fu claimed pre-modern paintings as the origin of his own composition on the subject of Red Cliff, it can be observed that there is a clear distinction between Fu's 1943 Red Cliff paintings and most of the pre-modern Red Cliff paintings, including the highly stereotyped

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[56] For studies of Red Cliff in popular drama and legend, see see You Zongrong, "cong shi huan jing li lun xi qu zhong de Su Shi sing xiang," in *Qian gu feng liu: Dongpo shi shi jiu bay nan xue shu tao pun hui* ed. Wang Jingzhi and Zhang Chuli (Taipei: Hongye publishing, 2001), 819-858; Lai, "Literati and the Red Cliff: from Su's Odes on the Red Cliff to the Imagery of Red Cliff,", 244-260.

[57] Xu Wei's original text reads: "一艇泛三人，多疑游赤壁。無處少江山，但無此好客." See Xu Wei, "Si Chibi you (Like a Red Cliff Boat Trip)". In *Xu Wei Ji*, volume 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju Book Company, 1983), 330.

poetic Red Cliff landscape and the detailed Red Cliff narrative handscroll. The Red Cliff, an ideal and illusionary wonderland, was represented in a totally different way by Fu Baoshi, who created original images of the Red Cliff on the two 1943 Red Cliff paintings.

The Red Cliff painting by Fu in the Mactaggart Art Collection (Fig. 10) bears three artist seals and one artist's inscription that reads “Fu Baoshi from Xinyu made this painting in 1943 (the year of kuiwei) when it was almost September (the solar season of Bailu)” (*xinyu Fu Baoshi yixing kuiwei jiangyu bailu* 新余傅抱石遺興癸未將玉白露). After the signature follows the square seal “*Fu* 傅,” and “*Baoshi changnian* 抱石長年.” On the bottom left of the image is the seal “*gui ji da hua* 軌跡大化”. Although the inscription does not mention anything about Su Shi or the Red Cliff, from the image itself the painting subject is very clear. In the painting the four characters can be recognized as Su Shi, the guests and a fisherman. The reflection of the moon on the water suggests the tranquilness of the environment and the atmosphere of a moon-lit night.

On the boat, the red wine cup and the wine jar recall the scene in the *Former Red Cliff Ode* in which Su Shi and his friends were enjoying wine and having fun. The little boat is set in the middle of a peaceful river, where the two banks are heavily vegetated and the bushes were painted with random, broken brushes. As part of the background, the body of the mountain, hiding behind the darkness of the night which was only lit by the moonlight, is pale and abstract, while big ink smudges cover the bottom of the image. This contrast of color creates a sense of depth and divides the whole image into different layers, although still a wholeness, and shows the difference of being far and being near from the viewer’s perspective, which parallels the

effect of the linear perspective, a Western painting technique. The chaotic, ruleless background even makes the painting seem to be a photo focusing on the figures and the boat and blurs the environment.

In the painting the painter used very different stroke work to depict the figures and the landscape background——the former was depicted with delicate, silk-thin lines, while the latter was painted by broken, moving strokes. Across the whole image except on Su Shi's little boat, the random painting of the ink dots and smudges not only makes the image semi-abstract, but also makes it stereoscopic rather than flat, although Su Shi's little boat is still as thin as a piece of leaf. In depicting the landscape background, the painter uses a combination of dry and wet strokes sweeping around and creating the lines and surfaces in a dynamic and abstract form. This characteristic stroke work, which is created with a dried-out brush moving on the paper forcefully, is typical of the painting style Fu Baoshi developed in the 1940s after coming to Chongqing. It is known as Baoshi stroke (*Baoshi cun* 抱石皴).

The contrast between the depicting of figures and depicting of the background with the former as delicate and fine, the latter as harsh and moving, in some degree made the figures stand out. On the Red Cliff paintings by Wu school and Zhe school painter, the boat, the mountain and the river are a wholeness. The boat and figures are always small and free of detail, which mainly has a descriptive function and allows the figures to be anyone who is gazing at the images or the painters themselves. However, in Fu Baoshi's Mactaggart Red Cliff painting, the figures are larger and take a bigger portion of the image if compared with most of pre-modern Red Cliff landscape paintings. Su Shi and the guests, who were marginalized when the relationship between Su Shi's original text and the image dropped critically after Red Cliff

paintings became popular, were the main characters again in Fu's 1943 Mactaggart collection Red Cliff painting.

In Fu's 1943 Mactaggart Red Cliff, the two guests sitting on the boat were depicted as a monk and a literati-dressed man. The monk might be one of Su Shi's close friends, Foyin 佛印 (1032-1098), and the literatus together with them might be the calligrapher Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105). Foyin and Huang Tingjian were arguably first set on the stage of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip in Yuan drama, and this "fact" was accepted by lots of Ming poetic drama writers and painters in telling the story of Red Cliff boat trip literarily or visually.[58] However, contemporary critics and scholars of the Ming Dynasty pointed out that Foyin never traveled to Huangzhou in his life.[59] None of the remaining Song Red Cliff paintings depict one of the guests

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[58] In the Yuan poetic drama *The Drunk Mater Su's Composition of Red Cliff Ode* 蘇子醉寫赤壁賦, author unknown, the two friends traveling with Su Shi to Red Cliff were described as Foyin and Huang Tingjian, and both are known as Su Shi's close friends. This story of Su Shi traveling with two other famous literati was so welcomed by the audiences that it was copied by later Red Cliff dramas in Ming and Qing Dynasty. See Lai, "Literati and the Red Cliff: From Su's Odes on the Red Cliff to the Imagery of Red Cliff," 244-260.

[59] In his *Notes of Liu Yan Studio, the second volume* 六研齋筆記 二筆 the late Ming critic and connoisseur Li Rihua 李日華 (1565-1635) wrote: "I happened to see the current Red Cliff painting, and there is a monk in the boat. I randomly painted a Taoist priest's cab on the monk's head and changed the monk to a Taoist priest, and people besides me thought I must be crazy. I said: 'This is what it should be.' Since in Dongpo's Ode, the person being described as 'among the guests one played the flute,' should be the Taoist priest Yang Shichang. Tracing the tracks left by Foyin, it is clear that Foyin had never been to Huangzhou in his life, Those people (who painted a monk) must took the drama as the real. That what usually called 'sciolists'.余偶閱時赤壁圖，舟中作一僧，余戲筆加冠，作道士形，旁觀者以為浪然耳。余曰：「此實錄也」，蓋坡賦重中所云：「客有吹洞簫者」，乃綿竹道士楊世昌也，若佛印足跡，未嘗一至黃，徒以優場所見為據，正矮人觀戲，村漢說古耳」. This source was cited by I, Lo-fen "Fiery Battles and Pure Wanderings: Illustrating the 'Eulogies of the Red Cliff,'" 70.

as a monk, although he is always there in Ming Red Cliff paintings and was depicted by the Edo period *nanga* painters who accepted the compositional mode of Red Cliff painting from Ming Red Cliff paintings, like on the Red Cliff painting by the the Edo Japanese monk painter Gessen 月僊 (1741-1809) (Fig. 11). It is unclear where Fu learnt the story of Red Cliff boat trip with Foyin as one of the characters, but it is for sure not from Su Shi's original text, which did not mention anything about the identity of the two guests.

It is noticeable that on the Mactaggart collection Red cliff painting, Fu set Su Shi's little boat in an environment that has rush vegetation, and the whole image renders an impression of the wetness of the environment and recalls the climate of Chongqing, famous for being humid and rich in vegetation, where Fu stayed in 1940s when he made the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting. This painting style of  thick ink can be found on lots of landscape paintings Fu made during his time in Chongqing, and it later became his typical style of painting landscape in the 1940s, which differs greatly from his previous painting style. In the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting, although the landscape in the background does not show a clear geographical feature, it is arguable that Fu Baoshi actually set the stage of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip under the environment of Chongqing's scenery that Fu was familiar with and was surrounded by everyday.

Another Red Cliff painting that Fu also painted in the year 1943 is now in Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 12). In the painting, the artist's signature on the right bottom of the image reads, "at the end of the year of kuiwei [1943] Baoshi made this painting at Dongchuan [in Chongqing]" (*kuiwei suimo xieyu dongchuan Baoshi*, 癸未歲暮寫於東川 抱石). This indicates when and where the painting was made. On the top right of the painting, another artist's inscription writes that in 1944 on November sixteenth, when it was Guo Moruo's birthday, this

painting was sent to Guo Moruo as a birthday present.[60] The painting has five artist seals. At the right bottom following the artist's inscription are the square seal "*Baoshi dali* 抱石大利" and "*Fu* 傅". At the right top of the page follows the second artist's inscription there is the seal "*Baoshi si yin* 抱石私印". At the bottom left of the page there is the seal of "*qi ming wei xin* 其命維新." At the right side middle there is the seal of "*yin chi* 印痴."

All the key motifs in the Mactaggart collection Red Cliff painting stay the same in the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, including cliff, the reflection of the moon on the river, and the little boat carrying Su Shi and two guests. Looking at the figures on the boat, it can be noticed that the three main characters of the story——Su Shi and the two guests—— display the same gesture as on the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting. However, this time "Su Shi," sitting in the middle, is in a white robe rather than blue one and holds a wine cup. And "Huang Tingjian" carries a *dongxiao* 洞簫 (Chinese flute), which recalls the line "among the guests one played the flute" (*ke you chui dongxiao zhe* 客有吹洞簫者) in the *Former Red Cliff Ode.* Looking just at the outline of the three figures, it is almost like they were copied and pasted from the Mactaggart collection Red Cliff painting to the Beijing Palace Museum one, although the details of the figure's face differ a lot.

In the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, the painter added more details which relate to Su Shi's original text. Besides one of the characters carrying a *dongxiao,* the reflection of the full moon indicates the time as "one night past the full moon in the seventh month" (*qiyue*

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[60] The inscription reads: "中華民國三十三年十一月十六日，沫公五秩晉三誕辰，謹此呈壽，並乞誨政。晚傅抱石於重慶金剛坡下"

*ji wang* 七月既望). Also on the boat there are dishes, and one of them is upside down, which recalls the line "When the snacks were finished, the plates and dishes piled widely" (*yaohe ji jin, beipan langji* 肴核既盡 杯盤狼藉) in Su Shi's *Former Red Cliff Ode*.

In the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, Fu depicted two bodies of mountains with one in front of Su Shi's boat and one behind, touching the four sides of the image. This frames the figures and the little boat inside.The mountain in front of Su Shi's boat was depicted with comparably darker color and more details, creating a sense of space in the image, and the reflection of the moon on the water is just besides the mountain, which looks like it is going to disappear in the next second. The big splashes, smudges and sweeping strokes on the Mactaggart Red Cliff paintings can not be found on the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting. As a result, the whole image is simpler and flatter. Being depicted from a lower perspective than the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting, the figures take an a even larger portion and are set on the first half of the image. Viewers standing in front of the painting will unmistakably focus their eyes on the boat and the figures, who are the main characters and include most details of the image.

The Red Cliff was not a subject of Chinese figure painting before the modern era. In the images of the Red Cliff developed by pre-modern Chinese painters, the boat, the cliff, and river always form a wholeness which altogether tells the story of a literatus's boat trip to a renowned relic expressing his feeling of meditating on the past. The face of Su Shi and the two guests are always featureless, which blurs their identity and allows the viewers and the painters themselves to fit anyone into their roles. However, in Fu Baoshi's Red Cliff images, Su Shi and the guests are unmistakably the main characters of the story, and could not be replaced by anyone who is gazing at the images. If we compare Fu Baoshi's Red Cliff image with images of the Red Cliff

landscape made by pre-modern painters, it can be noticed that although Fu's Red Cliff painting has some landscape features, the figures play a more important role in the whole image. Su Shi's position as the main character is strengthened in Fu's Red Cliff paintings, especially in the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, where the figures and the boat take up a large portion of the whole image. Fu also added some narrative details like the dishes on the boat to make more of a connection with Su Shi's original text.

The differences between the two Red Cliff paintings that Fu made in the same year are also very clear. In Fu Baoshi's 1943 Red Cliff painting in the Mactaggart Art Collection, the painter created a sense of illusion with the contrast of background and figures——a contrast of clear and vague, stereoscopic and flat, delicate and ruleless. The same contrast created by heavy ink smudges on the background can be witnessed in a series of Fu's paintings on subjects of Chinese historical figures and stories including the 1943 *Asking for Wisdom* (Fig. 13), the 1944 *The Song of Pipa* (Fig. 14), and the 1945 *Playing Weiqi at Water Pavilion* (Fig. 15). On those paintings the painter created a three-dimensional and dynamic effect and visualized a world of illusion on paper. However, in Fu's 1943 Red Cliff painting in Beijing Palace Museum, the painter depicted both the background and the figure with a fixed outline. The sense of illusion and motion in the Mactaggart Art Collection Red Cliff painting is replaced with a simple and clear distinction between figure and background, which allows the figures to take a even larger portion of the whole image. It is almost a painting of figures rather than landscape, with Su Shi and the guests just in front of the eyes of the viewers.

**Conclusion**

In Fu's Red Cliff paintings, the painter made Su Shi the main character of the story again. Especially in the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting the sense of being of the figures is so strong that it is almost a figure painting with narrative elements. Although using similar main motifs——the boat, the moon and the cliff——Fu's 1943 visual representations of the Red Cliff do not resemble any pre-modern paintings on the same subject. It can be observed that Fu's depiction of the Red Cliff is more an original, particular composition rather than an inheritance from the painting tradition of China. Meanwhile, some features of Fu's two 1943 Red Cliff paintings suggest his exposure and awareness of the development of ink painting in modern Japan.

# CHAPTER 2 ON THE WAY TO DISCOVERING THE RED CLIFF——FU BAOSHI'S REDISCOVERY OF "ANCIENT CHINA" IN JAPAN

## Introduction

Unlike most pre-modern Red Cliff images, especially the highly stereotyped Wu school Red Cliff paintings, Fu Baoshi's depictions of the Red Cliff include figures that take up a relatively large portion of the whole image with landscape as background. According to Fu's paintings and essays, Fu started figure painting during his days in Japan and continued for the rest of his life, painting Chinese historical figures and stories in particular. In this chapter I argue that the reinterpretation of China's past rendered by modern Japanese painters and scholars served Fu as a source of motifs, subjects and even a new artistic ideal and contributed dramatically to Fu's establishment of his own style after coming back from Japan.

## Fu Baoshi's Rediscovery of "Chinese Traditions" in Japan

In 1931, Fu published his second book on Chinese art history *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang*, which he finished in 1929 at the age of 26. In the author's preface Fu wrote:

> This is like you have some money under your pillow, but your neighbors know it better than yourself. Although China has lots of meddlesome "neighbors" like that, Japan is the most noticeable one….We are all Chinese people who have great pride. Lowering your head and trying to borrow money from the meddlesome neighbor? No way! This is losing our face, this is committing suicide![61]

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[61] Fu wrote : "好比你床上枕頭夏的鈔票，隔壁老二比你清楚得多了。… …隔壁老二雖多，日本是最厲害的一個！我們都是中華民國的老大哥，低頭去問隔壁的老二是丟醜！是自殺！" Fu Baoshi, *Zhongguo Huihua Bianqian Shigang* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 3.

This naive and angry statement that Fu made about Chinese painters learning from Japan indicates the vivid Sino-Japanese cultural exchange that was taking place in the early twentieth century. It is probably because there were many people who were trying to "borrow from the meddlesome neighbor" that Fu criticized them. In the beginning of the twentieth century, for Chinese intellectuals Japan was an important source of knowledge and even a model to study from, a pattern to be followed. Japan was "a new object of knowledge" for China on the way to modernization.[62] Art education was one of the main frontiers of the flourishing Sino-Japanese cultural exchange, with more Chinese artists being trained in Japan than in France and all other European countries in combination and the total number of Chinese artists having the experience of visiting Japan being 300.[63] Although many Chinese artists went to Japan to study Western art, many of them were also attracted to *nihonga*——the newly invented "Japanese-style painting" that had been created as a way of separating the so-called traditional Japanese art from the Western mode of *yoga*.

For Fu Baoshi, when writing *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang,* Japanese painters working on "Chinese" subjects were almost performing cultural theft and learning from Japan was no more than a big shame. He did not know that after just three years he himself would be among the people who were "lowering their head and trying to borrow money from the meddlesome neighbor." In 1931, Fu Baoshi met the president of the National Beijing Art College

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[62] Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 5; Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge : Harvard University Asia Center, 1993); Joshua A. Fogel ed., *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2013).

[63] See Liu Xiaolu, *Shijie Meishu Zhong de Zhongguo yu Riben Meishu* (Guilin: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 2001), 217. Also, according to Takeyoshi Tsuruta, the student who officially registered at major art schools numbered at least 129. Takeyoshi Tsuruta, "Ryunichi bijutsu gakusei: kin hyakunenrai Chugoku kaigashi kenkyu," *Bijutsu kenkyu* (March,1997): 29-41.

(nowadays the China Central Academy of Fine Arts), Xu Beihong, a painter himself and also one of the most influential figures in the world of Chinese art education, who supported Fu's going abroad.[64] Although Fu's original aim of going to Japan in 1932 was to study crafts and rejuvenate Jingdezhen porcelain, Fu latter realized that he was more attracted to studying art and art history. In May 1934, Fu entered the Japanese Imperial Art Academy (nowadays Musashino Art University) with the wish of studying Chinese art history with Kinbara Seigo 金原省悟 (1888-1958), and he also hoped to work in oil painting with Nakagawa Kigen中川紀元 (1892-1972), who had studied art in Paris.[65]

There is no evidence left for Fu's working on oil painting, although it is clear that Fu's latter works frequently remind the viewer of Western painting techniques and styles.[66] Meanwhile, his teacher of Chinese art history, Kinbara Seigo, clearly influenced Fu, both his study of Chinese art history and also his way of painting. Fu Baoshi must have known Kinbara's work before entering the Japanese Imperial Art Academy, and he finished translating Kinbara's two essays "Paintings of Tang Dynasty" and "Paintings of Song Dynasty" into one book titled

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[64] Xu Beihong raised funding for Fu by writing to the government. The original destination was France, the place Xu used to study. However as a result of a lack of funding, the destination was changed to Japan. See Chen Kang-Shuen, "Fu Baoshi nianbiao," in *Paintings by Fu Pao-Shih* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1994), 176-182.

[65] Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting," 72.

[66] Maeda argues that Fu's work, especially the brush movement, reminds the viewer of twentieth-century European and American masters, such as Kandinsky and Franz Kilne. See Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting," 70. Lu compares Fu Baoshi's painting of rain with J. M. W. Turner's painting of light. Lu Lishang, "Lun Fu Baoshi," *Xiongshi Meishu* (Taipei: *Xiongshi Tushu*, 1981).

*Painting of Tang and Song Dynasties* soon after he became Kinbara's student.[67] Also, as he wrote in 1942 in the author's introduction for his solo exhibition in Chongqing, "In the past I could not paint the silk-thin lines for figures. It was not until ten years ago, at the time when I was studying the lines in Chinese painting, that I eventually started to practice (painting figures)."[68] Fu's realization of the importance of studying the painting of lines must have come from Kinbara's 1927 book *Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyu* (Research on the use of line in painting). In this book, which Fu planned to translate, Kinbara delivered a detailed analysis of the use of lines, especially in ink painting.[69] Although the title is *Research on the use of line in painting,* almost all of Kinbara's examples were from pre-modern Chinese and Japanese paintings, focusing on the stroke work and the use of lines and dots in forming images. In the seventh chapter, Kinbara delivered a detailed analysis of *senbyoho* 線描法, which was brought up by the Ming literati painter and collector Wang Keyu 汪珂玉 (dates unknown) as "the basic eighteen ways of paintings lines" (*shiba xian miao fa* 十八線描法) for figure painting in his painting catalogue *Shan hu wang* (珊瑚網) as the foundation for figure painting of depicting the contours and smocking of garments.[70]

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[67] The book *Painting of Tang and Song Dynasties* (*Tangsong zhi huihua* 唐宋之繪畫) was published by the Shanghai Commercial Press in February, 1935. See Ye, "Fu Baoshi nianpu," 90.

[68] Fu Baoshi, "Renwu Chongqing huazhan zixu," in *Fu Baohi meishu wenji*, ed. Ye Zonggao (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 328.

[69] According to Wong, whether Fu did finish translating or not is unknown. See Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 29.

[70] See Kinbara Seigo, *Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Kokon Shoin,1928), 262-263.

Throughout the book, Kinbara's attempt at combining geometrical, scientific knowledge with the traditional way of appreciating literati paintings is noticeable. The whole book starts with explaining basic geometrical knowledge and continues with applying the scientific, geometrical knowledge to reveal the variability of lines in literati paintings. At the same time, Kinbara's analysis of the eighteen ways of painting lines is filled with historical accounts attributed to famous pre-modern Chinese critics, including Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (dates unknown), Wu Daozi 吳道子(685-758) and the Edo-period Japanese critic Uragami Shunkin 蒲上春琴 (1779-1846) to support his viewpoints, and accompanying illustrations from *Tani Buncho honcho gasen daisen* 谷文晁本朝画纂大全.[71] Although the illustrations are from an Edo painting book, they were treated as showing the style of famous Chinese Wei and Jin Dynasty painters, such as Wu Daozi and Cao Buxing 曹不興 (dates unknown).

For Fu, it was important that Kinbara did not directly challenge the "traditional" aspect of Chinese painting that he valued so much and that at the same time he was working on a "scientific," "modern" method of examining paintings. Kinbara's book was a theoretical instruction for Fu to start figure painting and examine the style of Gu Kaizhi, or more accurately the typical painting style attributed to Wei and Jin Dynasty painters. In his later essays, Fu repetitively stressed the importance of lines in Chinese painting when making comments on Chinese art history. Fu argued: "Their [Western] paintings are combinations of surface and colors, while Chinese painting is a symphony of lines and dots," and "lines are the foundations of

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[71] The printed manual *Tani Buncho honcho gasen daisen* contains the painting techniques of nanga in Edo Japan. Tani Buncho 谷文晁 (1763-1841) is an Edo-Period Japanese monk, *nanga* painter, and poet.

Chinese painting. Millions of pieces of evidence can be found in Chinese art history to support this truth."[72] This emphasis on lines could not be found in his earlier writing on Chinese art history, including *Zhongguo huihua bianqian shigang,* in which Fu mostly emphasized historical documents rather than visual materials. Also, modern Japanese painters' interest in *Admonitions of the Court Instructress* attributed to Gu Kaizhi must have been another stimulus for Fu to try to revive the "Gu Kaizhi style," especially the well-known painting technique *gao gu you si miao* 高古遊絲描 in his figure painting.[73] Nowadays, Fu is evaluated as one of the most important interpreters of Gu Kaizhi's style in modern China. It should be noted that in Fu's 1943 Red Cliff paintings, the painter depicted the contour of the garments with a silk-thin line, the painting technique that Kinbara examined in his book as one of such typical painting techniques of the Wei and Jin masters Gu Kaizhi and Cao Buxing.

During his short stay in Japan, Fu also witnessed modern Japanese painters' enthusiasm for themes of historical figures and stories, some of which were based on Chinese history. From the late 1880s there was a proliferation of "history painting" in Japan, which was promoted by art critics and historians. Among them was Okakura Kakuzo 岡倉覚三 (1863-1913), the great contributor to the founding of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko), who

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[72] Fu, "Zhongguo minzu meishu zhi zhanwang yu jianshe,"in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji*, ed. Ye Zonggao (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 65-77 ; Fu, "Zhongguo huihua zhi jingshen," in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi* ed. Cheng, 129.

