UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Displacement and Anachronism:
Art Education and Exhibitions in Meta-Institutionalizing China, 1912-1937

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Art History, Theory, and Criticism

by

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2021

This Dissertation of Xing Zhao is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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2021

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Displacement and Anachronism:
Art Education and Exhibitions in Meta-Institutionalizing China, 1912-1937

by

Xing Zhao

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History, Theory, and Criticism

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Professor Kuiyi Shen, Chair

This dissertation views art education and exhibitions as important actors in state- and nation-building in the Republic of China (1912-1949). State-building constructed institutional infrastructure to bind and govern, and nation-building institutionalized cultural history to formulate the imagined community. Both state- and nation-building were institution-building. Gradually, the managerial leadership of Republican China became a meta-institution that further institutionalized other institutions into a system. This system assumed intellectual leadership, defined and evaluated art, distinguished art from non-art, and presented art to the artworld public. Through collective art activities and shared art conventions, the individual art institution and network of art institutions functioned as socializing structures that reproduced cultural powers reversely enhancing the socio-political institutions. Inspired by Cai Yuanpei's slogan "aesthetic education as a substitute for religion," the four-chapter dissertation goes from the iconoclasm of the heavenly mandate, to the voice for one's own art history, then to the mass art

that coalesced professional education and economic activities, and finally to the political officialization of national arts – a new form of enchantment in a modern nation-state.

The first chapter digs into the rapidly changing social and institutional properties of the *in situ* Institute for Displaying Antiquities (1914-1948). The public accessibility to the Forbidden City and emptied throne desacralized the cosmic and political symbols. The second chapter looks at the two state-subsidized art activities overseas. The two exhibitions spoke for the concept and history of Chinese art in Europe from the Chinese perspectives. The third chapter explores the interdependence between production, commerce, art, national salvation, nationalism and urban modernity. The chapter investigates the national products and the consumer identity, and examines how a spectator-market could redefine the masses' spatiotemporal understanding of the nation and the presence. Last but not least, the fourth chapter on the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (1937) discusses how the eclectic assembly of arts and crafts presenting the past, the present, the future, the indigenous, and the foreign could together construct the presence of the imagined community in the geopolitical boundary.

NOTES TO READERS

1. Most Chinese and Japanese names are written with surnames first, except for names of some scholars whose publications are in English.

2. When a person is mentioned, if he or she was an important figure in the realm of art, culture or politics, I will provide a more detailed biographical note, including the Romanized name, the name in native scripts, and the biographical data. If the person was less historically significant, I will only provide the Romanized name and the name in native scripts, or just the Romanized name.

3. All translations are mine unless otherwise specified. If an entry, such as an article, a book, an organization or an institution, has its official Enligh translation, I will put the Enligh and Chinese names in the footnote and the bibliography. Otherwise, I will give the original text and put the English translation in brackets.

Introduction: Research Overview

This dissertation scrutinizes the evolving role of art, art institutions and institutional properties of art in the Republic of China's (1912-1949) state- and nation-building before the full-scale Second Sino-Japanese War in (1937-1945). Through the structural-functional lens, both state- and nation-building are institution-building. In pre-war Republican China (1912-1937), art gradually became an institution of expressive symbolisms, through which civic activities were organized. The state's meta-institutional commitment to centralizing bureaucracy incorporated art institutions and art as an institution into the education system which was further put in collaboration with other institutions such as the diplomacy corps and the national economies.[1] Three key phrases in the title "Displacement and Anachronism: Art Education and Exhibitions in Meta-Institutionalizing China, 1912-1937" highlight the features, backdrop, and subject of the project. The phrase "displacement and anachronism" describes the spatiotemporal features in a newly established modern nation-state. "Meta-institutionalizing China" situates nation-building in state-powers. "Art education and exhibitions" are the subjects with which I examine the emergence and transformation of the modern institutions, the institutional infrastructure, and the system of institutions in Republican China from the perspectives of economic, politics, and culture. Overall, the dissertation argues that art institutions and art with social and institutional properties contributed to the Republic of China's civic infrastructure by contemporizing the historicized pastness into the present culture, homogenizing the present culture into the reconstructed spatiotemporal domain, and turning the national cultural hegemony into the political ideology.

[1] Milton C. Albrecht, "Art as an Institution," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 33, no. 3 (June 1968): 383, 385. https://doi.org/10.2307/2091913.

Displacement and anachronism characterize modernity as an experience of time and space. Scholars have tried to define the incoherent spatiotemporal experience from different angles with different terms. Historian Dipesh Chakrabarty regards the problem of entangled timelines as "timeknot" where the past coexisted with and within the present.[2] Victorian art historian Lynda Nead writes that "Modernity … can be imagined as pleated or crumpled time, drawing together past, present, and future into constant and unexpected relations."[3] Cultural historian Arif Dirlik asserts that "Spatial differences were thereby rendered into temporal difference, and different societies placed at different locations in a progressive temporality…"[4] Such spatiotemporal entanglements reflected the new domestic and international power relations. On the international stage, the Republic of China as a territorially defined state was seen as a "contemporary ancestor" rather than an "alternative present" for Euromodernity – the past coexisting with the present.[5] Domestically, the spatial distinction between the museumfied sites within ever-changing urban modernity – the past coexisting within the present – was indeed the temporal difference between the fossilized past and the progressing present, which together led to the future.[6]

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[2] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 243. https://jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rsx9.

[3] Lunda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 8.

[4] Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," special Issue "Theme Issue 35: Chinese Historiography in Comparative Perspective," *History and Theory*, vol. 35, no. 4 (December 1996): 97. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505446.

[5] James Morris Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusinism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Gulford Publications, 1994), 16.

[6] Ibid.

Tradition, including economic infrastructure, socio-political relations and cultural hegemony, is a web of relationships that have certain principles and commitments within. The rebellions (such as the Taiping Rebellion from 1850 to1864), political reforms (such as the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898) and foreign invasions (such as the First Opium War from 1839 to 1842) since late Qing (1644-1911) had removed individuals from traditional commitments and relationships. While the revolution was destructive, institutionalization and modernization signaled reconstruction. An individual living in the Republic of China experienced displacement through new public spheres, decontextualized artworks in museums, foreign news in mass media, national products of foreign styles, technologized visuality, faster transportation, and other spatial experiences. The same person came across anachronism through new historical narrative in texts and exhibitions, old and new calendars simultaneously in use, and other spatiotemporal experiences. The individual who had been detached from his old way of living and thinking was reclaimed by a redefined spatiotemporal domain called modernity. Usually, modernity is short for Euromodernity, but this project intends to interpret the Republic of China as an alternative modernity.[7]

From *tianxia* 天下 [all under heaven] to one nation-state in the modern global network, from the heavenly stems and earthly branches to the Western Gregorian calendar, both public and civic orders embodied displacement and anachronism. The development of art and modernity in the Republic of China before the full-scale invasion by Japan in July 1937 was

[7] Arif Dirlik, "Thinking Modernity Historically: Is 'Alternative Modernity' the Answer?" *Asian Review of World Histories*, vol. 1, issue 1 (June 2013): 5-44. https://doi.org/10.12773/arwh.2013.1.1.005.

Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London and New York: Verso, 2002).

defined and shaped by the institutional models in other countries, representing the value of the modern world. This project adopts the comparative framework and Hegelian teleology to delineate the rationale, conflicts, and trends in the institutionalization of arts. The title of this project avoids the phrase "transnational perspective" or terms derived from "modern-," such as modernity, modern China and modern art, although the long twentieth century of Chinese history was sculpted by these two concepts. The term "transnational perspectives" emphasizes the geopolitical borders, so the discussion can fall into the polarization of West versus East, or the process of Westernization or transculturation. Yet, the term overlooks the displacement *within* the Republic of China. "Modern-" is linear, clear-cut, apart from the pre-modern, teleological, and solely based on the Western philosophical framework. It more or less reflects the progressive theory of history. If I used modernity, modernization, modern art, modern China or modern education in the dissertation title as an overarching theme, then every historical case studied in the dissertation would have been an essentially deterministic modernization step leading to the one single better world of modernity.

The second key term "meta-institutionalizing China" outlines the sociopolitical context of the emergence, development and effect of the cases studied in each chapter. A monarchic, aristocratic, theocratic or territorial state becomes a modern nation-state only when state-building of the politico-economic institutional system and nation-building of the culturally hegemonic community together bind individuals directly to the new economic, social and cultural commitment. In other words, a new nation-state is in full swing when state-building and nation-building go hand in hand, mutually enhancing each other. Meanwhile, the Republican government – especially the KMT government in Nanjing (1927-1937) – as a meta-institution was formed alongside the formation of other organizational-institutional sectors in the society.

From the alternative military and civilian powers to the KMT party-centric government, the leadership of the Republic of China assumed an instructional and integrative role in relation to other institutions and institutional inter-relationships, and grew into a meta-institution that further institutionalized other institutions into a system. This dissertation looks at how the institutional network defined and evaluated art, distinguished art from non-art, and presented a work of art by an artist to the artworld public.[8] Through collective art activities and shared art conventions, the individual art institution and network of art institutions functioned as socializing structures for reproducing cultural powers that reversely enhanced the socio-political instructor and integrator which systemized the institutions and art activities. State-building of the institutional infrastructure and nation-building of constructing national identity through arts and culture were gradually brought together in meta-institutionalizing Republican China.

Last but not least, the subjects in the dissertation are the "art education" which refers to higher education of art here, and "art exhibitions" which serve as a social-educational device. Both art education and art exhibitions were part of the discourses on aesthetic education in the Republic of China. Early on in the 1910s, educator Cai Yuanpei proposed the Prussian model for public schools and the social-education system, which taught the basic skills in a modernizing world and incorporated religion as a subject matter. Like religion, Cai realized that art and aesthetics could serve as the mediator, framework and commonality for a society. Cai assigned

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[8] Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," special issue "American Philosophical Association Eastern Division Sixty-First Annual Meeting," *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 61, no. 19 (October 15,1964): 571-584. https://doi.org/10.2307/2022937.

George Dickie, *Art and the Aesthetic: An Institutional Analysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1974).

George Dicke, *Evaluating Art* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1988).

aesthetic education to a specialized role in education as the bridge to take students to the ultimate goals and to link the other four types of education including military-national-civic education, material wealth education, civil morality education, and worldview education. Aesthetic education became the new religion, higher education of art the new biblical study, art museums the new church, and art exhibitions the new worship assembly. The dissertation takes a structural-functional approach to the art institution and institutional activities of art, and it examines how higher education of art and public exhibitions established new rituals, beliefs, solidarity, norms, conformity, and meaning of human society. Overall, the four-chapter dissertation goes from the iconoclasm of the belief in the heavenly mandate, to the formulation of China's self-image on the international stage, then to the mass art that coalesced the economic activities of the masses, and finally to the official art as ideological state apparatus – a new worship and form of enchantment in a modern nation-state.

In Chapter One "Ritual Objects, Antiquities and the Empty Throne: Early Years of the Institute for Displaying Antiquity (1914-1948)," that the front part of the Forbidden City became the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was iconoclasm of the political and cosmic symbol that had regulated and ritualized time and space in imperial China. Here, time could be as fragmented as daily routines or as long-lasting as the entire dynastic history; space could be as small as which side of stairs to step on or as big as the relationship between the cosmos and the earth. In the collective memory of the Chinese were four sacred beasts in four directions protecting people in the walled city, the ruler of mandate in the walled off heartland of the gridded capital city, the son of heaven meeting his ministers outside the Hall of Heavenly Purity under the heaven, the calendar year recording the duration of the current emperor's reign, and the new dynasty replacing the collapsed past. This time, the conflict was beyond Han and Manchurian ethnic

groups, and the collapsed past was not restored to its old appearance. The distorted, reserved and dissolved spatial segregation and temporal regularity left a ruined wasteland for later institutions to reconstruct the new framework.

The discussion in Chapter One starts from the year 1912, the first year in the Republic of China calendar, during which the Institute for Conserving Antiquities (1912-?) became part of the Department of Rituals and Customs, the proposal for the National Museum of History under the Department of Social Education was passed, and Cai Yuanpei suggested to move rituals and customs to the Department of Education. Cai asserts that "Religion stays within the citizens' spiritual realm and constitutes a large portion of social education, so some European countries institutionalize religion as part of the Ministry of Education."[9] The structural-functional aspect of religion, according to Emile Durkheim, is the self-worship of the society. The societal and social benefits of religion include social cohesion that sustains social solidarity with rituals and beliefs, social control that enforces norms and preserves conformity, and answers to people's existential questions. The concurrent discussions on the institutional affiliation and sociocultural role of the museum and arts raised questions on the relationship between antiquity and art, art/antiquity and religion, history and education, art/antiquity and history, and religion and education.

Two years later in 1914, the opening of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities changed the ontology of the Forbidden City, which further symbolized the early years of the Republic of

[9] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Jiaoyubu yi yi neiwubu guanzhi lijiaosi yiru jiaoyubu an" 教育部議以內務部官制禮教司移入教育部案 [The file on moving the Department of Etiquette from the Mnistry of the Interior to the Ministry of Education] in The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., Vol. 3: Education (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 11-12.

China as the liminality for the society. In the liminal phase of a religious ritual, people were trapped between the old and new constructions of identity, time, and commitment. A visitor sentimentally commemorated the past by visualizing the flourishing weed and devastative ruins as the metaphor for the disappeared rules and authority. Rather than being forced into settlement with the concepts provided by news and texts, in the aesthetic experience of seeing the depoliticized Forbidden City, the imagination organized his sensory experience in such a way that it became immediately and effortlessly cognizable to the understanding of the past and the present.[10] Linked with the new Republican state whose supreme power was theoretically held by the people, the emptied throne and ownerless collection were a vacant altar of both religious and political connotations. The rules of the imperial household were replaced by the museum etiquette for the visitors and operations manual for the staff. The visitors participated in the art immersive experience called museum visit.

Chapter Two "Internationalist Nationalism and Statist Internationalism: *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, 1934 and *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, 1935" looks at Chinese art displaced in two overseas exhibitions. The discourse on *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* focuses on nation-building and explores how the historicized past was reclaimed into the "alternative present" of China on the international stage. Through the Orientalist lens, the European audience tended to see non-European societies as a past stage of Euromodernity and thus a "contemporary ancestor," rather than the alternative present.[11] Although delivered through modern curatorial strategies, the exhibits, the catalogue text, and the spectacle of Liu Haisu's

[10] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, translated with an introduction by Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 33, 63.