[73] For modern Japanese painters' interest in Gu Kaizhi's style, see Shane McCausland, "Nihonga Meets Gu Kaizhi: A Japanese Copy of a Chinese Painting in the British Museum," *The Art Bulletin*, no. 4 (December, 2005): 688-713. G*ao gu you si miao* 高古遊絲描, also known as *chun can tu si miao* 春蠶吐絲描 is a technique of painting garments in ink painting. The name of the technique means the lines are as thin as silk. Kinbara's *Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyu* has a brief introduction of *gao gu you si miao. S*ee Kinbara, *Kaiga ni okeru sen no kenkyu,* 273-274.

described history painting as the way to "invigorate the heretofore dull development in the subjects of Japanese painting."[74] In modern Japan the concept of history painting was under debate and was not always similar to the concept of history painting established in Europe.[75] History painting in modern Japan, or paintings of historical figures and stories, included not only Japanese subjects but also subjects from Chinese literary classics and history. This not only was a result of Japanese intellectuals' longstanding interest in the Chinese classics but also reflected modern Japan's pan-Asianist political persuasion. Painters working on subjects from Chinese history and literature classics included both *nihonga* and *yoga* painters.[76] Although most of their subjects were old and already visualized by pre-modern Chinese and Japanese painters, Japanese painters in the twentieth century made use of these subjects to depict their own ideals. Painters like Hashimoto Kansetsu 橋本関雪 (1883-1945), who were extensively educated in the Chinese classics, even developed new painting subjects themselves.[77] This trend of using historical figures and stories as visual devices for expressing modern thoughts and ideals was latter followed by modern Chinese painters.[78] There is a close tie between Fu Baoshi's paintings and modern *nihonga* painters' neoclassical depiction of China's past: the former frequently borrows

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[74] Takashina Shuji, "History Painting in the Meiji Era: A Consideration of the Issue," in *Challenging Past and Present : the Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art,* ed. Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 57.

[75] Ibid., 56-64.

[76] See Bert Winther-Tamaki, *Yoga, the "Western Painting" of Japan, 1910-1955* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

[77] Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 30.

[78] See Lang Shaojun, *Lun Xiandai Zhongguo Meishu* (Jiangsu: Jiangsu meishu chuban she, 1996), 126.

compositional modes, motifs and even subjects from the latter. A typical example can be found if we compare Fu Baoshi's 1941 painting *Asking for Wisdom* (Fig. 13) with *Visiting a Retired Scholar* (Fig. 16) by Hashimoto Kansetsu. Both painting depicts the story of Shile asking for wisdom (S*hi Le wen dao* 石勒問道), and it is clear that Fu's painting was based on Hashimoto's compositional mode on the same subject.[79] Fu Baoshi's 1953 landscape painting *Climbing the Snow Mountain* (Fig. 17) employs the same composition and major motifs as Yokoyama Taikan's 横山大観 (1868-1958) 1929 painting *The Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang, The Snow Scene* (Fig. 18) in combination with the 1886 painting *Unmelted Snow on Mt. Fuji* by Takeuchi Seiho 竹内栖鳳 (1864-1942) (Fig. 19). All the three paintings depicted snow scenes. Both Yokoyama and Fu may have viewed Takeuchi's painting and used it as a source of motifs for their own compositions.

Fu Baoshi's undeniable debt to modern Japanese art is also visible in his style. It is clear that Fu adapted the style of several *nanga* and *nihonga* painters, including Tomioka Tessai, Takeuchi Seiho and Yokoyama Taikan.[80] In Fu's 1943 Red Cliff painting in the Mactaggart collection (Fig. 10), the ruleless, descriptive ink dots recall the style of the Qing monk painter Shitao 石濤 (1642-1707), whose position as an individualist artist and one of China's most significant painters was established in modern times. In pre-modern China, Shitao was not

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[79] Shi Le 石勒 (274-333) was the founding emperor of the state Later Zhao (hou zhao 後趙). *Shi Le wen dao* is a painting subject depicted by pre-modern Chinese painters. There are poems signed on paintings of *Shi Le wen dao* that remain and were included in the Qing collections of books *Siku quanshu*. See "Yuding lidai tihuashi," Wikisource, accessed March 31, 2019, https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/御定歷代題畫詩類_(四庫全書本)/卷036#石勒問道圖.

[80] Zhang makes a vivid comparison of paintings by Fu Baoshi and paintings by modern Japanese painters. Zhang Guoying, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 146-188.

celebrated nationally or transnationally. As the Qing Dynasty painter Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (1693–1765) wrote: "Shitao's painting style renders the myriad changes….Compared with Bada Shanren, Shitao is even better. However, Bada is well-known all around the country, but Shitao is only famous in Yangzhou."[81] Shitao's value was rediscovered in modern times, mostly by modern Japanese collectors, critics and art historians, who viewed him as a representative of the creative spirit of literati painters in pre-modern times.[82]

Some scholars have argued that Fu's strong interest in Shitao was rooted in his early art education in China, and there is even an anecdote about Fu changing his name to "Baoshi" because of his strong admiration for Shitao.[83] However, very few of his early paintings are left, and little evidence can be found about the artistic training Fu received before going to Japan..[84] What can be noticed is that Fu was adapting Shitao's style and publishing research about Shitao during his stay in Japan.[85] In 1935, Fu published his first study of Shitao, "The chronology of Bitter Melon Monk" (*kugua heshang nianbiao* 苦瓜和尚年表) in the Japanese magazine *Bi no kuni*. In the preface, Fu mentioned Hashimoto Kansetsu's book on Shitao and cited Kansetsu's

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[81] Zheng wrote: "石濤擅化，蓋有萬種。… …石濤畫法，千變萬化，離奇蒼古，而又能細緻妥貼，比之八大，殆有過之，無不及處；然八大名滿天下，石濤名不出吾揚州. " This source was cited by Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 114-5.

[82] Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 71.

[83] Chen Chuanxi, "Fu Baoshi yanjiu," in *Fu Baoshi yanjiu wenji*, ed. Fu Ershi, 15.

[84] For the style of Fu before coming to Japan, see Chung, *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution*, 60-64. It can be observed that in these paintings Fu was following the styles of his contemporary painters, or using the orthodox style of late imperial painters like the "four Wang," rather than adapting Shitao's style or having developed a style of his own.

[85] In March, 1935 Fu published his first study of Shitao, "Kugua heshang nianbiao" (Chronology of the Bitter Melon Monk) in the Japanese magazine *Bi no kuni*. See Ye, *Fu Baoshi nianpu*, 99.

words, indicating his awareness of modern Japanese scholarship on Shitao.[86] It is likely that modern Japanese painters' high praise for Shitao inspired Fu Baoshi's life-long passion of for Shitao's style and art.

During Fu's stay in Japan, he must have noticed the work of another admirer of Shitao, Tomioka Tessai. Both Fu Baoshi and Tessai adapted Shitao's style, and some of Fu's works strongly resemble Tessai's earlier paintings.[87] In Fu Baoshi's Mactaggart Red Cliff painting, Fu applied broken strokes, smudges and splashed ink to depict the thickness of the plants and create the atmosphere of a wet, dark environment in the middle of the river only lit by the moonlight. Tessai's *Misty Landscape* (Fig. 21) and Fu's Mactaggart painting are comparable, since both painters renders the image with heavy, splashed ink and a combination of dry and wet ink showing semi-abstract images that recall Shitao's *Ten Thousand Ugly Ink Dots* (Fig. 20).

Although Fu's stay in Japan lasted fewer than three years, this experience had a life-long influence on his artistic creation. Over the next thirty years of his life, Fu kept using what he had learnt in Japan as a shortcut to modern painting and a way of establishing his own semi-abstract, personal style in painting landscapes and figures. This was indispensable for creating his own images of the Red Cliff.

**The Red Cliff and Su Shi's Image in Modern Japan**

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[86] Fu Baoshi, "Kugua heshang nianbiao xuyan," in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi,* ed. Cheng, 50. In this essay Fu highly praised Kansetsu's work on Shitao and even described Kansetsu as "Shitao's intimate after three hundred years." For Hashimoto Kansetsu's scholarship on Shitao, see Hashimoto Kansetsu, *Sekito* (Tokyo: Chuo Bijutsu sha, 1926).

[87] Cahill, "Nihonga Painters in the Nanga tradition," 3-4; Maeda, "Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting," 70.

A cultural exchange is always two-way, especially in the beginning of the twentieth century, where there was frequent and continuing contact between China and Japan. While Chinese painters like Fu Baoshi were eager to study the new painting of Japan, there was also a rising interest from Japan in China for both social and political reasons. For modern Japanese painters, writers and scholars, this interest was mostly in China's past——the beautiful "traditional" China that had existed in Japanese painters' imaginations for centuries. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a trend of celebrating the great events and great historical figure of Chinese history among Japanese painters, writers, and sinologists. In 1927, *Rosokai* 老荘会, a meeting for discussing the *Daodejing* and the *Shijing,* was held with the sinologist Konda Rentaro 公田連太郎(1874-1963) as the host. The idea of the *Rosokai* was raised by Kosugi Hoan 小杉放庵 (1881-1964), the *nihonga* and *yoga* painter who traveled to China many times in his life and painted lots of portraits of Laozi and Zhuangzi, the legendary founder and representatives of Daoism. Kosugi Hoan was not the only person interested in China's past.[88] In 1913, *Ranteikai* 蘭亭会 was held in four Chinese and Japanese cities——Beijing, Hangzhou, Tokyo and Kyoto. The sinologist Naito Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934) and the editor-writer Nagao Uzan 長尾雨山 (1864-1942) were the key participants.[89]

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[88] As a yoga painter who later transferred his interest to *nihonga*, Kosugi Hoan painted many works whose subjects were Chinese historical figures and stories like Laozi, Zhuangzi and the Red Cliff. Scholars have argued that there was an influence from Kosugi Hoan on Fu Baoshi. James Cahill asserts that Kosugi enlightened Fu to create his personal representative stroke, the Baoshi stroke (*baoshi cun* 抱石皴). Zhang Guoying argues that Kosugi's style of painting daily life in an emotional, creative way may have influenced Fu. See Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 189; Cahill, "Nihonga Painters in The Nanga Tradition," 8.

[89] See Tao Deming, *Taisho kichu ranteikai e no kaiko to keisho* (Osaka: Kansai University Publishing, 2013), 23.

Nagao Uzan, who was listed as one of Japan's"greatest authorities on Chinese painting and calligraphy" and was a well-known "Dongpo fan" in modern Japan, organized *Sekihekikai* 赤壁会 and even hosted *Jusokai* 寿蘇会, a birthday ceremony for Su Shi, which was a new form of celebrating Su Shi in modern times.[90] Nagao Uzan, who stayed in Shanghai for over 10 years (1902-1914), played an important role in Sino-Japanese cultural exchange in the early twentieth century. During his time in China, Nagao actively connected with Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844-1927), Wang Yiting 王一亭(1867-1938) and other Chinese artists, scholars, and public figures, and he worked as a chief editor at The Commercial Press (S*hangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館), the biggest press in China at that time, editing the first modern Chinese textbook.[91] During his stay in Shanghai, Nagao celebrated the birthday of Su Shi with other noted public figures in China and brought this idea back to Japan.[92] Nagao held *Jusokai* five times on the birthday of Su Shi, in 1916, 1917, 1918, 1920 and 1937, with the help of another well-known "Dongpo fan," the *nanga* painter Tomioka Tessai.[93] Nagao also held *Sekihekikai* on September seventh, 1922, on the fourteenth "the autumn of the year *renxu*, one night past the full moon in the seventh month" after Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip.

Throughout history, Su Shi has been one of the most favored Chinese poets in Japan, with works introduced to Japan no later than the Kamakura Period (鎌倉時代, 1185–1333) and

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[90] Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 86.

[91] Matsumura Shigeki, "Nagao Uzan ga Shanhai de sankai shita shikai ni tsuite," *Nippon Chugoku gakkai ho* (2014): 238.

[92] Ibid., 240.

[93] For details of Nagao's *Sekihekikai and Jusokai*, see Ikeda Shigeko, *Riben de chibihui he shousuhui* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 2006), 11.

appreciated and translated by Japanese Zen monks.[94] The history of *Sekihekikai* in Japan can be traced back to the Edo period. Although China was far away, Dongpo fans like Nagao treated certain places in Japan as Japanese "Red Cliffs" and imitated Dongpo's Red Cliff boat trip by traveling to the Japanese "Red Cliffs," along with making new Red Cliff poetry and appreciating Red Cliff paintings. The participants of the first *Jusokai* included Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927), Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866-1940) and Luo Zhenyu's son Luo Fuchang 罗福成 (1885-1960). They were Chinese intellectuals who fled to Japan after the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912. In *Sekihekikai* and *Jusokai*, Nagao and other Dongpo fans gathered together and appreciated antiques associated with Su Shi and created poetry and paintings, and they traveled to several "model Red Cliffs" in Japan. When defending the banquet from critics, Nagao wrote on the eve of the 1922 *Sekihekikai*: "Our banquet is for people like us who are dreaming of the old classics, tracing back to their origin, and thus waking this lustful society…. If our banquet for remembering the great literatus Dongpo can stimulate the world of art, it is not useless."[95] Although *Sekihekikai,* or Red Cliff banquets, existed in pre-modern Japan, there are few records left about the banquets for celebrating Su Shi's birthday. Nagao's banquets were made possible because of the network of Chinese and Japanese artists and scholars formed around him. After the banquet, what was left were paintings and literature about Su Shi and the Red Cliff created by participants. Su Shi's position was pushed to a new height. He was interpreted as a cultural icon representing traditional, classical East Asian culture and, standing in

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[94] Nagao Masakazu, "Chibihui yu shousuhui," translated by Ikezawa Shigeko in *Riben de chibihui he shousu hui* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006), 223.

[95] Ibid., 12.

contrast to modern "lustful society" and serving as a great source of enlightenment for "the world of art." Considering Nagao's relationship with Okakura Kakuzo, who helped found the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko and Japan's first art journal, *Kokka* 国華, it is arguable that what Nagao meant by "art" was *nihonga*.[96]

Even before Nagao's public memorializing of Su Shi, several modern Japanese painters had worked on the subject of Red Cliff, following the tradition of Red Cliff painting that possibly appeared in Japan no later than the Muromachi period (1336-1573). In the Edo period, *nanga* and Kano school 狩野派 painters like Tani Buncho 谷文晁 (1763-1841), Ike no Taiga 池大雅 (1721-1776), and Gion Nankai 祇園南海 (1676-1751) painted many Red Cliff paintings, and lots of Red Cliff images created by Edo painters recall Red Cliff paintings by Ming painters.[97] In modern times, a great contributor to the modern representation of the Red Cliff and Su Shi was Tomioka Tessai, who was also a contributor to Nagao's *Sekihekikai* and *Jusokai* and who collected many "Dongpo antiques" and created many paintings with Su Shi as a subject.[98] Besides the Red Cliff, Tessai also depicted *Three Fortunes of Dongpo*, *Drunken Dongpo*, *Dongpo Visiting Monk Foyin,* and other stories about Su Shi.[99] Tessai's depiction of Su Shi and

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[96] See Wong, *Parting the Mist*, 86-87.

[97] For a study of pre-modern Red Cliff paintings in Japan, see Itakura, "Japanese Rendering: Depictions of Red cliff in Japanese Paintings," in *A Thousand, Thousand Churning Waves—The Legendary Red Cliff Heritage*, 260-73.

[98] Nagao Masakazu, "chibihui yu shousuhui," translated by Ikezawa Shigeko, in *Riben de chibihui he shousu hui* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006), 224.

[99] For other Tessai works with Su Shi as subjects, see *The Works of Tomioka Tessai: A Travelling Exhibition Organized by International Exhibitions Foundation, November 1968-November 1969,* ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University of California, 1968).

other Chinese historical stories renders "a composition with a loosely executed landscape that surrounds finely rendered narrative elements," which was adapted by Fu Baoshi in his paintings.[100]

Like Tessai, Hashimoto Kansetsu is also well-known for his interest in China's past and his enthusiasm for classical Chinese figures and stories. Kansetsu painted several Red Cliff paintings in his life, and Fu's earliest remaining Red Cliff painting, *Red Cliff Boat Trip after Kansetsu's Style* (*Fang Guanxue zhouyou tu* 仿關雪舟遊圖) (Fig. 22), is an adaptation of Kansetsu's earlier Red Cliff painting (Fig. 23). Fu's 1937 Red Cliff painting bears an artist's inscription that reads: "Painted in June, the year of bingzi [1937], after the style of Kansetsu." This clearly explains the origin of this painting.[101]

The four figures in Fu Baoshi's 1937 painting, including Su Shi, the guests and a fisherman with his fishing rod, and the little boat are almost directly copied from Kansetsu's painting. Fu changed the format of the painting to that of a hanging scroll, making the space of the whole image more intense. Unlike Kansetsu, who represented the width of the river and showed the cliff, Fu dismissed most of the details of the original Kansetsu painting, including the cliff, the waterfall on the cliff, and a crane flying cross the river, which were typical elements of pre-modern Chinese Red Cliff paintings. With the simplicity of the image, Su Shi's boat takes a

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[100] Maeda,"Rediscovering China in Japan: Fu Baoshi's Ink Painting, "78. A vivid comparison of Fu Baoshi and Tessai's style can be found in Cahill, "Nihonga Painters in the Nanga Tradition."

[101] Fu's inscription reads: "丙子六月抱石寫關雪意." The original painting is now in a private collection in Taiwan. Zhang Guoying suggests a possible in-person relationship between Fu and Kansetsu by pointing out that both Guo Moruo and Kansetsu were friend of the painter Qian Shoutie 錢瘦鐵 (1897-1967). Guo and Fu got to know each other in Japan and developed a close relationship as well. See Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu,* 163.

relatively large portion of the whole image, and what really stands out is the reflection of moonlight in the middle of river, which not only suggests the atmosphere of Su Shi's boat trip on a moonlit night but is also a nearly realistic depiction of light reflected on the surface of water. This technique of painting the light through the gradual changing of color does not exist in the work of pre-modern Chinese painters. At the same time it recalls the modern Japanese *morotai* 朦朧体 style developed by the *nihonga* painter Yokoyama Taikan.[102] In fact, the whole image of Fu's 1937 Red Cliff has an obvious similarity with Yokoyama Taikan's 1913 Red Cliff painting titled *Moonlight: The Former Red Cliff* (Fig. 24), in which the painter also depicts the reflection of moonlight on the water, randomly placed stones representing a bank, and a little boat with a roof carrying Su Shi and the guest. It can be noticed that the compositional mode and the key motifs of the two paintings, especially the reflection of moonlight, are so similar that it is probable that Fu may also have seen Taikan's Red Cliff paintings before he started making his own Red Cliff images.

Although Fu publicly criticized Taikan for taking part in the Japanese government's imperialist propaganda during the war era, it is clear that Taikan was a life-long influence on Fu Baoshi. Even one of Fu's most famous paintings, hanging on the wall of the Great Hall of

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[102] *Morotai*, also known as *hyobyotai* 縹渺体, was the painting style developed by modern Japanese painters in Tokyo who were impressed by Western paintings especially Impressionism, and who stressed on the use of color rather than lines. Yokoyama Taikan and Hishida Shunso 菱田春草 (1874-1911) are usually recognized as the creators of the style, and both men were students of Okakura Kakuzo.

People, is arguably an adaptation of one of Taikan's earlier paintings.[103] Like Hashimoto Kansetsu and Tomioka Tessai, Taikan created many paintings based on Chinese historical figures and stories, and Taikan's use of the subjects from Chinese classics may have inspired Fu to depict similar images based on Taikan's subjects and compositional modes.

**Conclusion**

In modern Japan, Su Shi was one of the icons representing the traditional, classical aspect of East Asia against modern materialism in the first half of the twentieth century. Modern Japanese painters rendered the image of Su Shi and Red Cliff as one part of their depictions of East Asia's past, showing a neoclassical attitude and pan-Asianism ideal. This enthusiasm for depicting "the past" was followed by Chinese painters, including Fu Baoshi, who also developed new subjects, painting styles and painting techniques based on what he witnessed in Japan. It is likely that it was during his days in Japan that Fu came up with the idea of depicting the Red Cliff, and modern Japanese painters' previous depictions of the Red Cliff, especially the Red Cliff paintings by Yokoyama Taikan and Hashimoto Kansetsu, must have been important sources for Fu Baoshi in building his own images of the Red Cliff

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[103] For a comparison between this painting and several paintings by Yokoyama Taikan, see Li Lifeng, "Luelun lixiongcai yu Fu Baoshi," Yih Yih Fenn Tzyy (March, 2003): 95; Fong, *Between Two Cultures,* 122-123. Fu Baoshi, "Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshen shang kan kangzhan bisheng." For Fu's critique on Taikan, see Fu, "cong zhongguo meishu de jingshen shang kan kangzhan bisheng," in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji,* ed. Ye, 174.

# CHAPTER 3 HISTORY PAINTING FOR "TODAY"——FU BAOSHI'S CHONGQING YEARS

## Introduction

After coming back from Japan, Fu transferred to several places and eventually settled down in Chongqing, the "second capital" in war-time China. It was during his time in Chongqing in the 1940s that Fu stepped into the most important rising phase in his career life as a painter, and started to make large numbers of paintings, including paintings based on Chinese historical figures and stories. In this section, I examine the context of Fu's making of the 1943 Red Cliff paintings, and I argue that images of the Red Cliff made by Fu in 1943, especially the Red Cliff painting in Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 11), not only suggest Fu's traditionalist attitude towards China's past but also indicate the political influence of a powerful Communist intellectual, Guo Moruo, on Fu Baoshi's artistic activity.

## Fu Baoshi's Encounter with the "Second Capital"

In 1935, Fu temporarily came back to China for his mother's illness, leaving behind many of his paintings and seals with his Japanese teacher Kinbara Seigo. He also left behind the fame as a painter and seal caver that he had established in Japan after his first exhibition in Ginza, Tokyo, in May of the same year.[104] Fu's original plan of coming back to Japan was interrupted by the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, and Fu never came back to Japan again. However, what Fu took with him to China were the new subjects, motifs, and

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[104] For the details of Fu Baoshi's first exhibition in Japan, see Chung, "Of History and Nation: The Art of Fu Baoshi," in *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution*, 6-7.

compositional modes that he actively adopted in his own artistic creation during the remainder of his career after coming back from Japan.

What Fu obtained from his experience in Japan also included a relationship with Guo Moruo, the Marxist scholar, writer and poet who had fled to Japan in the 1930s as a result of being listed as wanted by the KMT (Guomingdang) government after he had publicly criticized the KMT government and the leader of the KMT, Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石 (1887-1975). Fu and Guo met each other in February, 1933, four months after Fu started his life in Japan.[105] At the time, when Fu Baoshi was just a poor student who was little-known in China and Japan, Guo had already established his fame as an activist, left wing writer, and leading advocate of the May Fourth Movement. Guo, later a leader and the representative of the Communist Party in the world of literature and art after coming back to China in 1937, was influential for Fu not only as a friend but also as a scout who appreciated Fu's talent and promoted Fu's artistic career, as did Xu Beihong. Fu built a close relationship with Guo during his time in Japan, when "Fu frequently visited Guo in person and discussed questions of Chinese art history."[106] According to

[105] Ye, *Fu Baoshi nianpu,* 89.