[11] Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," 100.

onsite spontaneous painting inscribed the exhibition in the dealized literati tradition. The word, image, and performance in the exhibition showed an intellectual system that had been created and refined through history. Therefore, the Chinese literati ink painting was decontextualized from its social class and cultural tradition, but fabricated into the artistic niche in Euromodernism. The then-contemporary artist embodied the art tradition of the past not because he wanted to revive the tradition, but because he recognized the modern-ness in the tradition.

From the perspective of state-building, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1935) in London discusses that when the Republican government lacked the fundamental economic and military infrastructure critical for navigating the modern world, the alternative system rooted in culture, tradition, and morality assumed the responsibility to communicate a unified image of China as a modern nation-state to the domestic and global audiences. After the 1931 Mukden Incident, the Republican government organized frequent, high-quality, government-supported art exhibitions abroad. As a strategic reaction attempting to resolve domestic and international tensions, those exhibitions also provided a platform for the KMT to be seen as a party that could unify the various elements within China and transform them into a shared nationalist ideal. The London exhibition deployed art for public diplomacy and spoke a modern international language that embodied rising awareness of national culture as promoted by the League of Nations. Four ministries, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Education, and the Beiping Palace Museum synergistically formed the exhibition. The interagency collaboration amid the four ministries indicated the recognition of mutual benefits in these four aspects: international relations, domestic civil affairs, economics, and social education. More importantly, a powerful central government was needed to mobilize, empower and coordinate the different institutional sectors to make them work together.

Both overseas exhibitions in Chapter Two educated the European audiences more on the Chinese art history than on the artworks, and evoked discussions among the Chinese domestic audiences on what Chinese art meant, what differentiated art of the past versus of the present, what Chineseness should be, and how art could represent and present Chineseness. Both exhibitions focused on the inseparable relationship between image and word, which together led to a literary, idiosyncratic, spontaneous, and self-expressive interpretation of Chinese art history. Consequentially, a new version of Orientalism was developed, replacing the old Orientalism that had searched for the exotic and sensual, and seeing East Asia as the highly spiritual place on the opposite side of the nihilistic society of alienated Europe. Meanwhile, the heated controversies made intellectuals and general newspaper readers think of the nation-state in a holistic and culturalistic way, which reinforced people's cultural identity based on their commonality, collective memory, social connections, and belief system in the Republic of China. For instance, the definitions of Chineseness, contemporariness, and Chinese contemporariness were at the center of the discussion. Corresponded to the discussion on "Chineseness" of national products in Chapter Three, some people believed that exhibition of "contemporary" art should showcase industrial technology and progress, some people associated "Chinese" art with the pre-modern collection with less Western influence, and some people claimed that the "contemporary Chinese" art exhibition should embrace all contemporarily created art – in spite of the artistic origin or painting material – by Chinese artists. These voices signified the formation of new norms and conformity of the society among the literate and elite groups, while the cultural consumption in Chapter Three disseminated the discussion and awareness to the masses.

Chapter Three "Mass Art, Mass Production, and Mass Market: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (April, 1937)" peruses how the power of

consumerism dissolved the spatial and temporal dichotomies and brought a hegemonic consumer identity to the modern urbanites. Historian Wen-hsin Yeh identifies four sets of dichotomies that can define Chineseness and, simultaneously, non-Chineseness. These dichotomies include "domestic" versus "imported," "native" versus "foreign," "Chinese" versus "Western," and lastly "traditional" versus "modern." The first two sets of comparisons are spatially defined by the territorial borders, while the latter two are temporally distinguished between China's past and present.[12] Unlike "national essence" specifically referred to high cultural historically rooted in China and ink painting as the only form of "national art," one most prominent character of design styles of the "national products" in the Republic of China was diversity, referencing cultures ancient and contemporary, indigenous and outlandish, functionalist and extravagant. The spatiotemporal lattice of a society was both cognitively and normatively binding. The masses' new commitment to the national products led to the new spatiotemporal norms which removed the individual from traditional commitments and relationships, and at the same time situated the people in the labor market as a salary earner and in the mass market as a consumer.

This chapter examines the alignment of the industrial, commercial and educational institutions which included but were not limited to factories, department stores, design studios, and schools. To institutionalize meant to maximize the outcome through collaboration and specialization. One problem with art education was the oversupply of fine art graduates who could do nothing but teaching fine art or becoming an independent artist. At the same time, the industrial products could hardly compete with the imported goods, partially due to the inferior

[12] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in A Republican City," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, special issue "Reapprasing Republican China," *The China Quarterly*, no. 150 (June, 1997): 391. https://www.jstor.org/stable/655342.

industrial design, packaging design, and advertisement. Therefore, the founding of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association was cheerfully welcomed, as written in a *Shen Bao* commentary that "Commercial arts are closely correlated with the development of industry and commerce…The mission of the Association is to build the network of masters in commercial arts…and protect professionals in commercial arts."[13] The association defined itself to be "China's supreme academic group for nationwide artist-craftspeople and commercial artists."[14] Thus, the association was to supersede and overarch the economic activities from an academic perspective. It connected the art and design professors, students and graduates with production and commerce.

Higher education of design was the mediator that connected aesthetic education and education of material wealth, which simultaneously empowered the products and consumer experience. The material wealth became visible, visually appreciable, and pursued by the masses as a fashion. From handicrafts to "education of production," from foreign literature class to product packaging design course, and from the normal schools to art schools to specialized professional schools, the design education went from a theoretical and directive position to a participatory and integrative social actor. Previously, in common codes of ethics and morality in Chinese history, attention to appearance and decoration oftentimes implied dismissing inner cultivation, so in order to boost production and consumption of the national products, the masses should be taught to surpass the ontological security of the old belief and reject the ordered

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[13] "Zhongguo shangye meishu zuojia xiehui chengli"中國商業美術作家協會成立 [The establishment of the China Commercial Artist Association], *Shen Bao* 申報, August 22, 1934, 14.

[14] *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (*di er ji*) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected works of modern Chinese industrial and commercial art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937)

pattern in habits. As more professional development design education aligned education, production and commerce, industrial and commercial arts brought delightful, poetic feeling to the products, and the national product campaign further made consumption a faithful behavior in national salvation. Therefore, oversupply and overconsumption were individual, public, and ideological behavior. Consumerism became the new enchantment for those who had developed personal attachment and social connection to the urban life in a modern nation-state.

In Chapter Four "Populist Authoritarianism and Atavistic Culturalism as National Art: *Second National Arts Exhibition*, 1937," the ahistorical but politicized space of the newly built National Art Gallery housed objects of the past (archeological findings and museum collections), artworks of the present (then-contemporary Western-style painting, ink painting, and sculpture), proposal for the future (the design drawings of architecture, products and commercial arts), art and display of Western tradition, works of hybrid origins, and material culture of Chinese civilization. Tomb burials were excavated with modern methods and studied under modern discipline of history, anthropology, and archeology; ancient manuscripts in glass cases were reduced to their visual appearance as evidence for the long literary history of the present society. The decontextualized works from different places, worldly or otherworldly, historical or present were forcefully gravitated to the empty space in the capital city, where they represented the national arts as an institutional of sociocultural symbolisms.

The *Second National Arts Exhibition* was a converging point of state- and nation-building, because the assembly of the national arts in the politically symbolic venue represented the ideology and the cultural policy in the party-state's interest. Besides the art, the location of the venue embodied high symbolic value of nationalism and statism. The exhibition happened in the newly built National Art Gallery which was next to the National Theatre of Drama and Music

(circa 1935) and the National Great Hall (circa 1936). Facing south, on the left side of Zhongshan [named after Sun Yat-sen] Road were state institutions such as the Presidential Palace, while the nation-building culture-related institutions were on the right, including the Gallery, symbolizing the two balanced instruments that kept the nation-state running. Before the exhibition, the organizational and ideological prequel for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* was the China National Art Association which, during the eight years between the two national arts exhibitions, relocated the cultural gravity from commercial cosmopolitan Shanghai to political capital city Nanjing, developed a mutually enhancing relationship between the Ministry of Education and the artworld, and finally cultivated the intertwining correlation between the KMT party and the masses through art. In the context, the chapter focuses on the then-contemporary "fine art" – the Western-style painting and ink painting – to delineate the formation of "official art" that embodied populist authoritarianism and atavistic culturalism.

The chapter on the *Second National Arts Exhibition* examines how aesthetic education could officialize art and shape ideological hegemony. The first subsection "From Pragmatic Liberalism to Totalitarian Uniformitarianism: Aesthetic Education in the 1930s" talks about aesthetic education that not only superseded art-related classes in general education but also directed the state-involved social education for the masses. Until the late 1920s, John Dewey's progressive view aiming for internationalist morality was in favor by the politicians. Dewey's pragmatic view on aesthetics was societal, civil, instinct and transcendentalist. The late-1920s and 1930s saw the rise of German holistic education, which went along with the centralized and ideologized KMT-centric Nanjing government, so aesthetic education became the device to unify and uniform a totalized nation. The section of Western-style painting reflected the discourses on aesthetic education, which also showed the correlation between art education and art exhibitions.

The central discourse on Western-style paintings went from the definition of art in the 1920s to the social relevance and societal involvement amid the intensified national catastrophe in the 1930s. Sequentially the exhibition saw the rise of the representational painting and decline of the non-representational painting. Meanwhile, the official cultural policy was publicized just after the exhibition, sanctioning an "idealized realism" to unify the society, which was just like Maxim Gorky's or Andrei Zhdanov's socialist realism, although the KMT was against the leftist thoughts.

Overall, to delineate of the development of art education and exhibitions as the newly emerged social institutions in the Republic of China, the dissertation first comprehensively reviews the deconstruction of the old social-institutional system that had supported the traditional commitment, normality, and commonality, and then thoroughly traces the reconstruction of the alternative modernity, formation of nation-state, and reinvention of the cultural identity with the new fetish, obligation, and social connection. The modern globe could be seen as a pleated or crumpled spatiotemporal domain in which trades, wars, and transportations drew together past, present, and future, as well as Eurasia, Americas, and Africa into the relentless and bewildering tangoing and wrestling. The early modern system collapsed not because it was wrong, but because it was unfit in the dominating modern global system. The institutionalization of art in the Republic of China was determined by and enhanced the entangled modernities in the modern globe.

Chapter One: Ritual Objects, Antiquities and the Empty Throne: Early Years of The Institute for Displaying Antiquity (1914-1948) [15]

The question "What year is it now?" could not be more confusing than it was in early Republican China. At least four calendars were circulated and used based on one's political stance, cultural preference, educational background, residential area, choice of customs, or type of profession. One could count the day, month, and year according to the imperial sovereign's era name marking the Qing emperor's reign, according to the Republic of China Calendar starting from 1912, according to the lunisolar traditional Chinese calendar alongside Tōngshèng yellow calendar of daily horoscope, and according to the Gregorian calendar of Western Christian world. The unstandardized calendars reflected the unsynchronized timelines –the past, the present and the future that were defined in accordance with co-existing visions of China's cultural and political forms. The establishment of the Republic of China (1912-1949) through radical revolution and reformist vision indicated the intention to create a modern nation-state that could merge into the modern global history. Sharply asserted by historian Mark Ravina, "The

[15] In the multi-lingual visitor guide, the name of the institute is translated into "National Museum of Art, Peiping," but I use a more literal translation in this dissertation and call it the Institute for Displaying Antiquities for three reasons. First, I want to make a connection with an earlier institution, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities. Second, the institute only fulfilled part of the institutional duty of a modern museum. Third, the takeover of the Forbidden City was not complete during the period this chapter covers, so it could not fully symbolize the new nation and national culture. The Institute was established after the last emperor's abdication and it turned the front part of the Forbidden City into a museum, while the Palace Museum was founded after the forced eviction of the last emperor, and it turned the back part of the Forbiden City into a separate museum. The two institution later merged and became today's Palace Museum.

"Zhongguo bowuguan xiwen mingcheng yilanbiao"中國博物館西文名稱一覽表 [An overview of the English names for museums in China], in *Zhongguo bowuguan yilan* 中國博物館一覽 [An overview of museums in China], ed. Chinese Museum Association 中國博物館協會 (Beijing: Chinese Museum Association Office, 1936), 155.

early modern system collapsed not because it was flawed, but because it was different."[16] To establish a modern system means to introduce and develop a form of modernity in the state. Modernity is an experience of time and space, and such experience is made possible in a modern society with deliberately segregated, but yet well-integrated bureaucratic structures. The new structuring properties allow the "'binding' of time-space in social systems," lead to the "discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space," and lend the social practices a "'systemic' form."[17]

Institutions of art are an important agent of structuring properties. Institutionalization of arts and sites of the past in the early Republic of China embedded the conception of the nation and national culture within an institutionalizing social system ruled by the new form of government and the new international order. In other words, the gears of the newly changed social base and the gears of the either lagged or radically experimental cultural superstructure were meshed through incorporating artifacts of the past into new institutional sectors of the government. Within the designated institutional sectors and hierarchical governmental units, the artifacts and venues functioned according to their institutional roles like the state's own personnel. Through conceptualization, the formerly meaningless material became material culture, and the formerly "past objects"古物 became "cultural objects"文物. Institutionalizing art into museum collections was part of the societywide institutionalization which saw a large expansion and development of the role of the Republican government into areas of previously

[16] Mark Ravina, "State-Making in Global Context: Japan in a World of Nation-States," in *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: Japan and China*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2005), 95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1pv88t2.6.

[17] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 17.

private spheres – nationalizing private collections and sites, transforming elegant gathering into the public display, and regulating commercial activities through laws. Elitist culture became public culture, and public culture became public policy. The state power in the cultural sphere was important because it had the ability to set up particular organizational-institutional frameworks for cultural developments. Meanwhile, seeing a public display and attending an art venue as a general visitor created a sense of commonality through shared aesthetic experiences and paved the way for the later phases of Chinese cultural developments in the process of constructing a modern state.

This chapter looks at the early collection-based museums with a focus on the Institute for Displaying Antiquities 古物陳列所 as the first art museum or the national museum softened by the name of art to avoid historical and political sensitivities. The Institute for Displaying Antiquities was opened on the national day of 1914. This means that although there were earlier prototypes established by Western missionaries and Chinese pioneers, such as Zhang Jian 張謇 (1853-1926), these display venues fell under the category of an encyclopedic museum which was originated from industrializing Europe with the objective of scientific advancement and colonial ambition, not for the institutional construction of aesthetic commonality and cultural bonds. This chapter delineates both the Institute for Displaying Antiquities itself and the process of historicizing the past into arts with institutional properties. While institutions represent the conceptual norms and power relations implicit in the new sociocultural roles and positions in a modern country, institutionalization explores the social and functional effects of the institutionalized social sectors. The chapter will first examine the Institute for Conserving

Antiquities (1912-1933) established two years before the Institute for Displaying Antiquities (1914-1948).[18] The two institutes were separate and not to be confused.