[106] Luo Shihui, "Huainian——Fu Baoshi he guo lao," in *Qunzhong Luncong* (Beijing: Qunzhong Luncong publishing, 1980), 169.

the essays and letters left by both men, during Fu's stay in Japan, Guo was actively promoting Fu's art and even Fu's first exhibition in Japan, in 1935 in Ginza, Tokyo.[107]

In 1937, Guo secretly returned to China and immediately started editing journals and writing essays as "ideological support" for the Second Sino-Japanese War. In his 1936 essay, Guo argued the urgency of promoting "national defense literature" (*guofang wenxue* 國防文學), which according to him should be enlarged to "national defense literature and art" (*guofang wenyi* 國防文藝) as "a real expression of patriotic feeling," and he took action in promoting "national defense literature and art" in the following years.[108] In March 1938 in Wuhan, Guo Moruo was appointed as the leader of the newly established Third Bureau of the Department for Anti-Japanese Propaganda in the Politics Division (*Guomin zhengfu junshi weiyuanhui zhenzhibu disan ting* 国民政府军事委员会政治部第三厅) by the leader of the Communist Party Zhou Enlai 周恩来 (1898-1976). From April 1938, Fu Baoshi worked as the secretary for the Third Bureau, together with Li Keran 李可染 (1907-1989) and Ye Qianyu 葉淺予

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[107] According to Fu's letter to Guo in 1935, Guo wrote inscriptions for Fu's paintings and asked Japanese art critics to write comments about Fu's art before the 1935 exhibition. Luo Shihui wrote that "At that time Fu was just a poor student, without the help of Guo Moruo who wrote letters to the critics and asked them to leave comments for Fu's paintings and seals, the first exhibition wouldn't be a success." See Ye Zonggao, *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji xubian*,(Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chuban she, 2014), 259. There was also a letter from Guo Moruo to the owner of the Japanese bookstore Bunkyudo 文求堂, Tanaka Keitaro 田中慶太郎 (1880-1951). Bunkyudo was the place where Guo Moruo's books were published during his stay in Japan. See Guo Moruo, *Guo Moruo zhi wenqiutang shujian,* ed. Ito Toramaru and Ma Liangchun, (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House*,* 1997), 99.

[108] See Guo Moruo, "Guofang, wudi, lianyu," in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol.16 (Beijing: renmin wenxue chuban she, 1989), 226-231.

(1907-1995). They worked as painters, actors, musicians, and writers.[109] In April 1939, as a result of the city of Wuhan being invaded by Japan, Fu Baoshi, Guo Moruo and the whole Third Bureau moved to Chongqing. Fu kept working for the Third Bureau and Guo after coming to Chongqing until September 1940, when the two quit together as a result of the Third Bureau reform. Fu then returned to the National Central University as an associate professor, teaching Chinese art.[110]

Chongqing was raised up to an important position in 1940s. When Nanjing and Wuhan were both taken over by the Japanese imperial army, Chongqing was chosen as the temporary national government by the KMT government for strategic reasons. Located in the southwestern part of China and surrounded by high mountains and cliffs, Chongqing has a topographical advantage against being invaded, and soon the city also became the center of making and spreading anti-Japanese propaganda.[111] In the 1940s, Chongqing witnessed the flourishing of associations for promoting propaganda with literature and art, including the Third Bureau, the Cultural Work Committee (*Wenhua gongzuo weiyuanhui* 文化工作委員會), and the All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists (*Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie kangdi xiehui* 中華全國文藝界抗敵協會).

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[109] Shelagh Vainker, "Fu Baoshi in Chongqing: Some Paintings in European Collections," 90. According to Guo Moruo's essay, Guo deliberately invited Fu to work for the Third Bureau. See Guo, "Zhuyin duhua," in *Guo Moruo Sanwen* (Beijing: renmin wenxue chuban she, 2007), 167.

[110] See Ye, *Fu Baoshi nianpu*, 38-42. According to Ye, both men quit the Third Bureau because they refused to join in KMT party.

[111] See Shuge Wei, *News under Fire: China's Propaganda against Japan in the English-Language Press, 1928–1941* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017), 220.

Fu Baoshi moved to several places after coming back from Japan and eventually settled down in Chongqing with his family. However, when he kept moving to different places and actively devoted himself to the anti-Japanese propaganda movement, Fu's artistic activity as a painter was negligible. However, he kept writing and publishing about Chinese art history. It was during his time in Chongqing that Fu restarted his career as a painter, after quitting the Third Bureau when he still kept in close contact with members of anti-Japanese propaganda associations, especially with Guo Moruo, who visited Fu frequently in 1940s and wrote a considerable number of colophons for Fu's paintings.[112]

During war time, Fu Baoshi's artistic activities as a painter and art historian were inseparable from the anti-Japanese propaganda movement. In 1939, Fu published *Zhongguo Mingmo minzu yiren zhuan*, a book about stories of the late Ming artists who suffered from the Manchu invasion. In the preface, Fu wrote that the publishing of this book aims at publicizing the resistance to Japan and arousing Chinese people's patriotic feelings, although the text was excerpted and translated from the 1927 book *So Gen Min Shin shoga meiken hyoden* 宋元明清書画名賢詳伝 (Critical biographies of notable painters and calligraphers of The Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties) by the Japanese scholars Yamamoto Teijiro 山本悌二郎 (1870-1937) and Kinari Toraichi 紀成 虎一 (dates unknown).[113] Fu's patriotic feeling is made clear by his use of the word *minzu* 民族. By calling the Ming painters "national artists" (*minzu yiren* 民族藝人),

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[112] For Guo's inscriptions on Fu's painting, see *Guo Moruo wenji* (literature), vol. 2.

[113] See Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field," in *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, 240.

Fu successfully created a connection between the late Ming painters and modern China, and he also labeled them as patriotic artists.

In 1941, Fu completed his famous *Painting of the Yuntai Mountain* (*Yuntaishan tu* 雲台山圖), his first well-known masterpiece after settling down in Chongqing. The painting is based on Fu's study of the essay attributed to Gu Kazihi, "Hua yuntaishan ji" 畫雲台山記, and it is a pictorial reconstruction of the text. Fu's study of this text started during his time in Japan, possibly after reading the Japanese scholar Ise Senichiro 伊勢専一郎's (dates unknown) 1933 book *Shina sansui gashi: Ko Kaishi yori Kei Ko ni itaru* 支那山水画史：自顧愷之至荊浩 (From Gu Kazihi to Jing Hao: history of Chinese landscape painting).[114] In 1935 Fu submitted a book review of Ise's book to both the Japanese journal *Bi no kuni* 美の国 and the Chinese journal *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌.[115] In the review, Fu disagreed with Ise's understanding of the text and the author's point of view among other things.[116] From his time in Japan, Fu's interest in Gu Kaizhi and Chinese art history motivated him to keep studying the text and eventually to represent his own understanding of the ancient text through the painting *Yuntaishan tu* and the

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[114] "Hua Yuntaishan ji" 畫雲台山記 (Record of painting Yuntai mountain) is an essay attributed to the Jin painter Gu Kaizhi. The content of the essay describes a long handscroll painting based on the story of Yuntai mountain, a renowned historical site of Taoism. Although the original painting is missing, the content of the essay is always used as evidence of Gu Kaizhi's technique of painting landscape.

[115] Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field," in *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, 236.

[116] Ibid., 236.

essay "*Zhongguo gudai shanshui huashi de yanjiu,*" which centered on explaining Gu Kaizhi's text.

Guo Moruo contributed to the establishment of *Yuntaishan tu* by offering suggestions on Fu's understanding of the text, and Guo also wrote an inscription for the painting after it was finished.[117] Fu's *Yuntaishan tu* is representative of the combination of Fu's study of history and painting. At the same time, it indicates Fu's eagerness to disagree with and even challenge Japanese scholarship especially during war time. Fu was eager to express pride in China, especially during wart time. This can be observed not only through his disagreement with Japanese scholarship on Chinese art history but also his changing explanation of the "spirit" of Chinese ink painting. In his 1937 essay "Investigations on the history of painting since the [founding] of the Republic" (*Minguo yilai huashi zhi guancha* 民國以來畫史之觀察), Fu described literati painting as the representative of "Chinese painting" (*Zhongguo hua* 中國畫), and he described literati painting as being "negative, decadent, old, blank, retiring and pessimistic….it is the narrow outlook on life of a Chinese literatus."[118] It can be inferred that Fu's relatively negative characterization of "Chinese painting" in some degree is for rationalizing his own innovation in Chinese ink painting, which included absorbing foreign elements, as he wrote at the end of the essay that "Times are moving forward, and so should

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[117] According to Fu, Guo offered suggestions to Fu's understanding of the original text. See Fu Baoshi, "Zhongguo gudai shanshui huashi de yanjiu," in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji,* ed. Ye, 301.

[118] Fu Baoshi, "Minguo yilai huashi zhi guancha," in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi*, ed. Cheng, 27.

Chinese painting. Chinese painting should find its own solutions in all the different directions, whether it be Japanized, Indianized, or Westernized."[119]

However, in his Chongqing era, Fu's evaluation of "Chinese painting" changed dramatically, and Fu revised his own words in the 1940 essay "Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshen shang laikan kangzhan bisheng" (From the spirit of Chinese art it is sure that we are going to win the war). Fu wrote that "Although Chinese painting seems like it is negative and retiring in the first place and has no relationship with its context, it is actually an expression of being positive, advanced and always moving forward……casting the personality of the artists, Chinese painting is vigorous and firm, sincere and honest, showing its inviolability in every detail."[120] It is noticeable that by using the word "*Zhongguohua*" (Chinese painting), what Fu referred to is not paintings by Chinese people or paintings made in China, but ink painting. To Fu and to other traditionalists in the twentieth century, ink painting was considered as the connection to China's past and the representation of a "Chinese identity." Especially in an era when China was invaded by an imperial power, this representation of "being Chinese" was considered as important and meaningful, regardless of the fact that both the word "*Zhongguohua*" itself and the art form it referred to is sometimes far away from the traditional ink painting of the past.

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[119] Ibid., 35.

[120] Fu Baoshi, "Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshen shang laikan kangzhan bisheng," in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji,* ed. Ye, 175. Notably in a speech he gave in 1947, Fu came back to the viewpoint of "Chinese painting is negative" by starting that "Chinese painting is negative. Chinese painting makes people sleepy. A typical scene in Chinese paintings is an old man with a stick. And we seldom find paintings depicting two warriors fighting against each other." See Fu Baoshi, "Zhongguo huihua zhi jingshen," in *Fu Baoshi meishu wenji*, 359.

At the same time, under the frame of "*guofang wenyi*" raised up by Guo Moruo, all art and literature should always serve one final objective——to be a weapon for fighting against imperialist powers and motivating the patriotic feelings of the Chinese people. Taking this into consideration, Fu's radical, emotional explanation of "Chinese painting" during the war was also possibly for defending the merits and necessity of ink painting from being "retiring" and useless in the propaganda movement.

During his time in Chongqing, from 1939 to 1945, Fu Baoshi held four solo exhibitions and one joint exhibition with Guo Moruo in 1944. As Fu recalled in the author's preface for the 1942 Chongqing Solo Exhibition, before 1942, Fu's only experience of holding a solo exhibition was in Japan. It was during his time in Chongqing that Fu started to build his reputation as a well-known ink painter throughout the country. As his name started to be known by people, Fu Baoshi received more comments, both positive and negative ones, on his art. Xu Beihong, who shared the interest of depicting Chinese historical figures and stories with Fu, highly praised Fu's artistic creation as a breaking out of the timidness and overcautiousness of Chinese painting of the past three hundred years.[121] Zhang Anzhi 张安治 (1911-1990) described Fu's painting as Post-Impressionism in China.[122] At the same time, Fu's painting was sometimes criticized for its strong Japanese elements. And there were also people who took Fu's art as absurd and unacceptable as "Chinese painting." Fu's colleague Lu Jiye 盧冀野 (1905-1951), a professor at Zhongyang University expressed his disaffection to Fu's painting in a short poem:

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[121] Xu Beihong, "Fu Baoshi xiansheng huazhan," in *Fu Baoshi yanjiu,* ed. Fu Ershi, 1-2. Xu's comment was originally published on the newspaper *Ta Kun Pao*.

[122] Zhang Anzhi, "Zhongguo ziranzhuyi de chonger," in *Fu Baoshi Yanjiu, ed.* Fu Ershi, 7-8.

Viewing it from a distance it looks like a white gourd
Viewing it closer it changes to a toad.
In fact it is a landscape painting.
Oh! What the hell![123]

Fu must have realized the voices disagreeing with him and even disdaining his innovations in Chinese ink paintings, for he kept stressing the necessity of making innovations in the painting methods of Chinese ink paintings in his essays. On the one hand Fu was actively absorbing the new elements he had learnt from Japanese and Western painting, and at the same time, when choosing his subjects he was more and more inclined to depict subjects from Chinese history or the Chinese classics. Although Fu claimed in the author's preface of the 1942 solo exhibition that he painted figures for his study of lines in Chinese painting and also for mastering skills for painting landscape, in the early 1940s, figure painting had already became a main stream in his artistic practice. As the art critic Zhang Daofan 張道藩 (1897-1968) recalled in his review of Fu Baoshi's 1945 solo exhibition, in the exhibition figure painting took two up fifths of all the paintings.[124] It is also noticeable that lots of Fu's figure paintings bear Guo Moruo's inscriptions.

In the reception of Fu's paintings in 1940s, Guo Moruo's comments became the most famous ones that have frequently been quoted by art critics when making comments about Fu Baoshi. Guo used the eight characters "*chen jin nong yu, han ying ju hua* 沈浸濃郁，含英咀華," which came originally from the Tang scholar Han Yu's 韓愈 (768-824) essay, to describe Fu

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[123] Lu's original poem reads: "远看像冬瓜，近看癞蛤蟆。原来是山水，诶哟我的妈。" This source was cited by Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 67.

[124] Zhang Daofan, "Lun Fu Baoshi zhi hua," in *Fu Baoshi yanjiu wenji*, 3.

Baoshi and his arts.[125] Also, Guo wrote that "Today I have a sincere expectation, that he (Fu Baoshi) can become the Du Gongbu in the world of art."[126]

The Tang poet Du Gongbu 杜工部, or Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), is known for his poems centering on and referring to history, and he has long been called "poet-historian" (詩史) by Chinese critics. When expressing his hope of Fu becoming "Du Gongbu in the world of art," Guo Moruo had a high expectation of Fu's paintings on Chinese historical figures and stories. In the following passage, Guo also wrote that "A real artist is an artist for the people…. Besides learning from the classics and nature, the artist should know about people's lives. With the spirit of 'down to the hell', he become a lotus flower blossoming from the sludge."[127] In this romantic, poetic sentence, Guo pushed Fu to the position of someone who is on his way to becoming "the artist of people."

**Representing Images of the Past in a Modern Context——an Implication of Fu Baoshi's Red Cliff**

It is notable that the Communist writer and scholar Guo Moruo played an important role in Fu Baoshi's life, not only as a friend who shared a similar interest with Fu Baoshi in discovering China's past but also as one who played an active role in promoting Fu as a

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[125] Han Yu was a Tang Dynasty (618-907) poet, scholar, writer and government official. "*Chen jin nong yu, han ying ju hua* 沈浸濃郁，含英咀華" is from one of Han Yu's most famous pieces of prose, "Jin xue jie" 進學解. The phrase can be translated as "digging into the aroma of literature and digesting the essence of the classics."

[126] Guo's comment was originally published in *Ta Kun Pao.* See Guo Moruo, "Xu Baoshi," 勖抱石 in *Fu Baoshi yanjiu wenji*, 11.

[127] Ibid., 11.

nationally important artist, especially during the time when the two both lived in Jingangpo, Chongqing. And both were included in the circle of artists and writers active in Chongqing in 1940s.

In 1944, the Communist Party leader Zhou Enlai held a banquet inviting notable public figures in Laijiaqiao, Chongqing as participants. Both Fu Baoshi and Guo Moruo were invited. Fu Baoshi and Zhou Enlai possibly got to know each other through the introduction of Guo Moruo. Latter, one of Fu Baoshi's landscapes that he made in 1943, *Xiashan tu* 夏山圖 (summer mountains), entered Zhou Enlai's collection at Zhou's request. The painting also bears Guo Moruo's inscription, which explained how this painting became a present to Zhou Enlai. Guo's inscription reads "….On November 10th, the year of Jiashen (1944) my brother Enlai flew from Yanan to Chongqing. On 16th we gathered in Laijiaqiao, and he asked me to write an inscription for this painting."[128] November 16th is Guo Moruo's birthday, and according to the artist's inscription on the Beijing Red Cliff painting, it is the same day that Fu sent Guo the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting. The influence of Guo Moruo must have helped Fu in developing relationship with famous writers, art critics and also important political figures like Zhou Enlai, and it also helped Fu in building his fame as a nationally important artist, given Guo Moruo's own notability through out the country.

Guo was one of the most influential intellectuals who started to be well-known during the May Fourth Movement (1919-1926) for suggesting to fight against the so-called negative part of Chinese traditional culture and for trying to import the philosophical, scientific, democratic

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[128] The original inscription reads: "….甲申十一月十日恩來兄由延飛渝，十六日來賴家橋小聚，求得此畫囑題。" The painting is now in the collection of the Beijing Palace Museum.

thinking of the Western world to China in his writing. Although Guo changed his thought several times from the time of the May Forth movement, and eventually decided to solve the crises of China with Marxism, his ideal was always a combination of the "essence of the West" with the "essence of the East."[129] Guo's thought was represented in a short story he wrote in 1925 titled "Karl Marx visiting the Temple of Confucius" (*Makesi jin wenmiao* 馬克思進文廟). In the story, although Confucius and Karl Marx still needs a translator to communicate, they agree with each other in their thought, ideals, and even for the ideological instruction on how to change the world.[130] Parallel to Fu Baoshi's approach of making an abundance of images of historical figures and stories during his time in Chongqing, in the 1940s Guo was concentrating on rendering scholarly research and plays about famous Chinese historical figures and stories. His research topics included Du Fu, Li Bai, and Qu Yuan, who are celebrated as the greatest poets in Chinese history. Guo was especially interested in Qu Yuan 屈原, the third-century poet who was sent into exile by his ruler and who eventually drowned himself in the Miluo river after his country was invaded by another power during the Warring States Period (5 B.C-221 B.C). Guo wrote a play in 1942 with Qu Yuan as the hero of the story, and his name was the title of the play. The work latter became one of Guo's masterpieces as a playwright. In the following year, Guo also published a study of over on hundred pages on Qu Yuan, in which he aggressively expressed

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[129] For the transformation of Guo Moruo's thought, see Xiaoming Chen, *From the May Fourth Movement to Communist Revolution: Guo Moruo and Chinese Path to Communism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007).

[130] See Guo Moruo, "Makesi jin wen miao," in *Guo Moruo quanji (literature)*, vol.10 (Beijing: renmin wenxue chuban she, 1985), 161-170.

his disagreement with scholars who pointed out that Qu Yuan may have never existed as a person.[131]

In the play the image of Qu Yuan rendered by Guo Moruo is passionate, tragic and heroic. However, rather than drowning himself in the river, Qu is saved at the end by a fictional girl named *Chanjuan* 嬋娟, the heroin of the play, who sacrificed her life to save Qu Yuan. The man latter decided to devote the rest of his life for his country. Through his play, Guo characterized Qu Yuan as a figure whose mind was filled with patriotic feelings and as an intellectual who received some negative influences from old traditions but is searching for new knowledge and innovation. This image of Qu Yuan is parallel to Guo Moruo himself.[132]

When Guo Moruo was rendering a literary image of Qu Yuan in 1942, Fu Baoshi finished his first portrait of Qu Yuan, a subject he painted many times afterwards (Fig. 25). Scholars have already noticed the obvious relation between Fu Baoshi's Qu Yuan with Yokoyama Taikan's 1898 *Qu Yuan* (Fig. 26).[133] No matter how Fu openly criticized Taikan's support of Japanese imperialism,  Fu's paintings admitted the talent of Taikan as an artist, giving him a silent voice, and made clear Fu's appreciation of Taikan's artistic creation even though he may dare not speak it loudly in the 1940s, when Japan was the the "enemy" of China.[134] Like Taikan, Fu represented

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[131] See Guo Moruo, "Quyuan yanjiu," in *Guo Moruo quanji* (history), vol.4 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), 101-107.

[132] In the first scene of the play, when Qu Yuan and his student Song Yu 宋玉 are talking to each other, the character Qu Yuan mentioned that he was born at an old time when poetry still had to obey certain rules, which is "like a tattoo on the head of slave" that he is trying his best to get rid of. See *Guo Moruo Quanji* (literature), vol. 6, 296-297.

[133] Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 176; Chung, *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution*, 19.

[134] See Fu Baoshi, "Cong Zhongguo meishu de jingshen shang laikan kangzhan bisheng," in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi*, 86-89.

Qu Yuan in the background of a wide river with plants taking one corner of the painting. Qu Yuan was set on the left side of the image, making the width of the river prominent. Besides the compositional mode, the motivation for the two artists to make a portrait of Qu Yuan also has some similarity——Taikan's Qu Yuan was actually a reflection of his admiration of and respect for his mentor, Okakura Kakuzo, who was forced to resign as director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.[135] In Taikan's painting, from the outlook of the "Qu Yuan" and the way he was presented, it is a portrayal of Okakura Kakuzo. Fu Baoshi's Qu Yuan was inspired by Guo Moruo's literary depiction of Qu Yuan. In contrast with Taikan's Qu Yuan, who shows a confident, resolute facial expression, with an orchid flower in his hand recalling the lines in the poetry attributed to Qu Yuan, in *Li Sao*——"Angelic herbs and sweet selineas too; And orchids late that by the water grew." Fu Baoshi's Qu Yuan shows a man with a wan and sallow face in white robe, which resembles Guo Moruo's description of Qu Yuan in his play. Unlike Taikan's Qu Yuan, who is a glorious, confident sage stepping across the wide river nearly like a god, leaving the plants on the ground and the birds and clouds in the sky behind him, Fu's 1942 Qu Yuan is nearly swallowed by the darkness and thickness of plants in the image, and is struggling and wandering, with his body partly covered by the plants and a wide river before him blocking his way. It can be inferred that Fu's Qu Yuan in some degree represented his view of the miserable situation of China during the war and his sympathy for the people who were losing their homes and were forced to leave their hometown, like Fu himself.

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[135] Ueda Yosako, "Yokoyama Taikan hitsu Kutsugen ni kan suru kosatsu," *Bijutsu shi ronso*, no. 21 (2005): 49-74.

Guo Moruo created a literary Qu Yuan based on his study of Qu Yuan and contributed dramatically to making Qu Yuan a representative, patriotic poet of China. In a letter replying to one of his friends who suspected the similarity between Guo's play Qu Yuan and William Shakespeare's *King Lear,* Guo forcefully defended himself for borrowing or being influenced by *King Lear* by asserting that he never had a chance to read this masterpiece before his writing of Qu Yuan. At the same time, Guo was proud that his work was being compared with Shakespeare which even became a big pressure before *Qu Yuan* was eventually completed.[136] The portrait of Qu Yuan created by Guo Moruo is not only a reinterpretation of the history in light of the current situation, it is also Guo Moruo's ideal of intellectuals during war time——they should devote themselves to saving the nation, utilizing the power of art and literature to motivate the people, and never surrendering until death. If Guo's play created a fictional, literary image of Qu Yuan who is latter celebrated as the most important patriotic poet in Chinese history, Fu Baoshi added a visualized image of this character, reinforcing the existence of Qu Yuan as a patriotic poet standing by the river with a pensive face worried about the future of his nation. As a result, even if the suggestion that "Qu Yuan as a person does not exist" did not die off, it became weaker after the success of Guo Moruo's play and Fu Baoshi's Qu Yuan image.