During the dynastic history, rulership had barely extended to the systematic leadership of arts, because art patronage and viewership had been always at individual level, no matter if the person was an emperor who launched many workshops to produce his favorite style, or a peasant who contributed some gold powder to a local Buddha sculpture. Idiosyncratic taste of art had been shared by the gentlemen attending an elegant gathering, but it had never been a social educational device permeating the masses. Since the very start of the forced contact with the West, museums had been seen as an important and standardized sector representing a modern nation-state and serving for the state's metaphysical superstructure. Back in Qing dynasty, a few officials recorded their observations of and takeaway from the museums in other countries. For instance, astounded by the museums and the exhibitions, Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894), in his semi-official *Travelogue in England, France, Italy and Belgium* 出使四國日記 written between 1877 and 1878, documented his impressions and understandings of a museum. Xue regarded France as other countries' model because of the very many museums, libraries, theaters

[18] In 1924, the proposal for expanding the Institute for Displaying Antiquities and turning it into the National Museum of Historical Encyclopedia was passed. Although the official seal of the National Museum of Historical Encyclopedia was put in use and the office for the preparatory committee was set up, because the museum was eventually not fully realized, I will not regard year 1924 as the end of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities.

Chen Wei 陳為, "Cong guwu chenliesuo dao guoli boguyuan: zhongugo de diyizuo guojia bowuguan" 從古物陳列所到國立博古院:中國的第一座國家博物館 [From the Institute for Displaying Antiquities to National Museum of Historical Encyclopedia: the First National Museum in China], *Chinese Museums* 中国博物馆, vol. 4 (April, 2009), 88. https://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotal-GBWG200904020.htm.

and churches as educational devices for the society.[19] He stood in front of the realistic depiction of the Franco-Prussian War, visualizing the real battle field.[20]

In 1905, Nantong-based entrepreneur Zhang Jian repetitively proposed a museum-library to the Qing court. Zhang Jian's proposal situated Qing in the modernizing globe of "Eastern and Western countries" and set Qing in comparative frame with the East Asian neighbor – the newly reformed monarchical Japan. "Proposal to Prime Minister Nanpi for Establishing the Imperial Museum in the Capital" 上南皮相國請京師建設帝國博物館議 writes:

> Recently, Eastern and Western countries spent a big chunk of their budget on building schools, libraries, museums in both metropolises and townships. Institutions are located in fine and tall buildings, facing large plazas. They house contemporary objects and those dated back to the ancient era, and allow people to come study. Public and private institutions have their different rules and missions. However, the establishment of the Imperial Household Museum in Japan is a little different from other countries, and in this sense exceeds its peers … our country needs to adopt their (the Japanese) methods that have proved to be so sound in the past and have our own imperial household museum in Beijing.[21]

The same year, Zhang Jian pointed out that the old-fashioned personal library [*cangshulou*, 藏書樓] for gentlemen to host their elegant gatherings for art appreciation and connoisseurship was not enough for the new era. Besides Zhang, other people expressed their longing for a museum based in the imperial household as well, such as Jin Liang 金梁(1878-

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[19] Xue Fucheng 薛福成, *Chushi siguo riji* 出使四國日記 [Travelogue in England, France, Italy and Belgium] (Changsha: Hunan People's Publisher, 1980), 39.

[20] Ibid., 46-47.

[21] Zhang Jian 張謇 "Shang nanpi xiangguo qing jingshi jianshe diguo bowuguan yi" 上南皮相國請京師建設帝國博覽館議[Proposal to Prime Minister Nanpi for establishing the imperial museum in the capital], *A Complete Collection of Zhang Jian* 張謇全集, ed. Zhang Jian Research Center 張謇研究中心 (Nantong: Nantong Municipal Library, Nanjing: Jiangsu Antiquity Book Publishing House, 1994), vol. 4, 272-273.

1962) who proposed to the court of the last emperor Puyi 溥儀 (1906-1967) for a museum housing and exhibting the treasures from the Shengjing (Shenyang) Palace. Finally, after the collapse of Qing, in September 1913, the interim prime minister and head of the Ministry of the Interior Zhu Qiqian 朱啟鈐 (1871-1964) accepted the proposal to take the Louvre as the example to manage the newly arrived collections from the imperial resort, which was to display them in the front part of the Forbidden City.[22] Xue Fucheng's attribution of France's advancement to the social educational devices such as museums, as well as Zhang Jian's attempt to assimilate China into the network of modern Eastern and Western countries, all signified the structurally genocidal extinction of pre-modern establishment and expansion of a standardized form of modern nation-states. This standardized form, namely modernity, was both infrastructural and superstructrual, which made art transcend individual craftsmanship and appreciation to serve as evidence of a nation's coherent past sovereignty. Therefore, a museum would prove a sophisticatedly run state-directed mechanism that could construct collective consciousness. An *in situ* palace-museum in the Forbidden City was even more efficacious, because the fossilized space situated the past with and within the modern – Chakrabarty "timeknot." Establishing an *in situ* palace-museum like the Institute for Displaying Antiquities served as a visual demonstration for modernization and application for joining the global trends.

[22] Chen Wei, "National Museum of Historical Encyclopedia," 87.

Just to Conserve: The Institute for Conserving Antiquities (circa. 1912)[23]

Before the establishment of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, between 1912 and 1916, an institute that restored and exhibited objects formerly owned by the royal family was operated under different names and affiliated to different bureaucratic sectors. It was known as the Institute for Conserving Antiquities 古物保存所 between 1912 and 1914, the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects 禮器保存所 between 1914 and 1916, and the Institute for Conserving Antiquities again in 1916.[24] In terms of institutional affiliation, the institute was under the Department of Rituals and Customs 禮俗司 for most of time, but it was assigned to the new Department of Ceremonial Events 典禮司 between 1914 and 1916, which regulated ritual procedures, ceremonial music, monastic orders, administration of temples and shrines, as well as religious events in public space.[25] The names and institutional affiliations symbolically reflected

[23] Art historian Li Fei conservatively estimates that the Institute for Conserving Antiquities was closed by 1934, but I think the instate might have been untended before the relocation of capital in 1927.

Li Fei 李飛, "History of the Institute of Antiquity Conservation in Beijing and Its Relation with the Institute of Antiquity Exhibition" 北京古物保存所考略 京古兼論其與古物陳列所之關系, *Journal of National Museum of China* 中國國家博物館館刊, issue 9 (2016):145.

[24] Again, neither the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects nor the Institute for Conserving Antiquities was the direct predecessor of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities.

[25] The six departments between August 1912 and December 1913 were the Department of Rituals and Customs 禮俗司, the Department of Civil Affairs 民治司, the Department of Local Demographics 職方司, the National Police Agency 警政司, the Department of Civil Construction 土木司, and the Department of Public Health 衛生司.

"Xiuzheng neiwubu guanzhi" 修正內務部官制 [A revision of the beauracratic setup in the Ministry of the Interior] in *Zhengfu huibao* 政府會報 [governmental congresses], ed. Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1988), vol. 1, 12.

the unsettled political form of the Republic of China's sovereignty as a new state under the Beiyang government. Between 1912 and 1917, which overlapped with the active years of the institute, the Beiyang government went from parliamentary system to presidential system, to absolute monarchy, and back to parliamentary system, signifying not only the leader's ambition to the throne, but also the sociopolitical dynamics that gave chance to, if not catalyzed, the instability of institutional-organizational formation.[26]

In August 1912, the institutional structure of the the Ministry of the Interior was announced to the public. It consisted of six departments, and the duties of conserving antiquities belonged to the Department of Rituals and Customs 禮俗司. In October 1912, "A Request for Establishing the Institute for Conserving Antiquities Proposed by the Ministry of the Interior to the Great President" 內務部為籌設古物保存所致大總統呈 first mentions the name of and plan for the institute.

> Antiquities should be restored in a museum to become real antiquities. Before the establishment of the museum, if the antiquities are put aside carelessly, they are subject to looting and smuggling. Proposed by the Ministry of the Interior, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities should be founded in the capital, with detailed

[26] Generically speaking, the Republic of China was first ruled by the Beiyang government then the Kuomingtang (KMT party) government. Because the KMT government relocated the capital city from Beijing [Beiping, romanized as "Peiping" in the Republic era] to Nanjing in 1927, sometimes in this dissertation I also use the term "Nanjing government or Nanjing decade" when I need to emphasize the partial control of the KMT party, the distinction between the party and the government, or the coexisting local governments in other cities. The politics serves as the critical context for the dissertation, but the project is not centering on the politics, so I will conviniently pick the most proper term from the "Beiyang government," "Nanjing government," and "KMT government" for my writing.

For more information on the Beiyang government, see David Bonavia, *China's Warlords*, (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Jerome Ch'en, *The Military-Gentry Coalition: China under the Warlords* (Toronto: University of Toronto-York University Joint Center on Modern East Asia, 1979)

> rules and regulations, as well as designated personnel. Then next, the provincial institutes need to come. Looking forward to the review and response.[27]

Presumably, the not yet established museum in the proposal refers to the National Museum of History under the Department of Social Education, Ministry of Education, whose proposal was approved in 1912. The Department of Social Education was, by law, in charge of educational institutions and events outside a classroom, including museums and libraries. In 1913, Minister of Foreign Affairs Lu Zhengxiang 陸徵祥 (1871-1949) was saddened by the looted and smuggled antiquities on the overseas market, so he urged the Ministry of Education to run a proper museum for the artifacts and the Ministry of Finance to levy taxes on exporting antiquities.[28] However, due to the devastating sociopolitical circumstance and limited budget, in the early 1910s, the Ministry of Education, according to announcements and discussions in the *Government Bulletin* 政府公報, could only focus on school-related issues such as establishing schools of different types as well as censoring or approving new textbook materials, so the sector of social education was largely overlooked, which negatively affected the process of establishing museums.

Starting from 1913, in the rising advocacy of monarchy craved by President Yuan Shikai, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities experienced changes of institutional affiliation and was

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[27] "Neiwubu wei choubei guwu baocunsuo zhi dazongtong cheng" 內務部為籌設古物保存所致大總統呈[A request for establishing the Institute for Conserving Antiquities proposed by the Ministry of the Interior to the Great President], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 268.

[28] "Waijiaozhang zhuyi baohu guwu" 外交長註意保存古物 [Foreign minister pays special attention on preserving antiquities], *Shen Bao* 申報, January 21, 1913.

renamed. In his autobiography *From Emperor to Citizen*, the last Qing emperor Puyi recalled the "changing atmosphere" in 1913 when Yuan Shikai sent the Minister of Rites to congratulate Puyi on the new year and birthday, and ordered nationwide condolence for the loss of Empress Dowager Longyu 隆裕 (1868-1913).[29] The assassination of Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882-1913) in March 1913 led to the Second Revolution launched by Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866-1925), a punitive military action against Yuan Shikai and his reign, which was condemned by Sun's old revolutionary allies and the previously pro-KMT media, and was quickly suppressed. Even someone like Xu Xue'er 徐血兒 (1891-1915), a dedicated investigative journalist who firmly believed in Yuan's involvement in Song's suspicious death, accused the Second Revolution of betraying constitutionalism, the ordinary people, and the Republican legal system.[30] When talking about Republican China in the struggle to form a modern nation, historian Yü Ying-shih identifies revolution to be "destructive in nature."[31] Yuan Shikai, his followers, and other

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[29] Aisin Gioro Puyi 愛新覺羅·溥儀, "Di san zhang: zijingcheng neiwai – Yuan Shikai shidai" 第三章紫禁城內外: 袁世凱時代 [Chapter three: inside and outside of the Forbidden City, Yuan Shikai's reign], in *From Emperor to Citizen* 我的前半生 (Beijing: Beijing United Publishing Co. Ltd., 2018), 84-93.

[30] Xu Xue'er 徐血兒 [pseud.], "Mouluan zhe haowu yishi" 謀亂者毫無意識 [The riots were totally unconscious," originally in *People's Independence Journal* 民立報, in *Minchu zhengzheng yu erci geming* 民初政爭與二次革命 [Political wrestling and the Second Revolution in the early years of the Republic of China], ed. Zhu Zongzhen 朱宗震 and Yang Guanghui 楊光輝 (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1983), 427.

Xu Xue'er writes, "Today, a destructive revolution in the Republic of China set the revolutionists as the enemy of the Republican state. Even the current [Beiyang] government is evil, the law and the congress can resolve the problem. The revolution only disturbed the common people." 今日已為民國，苟對於民國而謀亂，即是自絕於國，罪在不赦。即政府為惡，法律與國會，終應有解決之能力，無俟謀亂，以擾蒼生。

[31] Yü Ying-shih, *Chinese History and Culture: Seventeenth Century Through Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 228.

restoration advocates took the opportunity to distance themselves from the revolutionary radicals who, this time, showed destructive force to the past and to the promised future.

Moreover, the theoretical and international support came from American politician and scholar Dr. Frank Johnson Goodnow, Yuan Shikai's legal consultant who drafted the new constitution for the Republic of China. Dr. Goodnow provided institutional defense of monarchy as a transitional resolution to dissolve the thirst for the throne amongst military leaders, and to satisfy ordinary people's longing for a safe living environment when there was no consciousness of popular sovereignty amongst the people.[32] In "On Republicanism and Monarchism" 共和與君主論, a 1915 translation of Goodnow's original writing in 1913, the legal scholar reviewed the century of political chaos after the French Revolution, exemplified recent democratic revolutions that led to military dictatorship in South American countries, and foresaw the unpromising future of China without patriotism, nationalism, and mandatory education. In May 1913, the parliamentary system was abandoned and replaced by the presidential system by the Beiyang government, marking a much more centralized power and a step toward absolute monarchy.

1914, the "year of restoration" in Puyi's autobiography, highlighted Yuan Shikai's navigation through his monarchical ambition, who negated the rule of law but could not fully achieve his desired rule of man yet. Therefore, the rule of *li* – meaning rites, rituals, and moralities in neo-Confucian thought, echoing the ancient Zhou dynasty and historical sages –

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[32] Noel Pugach, "Embarrassed Monarchist: Frank J. Goodnow and Constitutional Development in China, 1913-1915," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1973): 499-517. https://doi.org/10.2307/3638135.

Frank J. Goodnow, "Gonghe yu junzhu lun" 共和與君主論 [On republicianism and monarchism], in *Zhonghua minguo kaiguo wenxian, minchu shiqi* 中華民國開國文獻·民初時期文獻 [Archives of the establishment of the Republic of China, early years], Academia Historica ed., vol. 1 (Taiwan: Academia Historica, 1998), 445-452.

expounded the intangible mandate of heaven and fit in Yuan's needs. Yuan presented himself as the embodiment of rites and ancient civilization with a series of events, including changing the name and function of the Institute for Conserving Antiquities and hosting the grand ceremony of Confucius. On January 24, 1914, Minister of the Interior Zhu Qiqian announced the new name for the institute as the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects. The announcement reads, "The archival work shows that the storage at the institution are either for liturgical objects placed on shrines and altars, or ritual objects used by Qing royalties. *Li* – that the proper performance of the ritual guides and motivates the social institution and one's social roles – had been key to the society in the long history."[33]

Renaming the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects was part of Yuan's political navigation that paved the way for the restoration of absolute monarchy with help from morality, culture, and popular religion.[34] First, the new name reactivated the collection as things in present use, not things of the past. Moreover, the new name and affiliation resumed dynastic tradition with a modern twist – the visibility of these objects in a proto-museum environment. However, the democratized visibility did not imply shared ownership of the citizens, which theoretically should be the case with a state-owned museum. Rather, the display educated the visitors on the heavenly mandate of the person who inherited the objects that could connect the heavenly and earthly realms. Secondly, the revival of *li* strategically echoed the societywide anxiety to either preserve the old Confucian morality or formulate a new moral standard. Since the Wuxu Reform

[33] Ibid.

[34] "Neiwubu ling di shiqi hao" 內務部令第十七號 [Ministry of Interior, government decree No. 17], in *Zhengfu huibao* 政府會報 [governmental congresses], ed. Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC), (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1988), vol. 22, 659.

in 1898, the core value of Confucianism, *li*, had been under constant attack by individualist and reformist thoughts. *Li* was set opposed to egalitarianism, because neo-Confucian *li* requires absolute obedience to the authority as the infrastructure of a country.[35] However, since 1912, led by opinion-leaders such as Kang Youwei 康有為 and Yuan's counselor Chen Huanzhang 陳煥章, the Confucian Association branched out into major cities and even foreign countries. Their call for restoring the order *li* was sharply interpreted by radical revolutionist and later founder of Chinese Communist Party Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1897-1942) as the "rule of morality" that enslaved and self-enslaved whoever existed within the belief system. [36] Later, Yuan Shikai rode the wave of the powerful revival of Confucianism and hosted the grand ceremony of Confucius in September, restored the bureaucratic establishments of the three councilors 三卿, and founded the Institute of Qing History inside the the East Glorious Gate 東華門.[37]

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[35] Zhang Jing 張灝, "Sixiang de bianhua he weixin yundong, 1890-1989" 思想的變化和維新運動, 1890-1898 [Changing thoughts and the reform movement, 1890-1989] in *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911* 劍橋中國晚清史, 1800-1911 年, vol. 11, John K. Fairbank ed., translated by Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, World History Institute (Beijing: by Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1985), vol. 2, 331- 340.

[36] Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, "1916 nian" 一九一六年 [The year 1916], *La Jeunesse* 青年雜誌, vol. 1, issue 5 (January 15, 1916): 3.

Chen Duxiu writes, "The three bonds (principles) in Confucianism have formed the foundation of all moral and political principles … The so-called loyalty, so-called filial piety, and so-called chastity are not virtues for both the rulers and the ruled, but the restrictions with which the ruler enslave the ruled." 儒者三綱之說,為一切道德、政治之大原……曰忠、曰孝、曰節,皆非推己及人之主人道德,而為以己屬人之奴隸道德也.

[37] The last emperor Puyi writes, "In the third year of the Republic of China [1914], there were people calling it the year of restoration. A few previous officials and loyalists found more and more excitements: Yuan Shikai's Confucius Memorial Ceremony, the revival of the bureaucratic establishments of the three councilors, the establishment of the Institute of Qing History, and the recruitment of Qing officials." 到民國三年，就有人稱這年為復辟年了。孤臣孽子感到興奮的事情也越來越多：袁世凱祀孔，采用三卿大夫的官秩，設立清史館，擢用前清舊臣.

Despite its primary purpose as a storage place, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities (1912-1914, 1916-?) or the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects (1914-1916) also held collection-based exhibitions to cultivate the public awareness of the new nation's constructed past, the popular culture and customs, and, manipulatively, the legitimacy of the ruler. The exhibitions at the Institute went through an evolutionary path from being part of a modern day *miaohui* [temple fairs or Chinese-style carnivals] to a themed visual demonstration presenting patriotism and absolute monarchy. The institute was not open on a regular basis. Instead, it held special exhibitions on celebratory days. Noticeably, unlike the Institute for Displaying Antiquities which had its grand opening on October 10, 1914, the national day of the Republic of China, the very opening days of the Institute for Conserving Antiquities were mainly aligned with the new year of the Gregorian calendar and the anniversary of Puyi's abdication on February 12. In other words, while the Institute for Displaying Antiquities proclaimed itself to be the "national museum" on the brochure and tentatively symbolized the new nation, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities associated itself with the new reign marked by the new calendar and the alternation of the old dynasty.

On December 25, 1912, "Opening Announcement of the Institute for Conserving Antiquities under the Ministry of the Interior" 內務部古物保存所開幕通知 in *Official Gazette* 政府公報 reads:

> The primary task of the institute is to conserve antiquities. It collects antiquities ranging from seals, steles, pottery, weapons, stationaries, ritual objects, costumes, embroideries, to [models of] urban sites, tombs, forts and other architectural remains. It exhibits the original objects, models, rubbings, or photographs for visual pleasure and passion for the national essence…Since it is hard to transport objects from each province instantly, the institute will only display important pieces in the capital. Besides the main exhibition, supplementary facilities include offices for Society of Historical Commentary, Society of Ancient Games, Office for Conserving Antiquities, Research Society of Ancient Texts, Club for Art of Zenith and Sword [meaning music and martial arts], Magazine for Antiquities,

> and Marketplace for Antiquities. Around the institute are the swing garden, soccer field, and assembly hall…To celebrate the new year in Republic of China, the institute will open everyday from January 1 to 10 [on the Gregorian calendar] for free. The entrance is at the Western *paifang* [Chinese archway] which is the junction of many routes. There is no reception room for special guests. Every citizen, as well as foreigners, can come visit…[38]

The "important pieces in the capital" refer to "antiquities stored in different shrines and temples."[39] Reportedly, "nine ceremonial temples, eleven ancestral temples, and twenty shrines" were taken over by the new government after the end of Qing, and these places kept both then-contemporary and ancient objects accumulated over time or offered by patrons and devotees.[40]

An early account in the influential vernacular-style newspaper *Authentic Patriotism* 正宗愛國報 vividly diarizes a visitor's experience on January 1, 1913. The visitor entered the temple, saw some well crafted foliage and grandiose architecture, noticed the ritual objects placed in the ritual hall, went across the market of antiquities, enjoyed street artists' acrobatics, and peaked into the unused rooms. The assemble of various sights and entertainments on a holiday was a *miaohui* carnival. The visitor writes:

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[38] "Neiwubu guwu baocunsuo kaimu tongzhi"內務部古物保存所開幕通知 [Opening announcement of the Institute for Conserving Antiquities under the Ministry of the Interior], *Official Gazette* 政府公報, ed. Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC), (Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore, 1988), vol. 8, 817.

[39] "Linshi zhengfu neiwu xingzheng jiyao (minguo er nian)" 臨時政府內務行政紀要(民國二年) [Summary of the administrative works of the Ministry of the Interior, 1913] in *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian* 近代中國史料叢刊三編 [Collectanea of modern Chinese history], ed. Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍 (Taipei: Wenhai Press Company, 1987), vol. 23, 129.

[40]Neiwubu nianjian bianzuan weiyuanhui 內政部年鑒編纂委員會 [Ministry of the Interior yearbook committee] ed., *Neizheng nianjian* 內政年鑒 [Yearbook for the Ministry of the Interior] (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1936), vol. 4, 247-249.

"Xiannongtan youlan shitian" 先農壇遊覽十天 [The old Temple of Agriculture will be opened for ten days], *Zhengzong aiguo bao* 正宗愛國報 [Authentic patriotism], December 27, 1912.

> The first day on the Gregorian calendar marks the beginning of the ten-day exhibition at the Institute for Conserving Antiquities. Entering the Temple of Agriculture, I was immediately welcomed by the soaring old pine trees, the branching evergreen cypress trees, and the celestial architectures…The eastern side hall of the Hall of Grand Commanders [*Taisui*, literally means Jupiter] has become the Institute for Conserving Antiquities, housing music instruments for ritual purposes such as drums, chimes and bells, as well as bronze vessels such as *yi* and *pan* from Shang and Zhou dynasties. The windows of the western side hall were fully covered by curtains, so I could not see what is inside. Were the various societies and clubs supposed to be there? West to the northwestern side door was the marketplace for antiquities, but there were only mediocre objects like rubbings, copies, old jades and porcelains. Going west, one would see two dilapidated rooms with a few old zeniths and *tanggu* drums [ceremonial hall drum], alongside some bronze birds and beasts. Southwest to the thatched rooms were the swing garden, the tea room, the soccer field and other facilities. Many visitors came for the entertainment. There were bicycle masters in the swing garden practicing acrobatic and balancing skills. East to the swing garden was the Society of Ancient Games where one could see a variety of juggling such as *shuakongfan* [flag pole skills], diabolo, peepshows and even conjuring tricks. I then entered the gate and arrived at the Palace of Ceremonial Completion 庆成宫 housing the shrine for the heroes who sacrificed for the Republican revolution.[41]

The institute was open to celebrate the first day of the year on the Gregorian calendar again in the following years with larger-scaled exhibitions that incorporated a greater variety of ritual objects such as bronze vessels, tools used by an empress to worship the labor of silkworm raising and silk weaving, and ritualistic music instruments. This *miaohui*-style or exposition-inspired format continued especially after the site and outskirt of the Temple of Agriculture became a public park in 1915. In 1915, "the Hall of Grand Commanders is reserved for memorializing revolutionary heroes, two side halls for the Institute for Ritual Objects, Storage for Ritual Offerings 神倉 for the office of the Temple, and the Changing Room 具服殿 for the park office," and "the two side halls are the Institute for Ritual Objects that houses ritual vessels from Shang and Zhou, religious attributes, collections from the Ministry of the Interior, and

[41] "Xiannongtan youlan jishi" 先農壇遊覽紀事 [My visit to the old Temple of Agriculture], *Zhengzong aiguo bao* 正宗愛國報 [Authentic patriotism], January 4, 1913.

certificates of accolades 冊封之寶. Every exhibit is captioned for display purpose."[42] A 1917 travel writing reads that "The previously inaccessible Temple of Agriculture is now open for national holidays and the beginning of new years. I saw numerous types of shows, juggling and games, so visitors packed the entire space…"[43]

Aside from the new year celebrations, perhaps only the anniversaries of Puyi's abdication encompassed greater symbolic meanings related to the succession to the throne. On February 12, 1914, in observance of the second anniversary of the "Imperial Edict of the Abdication of the Emperor" issued by Dowager Empress Longyu and the last emperor Puyi's formal abdication, the Institute for Conserving Antiquity, then called the Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects, offered a special exhibition.[44] The visitors could see "ritual objects not accessed by ordinary people" and were supposed to reflect on the changed visibility the objects with "the heart of

[42] "Minguo beijing xiannongtan biannian jianshi" 民國北京先農壇編年簡史 [A brief history of the old Temple of Agriculture in Republican Beijing] in *Beijing xiannongtan shiliao xuanbian* 北京先農壇史料選編 [A selected collection of the historical papers on the old Temple of Agriculture in Beijing], Historical Papers on the Old Temple of Agriculture in Beijing Compilation Committee ed., (Beijing: Xueyuan Press, 2007), 346.

"Xiannongtan gongyuan kaimu tongzhi" 先農壇公園開幕通告[Opening announcement of the old Temple of Agriculture park], *Shizheng tonggao* 市政通告 [Notice of Municipal Beijing], issue 19 (1915).

[43] "Wenbinglu suibi" 問冰廬隨筆 [An essay by the resident of the Ice Inquiry Room], *Yuxing* 余興 [Leisure time with theater arts], Issue 28 (1917) quoted in 李飛, History of the Institute of Antiquity Conservation in Beijing and Its Relation with the Institute of Antiquity Exhibition北京古物保存所考略 京古兼论其与古物陈列所之关系, *Journal of National Museum of China*中國國家博物館館刊, issue 9 (2016):144.

[44] "Liqi baocunsuo kaifang shiri" 禮器保存所開放十日 [Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects is open for then days," *Eastern Times* 時報, February 13, 1914, 9.

patriotism" 愛國之心.[45] Historian Li Fei cites travel writer Gu Yangji's 顧仰基 account on his February 1915 visit to the Temple of Agriculture, which details almost every item Gu saw in the institute, including different ceramic vessels in archaic forms, archives of different emperors' ritual performances, rare collections made of precious materials, a dragon-decorated throne, and plaques written by the emperors. Responding to the new name the "Institute for Ritual Objects," Gu points out that the exhibition consisted of both ritual and secular objects. Li Fei has noticed Gu's pitiful tone permeates the lines. Gu writes: "The late emperor's good wish for agriculture has totally gone," making the visitor "feel conflicted and upset." Li then interprets Gu's painstaking inventory of the exhibits as his wish for restoration of Qing. I would argue that besides the secret wish for restoration surmised by Li Fei, Gu's itemized record of the ritual objects not only presents but also embodies the idea of *li* – the cumbersome, unskippable, ordered steps of a ritual which had been collapsed and yearned for in the waves of revolutions and radical reformations.[46]

The nostalgia for order and regulation could be conveniently backed and legitimized by Confucian ethics which had been fabricated into the formation and stabilization of the

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[45] "Liqi baocunsuo jinian kaifang" 禮器保存所紀念開放 [Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects is open in celebration of (the unity of the northern and southern parts of China)] in *Ta Tung Pao* 大同報, vol 20, no. 7, February 21, 1914, 54.

This *Ta Tung Pao* was launched in 1904, Shanghai, by the Christian Literature Society, no the anti-Japanese newspaper of the same name founded after the Mukden Incident in 1931.