Fu's paintings of historical figures, including his portraits of Li Bai and Du Fu that Guo carefully studied in the 1940s and the latter *Nine Song* series that Fu started to made in 1950s, represented the shared interest of Fu and Guo in rendering the image of historical figures by words and by paintings.[137] Meanwhile, some of Fu Baoshi's images of historical figures and

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[136] Guo Moruo, "Wo zheyang xie wumu lishiju *Qu Yuan*," in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol. 6, 397-404.

[137] For Guo's study of Li Bai and Du Fu, see *Guo Moruo quanji* (history), vol. 4.

stories, with *Qu Yuan*, and Fu's *Nine Songs* series as the representatives, are also in some degree an "offering" to Guo Moruo, one of the most important politically influential figures in the world of art and literature in China.[138] Many of Fu Baoshi's paintings bear Guo Moruo's inscriptions, including the 1942 *Qu Yuan*. And Guo's inscription was latter removed to Fu's 1953 Qu Yuan painting made for the celebrating the World Peace Congress, which listed Qu Yuan as one of the world's greatest geniuses.[139] Besides having his paintings signed by Guo and sending some of his paintings as presents, Fu also made paintings especially for Guo Moruo, based on certain events or Guo Moruo's poetry.[140]

It is obvious that Fu Baoshi's creating of *Qu Yuan* portrait was inspired and encouraged by Guo Moruo's research and play titled *Qu Yuan*, and it may also show his support of Guo Moruo's celebrating of Qu Yuan as a patriotic poet in Chinese history. The motivation behind Fu's creating of the Red Cliff paintings might be more complex. According to Fu Baoshi, he discovered this subject from China's painting history and then "created new images based on the existing motifs."[141] Although it is true that the Red Cliff was a favored subject especially of Ming Dynasty Wu school painters, Fu's images of the Red Cliff differs dramatically from Red

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[138] Fu's image of gods and goddesses appearing in *Nine Song* series were largely dependent on Guo's study of the same topic. They are in some cases controversial, if we compare the works with Nine Song paintings made by pre-modern Chinese painters especially the ones by the Yuan painter Zhang Wo 张渥 (date unknown). For example, Fu painted *Xiangjun* and *Xiang Furen* as two ladies which was suggested by Guo Moruo. However, *Xiangjun* is always recognized as a god, not goddess. See Chen Chuanxi, *Fu Baoshi*, 103-107.

[139] See Chung, *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution*, 87.

[140] Wan Xinhua, "Huaqing——Fu Baoshi yu Guo Moruo de jiaowang," *Shoucangjia* (2018): 79-84.

[141] Fu,"Renwu Chongqing Huazhan Zixu," in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi*, 113.

Cliff paintings in pre-modern China. As I argued in the second section, Fu's images of the Red Cliff was probably inspired by modern Japanese Su Shi fan's celebrating of Su Shi and his Red Cliff boat trip through events and paintings and the images of the Red Cliff developed by modern Japanese *nihonga* painters.

Also, if we compare Fu Baoshi's Mactaggart Red Cliff painting (Fig. 10) with the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting (Fig. 12), the difference in the depiction of figures, the background and also the compositional mode are obvious. In the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting, Fu set Su Shi and his boat against a backdrop of mountains and a river bank heavily covered by plants. The painter used random and moving wet strokes and heavy ink to depict the background, which is typical in Fu's landscape paintings in the 1940s for representing the moist, exuberant environment of Chongqing that Fu lived in and observed everyday. In the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, the abundance of an environment created by ink dots and dynamic stroke disappeared and is replaced by a simple and semi-abstract depiction of mountains. This approach departed from the style of Tessai and Shitao that Fu adopted in the Mactaggart Red Cliff painting. Su Shi and his guests are set near to the top of the image. With the painting a Hanging scroll, the viewers standing in front of the painting can find "Su Shi" just before their eyes. This differs a lot from the images of the Red Cliff boat trip developed by Wu school painters, who represented both the figures and the boat as far away and disappearing. As a result, the sense of being of the figures, especially Su Shi who is sitting in the middle was strengthened. Su Shi and the guests are not drifting away as in the Wu school Red Cliff paintings, but are coming in front of the viewers.

Also, in the Red Cliff paintings in the Mactaggart collection and Beijing Palace Museum that were made in the same year, Fu painted the figures with the same gestures but very different facial features. Furthermore, if we take a close look at Fu Baoshi's Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, it is arguable that the face of Su Shi sitting in the middle of the boat (Fig. 27) looks similar to Guo Moruo in one of his portrait photographs (Fig. 28). In the painting, the painter has depicted the outline of the face of the figure with very thin lines that are almost obliterated, which made the facial features of the figure stands out. And the figure in the painting can be observed similar to the one in Guo's photo due to the thick, drooping eyebrow, the straight nose and the overall outline of the chin. Besides the beard that covers his mouth, it is the eyes of Su Shi that call the attention of the viewers. The distance between Su Shi's two eyes is relatively wide, and in contrast with the monk sitting besides him, who is looking up at the sky, Su Shi in Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting looks like he is looking at nowhere. This lack of eye contact between Su Shi and the viewers creates an uncrossable distance between the world in the painting and the world out of it, making the image of Su Shi noble and mysterious.

According to the artist's inscription, the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting was a birthday present for Guo Moruo. Considering the relationship between Fu Baoshi and Guo Moruo, it is not strange at all that Fu as one of his friends sent a birthday present to Guo Moruo. However, it is also worth considering the political importance of the birthday of Guo Moruo, who was a leading intellectual of the anti-Japanese propaganda movements and showed an obvious pro-Communist attitude.

In the 1940s, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Zhou Enlai, was especially enthusiastic about celebrating birthdays of notable public figures, including Feng Yuxiang 馮玉

祥 (1882-1948), the warlord who broke up with the KMT leader Jiang Jieshi in resisting Japanese incursions in 1930s, Liang Xi 梁希 (1883-1958), a professor and silviculturist at Central University, Shen Junru 沈钧儒 (1875-1963), a lawyer, activist and politician, and Guo Moruo.[142] In October 1941, Zhou held a big event to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of Guo Moruo. In the same year on the day of Guo's birthday, a special edition of *Xinhua Daily*, one of the most influential newspapers in China in the twentieth century, came out to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of Guo Moruo as a writer, with Zhou Enlai writing the masthead himself.[143] During the event, Guo's history drama *Tangdi zhi hua* 堂棣之花 was on the stage.[144] On the day of Guo Moruo's birthday, November sixteenth, writers, intellectuals and activists were gathering together to express their congratulation to Guo Moruo. Among them was one of the best friend of Guo Moruo, Feng Naichao 冯乃超 (1901-1983), who joined the Communist Party in the 1920s and was going to be appointed as a member of the Southern Cultural Bureau of the Chines Communist Party (*zhonggong zhongyang nanfangju* 中共中央南方局) in the next year. Taking into consideration the political importance of Guo Moruo's birthday, Fu's gift to Guo Moruo might be considered as representing his wish to stay in the same campaign as Guo. It is possible that in the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, Fu Baoshi created the illusion of "Su Shi

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[142] Zhang Qiubin, "Zhou Enlai zai Chongqing de zhushou," *Dangshi huibian* (2018): 24-25.

[143] Ibid..

[144] Ibid., 24-25. *Tangdi zhi hua* 堂棣之花 is one of the most famous historical plays by Guo Moruo took him 22 years to complete and eventually finished in 1941. The plot is based on an assassination story happened in Warring State Period (9475-221). Guo's story is about a young man who sacrificed his life to save his nation. See Guo Moruo, *Tangdi zhi hua* in *Guo Moruo quanji* (literature), vol. 6, 192-253.

as Guo Moruo" on purpose. In December, 1938, Guo Moruo, together with the Third Bureau, was retreating from Wuhan to Gulin. Taking a boat and floating on the famous Li river 漓江, Guo Moruo, the newly appointed leader for the Third Bureau created a poem titled *Boat Trip to Yangshuo* (*zhouyou Yangshuo* 舟遊陽朔) expressing his bright hope for the future:

> Drifting in my boat, using my oar to create a rhythm, although surrounded by groups of high mountains, how can they block me?
> A whinnying white horse is galloping to the sky; the green mountain in the torrential rain covers on the long river
> Drinking liquor until I am almost drunk, the conversation with my partners in a palatial place will continue forever.
> Forgetting the war for a moment, with the pleasure of this boat trip I am good enough to scorn Dongpo
>
> 临流扣楫且高歌, 拔地群山奈尔何。
> 白马嘶风奔碧落, 青螺负雨压长河。
> 茅台斗酒奚辞醉, 宣室丛谈不厌多。
> 暂把烽烟遗物外,兹游我足傲东坡。[145]

Guo's poem represents a strong sense of optimism and even a feeling of pleasure, which is kind of weird when taking into consideration that he was on a boat fleeing from Wuhan to Gulin as a result that of Japa's invasion of Wuhan. When describing himself as someone who can "scorn Dongpo" while going on his own boat trip in the beautiful Li River area, did Guo still remember his current situation as a wartime refugee? Did Guo ever think that the historical site of the Battle of the Red Cliff, located in Hubei province, was being invaded by the Japanese imperialists? How could Guo's poem make sense in the context of the year 1938 when it was the starting of a terrible war?

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[145] This source is cited by Wan Xihua, "Huaqing——Fu Baoshi yu Guo Moruo de jiaowang," 81.

China was eventually swamped in the morass of war in July, 1937. In the same year, Guo was spending one of the busiest years of his life. After secretly coming back from Japan, Guo had meetings with a number of important figures, including the KMT party leader Jiang Jieshi, the journalist and the KMT party leader Pan Gongzhan 潘公展 (1895-1975), the KMT party military leader Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1898-1965), the warlord Feng Xuxiang, the Chinese Communist Party general Ye Jianying 葉劍英 (1897-1986), and even the Japanese puppet government leader Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883-1944).[146] In less than one year, Guo wandered between almost all the major campaigns, until he finally decided to a position in the Communist Party. Self-commenting and defending his behaviour, he told people around him that "although making me feel bad, it is only after meeting with people like Jiang Jieshi and Chen Cheng can I really understand the correctness of the instructions of Zhou Enlai."[147]

Besides having a busy schedule of meetings with notable figures, Guo was also extremely productive in writing propaganda literature expressing his confidence that China was going to win the war, only if ordinary people, including men, women and children, would be willing to sacrifice their lives. The same sense of optimism in the poem *Boat Trip to Yangshuo* can be noticed in a great number of poems and essays by Guo which were published in the year of 1937 and 1938, such as the 1937 poem *The Gown of the Revival of Chinese Nation* (*Minzu fuxing de xipao* 民族復興的喜袍), which he composed just after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese

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[146] *Guo Moruo nianpu,*ed. Wang Jiquan and Tong Weigang (Jiangsu: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1983), 329-337.

[147] Ibid, 337. Guo's original words reads: "和蔣介石，陳誠這些人見面，在我感情上是很彆扭的，可是和他們談話之後，我才理解到周恩來同志指示的正確。

War, the 1937 essay "Do not be Afraid of being Killed" (*Buyao pasi* 不要怕死 ), and the drama *Willing to be the Cannon Fodder* (*Ganyuan zuo paohui* 甘願做炮灰) which he finished in the same year.[148] Guo's overoptimistic viewpoint on the ongoing war was extremely clear in one essay that was published in November, 1937, after Shanghai was taken over by Japan, titled "What We Lost Are Only The Shackle of Slaves " (*Women suo shidiao de zhishi nuli de liaokao* 我們所失掉的只是奴隸的鐐銬), in which Guo described the occupation of Shanghai by Japan as a "strategic withdrawal" (*Zhanluexing chetui* 戰略性撤退), and even a tactic of depleting the power of the enemy. In all the texts listed above, written in an absurd tone of optimism and even excitement, what is always missing is sympathy for people suffering from the war.[149]

Partly because of this outstanding confidence, although Guo was leaving behind the historical site of the Red Cliff, located in Hubei province, as it was being taken over by the Japanese, Guo was taking his own "Red Cliff" with him when drifting on the Li river and composing the poem *Boat Trip to Yangshuo*. In the past, the ambiguity of the Red Cliff, a spaceless and timeless dreamland, had allowed countless Chinese and Japanese poets and painters, including Su Shi himself, to set the stage of the Red Cliff boat trip in different places. If the Ming literati can set the stage of Red Cliff boat trip in the peaceful Jiangnan area, Japanese Dongpo fans can transfer it to similar places in Japan, and pre-modern painters can create the images of the Red Cliff based on their imagination of an ideal dreamland, why could not Guo

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[148] See Guo Moruo, "Minzu fuxing de xipao," in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol. 2, 25; Guo, "Buyao pasi," in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol. 18, 183-185; Guo, "Ganyuan zuo paohui," in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol. 6, 162-169.

[149] Ibid, 199-201.

enjoy the pleasure of a similar boat trip on the Li river?

Furthermore, a day before he followed the high officials to retreat from Wuhan, Guo Moruo composed another essay, titled "Wuhan Always Belongs To Us" (*Wuhan yongyuan shi womende* 武漢永遠是我們的), in which he expressed similar and even more radical viewpoints as in the essay "What We Lost Are Only The Shackle of Slaves." He was probably confident that he was going to participate in another Battle of the Red Cliff——a legendary victory in which a smaller army defeats a larger one, although he would not go to the battle field and become "cannon fodder" himself.[150]

No matter what were the actual feeling and motivations hidden behind Guo's text, it can be inferred that his "national-defense literature" would be considered useful by some of the commanders of the war, especially the growing Chinese Communist Party in the late 1930s and 1940s, which needed more people to become its fighting capacity, or using Guo's word, "cannon fodder." There were also enough reasons for Guo Moruo to consider himself as having the pleasure of being able to "scorn Dongpo," who was still in exile when he composed his famous Red Cliff odes and poems. Like Su Shi, Guo experienced a long "exile" when he was forced to leave China and hide in Japan because of his break with the leader of the KMT government, but he came back as the leader of the Third Bureau in 1938, when he composed this short poem. In 1938, although China was still trapped in the disaster of war, a new world of reputation and power opened its door to Guo. More importantly, Su Shi is celebrated as one of the most important poets in Chinese history. Guo Moruo, as one of the notable figures of "xin shi 新

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[150] For *Wuhan yongyuan shi womende*, see ibid, 272-274. For a list a propaganda literature Guo published in 1837-1838, see *Guo Moruo nianpu*, 321-380.

詩” (modern Chinese poetry) may compare himself with Dongpo and even put himself in a higher position as an innovator on the old forms of poems.

As a member of the Third Bureau, Fu Baoshi was together with Guo Moruo when he was retreating from Wuhan to Gulin. In April, 1942 Fu painted a poetic painting based on this poem.[151] In the 1950s, Fu made several paintings based on Guo Moruo’s poems and their shared memories of days in Chongqing in a hope that Guo may help him improve the negative situation, in which he had to make self-criticisms for his “wrong attitude” for promoting the “bad traditions” and apologize for his “mistakes” almost everyday. [152] In 1955 he painted *Zhouyou Yangshuo* again and sent it as a present to Guo Moruo.[153]

Guo Moruo openly declared that his study and literary compositions based on Chinese historical figures were “all for the people” (*ren min ben wei* 人民本位).[154] However, it is puzzling from what standard Guo judged certain historical figures to be for the people or not. In contrast with Guo, Fu never mentioned in his essays that his visual representations of historical figures and stories were in any degree “for the people.” Meanwhile Fu was stressing that those images discovered by him from China’s past were due to his personal interest in Chinese art history.[155] However, it is arguable that Fu Baoshi made the 1943 Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting not only for his interest in this common subject in Chinese art history, but also for

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[151] Ibid., 81.

[152] Chen, *Fu Baoshi*, 65; Wan, “Huaqing——Fu Baoshi yu Guo Moruo de jiaowang,” 81.

[153] Fu Baoshi’s 1955 *Zhouyou Yangshuo* (Boat trip to Yangshuo) is now in the collection of the Guo Moruo Memorial Museum.

[154] See author’s preface in *Guo Moruo quanji*, vol. 4, 3.

[155] See Fu, “Renwu Chongqing huazhan zixu” in *Fu Baoshi yishu suibi*, 112.

celebrating Guo Moruo visually as one of China's greatest poets, one who is admired internationally by modern Chinese and Japanese intellectuals.

For Fu Baoshi and also the other modern ink painters, making use of "the past" was necessary and important. On the one hand, in the first half of twentieth century, when China was experiencing a catastrophe, "history" or the glorious past of China not only represented what had passed away but was also considered as a spiritual support that was needed, This made the concept of "history" timeless and borderless, enabling writers and painters to make use of it regardless of the fact that the icons of history in literature and art, generally considered as veritable and reflective, are always complex and sometimes even fictional. Also, the motifs of historical figures and stories connect *guohua* to China's past and contributed to positioning *guohua* as a tradition, not an invention, and enabled painters like Fu Baoshi to use historically allusive art for the purpose of expressing nationalistic sentiments. However, since there never existed a fixed, solitary index of *guohua* that painters could follow, ink painters in twentieth century like Fu Baoshi kept challenging themselves with the meaning and rationality of *guohua*, and they also kept changing their own answers to the questions posed by a certain time and social environment, and they would add new materials and compositional methods to the genre of *guohua* if needed.

In this research, I argue that powerful figures like Guo may have exerted a strong influence on Fu Baoshi's artistic activity and shaped him in choosing subjects and even making certain images. However, the case of Fu Baoshi and Guo Moruo might be more complex than simply surrendering to a powerful political figure who promoted his art. On one hand, Guo and Fu did share an interest on exploring China's past and also on how to make use of it. Under this

condition Guo and Fu both made use of each other. For Guo, Fu was his companion of making the Chinese historical fantasies visually. And for Fu, Guo was not only a friend, but also a great help at building his fame as a painter. Meanwhile, although Guo supported Fu's career and actively influenced Fu's approach to art, with Chinese scholars nowadays tending to described the relationship between the two as "friends, and also teacher" (*yi shi yi you* 亦師亦友), there were also conflicts between the two on ideals and thoughts.

In his 1944 essay "Viewing painting in a bamboo forest"(*Zhuyin du hua* 竹蔭讀畫), Guo wrote about visiting Fu, who lived near to him in 1943 with the painter Li Keran and the comic painter Gao Longsheng 高龍生 (1903—1977). In the essay, Guo described Fu as "a typical Chinese artist. As versatile as he is, he can paint, carve seals and is also talented in writing. However, the most typical character of Fu is that he is so poor, poor, the third word is still, poor."[156] In the same essay, Guo also wrote about an episode in which he suggested that Fu make a painting about their gathering titled *Zhu yin du hua*. In this painting that Guo suggested, there should be figures in *Zhongshan* suits rather than robes.[157] Guo's suggestion reflects his persuasion for modern imagery in art and literature. However, among the remaining paintings of Fu Baoshi in the 1930s and 1940s, none of them depicted any figure in modern dress. What is

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[156] See Guo Moruo, "Zhuyin duhua," in *Guo Moruo Quanji (literature)* , vol. 10, 298-304.

[157] Ibid., 303. The Zhongshan suit, or Sun Yat-sen suit is named after Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 (1866-1925), the founding father of Republic China. It was a modern -style national dress in Republic China that have originated from modern Japanese students suits and was latter introduced by Sun Yat-sen, who had a long experience in Japan, to China. See Robert E. Harrist, Jr. "Clothes Makes the Man: Dress, Modernity, Masculinity in Modern China, ca. 1912-1937," in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge : Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 183.

left is the painting that Fu sent Guo as a present on the day of their *Zhu yin du hua* gathering, *Tong yin du hua* 桐蔭讀畫 (Fig. 29). In the painting, Fu set the figures in a two-floor cottage which looks like a literatus's studio. The five figures in the painting, including a gentlemen holding a hanging scroll, three people viewing the Hanging scroll, and an attendant, are all dressed in robes. It can be inferred that at least in the 1940s Fu did not accept Guo's suggestion of painting figures with modern dressing even though it came from one of his most powerful supporters.

However, in the 1950s and 1960s, in Fu's paintings there started to be not only figures in modern dress, but also airports, electric line poles and concrete dams. Meanwhile, the painter still continued his interest in depicting Chinese historical figures and stories, thanks to his Hong Kong patrons.[158]

Eventually, what is *guohua*? And what is the relationship between *guohua*, the past and the present? This might be a question that the painter kept asking himself until his death, in the year before the opening of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Judging by Fu's 1943 Red Cliff paintings, the two very different sceneries that Fu created to represent the same subject may have explained his contradictory attitude as an ink painter in twentieth century China. On one hand he was actively embracing new elements from foreign sources, making vigorous innovations on painting techniques and compositional modes as he did in the 1943 Mactaggart Collection Red Cliff painting. On another hand he had to find a place for his art in the current social context, and also a solution of fixing his personal crisis of being "poor, poor and the third word is still, poor." As a painter who wrote quite a lot about his own artistic persuasion, Fu did not record the whole

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[158] Chung, *Chinese Art in an Age of Revolution*, 183.

story of the motivations, intentions, and practical concerns of his art. However, even if Fu did not speak about the whole story, his paintings always speak for him.

**Conclusion**

Fu Baoshi's reputation as a nationally important *guohua* artist was established during the days he spent in Chongqing, partly because of his relationship with Guo Moruo, one of his important supporters who even influenced Fu in choosing subjects. Fu's painting of historical figures and stories, including his 1943 Red Cliff paintings, sometimes may have had a practical motivation rather than simply celebrating China's past visually. If the 1943 Mactaggart collection Red Cliff painting represents the artist's imagination of Su Shi's boat trip in the beautiful misty scenery that Fu observed everyday during his days in Chongqing, the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting made in the same year told a different story with the same framework. In the Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting, Fu transformed Red Cliff painting into figurative painting with narrative features, and the main character was not Su Shi anymore. Guo Moruo replaced Su Shi, and the legendary, far away dreamland named "Red Cliff" disappeared, with the "living legend" of twentieth century left in the painting, becoming the new hero of a legendary story.

# CONCLUSION

Fu Baoshi's 1943 Red Cliff paintings bear the name "Red Cliff," suggesting a hidden historical value of the images for the viewers who are familiar with the famous story of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip. There is an invisible but automatically-built relationship between Fu Baoshi's 1943 paintings of the Red Cliff to the Song Dynasty poet Su Shi and the texts left by him, and also with the pre-modern Red Cliff paintings, as Fu self-claimed in his article.[159] However, viewing the images themselves, it is obvious that the ambiguity of the theme "Red Cliff" allowed Fu enough freedom to innovate with this long-existing theme in order to approach his own goal for making the images of the Red Cliff.