[46] Gu Yangji 顧仰基, "Yimao you zhengyangmen wai xiannongtan ji" 乙卯遊正陽門外先農壇記 [My visit to the old Temple of Agriculture outside the Front Gate in February 1915] (February, 1915) quoted in Li Fei李飛, History of the Institute of Antiquity Conservation in Beijing and Its Relation with the Institute of Antiquity Exhibition北京古物保存所考略 京古兼论其与古物陈列所之关系, *Journal of National Museum of China*中國國家博物館館刊, issue 9 (2016) 137-147:143.

monarchical system in imperial China for centuries.[47] Therefore, reinstituting Confucian ethics with a state-sponsored institute in the name of restoring order, norm, and morality well fit the mutual interests of Yuan's monarchical ambition and ordinary population's – especially the literary class and non-revolutionists – longing for stability and normality. On September 25, 1914, Minister of State Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855-1939) announced that President Yuan Shikai would attend the Memorial Ceremony for Confucius. The announcement reads:

> For thousands of years, China has been ruled by morality…There is turbulence when the nation is weak and corruption when the nation is in prosperity. Only Confucian ethics lasts forever… [The president believes that] although the form of government has changed by the revolution, the rituals and customs should be preserved. Every single nation in the world has its core value which come from the national cultural heritage and become the national characters…[48]

Restating the new form of government as a republic, Yuan turned to the ideological superstructure and emphasized the cultural rather than governmental aspect of Confucianism and *li*. Cultural *li*, instead of regulatory *li*, was formally institutionalized which would reify and potentially restore the corresponding sociopolitical structure.

The restoration of *li* and Confucian ethics as national core value was launched on the eve of the New Culture Movement (1910s to 1920s) which rioted against traditional Chinese culture, especially the Neo-Confucian order and hierarchy. The simultaneous Confucian cultural restoration and Western cultural revolution reflected the anxiety and uncertainty over the cultural

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[47] Chen Duxiu, "Year 1916,"3.

[48] "Da zongtong fabu qinlin jikong dianli ling (1914 nian 9 yue 25 ri)"大總統發布親臨祀孔典禮令 (1914 年 9 月 25 日) [The president announces that he will attend the Confucius memorial ceremony in person (September 25, 1914)], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 11.

past amongst the elite and the masses. A visitor to the Institute writes:

> [Establishing the institute and opening for the public] seems to be unimportant, but in fact, to preserve the national essence is to reinforce the foundation of the nation, to assist the Republic, and to advance social education. Therefore, it is far beyond its surface value and cannot be overseen. Before the Wuxu reformation, the Chinese favored the archaic 好古 [like the past] but never study history critically 考古 [criticize the past], which led to a stubborn and pedantic culture 食古不化 [to swallow the past without digesting it] that weakened the country. After the reformation, people abandoned the past 弃古 without learning from past models 法古. They negated every aspect of a past person 古人, which resulted in an unprecedented mess …Now displaying antiquities for public viewing is an urgent task before the entire Republic of China has forgotten its originality."[49]

What should a resident of the newly established Republic of China do with the past? The past dynasty was legitimately negated, but the sentimental attachment to the past persisted and transformed into the call for a distant and critical gaze. In other words, the past was historicized and became a field of study and reference, called "history." The Wuxu Reform and the alternation of governmental forms put a question mark on the contemporary approach of not only the past regime but also the epistemology of the past as a conception and a discipline.

Clearly, the commentator supported the public viewership of the antiquities and the idea of forming a culturally bonded entity as the foundation for the new political regime. The imagined community was rooted in the reconstructed history – the conventionalized past in the captioned and curated objects. Favoring the archaic 好古 and swallowing the past 食古 were to pay respect to the fact, while studying the past as the discipline of history 考古 and learning from the past lesson 法古 were ways to preserve the past as a present man. Usually when a new dynasty started, the scholars appointed by the new emperor would write the history of the past

[49] "Cungu" 存古 [To conserve the past], *Zhengozng aiguo bao* 正宗愛國報 [Authentic patrioatism], January 6, 1913.

dynasty, like that *History of Ming* was compiled by Qing official Zhang Tingyu and *History of Song* by Yuan ministers Toqto'a and Alutu. Fashioning the past into a discourse was the compromising way to settle one's sentimental attachment to the collective memory and personal identity without aligning oneself with the Qing loyalists. While the past meant a continues period of time, the field of history and historical writing usually were reconstructed on the basis of the history writer's present experience as a modern man.

In summary, institutionalization of the former Temple of Agriculture and the ritual objects into a state-sponsored display venue and captioned display was the process of entrenching the culture that supported and reified the different forms of the new government. This process was mutually shaped by an organizational-institutional environment through the bureaucratic properties and cultural environment of the sentimental attachment to the *li* orders in the dynastic past. Compared to later museums, the Institute for Conserving Antiquities and the Institute for Displaying Antiquities were affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior rather than the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of the Interior oversaw restrictions on destroying, looting, selling, as well as smuggling artifacts and fragments of sites. Therefore, the primary mission was to preserve, rather than to educate and propagate. Therefore, the artefacts were historical, not historicized. The subject for preservation was defined by the names of the organizational sector, so the collections were the embodiment of "rituals and customs" and "ceremonial events." Through the ontological conceptualization of the Institute of Conserving Antiquities, the venue and the collection, either as antiquities or ritual objects, represented and presented *li* in a cultural way, which echoed the revival of Confucianism and paved way for Yuan Shikai's monarchical restoration.

A Proto-Museum: Institute for Displaying Antiquities (circa 1914)

In December 1912, Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (1870-1937) was appointed lieutenant-general of Jehol and he soon realized how severe illicit smuggling of the imperial collection was in the Jehol Palace, a remote summer resort for the Qing royal family. Xiong reported to Yuan Shikai at least twice to launch an archival project of the collection in the Jehol Palace. On top of the archival works, Xiong suggested that the Beiyang government should take acquisition of the collection and later display them in a national museum, which Xiong firmly believed would be built soon as part of the new nation's modernization project. Starting from May 1913, the archival project was carried out. In October 1913, the Ministry of the Interior sent the Mogolian governor-general of Bordered Red Banner Zhige 治格 and intellectual-official Yang Naigeng 楊乃賡 to check the inventory and the shipment.[50] Items came from Mukden Palace in Shenyang and the Jehol Palace in Chengde. Zhige, Shen Guojun 沈國均, Fu Yiwen 傅以文, and ten workers and officials were in charge of the relocation between the Mukden Palace and Beijing. Six shipments took place between January 23 and March 24, 1914, during which 120 cases of porcelains, 121 cases of bronze vessels, a small case of bronze catalogues, sixty cases of painting and calligraphy, and 900 cases of jewelry and playful items including 700 cases of books were shipped to Beijing, consisting of over 114,600 items. Yang Naigeng, Zhao Qiushan 趙秋山 and

[50] Xiong Xiling was accused for his theft of the Rehe collection. Serious inspections and investigations were conducted. Xiong sent his assistants to secretly gather information of the smuggling and proved his innocence. Many scholars agree now that it was part of the political wrestling within the Beiyang government. For more stories about Xiong Xiling and the imperial collection in Rehe and Shengjing Palaces, please consult Xiao Jiansheng's article below.

Xiao Jiansheng 肖建生, "Xiong Xiling yu rehe xinggong daobao an" 熊希齡與熱河行宮盜寶案 [Xiong Xiling and the theft of Rehe Palace], *Wenshi jinghua* 文史精華, issue 1 (1995): 36-39.

other personnel were sent to the Jehol Palace and the nearby royal gardens to archive the portable artworks and objects. Over the course of almost a year from November 1913, seven shipments transported 1,949 cases of artifacts including jade, ceramics, furniture, manuscripts, religious objects, bronze vessels, enamels, fans, scrolls and other types. Amongst the objects were even living deer and other royal pets. Reportedly, shipments from Jehol were much more difficult due to the mountainous area along the shipping route, and the famously infamous bandits of the area.[51]

On December 24, 1913, the Ministry of the Interior announced the Decree No. 72 on the mission and administrative aspect of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, the "Articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities" 古物陳列所章程 and the "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation"保存古物協進章程."[52] The Decree No. 72

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[51] "Neiwu bu chuangshe guanxia shiqi"內務部創設管轄時期 [Under the management of the Ministry of the Interior], in "Guwu chenliesuo ershinian jingguo ji lüe"古物陳列所二十年經過紀略 [A brief history of the twenty years of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," in *Guwu chenliesuo ershi zhounian jinian zhuankan* 古物陳列所二十周年紀念專刊 [Special issue for the twentieth anniversary of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], Institute for Displaying Antiquities ed., (Beijing: Institute for Displaying Antiquities, 1934), 5-7.

[52] "Neiwubu gongbu guwu chenliesuo zhangcheng, baocun guwu xiejinhui zhangcheng ling (1913nian12yue24ri): neiwubu ling di qishi'er hao" 內務部公布古物陳列所章程,保存古物協進會章程令 (1913 年 12 月 24 日):內務部令第七十二號 [Ministry of the Interior announced the articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities and articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation (December 24, 1913): decree No. 72], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 268-269.

"Guwu chenliesuo zhangcheng" 古物陳列所章程 [Articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 269-270.

explicates the purpose, value, expectation and institutional positioning of the Institute. The decree states:

> The vast land has presented magnificent beings and artifacts which are classified according to their nature. Biologists, archeologists and anthropologists search for the epistemology of their findings. They observe the evolution, look into manmade wonders, and trace human activities. Both Eastern and Western nations have gathered rare treasures and founded specialized institutes to showcase industrial achievements and to provide artists with visual resources. These institutes put special attention to antiquities in order to protect and conserve them. The citizens who visit the institutes are aspired for inventions and innovations, for academic proliferation, and for industrial progression. Our country has vast land, rich resources and one of the world's oldest civilizations. Objects recorded in classics and catalogues, stored in nature, acquired by royal households and circulated amongst literati-influencers are to be juxtaposed in the exhibition. Our time is turbulent and full of catastrophes. Many treasures were abandoned by warfare refugees, gone with fire and water, left perished and collapsed without maintenance. The remaining treasures are constantly disappearing. Fresh-off-boat foreigners came with money and departed with treasures. Some of them were dedicated sinologists and they splurged on the objects for greater good. It is pitiful that although our country has many devotional learners of history and antiquities, because they are busy protecting themselves from turmoil, foreigners have to get involved in preserving antiquities. Recently, scholars have worked day and night to make sure the antiquities are not looted or destroyed. This is both the scholarly concern and the governmental obligation. In observance of our citizens' high approbation for the archaic and historic, our ministry founded the Institute for Display Antiquities as the prototype of a museum in the capital to present the previously unseen collection accumulated by many generations of the royal household. The institute will focus on both ancient and contemporary artifacts by collecting them for future exhibition. Gentlemen of profound and broad knowledge are especially wanted by our institute. The 17-chapter "Articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities" and 25-chapter "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation" comes into effect as announced.[53]

"Baocun guwu xiejin zhangcheng" 保存古物協進章程 [Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 270-272.

[53] "Decree No. 72," 268-269.

Articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities clearly define the organizational properties and institutional affiliation, including designation of personnel, staff arrangement, and primary duties of each office. Summarily, the institute was defined as a managerial organization, rather than collection-based research and education center. The Institute for Displaying Antiquities was primarily in charge of conserving antiquities and affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior. The staff directory of the institute included the executive, the associate executive, the secretary, and the administrator. The executive superseded the overall tasks of the institute. The executive had to report to the head of the Ministry of the Interior Zhu Qiqian for issues unaddressed in the articles and on the exhibitions, catalogues, and other achievements every year. The internal setup of the institute, consisting of only three offices of documents, display, and administration, avoided the question of ownership of the collection by not having an office of collection or acquisition.[54]

The three offices took care of the secretarial and housekeeping tasks, but avoided archival and academic undertakings, because the offices were supposed to be more like the Imperial Household Department 內務府, than the curatorial and operational sectors of a modern museum.[55] Any setup that reminded people of a modern museum would cause fierce controversy of to what extent the new government intended to negate the imperial household and to revolutionize. The office of documents oversaw visitor registration, paperwork and archives, investigation, as well as reports and announcements. The office of display was in charge of

[54] "Articles of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," 269.

[55] Although the Ministry of the Interior [*neiwu bu* 內務部] was a bureaucratic sector modeled after the Western countries, its was named after the Imperial Household Department [*neiwu fu* 內務府], implying a common understanding of the Ministry of the Interior as the replacement for the Imperial Household Department.

captioning and archiving, conservation and preservation, as well as correction and amendment. The office of administration was in charge of accounting and treasury, budgets and minutes for renovation and restoration, as well as working ethics and regulations of the institute. Moreover, the comprehensive staff directory of the institute, including the executive, the associate executive, the secretary, and the administrator, further confirmed the limited scope and duty of the institute.[56] The first executive appointed by Zhu Qiqian was Mogolian Bannerman Zhige. Zhige was no an expert on either antiquities or museology, but he was the Mogolian governor general of Bordered Red Banner and director of police department in the capital. [57] The eight-banner administrative system was continued after the collapse of Qing. On February 21, 1912, the open letter in *Temporary Gazette* 臨時公報 "Letter to Great President Yuan from All Eight Banners" 八旗全體上袁大總統函 writes that "After the Qing emperor abdicated, a unified Republican government has not been formed yet…All of us would follow the public interest and take the hard task, so the people can live a happy life and the East Asia can enjoy peace…The entire body of the Eight Banners kneel to the president."[58] Clearly, the undertaking by the "entire

[56] Ibid., 269-270.

[57] The Eight Banners were set by the Late Jin rulers and used in the Qing dynasty. Originally, all Manchu households were placed in one of the banners, and they were assigned to different administrative and military duties. Later, the Mongol Eight Banners and Han Eight Banners were set based on the Manchurian model. The Bordered Red Banner belonged to the five lower banners and people from one of the five lower banners were usually guards and servants. Appointing a governor-general of a lower Mongol Banner to a museum position was a way to cozy up to the royal family, the traditionalist, and the Qing loyalists. Zhigee was not someone who had received modern education and revolutionarily aimed for a modern museum, so people would assume his continued role as a guard or servant for the imperial collection of the Qing royal household.

"Under the management of the Ministry of the Interior," 3.

[58] "Baqi quanti shang Yuan dazongtong han" 八旗全體上袁大總統函[Letter to great president Yuan from all eight banners], *Linshi gongbao* 临时公报 [Temporary Gazette], February 21,

body of the Eight Banners" who were still controlling policing and other civil sectors was also a threat to the not yet unified government. Zhige, a Mongolian bannerman who assumed guardian positions for both Qing court and Beiyang government, showed that the executive was to protect the ownership and nature of the property and that the Beiyang government's respect to the bannermen and effort to ensure their social status. Zhige worked as the executive for eleven years during which the institute enjoyed a sufficient budget to fund the construction projects and other institutional setups.[59]

Therefore, arguably, the exhibition in the institute was either an extension of the conservation service provided to the Qing royal family, or at most a collaboration negotiated between the Qing royal family and the Beiyang government. It is understandable that, according to art historian Xu Jian, the legal ambiguity and the uncontrollable factors in running the institute kept the institute away from becoming a true public museum. Because in general, a state exercises significant control over public museums which are often superintended by various ministries including education, culture or propaganda, national heritage, and tourism. A public museum therefore needs to respect the designated direction and fulfill the assigned mission accordingly. Unlike most scholars who believe that the institute and exhibition in the Institute for

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1912, quoted in Tongjia Jiang 佟佳江, "Qingdai baqi zhidu xiaowang shijian xinyi" 清代八旗制度消亡時間新議 [A new proposal on the end of the system of the eight banners], *Ethno-National Studies* 民族研究, issue 5 (October, 1994), 101-108.