In the images of Su Shi's Red Cliff boat trip, who are the people sitting on the boat? This question seems to be meaningless at first glance. However, after taking a close look at the images of the Red Cliff left by pre-modern Chinese painters, it is clear that the people on the boat are not, or at least are not always Su Shi and the guests. Also, in most of the pre-modern Red Cliff paintings, figures did not take up a large portion of the images and were even marginalized in some of the Red Cliff paintings. The Red Cliff depicted by painters is always more of an ideal dreamland than a specific geographical location. As a result, painters in different times set the story of Red Cliff boat trip on different stages for their own needs, as did Fu Baoshi, who even in some degree ignored the importance of the cliff as landscape background and stressed the figures and the boat, which are the focal point in his 1943 Mactaggart Red Cliff painting (Fig. 10) and the main motifs in his Beijing Palace Museum Red Cliff painting (Fig. 12).

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[159] Fu Baoshi, "Renwu Chongqing huazhan zixu," in *Fu Baoshi yishu wenji,* ed. Ye, 328.

If not Su Shi and the guests, whom did Fu depict in his two 1943 Red Cliff paintings? And why did Fu choose to represent the images of the Red Cliff with those figures? Where did Fu explore the possibility of the Red Cliff as a theme of painting? In this research, I argue that the inspiration Fu received in making the Red Cliff paintings may come from modern Japanese art that Fu was exposed to during his time in Japan. Fu also adapted the painting technique, style and compositional mode from modern Japanese *nihonga* paintings. As a result, no matter how Fu tried to overcome and even criticize the modern Japanese art world in the war era, he could never get rid of what he observed during his days in Japan, which can also be clearly observed in his two 1943 Red Cliff paintings. Although Fu dared not declare his open-mindedness towards using Japanese visual elements in ink painting loudly in the 1940s during the war, in this research I assert that from his writing sometimes it can be inferred that Fu realized the transnational character of *guohua* as early as in the 1930s. This contradictory attitude must have been one of the motivations for Fu to explore more painting styles under the same theme and to keep changing his painting style over time.

Also, during his time in Chongqing in the 1940s, Fu built a close relationship with the pro-Communist Party writer Guo Moruo, who contributed greatly in promoting Fu Baoshi's national reputation as a painter and also invited Fu to play a role in the anti-Japanese propaganda movement. I suggest that Fu's making of images of Chinese historical figures and stories might have been influenced by Guo Moruo, who played an obvious role in Fu Baoshi's career as a painter. And both men in the 1940s were making similar representations based on the general theme of "Chinese history"——Fu Baoshi in his paintings of Chinese historical figures and stories, and Guo Moruo in his Chinese historical dramas. Through images and through words,

their depiction of “China” is heroic and romantic, which aimed at connecting the past to the present and creating an ideal representing “Chineseness.”

Furthermore, in this research I suggest that in the 1943 Beijing Red Cliff painting, Fu may have deliberately depicted Su Shi with the face of Guo Moruo to visually celebrate Guo’s achievements as a writer and poet. Considering Guo’s position in the literary world and his close relationship with the Communist Party leaders, Fu’s painting may even be proof of his willingness of staying in the same political campaign as Guo Moruo. In some degree this explains that why Fu made many Red Cliff paintings during his life but only the one 1943 Red Cliff painting entered the Beijing Palace Museum collection.

In the 1940s, China was facing a national crisis during the Second Sino-Japanese War. However, even before the war Chinese intellectuals and painters faced another ideological crisis and were struggling to coming up with a response to modernization and Westernization in the first half of the twentieth century. To connect the past with the present, old with new, tradition with the modern, Fu chose to be an artistic innovator by actively and deliberately making use of foreign elements on his art, and at the same time he defended the originality and “Chineseness” of his art partly through depicting China’s past. In this way Fu also related his artistic work to the ongoing war in the 1940s——his paintings of the great historical figures from China’s past, including Qu Yuan and Su Shi, in some degree aimed at representing the glory of China from the bygone history with famous, transnational celebrated historical figures, thus connecting the broken land being burnt by flames of war to the peacefulness in the past when a literati giant like Su Shi was going on a boat trip in a moon-lit night.

The dilemma of Fu Baoshi, who had to balance his traditionalist attitude, his open-mindedness in using foreign elements in Chinese art, his nationalistic approach during the war, and even his realistic need to make a living, in some degree reflects the contradictory character of *guohua* as a new genre of art and also the development of *guohua* in twentieth-century China. *Guohua* has a very obvious transnational character that allowed painters like Fu to make innovations based on their thought, ideals, and also sometimes practical needs. However, *guohua* is also unconsciously labelled as a "national art of China," which sometimes limited painter's ability to vigorously make changes and admit those changes in public. At the same time, *guohua* from its origin to nowadays, is never a conclusion but a process, an ideal rather than a reality. As a result the understanding of *guohua* and the artistic careers of *guohua* artists should not be oversimplified by considering them merely as a combination of traditionalism and nationalistic aspects.

Barthes wrote that "we know the text does not consist of a line of words, releasing a single 'theological' meaning, but is a space of many dimensions."[160] The same holds for images. Even if Fu Baoshi used some of the same motifs as pre-modern Red Cliff paintings, it cannot be claimed that there is an unbreakable chain of depicting the Red Cliff from the Song Dynasty to modern times. Also, what I have offered in this research is only one possible reading of Fu Baoshi's artistic career and also the images made by him in 1943 depicting the theme of the Red Cliff boat trip. This research will contribute to the overall understanding of Fu Baoshi's art and his artistic and political attitude as a painter and art historian. For future study of *guohua* painting, this study can serve as an example of understanding the complexity of *guohua* as a

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[160] Roland Barthes, "The Death of Author" in *Imagine, Music, Text* translated by Stephen Heath. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 146.

modern practice of painting, its relationship with pre-modern Chinese paintings, and how *guohua* artists in twentieth century China fitted themselves into a modern context. Although this research narrowly focused on Fu Baoshi and mainly on two of his Red Cliff paintings, future research can discover the implications and complexity of paintings of Chinese historical stories and figures in twentieth century by Chinese and Japanese painters, especially in the works of another great contributor to the visual representation of Chinese historical subjects in modern Chinese art——Xu Beihong. Xu was well-known as another big supporter of Fu Baoshi's artistic career. Although mainly a painter of oil paintings, Xu was also a great advocator of innovating Chinese ink painting. Were there any possible connections between Xu Beihong and Fu Baoshi, especially in the 1930s that led Fu to his visual representations of Chinese historical figures and stories? This question that remains unanswered and is worth future study.

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APPENDIX: FIGURES

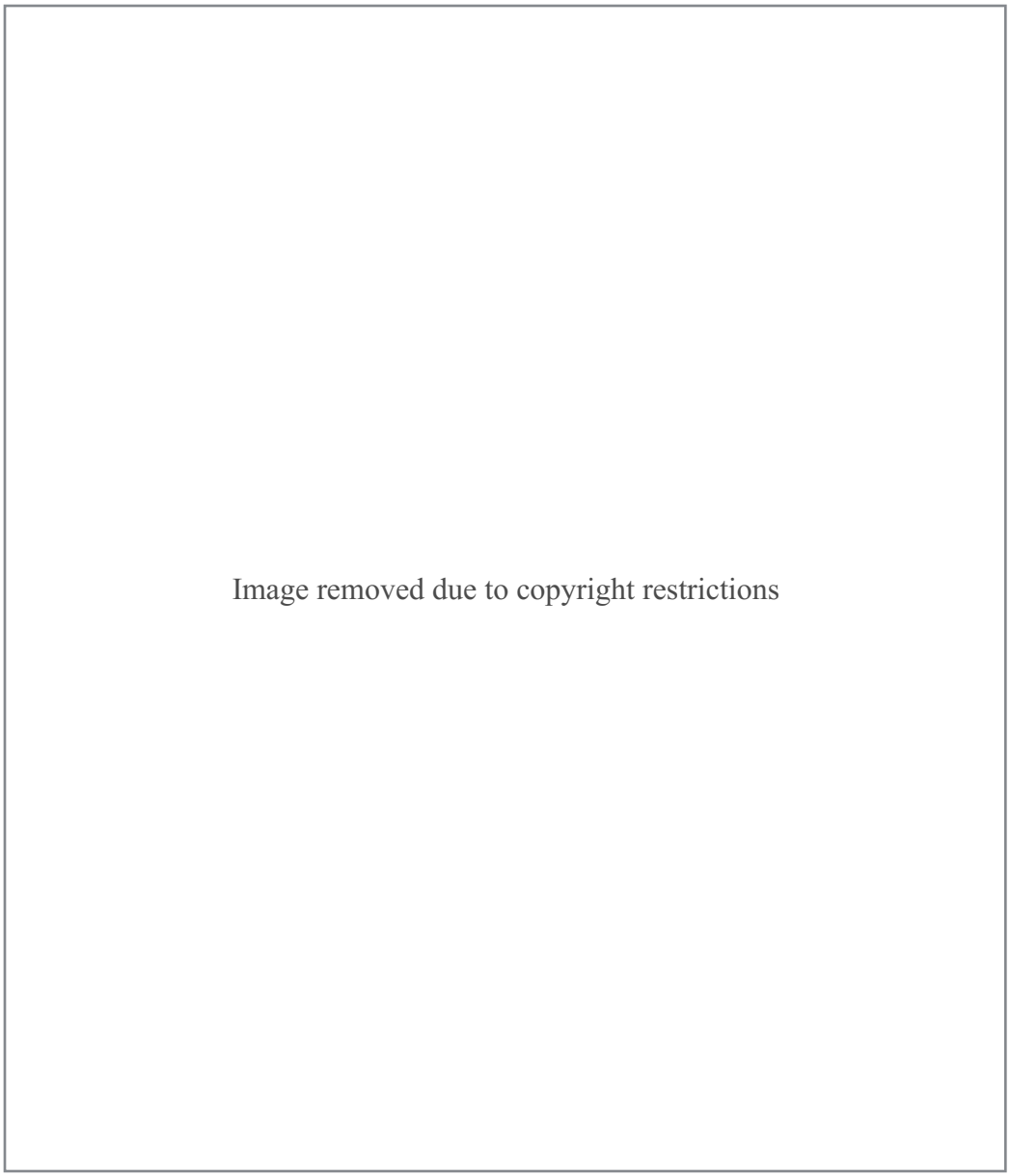



Figure 1. Attributed to Qiao Zhongchang. *Painting of Latter Red Cliff Ode*. Handscroll, ink on paper. 29.5 x 577.9cm. 12th century. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. As reproduced in Lai, cat 2.

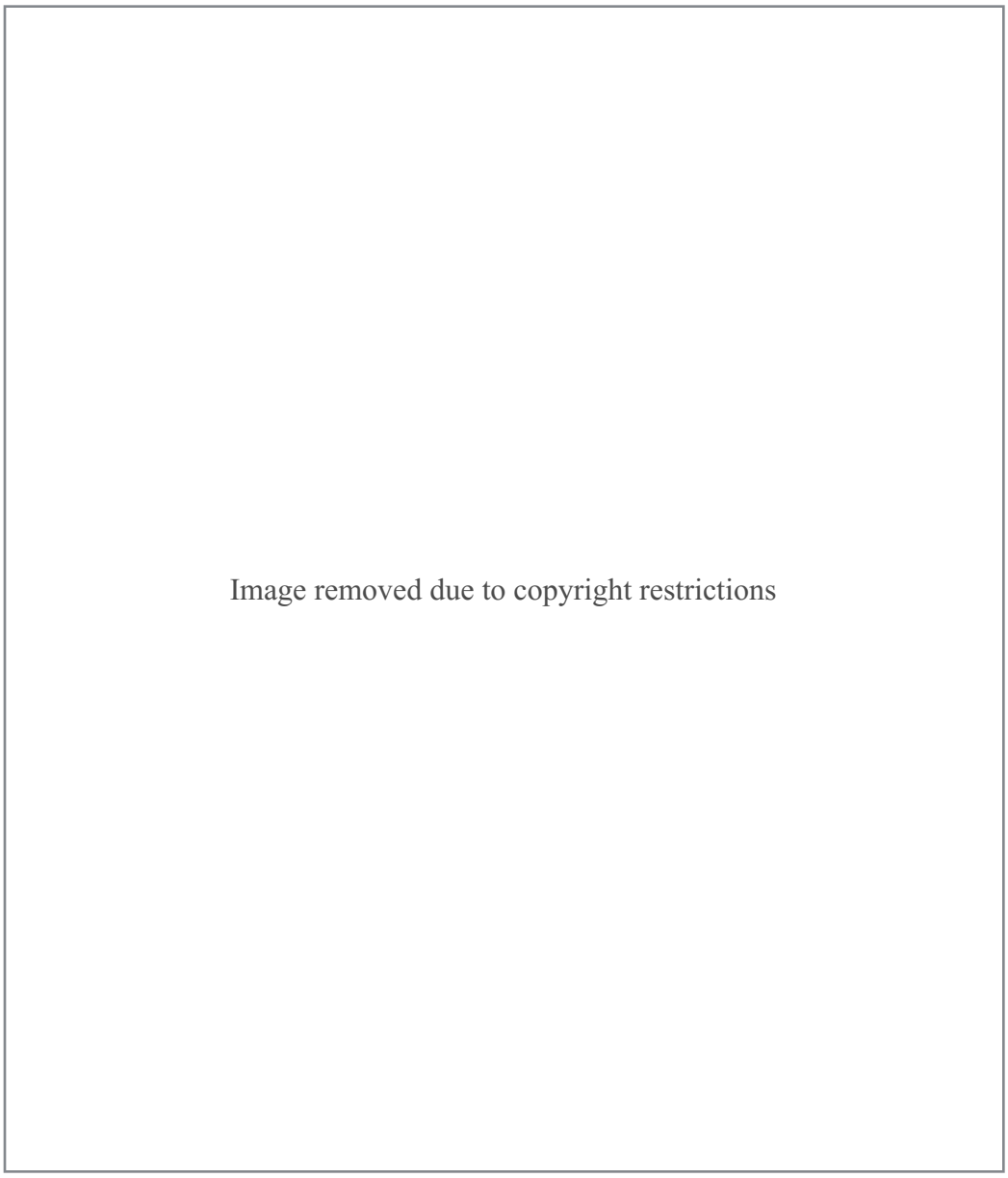



Figure 2. Wen Zhenming. *Painting* of *Latter Red Cliff Ode After the Style of Zhao Bosu* (section). Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 41.5 x 541.6 cm. 16th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei. As reproduced in Fen and Lin, pl. II-6.

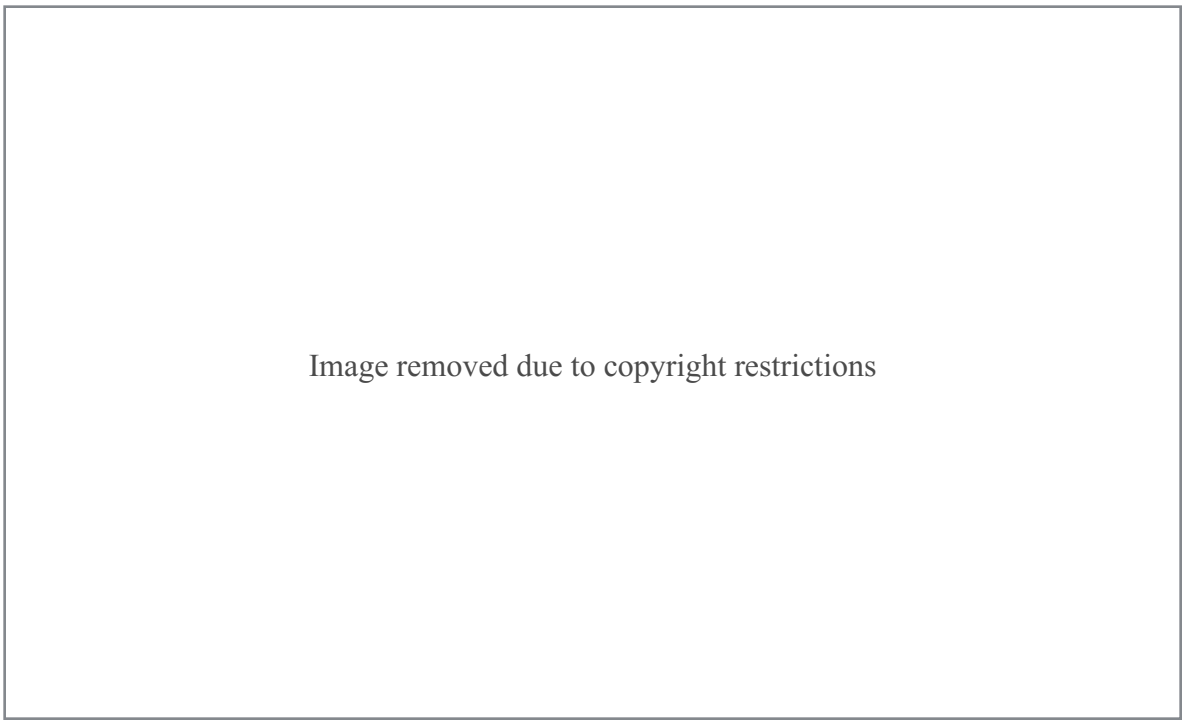



Figure. 3 Wu Yuanzhi. *The Red Cliff*. Handscroll, ink on paper. 50.8 x 136.4 cm. 12th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei. As reproduced in Fen and Lin, pl. II-2.

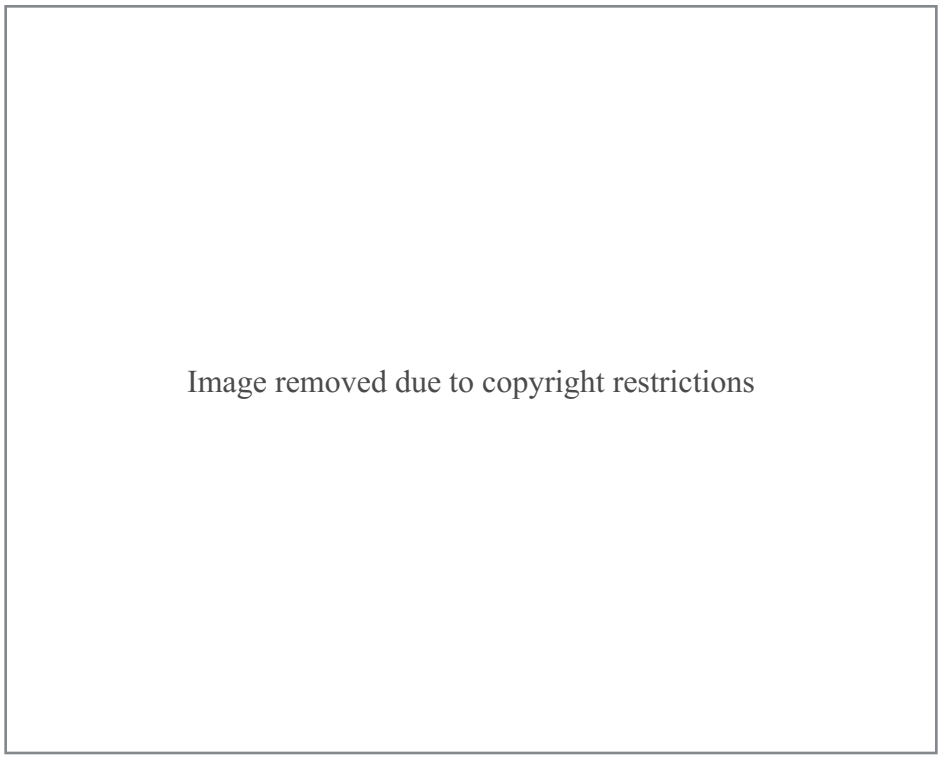



Figure. 4. Li Song. *The Red Cliff*. Fan leaf, ink and color on silk. 24.8 x 26cm. 12th century. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas. As reproduced in Yu, cat 8.

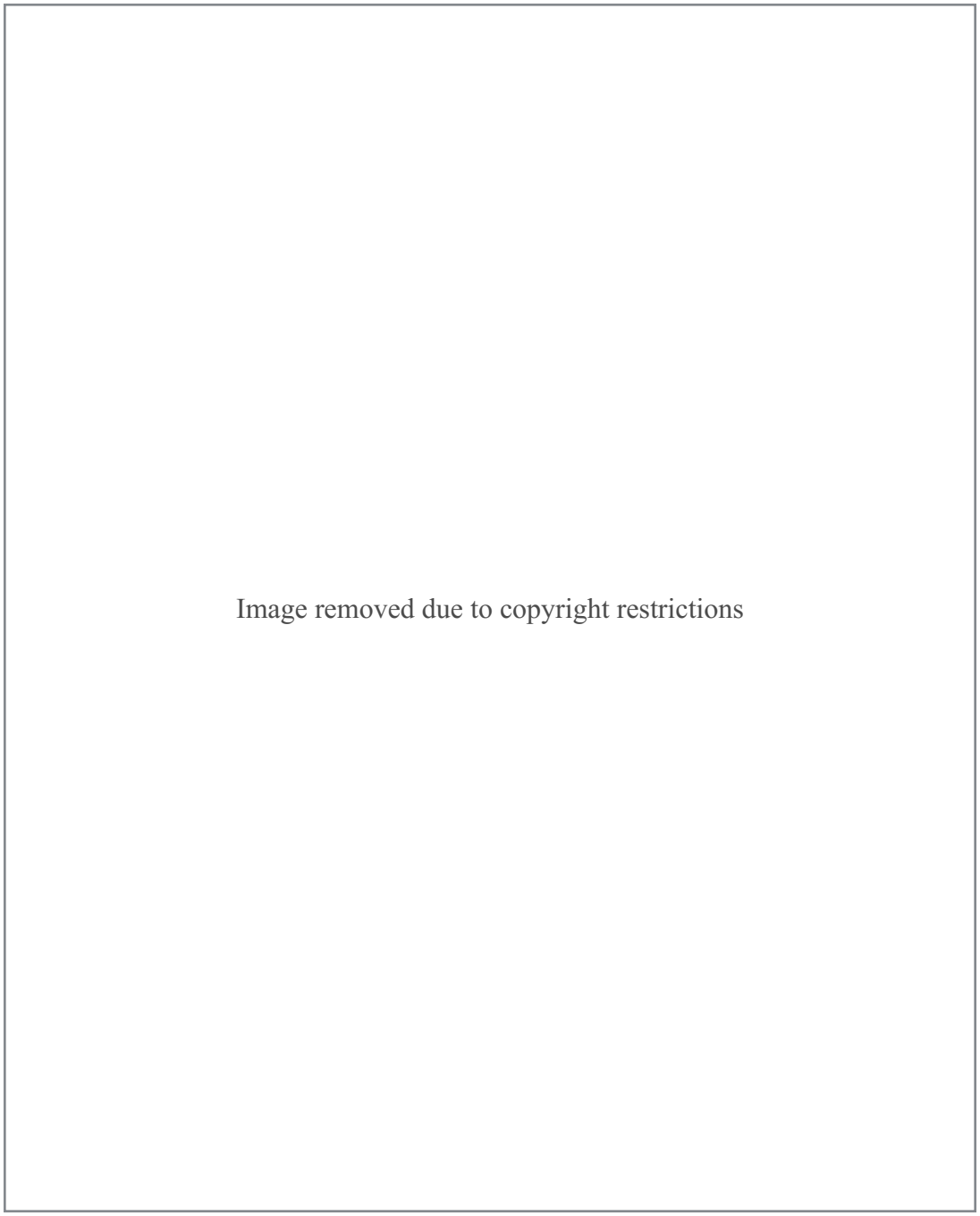



Fig. 5. Ding Yuchuan. *The Red Cliff*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 109.1x 60.3 cm. Undated. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