[59] "Under the Management of the Ministry of the Interior," 14.

Wu Shizhou 吳十洲, "1925 nian qian guwu chenliesuo de shuxing yu zhuanzhi renyuan goucheng – jinian guwu chenliesuo chengli 100 zhounian" 1925 年前古物陳列所的屬性與專職人員構成 – 紀念古物陳列所成立 100 周年 [The nature and employee composition of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities before 1925 – To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], *Palace Museum Journal* 故宮博物院院刊, issue 5 (May, 2014): 12-13.

Displaying Antiquities represented the new regime in a radical manner and signaled the victory of the revolutionists and reformists, Xu even counterargues that the establishment of the institute was more in alignment with the Qing royal family's best interests in preventing the collection from being smuggled than the new government's intention for a national museum, given that the "Articles of Favorable Treatment of the Emperor of the Great Qing" after his Abdication requested "special protection" of the former royal family's "private assets."[60]

Besides Xu Jian, cultural historian Lu Jiande has pointed out that Qing loyalist Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) supported and participated in the preparatory committee, confirming that there was barely any conflicted interest between the royal family and Beiyang government, because, in comparison, Wang almost killed himself seeing Puyi being forced to leave the Forbidden City in 1924. Wang's collaborative attitude toward his position in the committee in contrast to his melancholia in extreme despair knowing the moveout of the last emperor shows that the institute did not challenge the ownership of the collection or represented the new political form.[61] Introducing a new form of government originated in the West to assume control of the imperial household was like enthroning an alien dynasty. For many influential gentries and intellectuals such as Wang Guowei, to work on the collection of the nation's greatest arts and to stay loyal to the imperial family both meant endorsement to the tradition, the true Chineseness, and their own virtue.

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[60] Xu Jian 徐堅, *Great Foundations: An Intellectual History of Early Chinese Museums* 名山:作為思想史的早期中國博物館史 (Beijing: Science Press, 2016), 71.

[61] Lu Jiande 陸建德, "Jiushi nianqian, gugong ruhe 'kaiduan'"九十年前,故宮如何 "開端" [How the Forbidden City was "begun" 90 years ago?], *Wenhui Daily* 文匯報, November 25, 2015.

Asserted by art historian Xu Jian, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was never revolutionarily nationalized into a public institution for the people and of the people like Louvre in France. Instead, the institutional constitution and affiliation tended to suggest that the primary effect of the institute was not to remove or replace but to gradually empty the political presence of not only the Qing imperial household but also dynastic rulership in general, making the collection and part of the Forbidden City a preservation *in situ*. Compared to the later established museums such as the Palace Museum and the National History Museum which were both under the Social Education Department superseded by the Ministry of Education, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was under the Department of Rituals and Customs of the Ministry of the Interior, just like the Institute for Conserving Antiquities.[62] Therefore, according to the subcategories under the Ministry of the Interior, the Beiyang government was responsible for conserving the antiquities, while theoretically the institute was not obligated to serve the new government and society as a functional component in the institutional mechanism. Its presence was not necessarily in line with the political purpose and value system of a republican state. Moreover, the Ministry of the Interior, derived directly from Ministry of Civil Affairs founded by Emperor Guangxu of Qing, also adopted the name same as that of the Imperial Household

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[62] "Guwu jianding weiyuanhui weiyuan pinhan bing mingdan"古物鑒定委員會委員聘函並名單, 內務部禮俗司第四科函[Letters of appointment and name list of the connoisseurial committee of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, office No. 4, Department of Rituals and Customs, Ministry of the Interior (December 1926)] in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 272-273.

This document shows that the human resource of the Institute was decided by the Department of Rituals and Customs, indicating the institutional affiliation of the Institute.

Department 內務府, which further obscured the affiliation of the institute – whether it belonged to the royal family or the Beiyang government.

After the announcement of the establishment, the preparatory procedure of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was expedited, showing the determination, resources, and execution of the Ministry of the Interior. On December 30, 1913, the preparation committee started working in the west side hall linked to the Hall of Martial Valor 武英殿. On February 4, 1914, the seal of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was put into use. Renovation was launched in March 1914 and continued through November. German company Rothkegel & Co. led the construction which were to turn the Hall of Martial Valor and its back hall called Hall of Respectful Thoughts 敬思殿 into a unified space for exhibition.[63] In order to keep the antiquities safe, in May 1914, the first telephone in the Forbidden City was installed in the Hall of Martial Valor, and in July, running water was available to extinguish potential fire. The Ministry of the Interior negotiated with the Ministry of Diplomacy and received 20,000 *yuan* from America's return of excess Boxer Indemnity. Part of this budget went to the new storage place Pavilion of Storing Treasures 寶蘊樓 which was built on the old foundation of Hall of Universal Peace 咸安宮 in June 1914. Later, Hall of Literary Brilliance 文華殿 became the second exhibition hall. The budget was also used to purchase the latest design of showcases to hold the over 20,000 pieces of antiquities.[64] Finally, on October 10, 1914, the national day of the Republic of China, the institute opened to the public, with the three central halls and the Hall of Martial Valor architectural complex ready for the visitors. However, in order not to irritate, insult or frustrate

[63] Zhang Fuhe 張復合, *The Modern Architectural History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s* 北京近代建築史 (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 106.
[64] "Under the Management of the Ministry of the Interior," 3 & 7.

the abdicant emperor and his supporters, who would cause further social turbulence, the Beiyang government decided to distribute tickets to different bureaucratic departments in advance for invited gests only to come on the opening day.[65]

[65] This paragraph selects and consolidates materials from the following resources.

Duan Yong 段勇, "Wuyingdian yu guwu chenliesuo"武英殿与古物陈列所 [Hall of Martial Valor and the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], *Forbidden City* 故宫视界, vol. 1 (January, 2005): 53-61.

Duan Yong 段勇, "Guwu chenliesuo de xingshuai ji qi lishi diwei shuping" 古物陳列所的興衰及其歷史地位述評 [The rise and fall of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, and a historical evaluation of the significance of the institute], *Palace Museum Journal* 故宫博物院院刊, issue 5 (May 2004): 27. DOI:10.16319/j.cnki.0452-7402.2004.05.002.

Main parts of Duan Yong's "The Rise and Fall" are posted on the site of the Palace Museum separately. See below.

Duan Yong 段勇, "Chongmen jinshi wei min kai" 重門今始為民開[The Gates Are Opened for the Public], The Palace Museum, October 13, 2006, accessed on November 19, 2020, https://www.dpm.org.cn/platform_detail/99482.html.

Duan Yong 段勇, "Huangsha chuijin shi jian jin"黃沙吹盡始見金 [Under the Yellow Sand Is the Real Gold], The Palace Museum, October 13, 2006, accessed on November 19, 2020, https://www.dpm.org.cn/platform_detail/99479.html.

Duan Yong 段勇, "Wanxiang gengxin dian jiye" 萬象更新奠基業 [To Form the Base in the New Era], The Palace Museum, October 13, 2006, accessed on November 19, 2020, https://www.dpm.org.cn/platform_detail/99481.html.



Figure 1.1. Students from Yenching University visited the Institute for Displaying Antiquities in the 1920s. Photography by unknown photographer. Source: CSSN-Chinese Social Sciences Net, posted October 8, 2015, accessed November 19, 2020, http://m.cssn.cn/zgs/zgs_tpxw/201510/t20151008_2485597.htm.

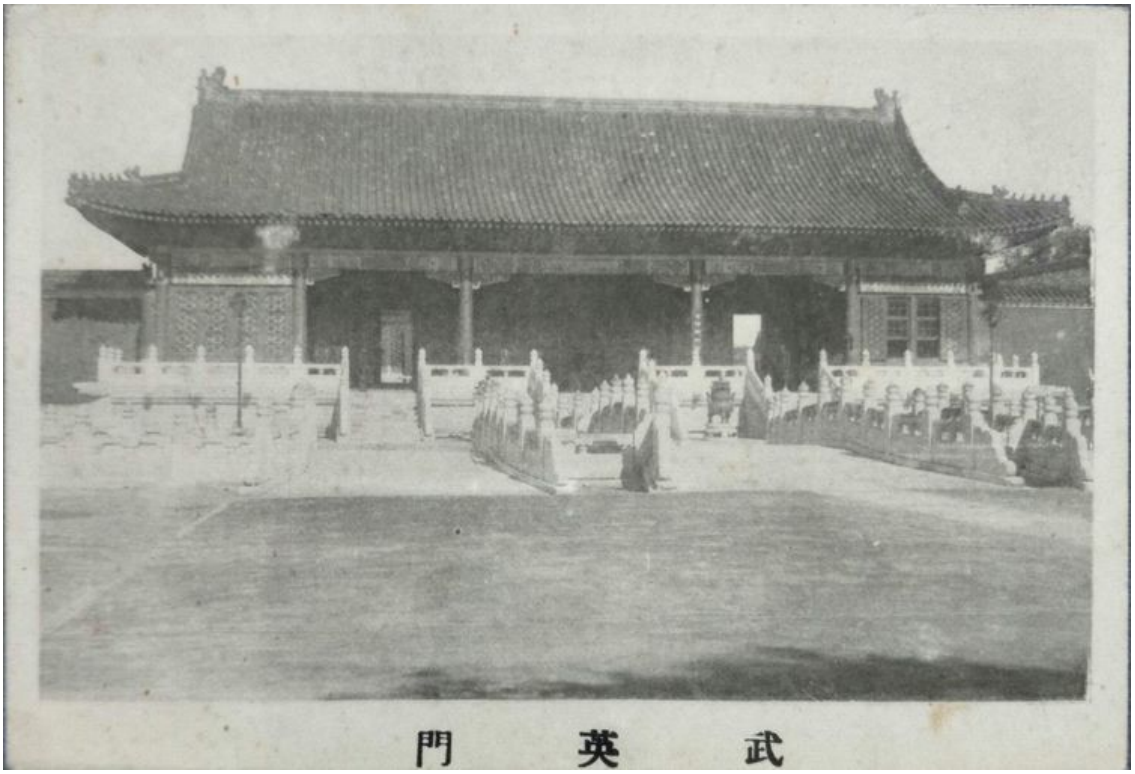


Figure 1.2. Postcard Issued by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, Showing the Gate of Martial Valor, circa. 1917. Text: *Wuying men* 武英門 [Gate of Martial Valor]. Photo postcard. Source: Wu Ling, "The World's Oldest 'Museum Postcards:' Postcards Made by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," *Philatelic Magazine* (September, 2005), 6-7.[66]

A travelogue was published in *Shen Bao* 申報 (1872-1949) on October 16, detailing the visitor's experience with the first museum and his first confrontation with the previously unseen imperial assets. An excerpt from the report "A Tour to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities

[66] The postcards shown in the chapter came from various auction sites, but they are in the same series as the postcards shown in Wu Ling's research on the postcards issued by the Institute.

Wu Ling 吳靈, "Shijie zuizao de 'guwu xilie' mingxinpian – ye tan youguan 'guwu chenliesuo' de youzheng mingxin pian" 世界最早的"古物系列"明信片——也談有關"古物陳列所"的郵政明信片 [The world's oldest "museum collection postcards" – on postcards made by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], *Philatelic Magazine* 集郵博覽 (September, 2005): 6-7.

and the Altar of Earth and Harvests" 陳列所與社稷壇游覽紀 provides a first-hand account on the exhibition layouts and routes.

> …The Institute for Displaying Antiquities hosted its grand opening and started to sell tickets yesterday on October 11.[67] Visitors arrived and gathered at around two o'clock in the afternoon. All vehicles were parked inside. Outside the East Gate of the Forbidden City 東華門 and West Gate 西華門 were Chinese, foreigners, gentlemen, ladies, the elderly and the young coming visit. Tickets were handed to the visitors and checked by the soldiers. The depositary for personal belongings was located in Hall of Martial Valor. The visitors were supposed to follow the recommended visiting path starting from the left door in the east, then heading to the north, finally going west and exiting from the right door. One could start from the east and visit Hall of Supreme Harmony 太和殿. After that, one entered the middle-left gate to see Hall of Central Harmony 中和殿 and Hall of Preserving Harmony 保和殿. Exiting from the middle-right gate and following the old routes between the East Gate and the West Gate, one would encounter countless antiquities which were so awesome that they were beyond any textual description, and these only counted for one fifth of the exhibited. It was said that the exhibition would be changed every Monday and taken care of by the soldiers. Everything was well in order. However, the three halls (Halls of Supreme, Central and Preserving Harmony) were covered in flourishing weeds and devastatively ruined. The total number of tickets sold yesterday exceeded 2,200. The grand opening had been announced in newspapers so that visitors were well-informed.[68]

This excerpt of the travelogue briefs the layout of the first component – the architectural complex – of the two-part exhibition of the site and the collection, which visually turned the three grand halls on the central axis into a consciously rendered modern *xu* 墟 – an empty space at the political center of the former dynasty that embodies the distant and retrospective gaze from

[67] October 10 was the official opening day, but it was only for special guests. October 11 was the first day for ordinary visitors.

[68] "Chenliesuo yu shejitan youlan ji" 陳列所與社稷壇游覽紀 [A tour to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities and the Altar of Earth and Harvests], *Shen Bao* 申報, October 16, 1914, 6.

the viewer.[69] The writer uses the terms such as "[Stairs of the three halls were] 'aggressively invaded' by disheveled weeds" 蕪草侵階 and "[The halls were] deformed and accessed freely [as if they were abandoned and ruined]" 殊形開敝. However, the ground of the Forbidden City was covered by marble paving stones for both aesthetic and *fengshui* reasons, so weeds could not "aggressively invade" the stairs.[70] The description should not be read literally or simply regarded as an exaggeration, but one should understand it metaphorically. The photos on the postcards and in the newspapers also show the central halls were well maintained. Instead, weed-seized or fern-seized stairs often served as a metaphoric object toward which people project their empathy.

The last emperor of Southern Tang (937-976) Li Yu 李煜 writes that "Now autumn winds have claimed the court and moss usurped ('invaded') the stairs" 秋風庭院蘚侵階.[71] The vitality and aggression of the nature contrasted with the incapable and dispirited people, "My valor lies in weeds/When nights are cold, the weather still, and a haloed moon is out/I think of all that marble palace/Mirrored empty in the Qinhuai River."[72] The change of power dynamics between the nature and human resulted in a sensitivity to ephemera and the sentience of

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[69] Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2011), 26.

[70] The three grand halls are in the middle of the Forbidden City, which are also the center of Beijing. In the five elements, the center is earth, symbolizing *sheji* 社稷. *She* refers to the god of earth and *ji* means wheat and barley. Later, the word *sheji* usually refers to the nation in written language. In the five elements, the wood breaks the earth, just like a tree growing out of the earth, so to avoid the inauspicious sign that the nation is destroyed, the central part of the Forbidden City is tightly paved by marble tiles.

[71] John Minford and Joseph M. Lau, *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations,* vol. 1: *From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000),1126-1131.

[72] Ibid.

impermanence. Qing scholar Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 commemorates the destroyed and looted Old Summer Palace, writing that "Uncultivated weeds 'invaded' the stairs/ The latticed windows appear in the illusion/ My lamentation for the failed sovereignty 禾黍 was growing" 乱草侵阶, 窗棂宛在,尤动人禾黍悲尔.[73] Thinking of the weeds, the visitor visualized the past when human had overpowered nature. As art historian Wu Hung argues, this is an internalizing process through which "The representation of ruins [are] increasingly freed from external signs, and also increasingly relied on the observer's subjective response to particular places."[74] The weeds now not only served as a symbolic comparative reference to the emptied human will and human power, but also a semiotic from which memory was evolved and history was reconstructed. Visualizing the disheveled weeds in his mind, the visitor to the three halls, experiencing the juxtaposition of ephemeral power and enduring manmade artifacts magnifying power, internalized the the disappeared and the unchanged into the present and the historical remembrance.

The sentimental commemoration evoked the experience of displacement to a mythic imperial past through demystified accessibility to the emptied palace, and the hallucination of anachronism that the visitor was viewing the not yet historicized past as a man in the present. Although the past was not historicized yet, the displacement and anachronism permanently emptied and secularized the space of the former outer court where the emperors were enthroned, the empresses conferred, the three most important holidays celebrated, and the top scholars

[73] Wang Kaiyun 王闓運, "Yuanmingyuan ci" 圓明園詞 [Eulogy of the Old Summer Palace], in *Qixianglou shiwenji* 湘绮楼诗文集 [Collection of Wang Kaiyun] (Changsha: Yuelu Press, 1996), vol. 5, 1399-1402.

[74] Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins*, 26

examined directly by the emperor and his ministers. The Forbidden City had been an uncanny place for people of both the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China – a strangely familiar obscurity for the archetype in myriad imaginative outputs. The dystopian world of Beijing was split between inside and outside the Forbidden City – an isolated city within a city. When the Qing emperors were enthroned, the absolute monarchy was unquestionable yet invisible; when Qing dynasty was overthrown but the last emperor – the embodiment of Qing sovereignty – still stayed in the palace. In Kant's words, the faculties of one's imagination and understanding inevitably disagreed and mismatched, and the cognition would reluctantly and unconvincingly accept the flawed intuition through adaptation and by filling in imagination. However, rather than being forced into settlement with the concepts provided by the understanding, in aesthetic experience the imagination organizes sensory experience in such a way that it becomes immediately and effortlessly cognizable to the understanding.[75] If the internalized commemoration emptied and secularized the space of the former outer court, the aesthetic experience harmonized the faculties of imagination, perception, and information.

[75] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, translated with an introduction by Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 33, 63.



Figure 1.3. Postcard Issued by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, Showing the Hall of Central Harmony. Text: *Zhonghe dian* 中和殿[Hall of Central Harmony]. Photo postcard. Source: Wu Ling, "The World's Oldest 'Museum Postcards:' Postcards Made by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," *Philatelic Magazine* (September, 2005): 7.

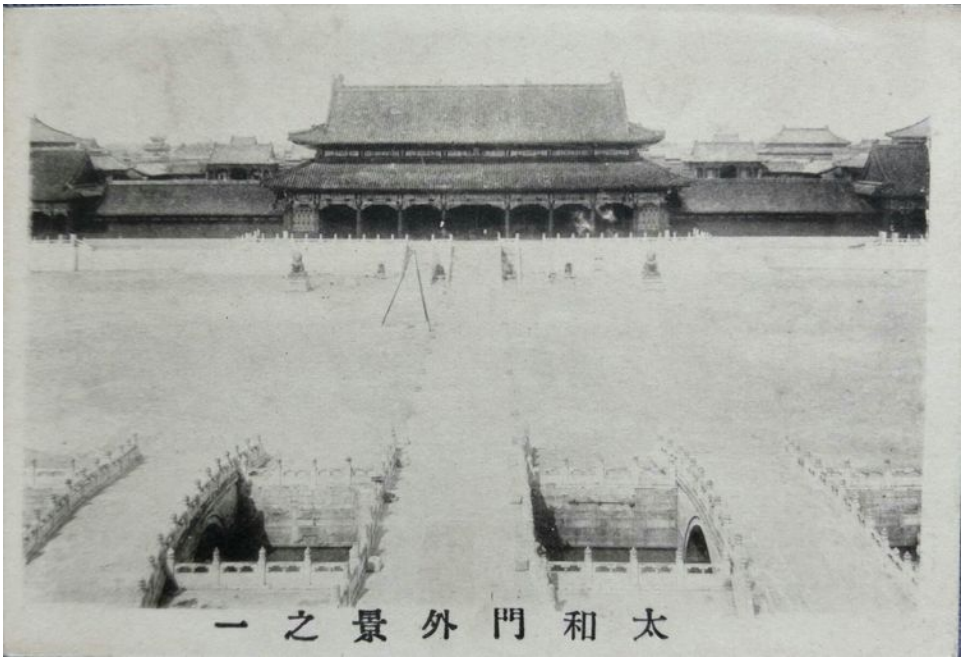


Figure 1.4. Postcard Issued by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, Showing the Gate of the Hall of Supreme Harmony. Text: *Taihemen wai jing zhiyi* 太和門外景之一 [One of the scenes outside the Supreme Harmony Gate]. Photo postcard. Source: Wu Ling, "The World's Oldest 'Museum Postcards,'" *Philatelic Magazine* (September, 2005):7.

Although lacking social and institutional properties of a true national museum, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities still contributed to the formation of an *in situ* national museum by emptying the political space previously dominated by imperial power and turning it into a modern *xu*, and more importantly, the Institute allowed the specialty group to institutionalize the cultural and historical properties of the collection. The "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation," alongside the Decree No. 72, supplemented the Institute with an outsourced department of collection. The group of connoisseurial experts was deliberately made voluntary without salaries, meaning that the experts were not recognized or sponsored for what they did by the state, so the association stayed unofficial merely as a casually assembled interest group. In this way, the Qing royal family and the loyalists would not question the state's aggression toward the collection. According to the articles, the association was established for future museum purposes and now temporarily affiliated to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, which corresponded to the definition of the institute in the decree as the "prototype of a museum in the capital to present the previously unseen collection accumulated by many generations of the royal household."[76] Functionally, the association worked on deciding preservation-worthy antiquities through appreciation and connoisseurship, and thus assisted the operation of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities. The organizational components included the department of research, the department of evaluation and the department of construction, which oversaw the aspects of searching and collecting objects, connoisseurship and appreciation, as well as the venue and display accordingly.

The Ministry of the Interior encouraged the wealthy people to financially support more museums and display venues, and urged private collectors to donate and nationalize their

[76] "Decree No. 72," 268-269.

antiquities. The board of the association consisted of a chairperson, an honorary chairperson, members and honorary members. The head of the Ministry of the Interior could appoint the chairperson of the association and endow the honorary chairmanship to the most generous donor. The membership was only by invitation from the chairperson. The members would commit to organizational responsibilities accordingly. The number of group members and the member's qualification were subject to final determination by the Minister of the Interior. Each member would receive a letter of appointment. There was no limit on the number of honorary members. Honorary members were invited by the chairperson and members, and approved by the Minister of the Interior. Private collectors who were willing to gift their own collections to the public museum and permanently transfer the title from the donor to the institution would receive honorary membership. The association was an all-volunteer organization, meaning that the members were not paid, which set a high bar for the participants' personal wealth, generosity, and vanity. The setup of the honorary chairperson and members could be interpreted as an attempt to nationalize the private collections, although the biggest collection – that in the Forbidden City – was still legitimately private.

The heightened awareness of antiquities as the physical embodiment of the nation's civilization and citizens' collective memory led to a greater protection from grave robbery and smuggling. A presidential decree in June 1913 ordered restrictions on exporting antiquities, in which the antiquities were supposed to be "gifted by the nation and cherished by the society; they were not only for research purposes, but more importantly, for preserving the national essence."[77] By saying that the antiquities were gifts by the nation, the newly established Republic

[77] "Dazongtong fabu xianzhi guwu chukou ling (1913.6.14)"大總統發布限制古物出口令 [The great president announced the limits on exporting antiquities, June 14, 1913] in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of

of China anachronistically connected itself to different dynasties whichever had produced artifacts. Moreover, being "cherished by the society" democratized the responsibility for preserving antiquities to all Chinese. However, without nationalization and the shared ownership, a state-sponsored public display venue could only be a museum for the people, not a museum of the people, meaning that although the people could visit the site and learn from the collection, they were not owning the collection, because the collection was not public assets yet. Hence, "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation" made the attempt for nationalizing previously private collections clear. Of course, voluntary donation would be the ideal way to acquire private collection into national assets, but forceful confiscation was also legitimized in written decrees, foreshadowing the wholesale nationalization of the royal collection in 1925. In "Interim Regulations on Preservation of Antiquities" promulgated in October 1916, it writes,

> …in fear of losing all treasures to the foreigners, each province should collect valuable artifacts (epigraphy, porcelain, rubbings, and any other portable objects). The most well-made, historical and research-worthy items should be displayed in a provincial display venue or a public space with a designated display area. Strict regulations on preservation and a reasonable price are needed. The publicly owned 公家 items are taken care first. If some private collection cannot be acquired smoothly, the provincial government should consider seizing with force 取締 in order to prevent the private collector from selling them.[78]

Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 185.

[78] "Baocun guwu zanxing banfa" 保存古物暫行辦法 [Interim measures for conserving antiquities] in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 199.

This provincial level regulation recounts the tentative nationalization of private collection proposed in the "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation," in a more forceful and determinant way. To nationalize, the regulation proposes two ways: to acquire with "a reasonable price," or to "seize" forcefully for the greater good. Arguably, as the proposal for nationalization could not be realized through the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, it was first implemented and perfected at local level, paving the way for future acquisition of the royal collection by agents of the state. The intensified awareness of nationalization turned artifacts into art or material culture. By selecting the "most well-made, historical and research-worthy" works to display in public-owned provincial-level venues, the display venue incorporated the art of history – antiquities – into the history of art – curation of selected masterpieces. To be "most well-made," history of art looked at artifacts that represented and embodied the highest level of refinement, technique, craftsmanship and human intelligence; to be "historical," history of art historicized art by making art semiotics and evidence of historicity, and served for creating a culturally bonded nation state by creating conventionalized visual memory for a designated community; to be "research-worthy," history of art instituted itself into the academic discipline of art history, and became part of the institutional curriculum for artists in training. This created a sense of collective ownership of the objects, as expressions of the broader culture and history of China, rather than as private possessions of the emperor.

According to art historian Xu Jian, the transformation from the palace to an *in situ* museum requires two steps: to remove the old spirit while keeping the form 去神存形 and to keep the form while refilling with a new spirit 存形換神.[79] Therefore, it is fair to say that

[79] Xu Jian, *Great Foundations*, 101.

although the Institute for Displaying Antiquities remained as a "prototype of a museum" for the people, not of the people, it cleared conceptual barricades and initiated regulatory experiments which paved way for a real national museum *in situ* that was of the people and functioned in full swing for the institutional superstructure of the new government – the new refilled spirit. The Institute for Displaying Antiquities dealt with discontinuous spaces of extremely different political and symbolic importance. Therefore, while the political vitality of the front court – such as that the Hall of Supreme Harmony had been used for grand rituals such as the enthronement ceremony– was put to an end, the sides were reborn with a new spirit. While the central axis of the Forbidden City was emptied, dispirited, dysfunctional and turned into a modern *xu*, the less important sides were fulfilled, activated, and infused with artistic, curatorial, intellectual and even ideological importance. While the three grand halls were simply preserved *in situ*, the Hall of Martial Valor which originally had been office space for the Hanlin Academy to perform secretarial duties, and Hall of Literary Brilliance formerly for lecturing classics were renovated into exhibition spaces. Diarized in "A Tour to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities and the Altar of Earth and Harvests" 陳列所與社稷壇游覽紀,

> Visitors flooded in all the time, and the streams went from the east side door to the west side door. The east chamber hosted cloisonné enamel objects and its close types. The west chamber was filled with bronze vessels since Zhou and Han Dynasties, such as *ding*, *pou*, *fu*, *ou*. Right in the center of the main hall were four hanging scrolls of paintings and calligraphies, as well as a portrait of President Yuan being respectively and ritually set. On the redwood furniture were *ding* and *yi* (bronze vessels). On the two sides were ceramic wares, lacquer wares, sculpted objects, ink works, seals, booklets from famous people, manmade flowers which were all otherworldly delicate. In the back part of the main hall were Buddhist sculptures and sutras. Along the passageway connecting the back part of the main hall and the back hall were famous paintings from early Qing and Western-styled big garden benches for visitors to sit. In the back hall, there were jade wares of all kinds, along with embroidered silks, brocades and cushions. Once I entered the

> hall, I was overwhelmed by and lost in the numerous antiquities. These antiquities would be switched monthly. [80]

Only the Hall of Martial Valor was open to the public, which consisted of three parts: the east and west chambers, and the central hall. Especially in the central hall, the description reveals a very different setting from that of a modern museum, the white cube.[81] Rather, it was more like the combination of an ancestral worshipping hall and a personal library with the president's photo in the middle flanked by hanging scrolls, ritualistic vessels and personal belongings around. Reportedly, more than 20,000 documented items were held in glass showcases on a monthly rotation schedule.[82]

Although suffering from too many objects within too little space, the layout and curatorial plan of the Institute was undoubtedly that of an art museum. According to the visitor's diary above, the Hall of Martial Valor housed bronze vessels, ceramics, lacquers, furniture, paintings, calligraphy and other artifacts across over 2,000 years ranging from Zhou dynasty to then-contemporary Republican era. It is obvious that the exhibitory theme was vague if not missing, the exhibition was turned into an assembly of items which were historical but not interpreted. Also, it is likely that works of the same genre and similar styles – such as bird-and-flower paintings in academic style– were put side by side, so the exhibits in the same space were not chronologically placed. Therefore, writer Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936) criticized the exhibition

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[80] "A Tour to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities", *Shen Bao*, October 16 1914, 6.