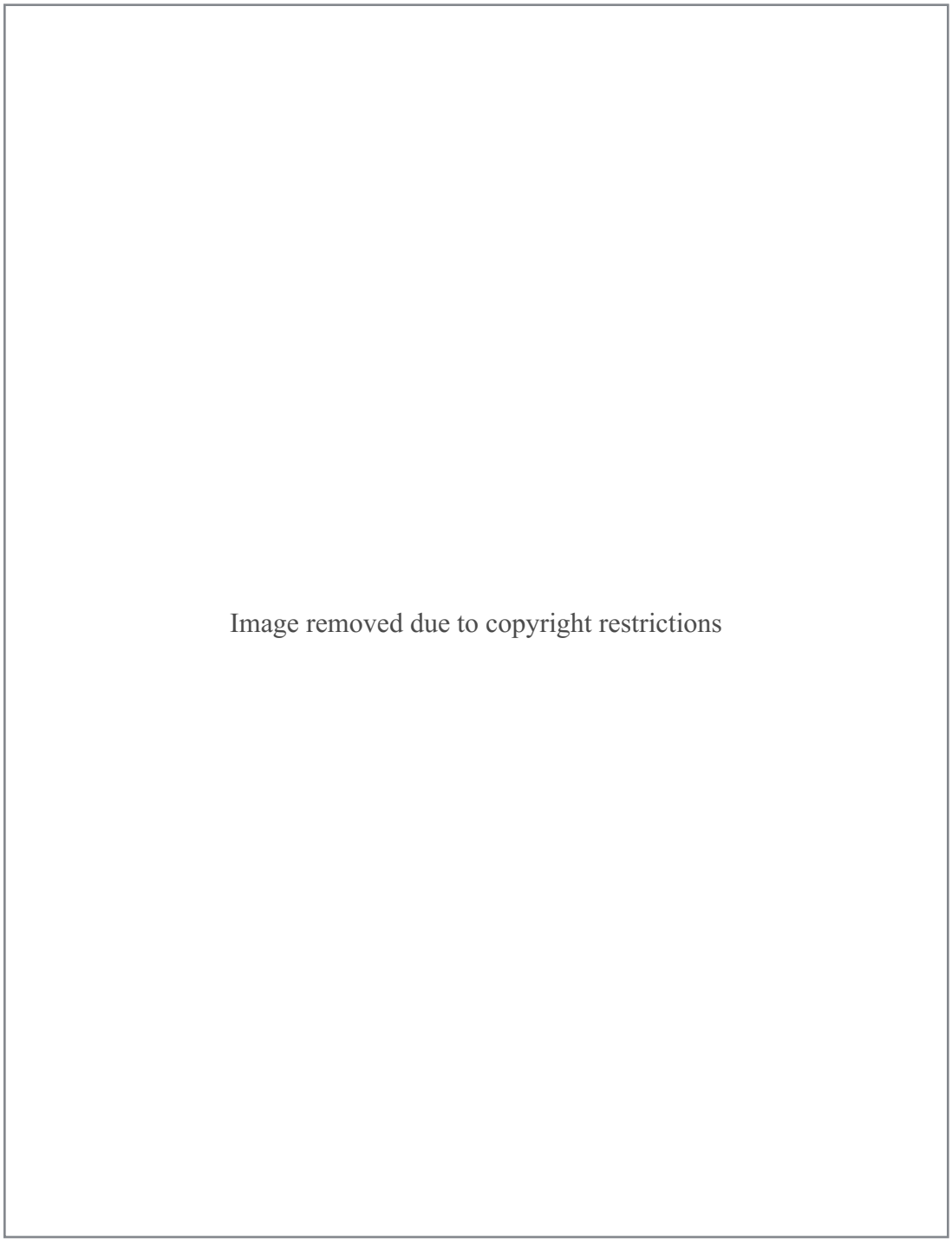



Fig. 6. Jiang Song. *Yuzhou dushu tu.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 171 x 107 cm. Undated. Palace Museum, Beijing.

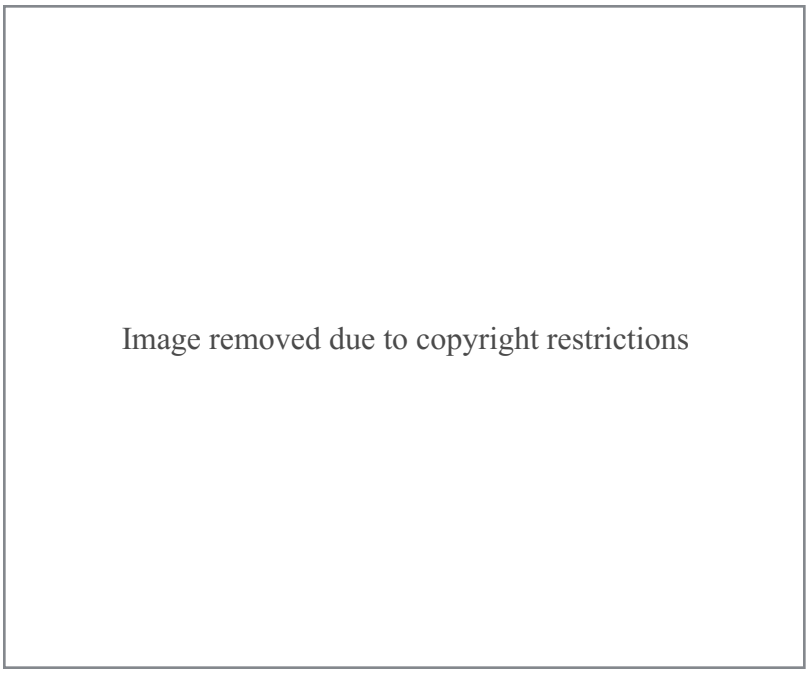



Figure 7. Wen Zhenming. *The Red Cliff*. Fan leaf, ink and color on paper, 15.8 x 46.7 cm. 16th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei. As reproduced in Fen and Lin, pl. II-10.

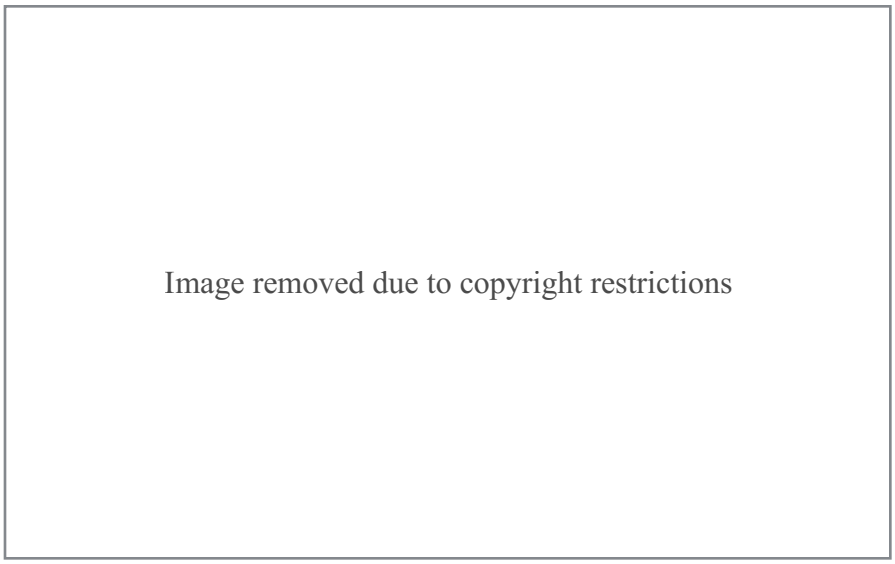



Figure 8. Wen Boren. *Huashanshui*. Ink and color on paper, 16.3 x 48.2 cm. Undated. National Palace Museum, Taipei. As reproduced in Fen and Lin, pl. II-12

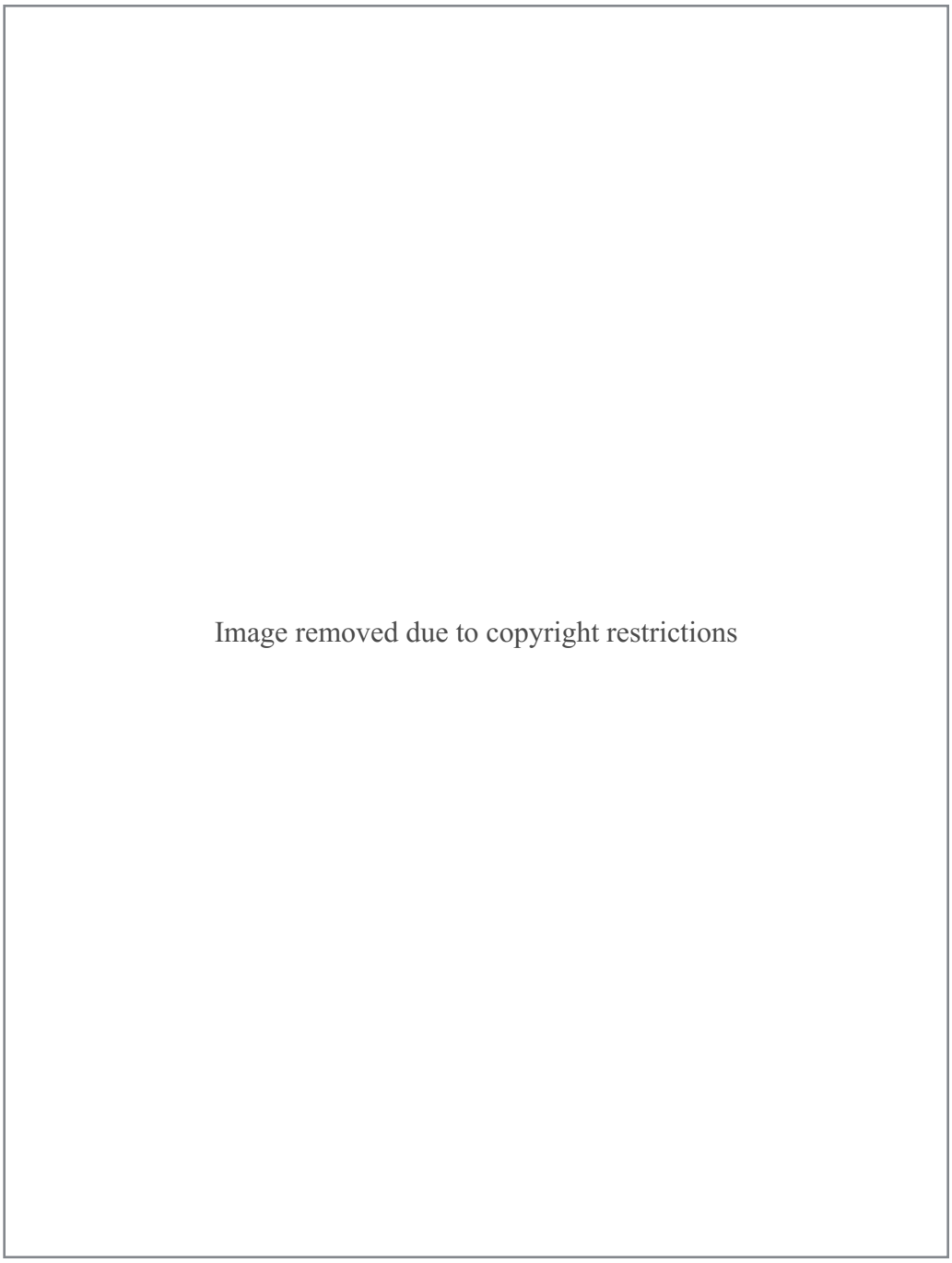



Figure 9. Chen Jiasui. *The Red Cliff*. Album leaf, ink on paper, 23.1 x 12.8 cm. 17th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei. As reproduced in Fen and Lin, pl. II-15.

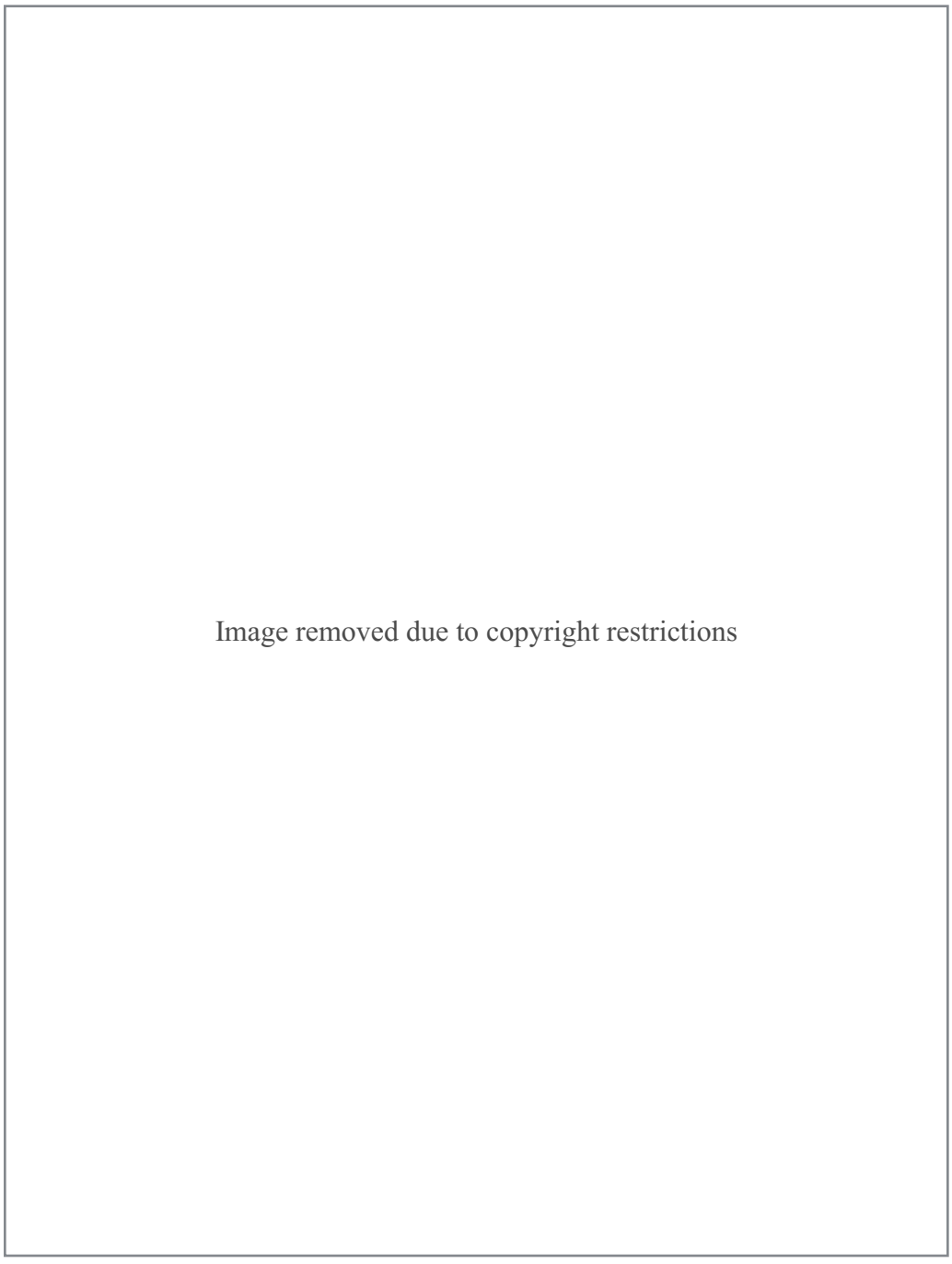



Figure 10. Fu Baoshi. *Red Cliff Boat Trip.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 110 x 61.5. 1943. The Mactaggart Art Collection, Edmonton.

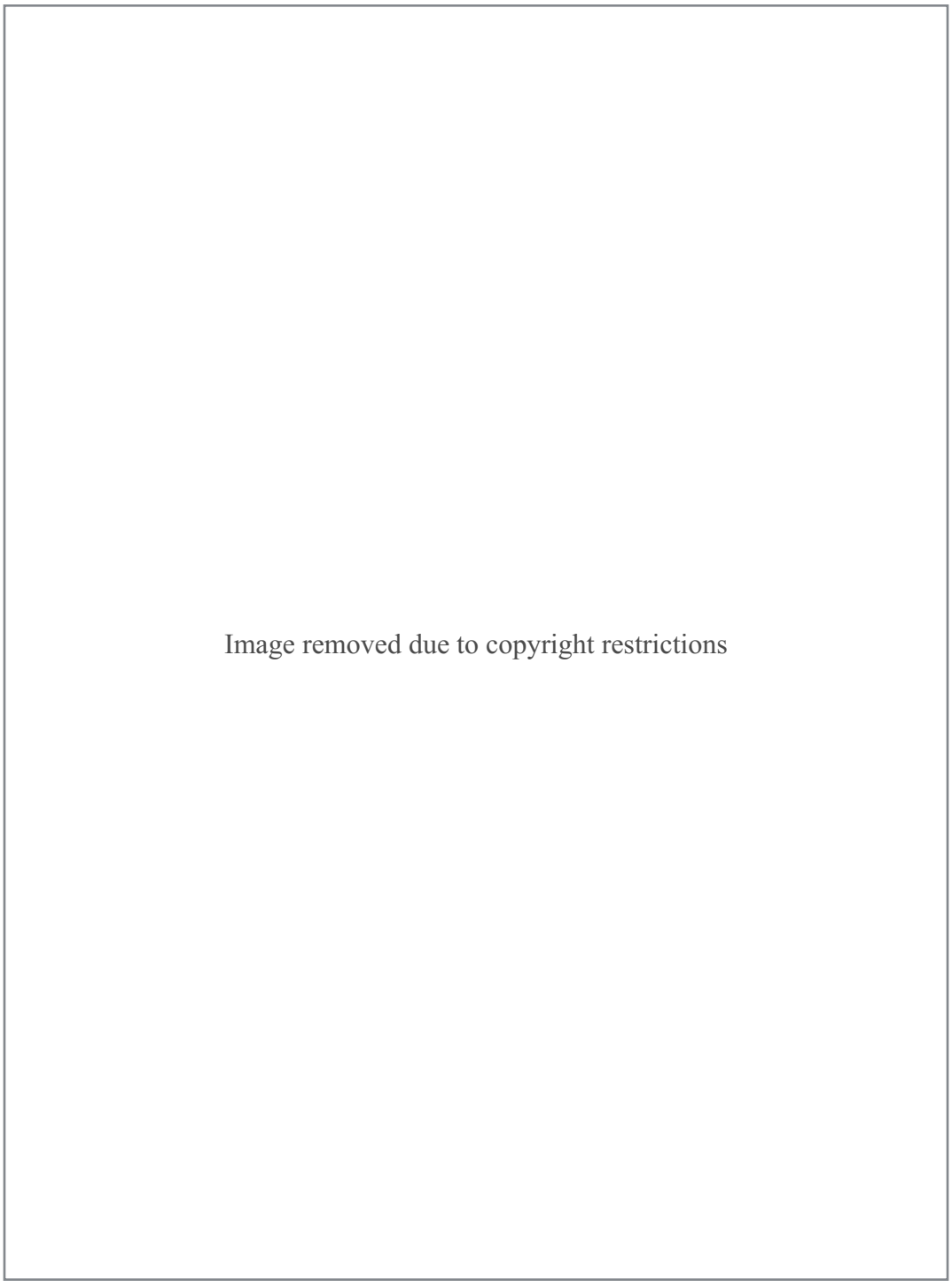



Figure 11. Gessen. *The Red Cliff*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 166.8 x 87.2. Undated. Mie Prefectural Art Museum, Tsu.

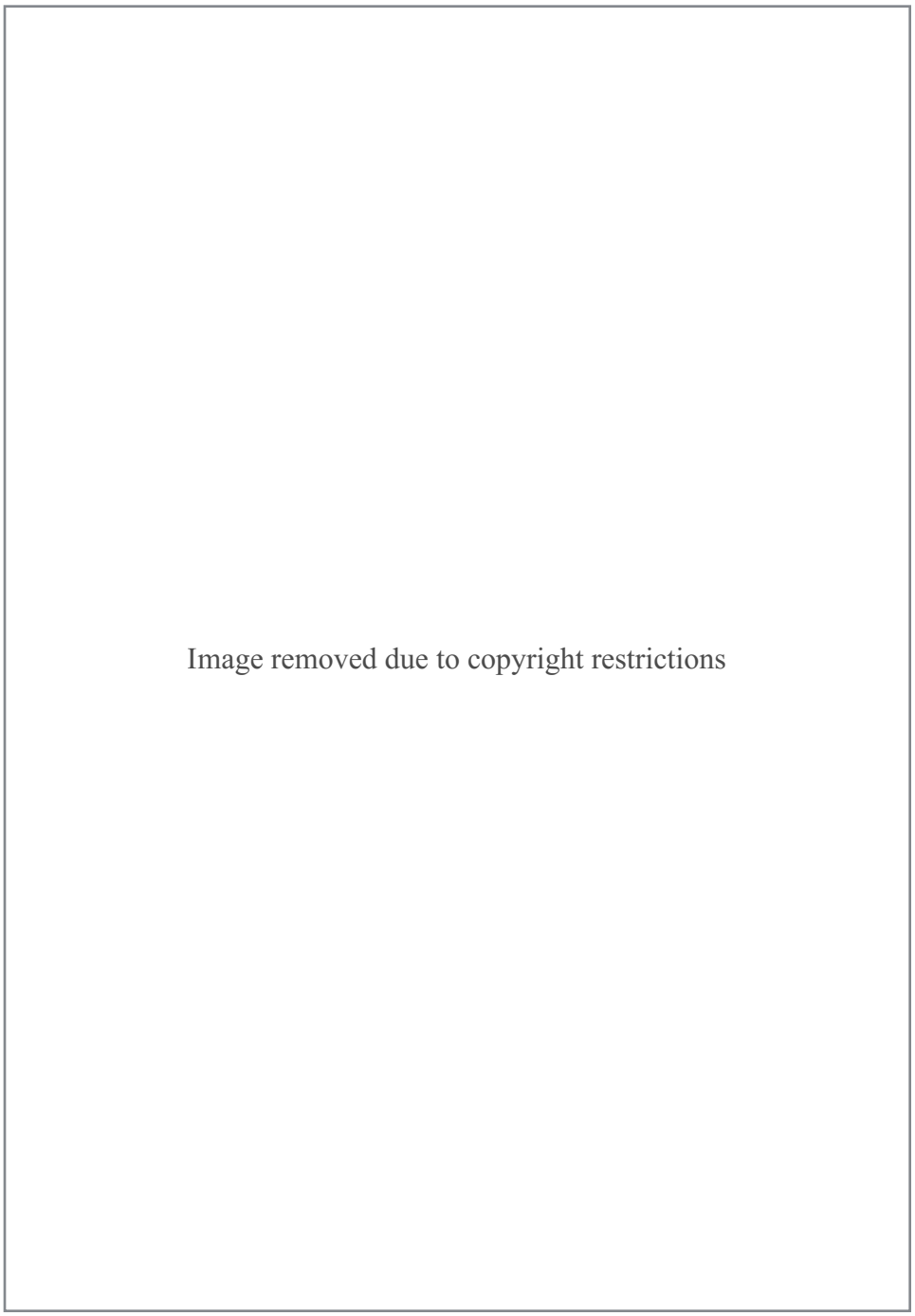



Figure 12. Fu Baoshi.*Red Cliff Boat Trip.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper,

Figure 15. Fu Baoshi. *Playing Weiqi at Water Pavilion*. Hanging scroll, ink and color on Korean Paper, 126.4 x 74.9 cm, 1945. Metropolitian Museum of Art: New York.

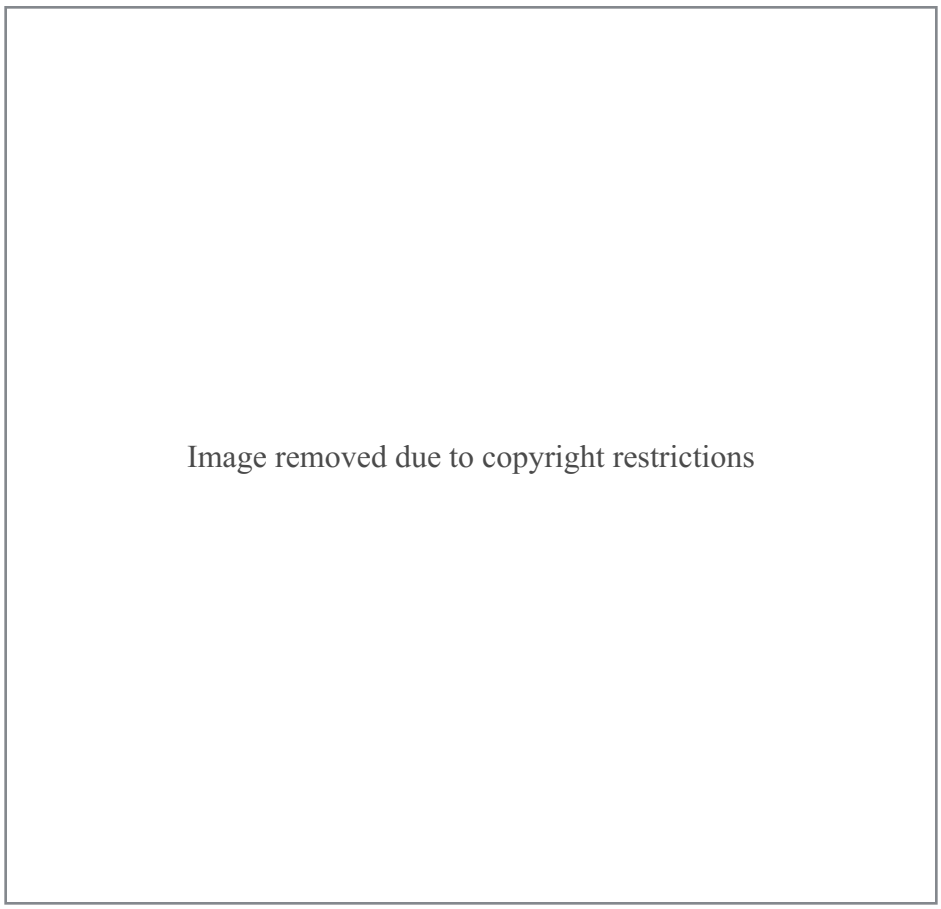



Figure 13. Fu Baoshi. *Asking for Wisdom.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 92.2 x 61.1 cm, 1945. Nanjing Museum, Nanjing. As reproduced in Chung, 95.

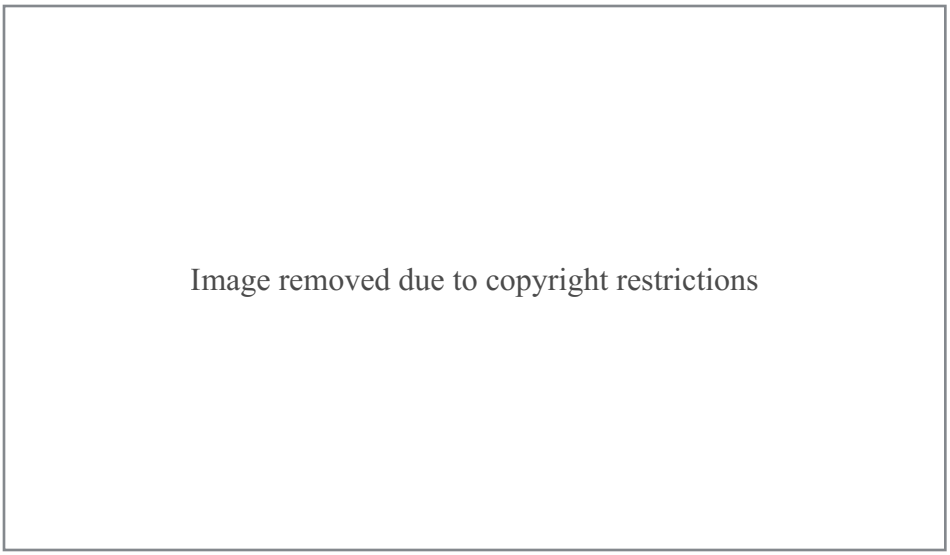
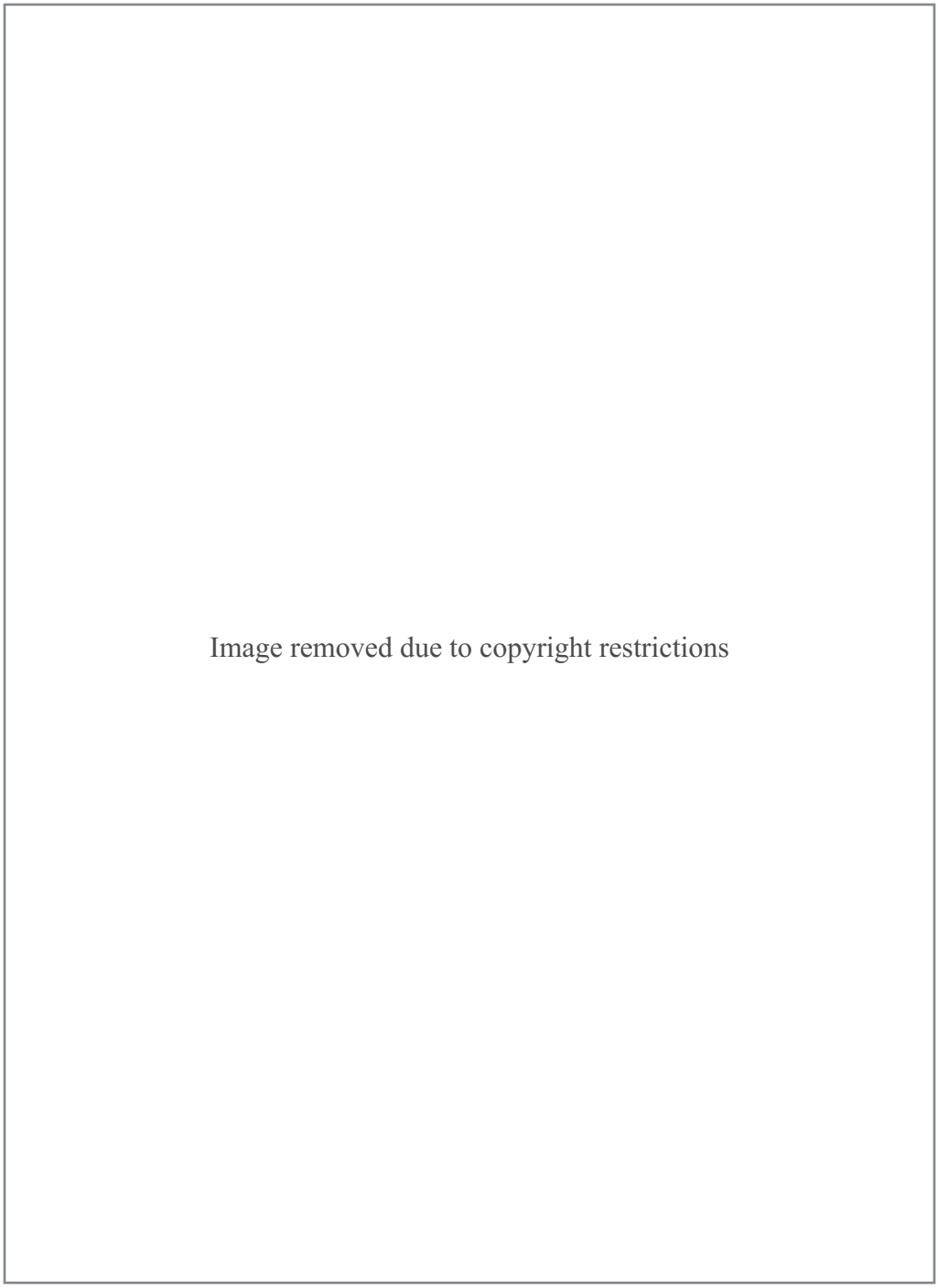



Figure 14. Fu Baoshi. *The Song of Pipia.* Hanging scroll ink and color on paper, 57.7 x 46.5 cm, 1944. Nanjing Museum: Nanjing.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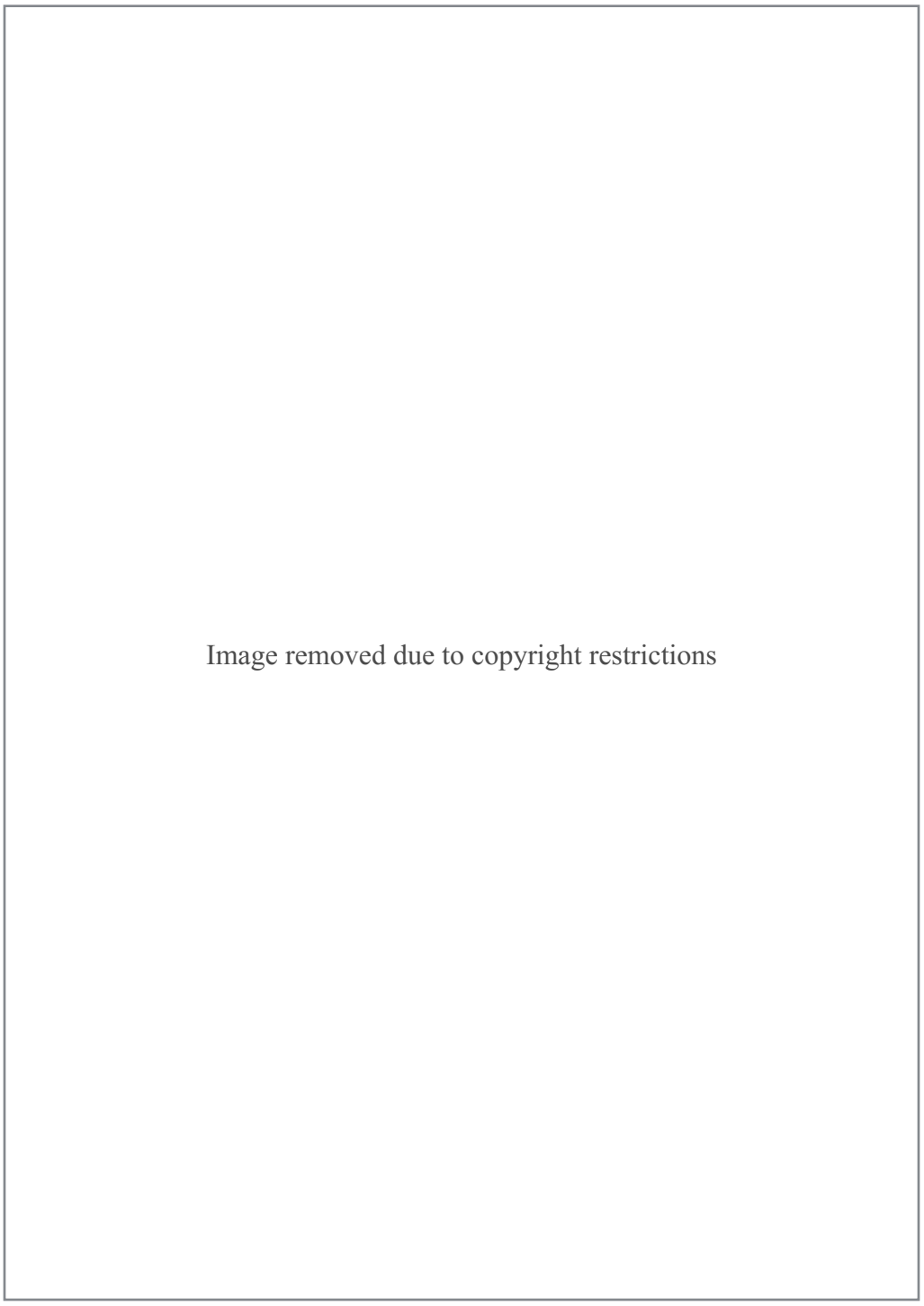


Figure 16. Hashimoto Kansetsu. *Visiting a Retired Scholar.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 221 x 176 cm. 1930. Adachi Museum of Art, Yasugi.

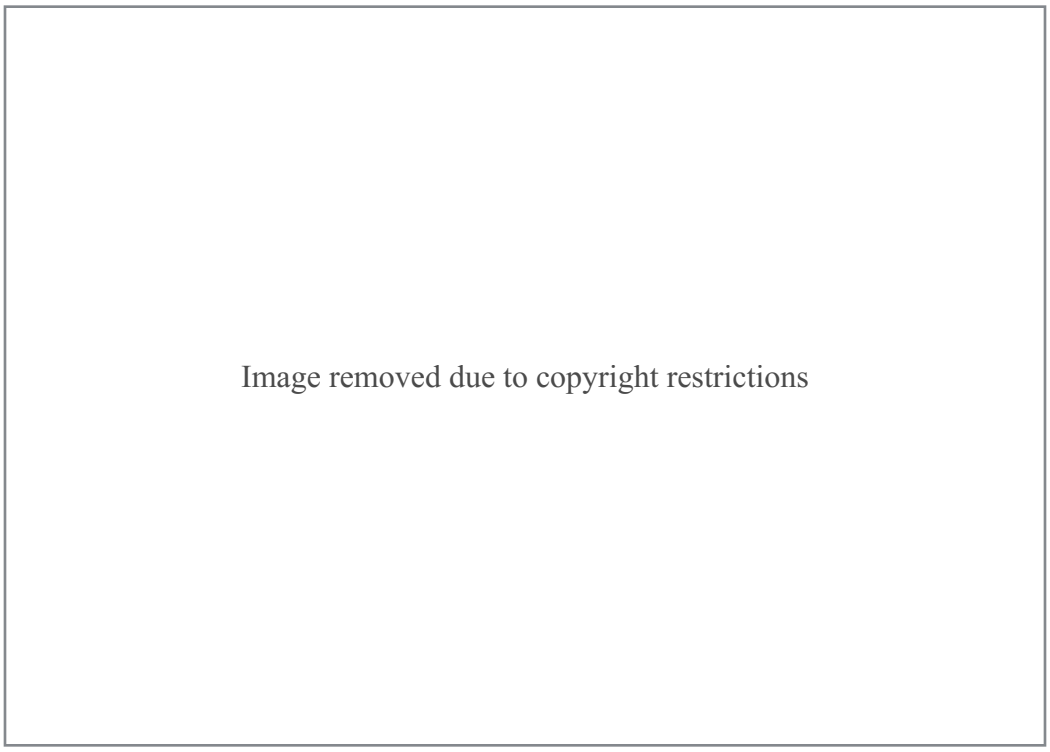


Figure 17. Fu Baoshi. *Climbing The Snow Mountain.* Ink and color on paper, 62 x 101cm. Undated. Palace Museum, Beijing.

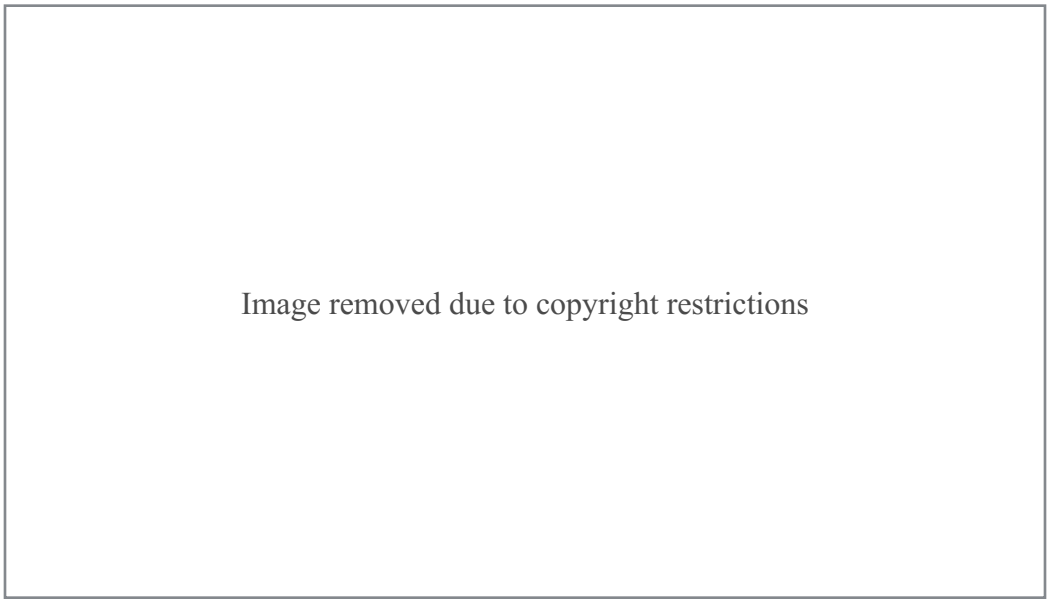


Figure 18. Yokoyama Taikan. *The Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang, the Snow Scene.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 70.5 x 120 cm. 1927. Okura Shukokan Museum of Art, Tokyo.

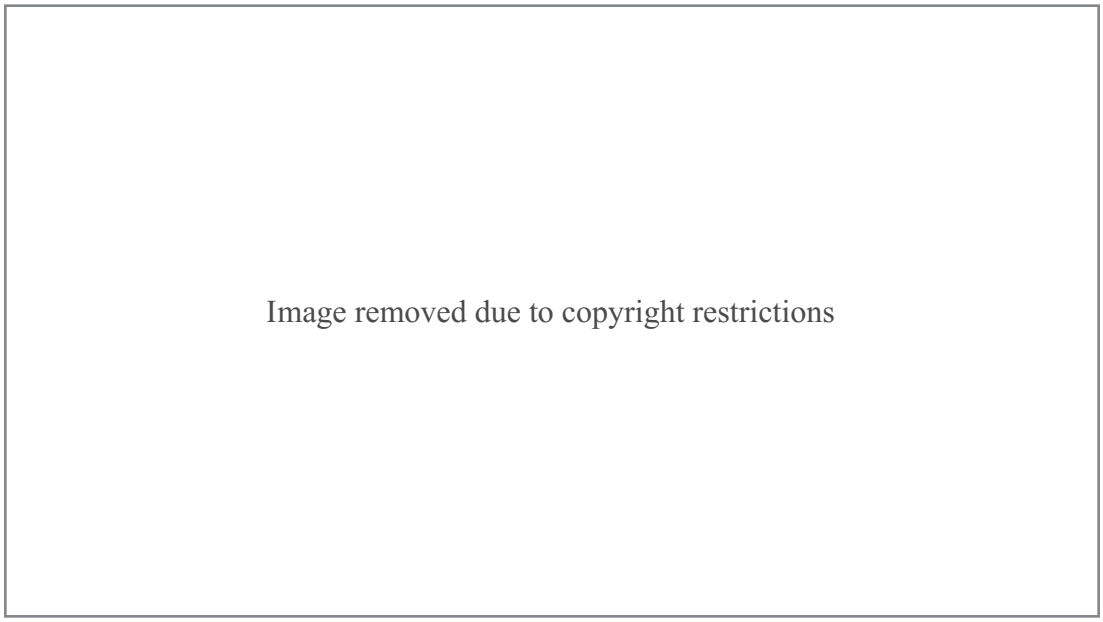


Figure 19. Takeuchi Seiho. *The Unmelted Snow on Mt. Fuji.* Ink and color on paper, 19.2 x 29.5cm. 1886. Umi-Mori Art Museum, Hiroshima.

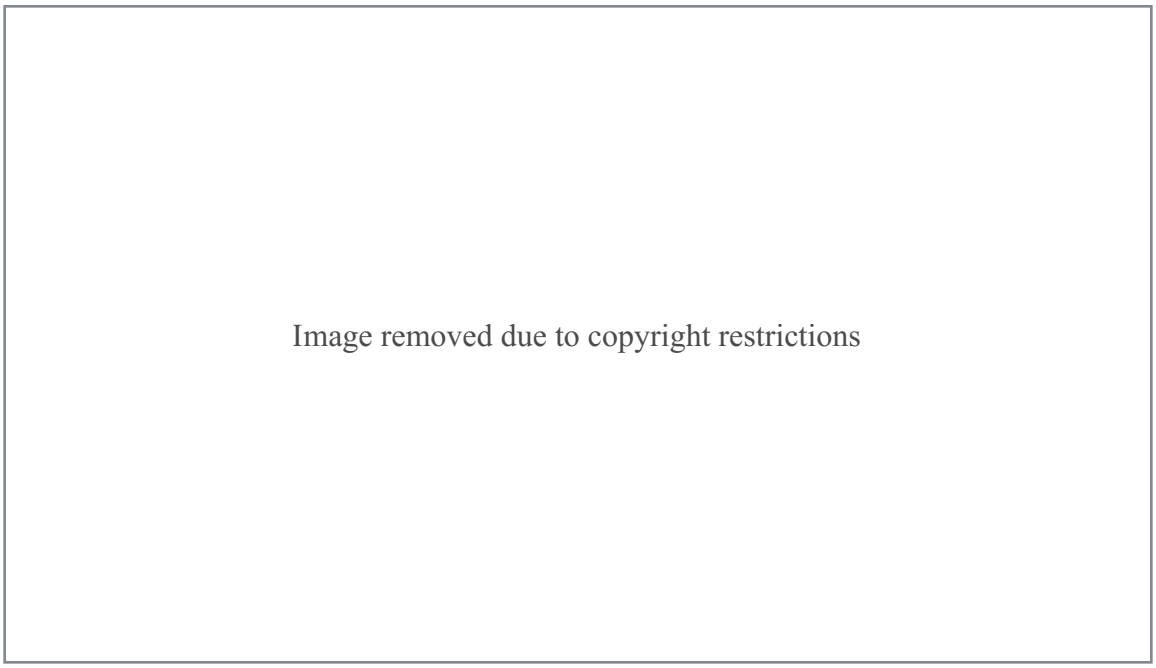


Figure 20. Shitao. *Ten Thousand Ugly Ink Dots*. Handscroll (section), ink on paper, height 25.6 cm. Dated 1685. Suzhou Museum, Suzhou.

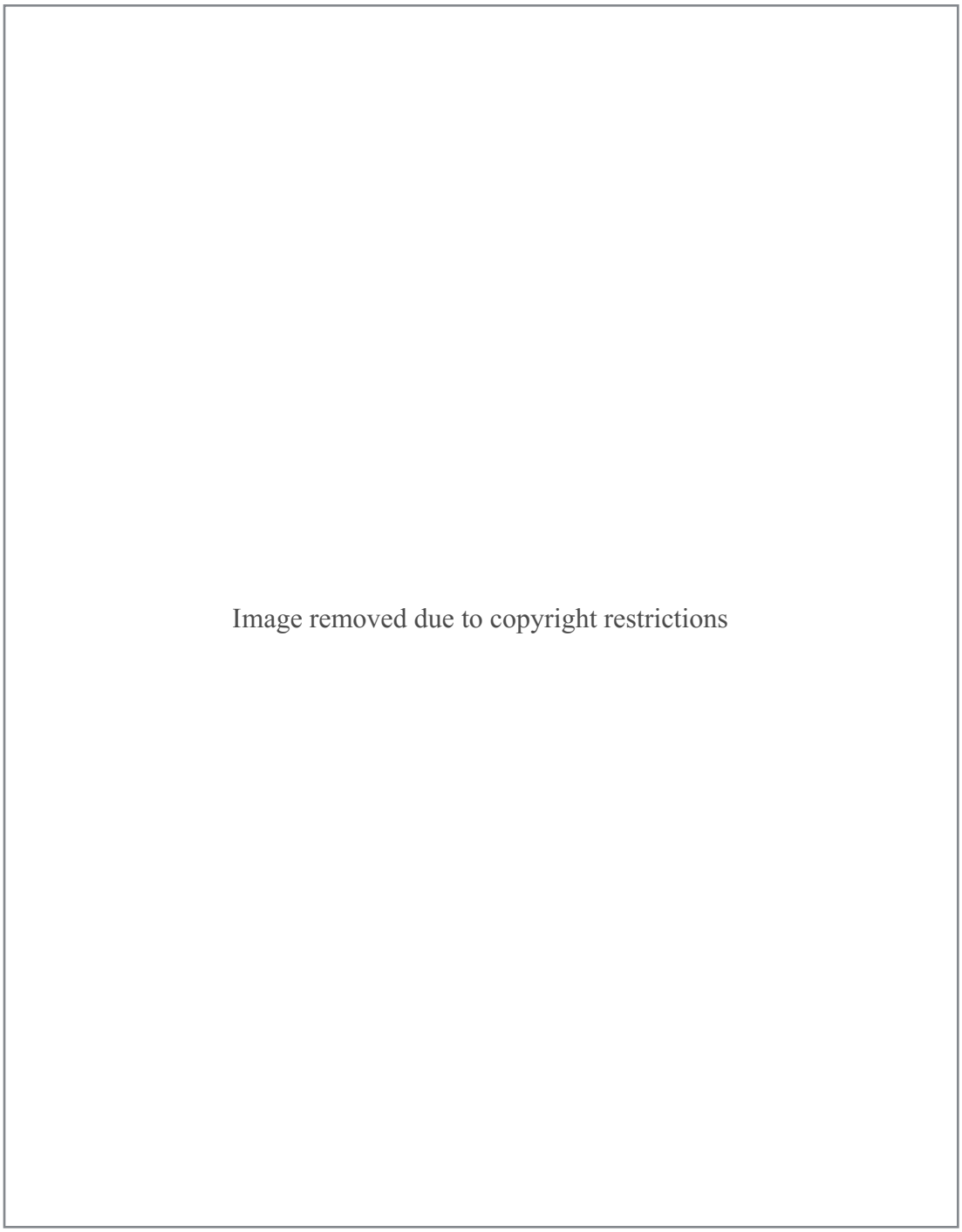


Figure 21. Tomioka Tessai. *Misty Landscape*. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 144.2 x 78.5. Datable 1880s. Kiyoshikojin Seichoji Tessai Art Museum, Hyogo.

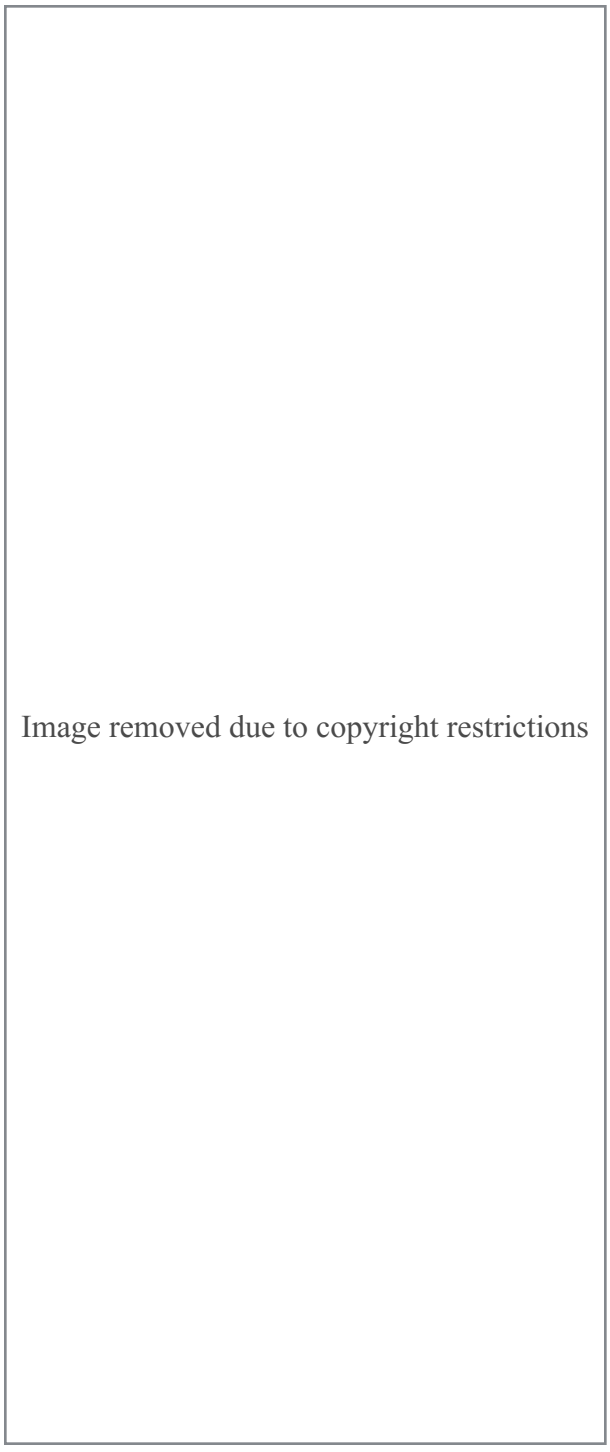


Figure 22. Fu Baoshi. *Red Cliff Boat Trip after Kansetsu's Style.* 1936. As reproduced in Zhang, *Fu Baoshi yanjiu*, 172

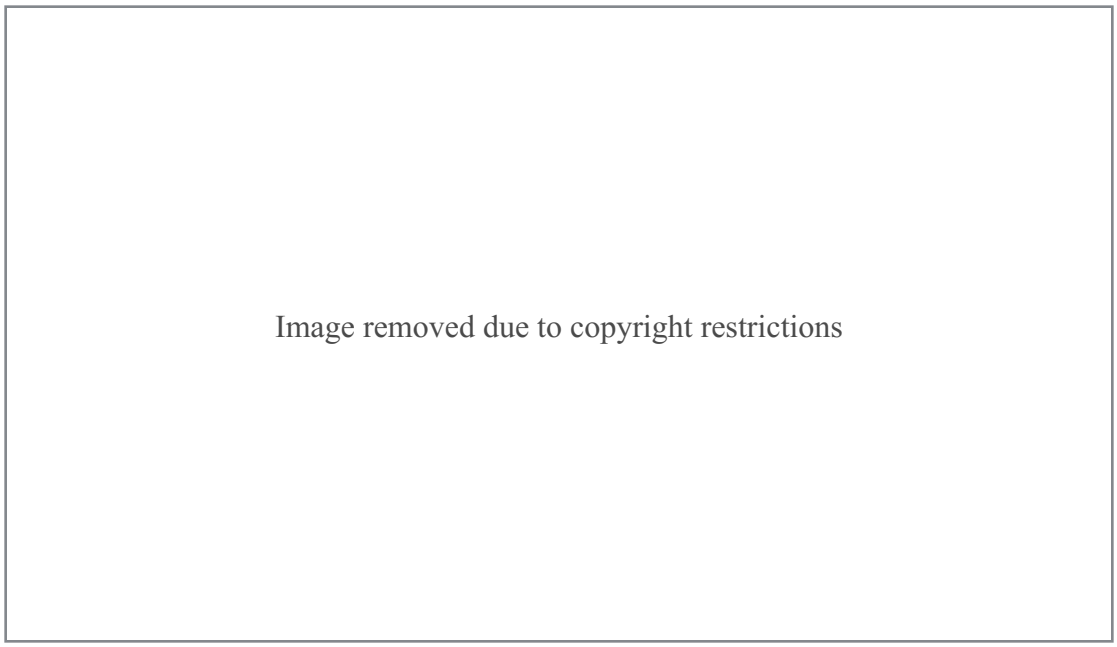


Figure 23. Hashimoto Kansetsu. *The Red Cliff.* Ink and color on paper, 168 x 116 cm. Undated. Hashimoto Kansetsu Memorial Museum, Kyoto.

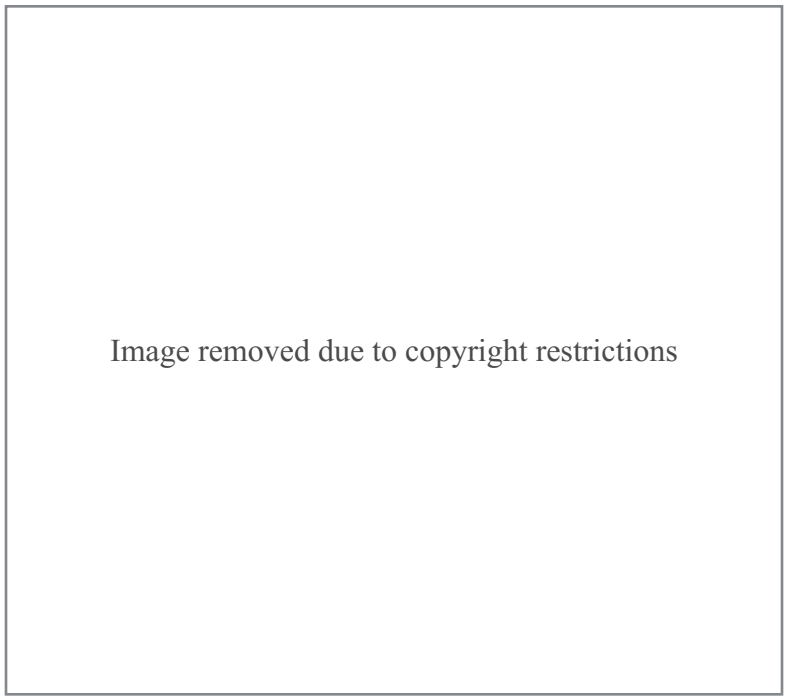


Figure 24. Yokoyama Taikan. *The Former Red Cliff.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 176.2×83.7cm. 1913. The Museum of Fine Arts, Gifu.

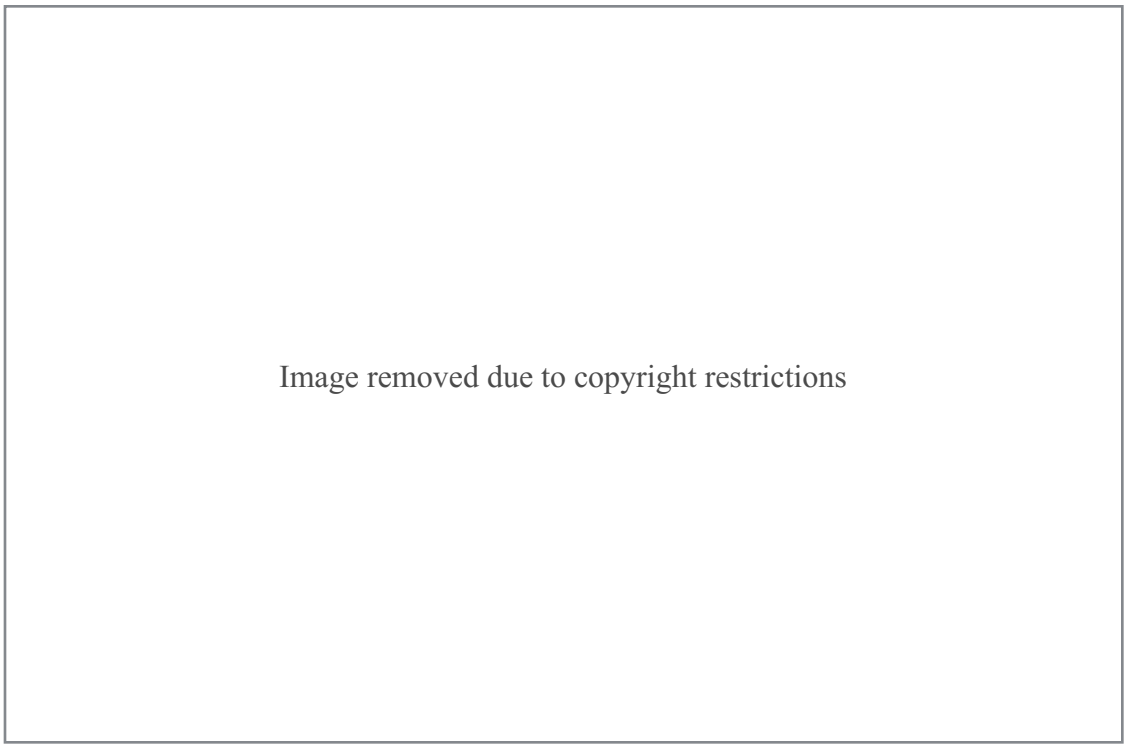


Figure 25. Fu Baoshi. *Qu Yuan*. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 59.2 x 83.7 cm. 1942. Nanjing Museum, Nanjing. As reproduced in Chung, 87.

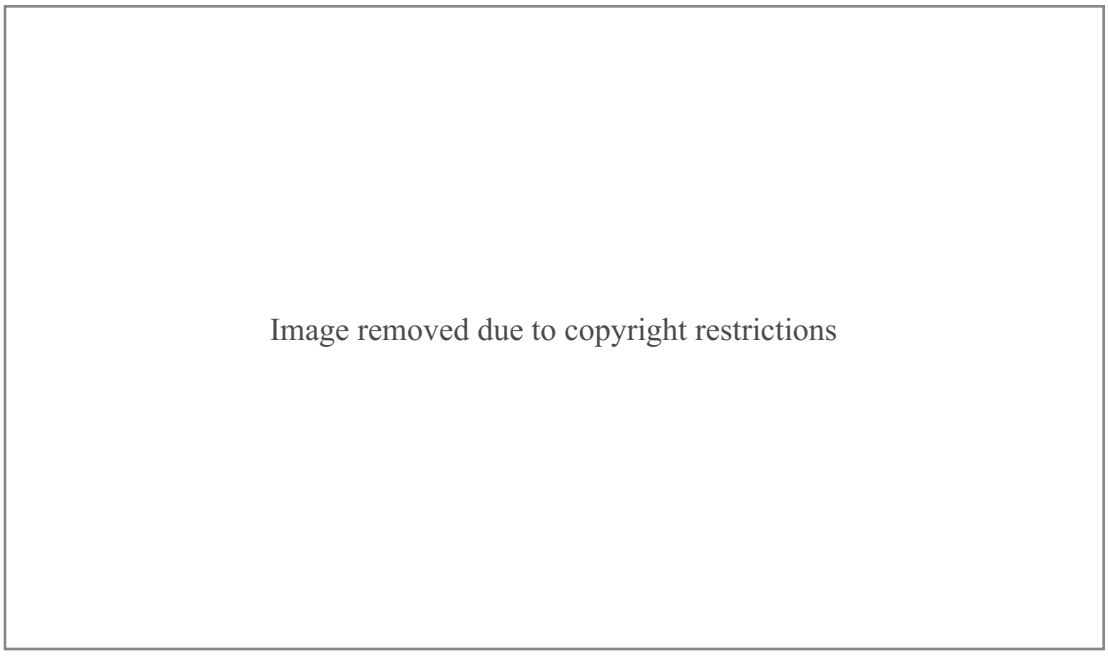


Figure 26. Yokoyama Taikan, *Qu Yuan*, color on paper, 132.7 x 289.7 cm. 1898. Collection of the Itsukushima Jinjia, Miyashima. As reproduced in Chung, 86.

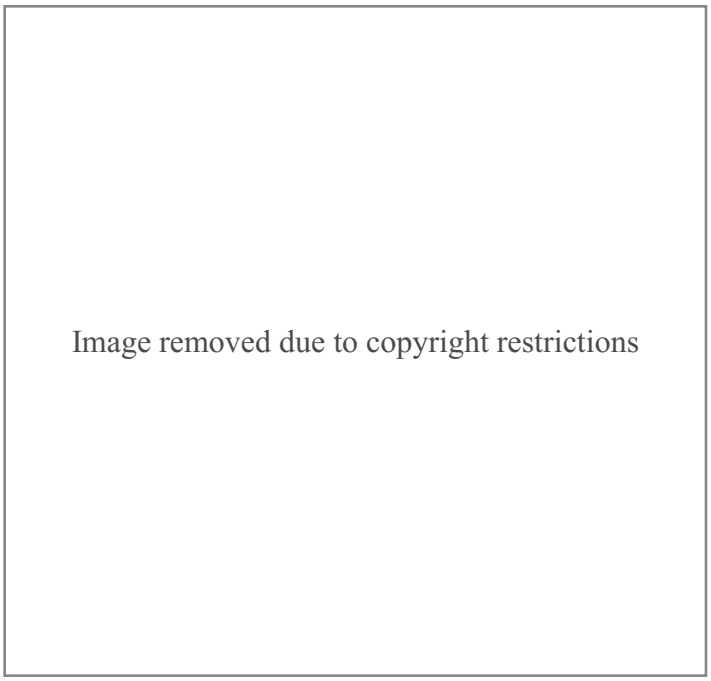


Figure 27. Fu Baoshi. *Red Cliff Boat Trip* (section) Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 1943. 111 x 59.2cm. Palace Museum of Beijing.

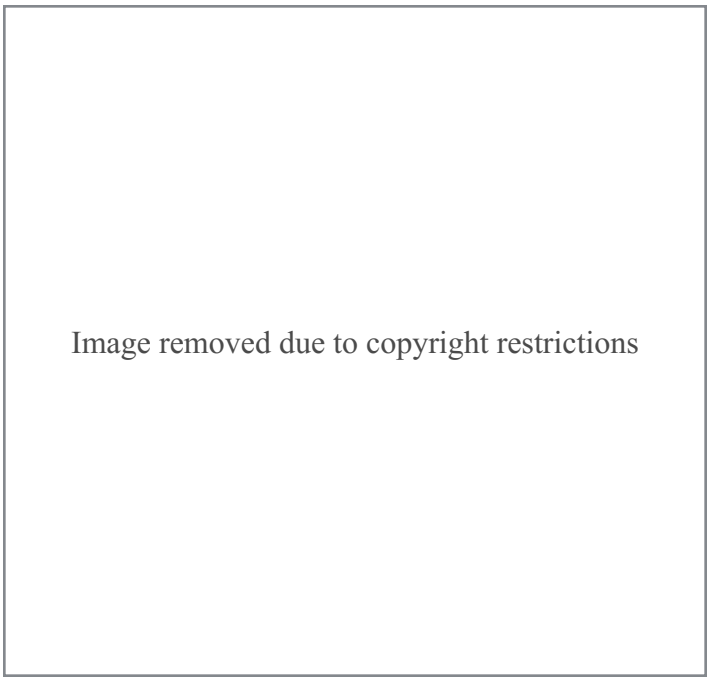


Figure 28. Photo of Guo Moruo.

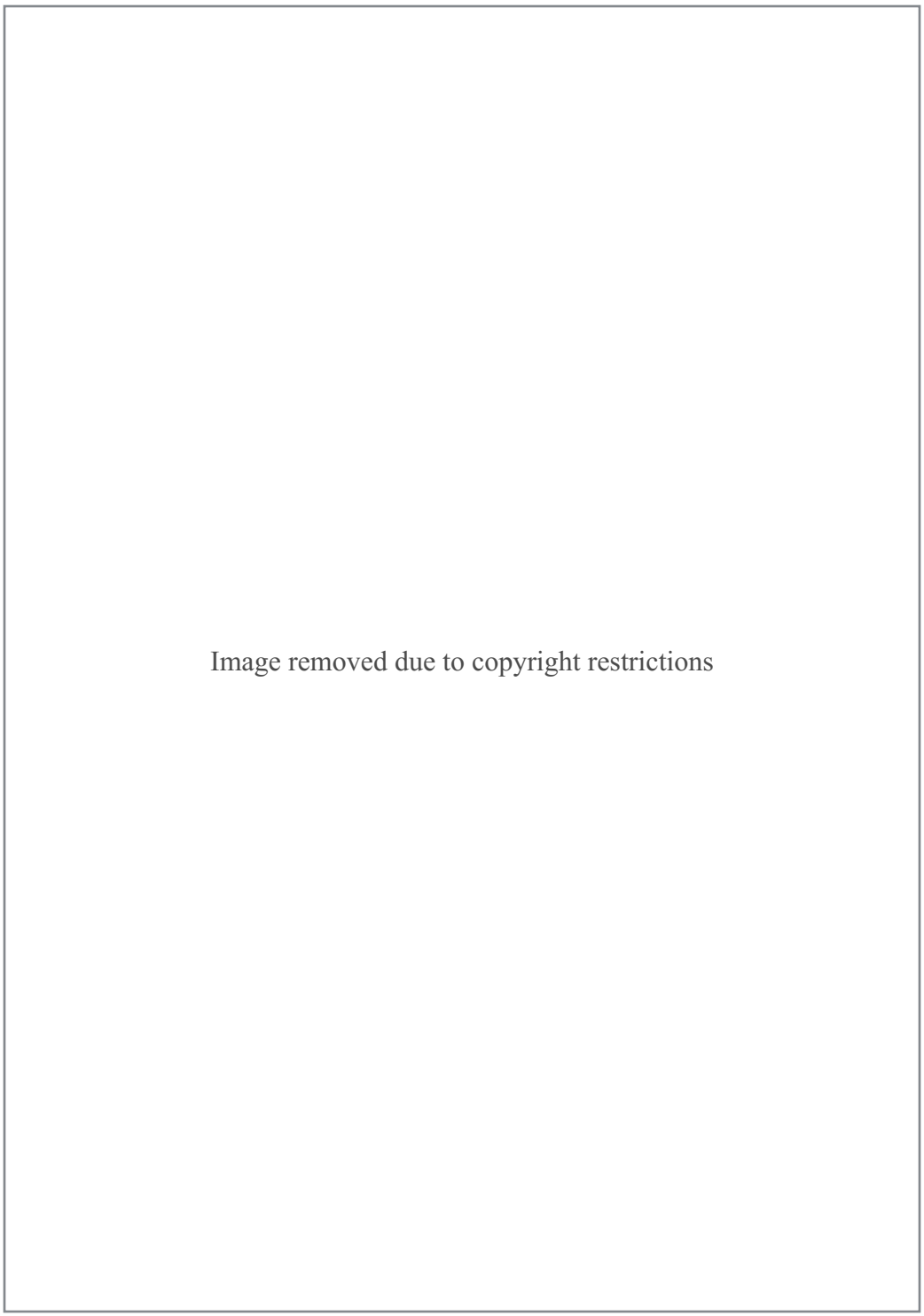


Figure 29. Fu Baoshi, *Viewing Paintings Under Tung Tree*(section) Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. 149.5 x 40.5 cm. Undated. Private collection. As reproduced in Chen, 36.