[81] For more details, see Yang Shuo 陽爍 and Wang Ziqi 王子琪, "Minguo shiqi beeping guwu chenliesuo de chenlie zhanlan" 民國時期北平古物陳列所的陳列展覽 [Displays and exhibitions in the Institute for Displaying Antiquities in Republican China," *China Museum* 中國博物館, issue 3 (2019): 45-51.

[82] "Under the Management of the Ministry of the Interior," 3-5.

in the Hall of Martial Valor, stating that it was "no better than an antique shop."[83] Though Lu Xun's comment could be biased and hostile given his involvement in the institutional rivalry, the Museum of History affiliated to the social education sector of the Ministry of Education, recounting comments confirmed the lack of curatorial inputs. A comment reads, "the assembly of great variety resembles a market. Captioning is minimal. Overall speaking, the display is not research-friendly."[84] Epigrapher and archaeologist Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991) recalls his visit to the Hall of Martial Valor, that after more than two hours spent in the hall looking closely at the objects, he still felt the viewing experience "a hurried glance over" the collection.[85] Despite the less than ideal viewing experience, the assembly was primarily concerned with visually pleasing artifacts traditionally favored by collectors and studied by connoisseurs for market values – for a long time since the weakening of Qing dynasty, eunuchs and even the last

[83] Lu Xun 魯迅, *Lu Xun riji* 魯迅日記 [*Diaries of Lu Xun*] (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1976), vol. 1, 110.

[84] "Zhonghua bowuyuan zuzhi yuanqi"中華博物院組織緣起[The origin of the Chinese museum association], in *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed.,1st ed., vol. 3: Culture (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 286.

[85] Shang Chengzuo 商承祚, "Ping baoyunlou yiqi tulu" 評寶蘊樓彝器圖錄[Commenting on the catalogue of the ritual objects published by Rongbaozhai], special edition for 100th issue, *Yuyan lishixue yanjiusuo zhoukan* 語言歷史學研究所周刊 [Weekly of Language and Hisotry Research Instittue], vol. 10, issue100 (October 1929) now included in *Shang Chengzuo wenji* 商承祚文集 [Collection of Shang Chengzuo], ed., Shang Zhi 商誌 (Guangzhou: Sun Yat-sen University Publisher, 2004), 40, quoted in Xu Jian, *Great Foundation*, 2016, 89.

emperor smuggled imperial possessions out of the palace and sold them in art markets such as the famous Liulichang.[86]

The public space of artifacts democratized the viewing experience and encouraged a disinterested approach to the collection not as an owner or buyer. Establishing a disinterested aesthetic experience toward "art" defined by a modern institution such as a museum is a modern experience in a modern nation-state. In this sense, the side halls unengaged with political symbolism were transformed into a public sphere where shared aesthetic experience of disinterest brought up topics on public virtue amongst elite and middle classes who could afford the expensive tickets like those foreigners from imperial nations. Thus, this public sphere at a cost was refilled with a new spirit of the new republican politics under which intellectual groups invented their identities as citizens through self-generated cultural and aesthetic norms, and disseminated the norms through institutional channels such as schools and museums.

Nationalization and academicization led to an art institution encasing an aesthetic superstructure for the new republican state of power. In 1913, the "Articles of the Association for Assisting Antiquity Conservation" encouraged private collectors to transfer titles of their collection to the institute, which was not realized anytime soon. Thirteen years later in December 1926, the Ministry of the Interior announced the Connoisseurial Committee of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities which comprised one head and twenty members, marking the state-supported involvement in academicizing the collection into the newly established discipline of art history. After becoming the executive of the institute in 1926, Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-

[86] Tongyun Yin, "Ancient Methods and New Knowledge: The Art Market and Traditional-Style Painting Practice in Early Republican Beijing: 1911-1937," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2014),112-149. http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2kh7r50h.

1954) launched the research and connoisseurial project to categorize and archive the collection. Moreover, officially announced by the Department of Rituals and Customs affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior, "Every object restored and displayed in the institute is about the national essence."[87] Artifacts were categorized into four groups including painting and calligraphy, epigraphy, porcelain, and miscellaneous crafts. The connoisseurial team invited people of different sociopolitical backgrounds and nationalities on board, which involved people such as John Calvin Ferguson (1866-1945), Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955), and Rong Geng 容庚 (1894-1983).[88] Compared to the committee member directory proposed by the fourth office of the

[87] "Letters of Appointment and Name List of the Connoisseurial," 272-273.

[88] The original announcement publicized by the Ministry of Inner Affair proposes a committee consisting of Luo Zhenyü 羅振玉 (1866-1940), Xiao Nen 蕭恁 (date unknown), Xu Hongbao 徐鴻寶 (1881-1971), John Calvin Ferguson (1866-1945), Xu Baolin 徐寶琳 (date unknown) maybe Xu Zhonglin 徐仲琳, Rong Geng 容庚 (1894-1983), Chen Chengxiu 陳承修 (date unknown), Qing Kuan 慶寬 (1848-1927), Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955), Chen Shili 陳時利 (date unknown), Chen Handi 陳漢弟 (1874-1949), Shao Changguang 邵長光 (1884-1968), Guo Baochang 郭葆昌 (1867-1942), Aisin Gioro Bao Xi 寶熙 (1868-1942), Chen Liu 陳瀏 (date unknown), Yan Shiqing 顏世清 (1873-1929), Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927), Wang Ti 王禔 (Wang Shouqi 王壽祺, 1880-1960), and Yuan Lizhun 袁勵準 (1876-1935).

The finalized board members included Chen Jianqiu 陳劍秋 for painting and calligraphy, Li Muzhai 李木齋 (1859-1937) for epigraphy and uncategorized crafts, Xu Zhonglin 徐仲琳 for porcelain and uncategorized crafts, John Calvin Ferguson (1866-1945) for painting and calligraphy plus porcelain, Yu Jimen 余戟門 for porcelain, Xu Hongbao 徐鴻寶 (1881-1971) for painting and calligraphy plus epigraphy, Chen Zhongshu 陳仲恕 for painting and calligraphy plus uncategorized crafts, Chen Liangbo 陳亮伯 for painting and calligraphy plus porcelain and uncategorized crafts, Wang Ti 王禔 (Wang Shouqi 王壽祺, 1880-1960) for epigraphy and uncategorized crafts, Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955) for epigraphy and uncategorized crafts, Rong Geng 容庚 (1894-1983) for epigraphy, Shao Bojiong 邵伯絅 for painting and calligraphy plus epigraphy and uncategorized crafts, Liang Hongzhi 梁鴻志 (1882-1946) painting and calligraphy plus epigraphy, Guo Shiwu 郭世五 (1867-1940) for painting and calligraphy plus epigraphy, Zhang Boying 張伯英 (1871-1949) for painting and calligraphy plus uncategorized crafts, Xiao Qianzhong 蕭謙中(1883-1944) for painting and calligraphy, Chen Huaisheng 陳淮

Department of Rituals and Customs, the Connoisseurial Committee introduced in the twentieth anniversary special issue excluded a few Qing loyalists such as Luo Zhenyü 羅振玉 (1866-1940) and added official-intellectuals serving the Beiyang government such as Li Muzhai 李木齋 (1859-1937) who superseded both epigraphy and uncategorized crafts. Qing loyalists were two-way tokens buffed between the collapsed Qing regime and the new republican state. The loyalists' involvement comforted and assured the royal family, indicating a friendly signal from the Beiyang government. However, the constitution of the actual committee indicated the departure from the gradually weakened Qing influence, and also stipulated the departure from the bio-connoisseurial tradition specialized by collector-connoisseurs to a more academia oriented discipline by school instructors and officials of the cultural sectors.

Although the Institute for Displaying Antiquities depoliticized the Forbidden City and transformed it into a state-sponsored art museum, in its early years, it was not intrinsically democratic for visitors and failed to realize its social educational function for the masses mainly due to the missing educational programs and very expensive admission. However, it functioned more successfully as a diplomatic channel and showroom of the national culture, because comparatively, the foreigners were more welcomed and had easier access to the collection. The high price of the institute's ticket, despite its student and military discount, kept the masses outside the entrance and even the art lovers from elite socioeconomic class could not frequent the monthly rotated exhibitions. A November 1917 monthly facts-and-data report writes, "From November 1 to 30, 1917, the Institute sold 1,148 tickets for the three halls and 740 tickets for either the Hall of Literary Brilliance or the Hall of Martial Valor. On November 2, because the

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生 (1885-1932) for epigraphy, and Yan Shiqing 顏世清 (1873-1929) for painting and calligraphy.

central park was running a charity lottery, the Institute offered half-priced tickets for a day, which resulted in 141 entrance tickets and 117 tickets for the special exhibitions…The total monthly income, including Chinese currency and bills issued by Bank of Communications, was 1,207 *yuan* three *jiao* and seven *fen*."[89] Based on the sales income, the ticket price roughly matched that in historian Gu Jiegang's 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) account and a 1928 brochure.[90] Approximately, forty people visited the Institute on a daily base, while a dozen visited each side hall which housed the best of the royal collection rotated every month. Despite the frequently refreshed exhibitions, the visitor flow was visibly poor.

Gu Jiegang wrote about his previous visits to the Institute, pointing out that the high price blocked the ordinary people from seeing the art.

> Now, in order to enter the East Glorious Gate or the West Glorious Gate, one has to pay three *jiao*, and if one pays one *yuan* for exhibitions in either side hall. During the discount period, it costs five *jiao* to visit the Hall of Literary Brilliance or the Hall of Martial Valor, but the ticket for passing the East or West gate is unchanged. Therefore, for one time visit, it costs two *yuan* and three *jiao* for its regular price and one *yuan* and three *jiao* when there is a discount. During a devastating period like now, the high prices does nothing but keeping people outside. On February 5, my wife and I went to the Hall of Martial Valor and handed in a five-*yuan* bill. They could not even find four *yuan* as changes. Luckily, we found a one-*yuan* bill and bought the ticket. During the next three

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[89] "Cheng neiwubu bensou liunian shiyiyue shi'eryuefen shoujuan bing jiaokuan you" 呈內務部本所六年十一月十二月份售券並繳款由 [To Ministry of the Interior, income and expense of the Institute in November and December, 1917], record no. jfqgwcw100071, Archives of the Museum History, The Palace Museum Digital Archives 故宫博物院档案室藏院史档案, Beijing, China, in Wu Shizhou, "The Nature and Employee Composition," 10.

[90] "Gemen shoujuan jiamu" 各門售券價目[Ticket prices] in Guwu chenliesuo youlan zhinan 古物陳列所遊覽指南[Guide for visitors to the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], about 1928, quoted by Duan Yong 段勇, "The Rise and Fall of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," 27.

In the brochure, the ticket for the three halls is five *jiao* and one *yuan* for each side hall, which is two *jiao* higher than the 1917 and 1925 accounts.

> hours, there were only five or six visitors. It was during lunar new year holiday sale, but there were barely any visitors…[91]

Comparatively, around the same years, a manual worker in a light industry factory in Jinan could receive as little as 2.74 *yuan* per month, slightly above a one-time ticket of two *yuan* and three *jiao* for the Institute.[92] It is no wonder that Gu contemptuously comments that "It is unsurprising to see how hilarious the bureaucratic way of doing things. If they do not want to have visitor, they can simply allow private views by invitation only. If they want to make a profit, there are plenty of ways to maximize sales income while setting up a high ticket price could only reduce sales."[93]

While the Institute failed to carry out its social educational function for the Chinese society, it executed a series of diplomatic gestures and internationalist attempts. Described in *Twilight in the Forbidden City*, in the 1910s, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities attracted thousands of visitors from all over the world.[94] According to historian Duan Yong, since 1919, the three grand halls – the "three courts" where the Son of Heaven ruled from according to

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[91] Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "Guwu chenliesuo shuhua yilu"古物陳列所書畫憶錄 [My travel memoir of the painting and calligraphy in the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], *Modern Criticism* 現代評論, vol. 1, issue 19-24, (1925), 182.

The weekly periodical *Xiandai pinglun* 現代評論 is called *Contemporary Review* by C. T. Hsia in *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (2nd ed., p. 479), but I will call it *Modern Criticism* here, because the founding group named themselves Modern Criticism Group in English and correspondingly, *Xiandai pinglun pai* 現代評論派 in Chinese.

[92] Jinan Academy of Social Sciences 濟南社會科學院 ed., *Jinan jianshi* 濟南簡史 [A brief history of Jinan] (Jinan: Qilu Press, 1986), 554.

[93] Gu Jiegang, "My Travel Memoir," 182.

[94] Reginald Johnston 莊士敦, *Twilight in the Forbidden City* 紫禁城的黃昏 (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2010), 180.

ancient Zhou rituals – had been used to receive important foreign visitors.[95] For instance, on February 19, 1919, twenty-five Swedish ministers to China were invited to visit the Hall of Supreme Harmony; On October 29, 1919, Prince Tokugawa Iesato, head of House of Peers (*kizoku-in*, 貴族院), visited the two side halls and the Hall of Supreme Harmony; Between February 25 and 27, 1921, the three grand halls held a charity gala for both Chinese and foreign elites for disaster relief; Marshal Joseph Joffre of France was invited to visit the three grand halls and two side halls.[96] These visits were public diplomacy which further museumified the three grand halls. The halls became one stop on the cultural tour of sightseeing – a purely visual experience of foreign visitors who did not share collective memory of the emperor's sovereignty and the palace's symbolic meaning. If the Chinese visitors' experience historicized the three halls by perceiving the site as a modern *xu*, the foreign visitors' aesthetic appreciation flattened the space with aesthetic disinterest. Very likely, the foreign visitors would perceive the architecture and exhibition in the Forbidden City with their empirical experience and understand the Institute as an art museum and a historical site like the Greek Parthenon. In this way, the historical site was further aestheticized into a cultural symbol that had political function.

Furthermore, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities assisted the Beiyang and later KMT governments in the attempt to assimilate into Euromodernity, institutional orders, and cultural advancement of the imperial modern nations. The internationalist attempt included making postcards which publicized the Institute and showcased China's connectivity with the West in a synchronous way. Reportedly, in February 1916, the Institute bought its own printing machine

[95] Ibid., 210.

[96] Duan Yong, "The Rise and Fall of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," 26.

and set up a new office for prints. The office quickly came up with a series of postcards for sale.[97] Based on the illustrations in two accounts published in *Philatelic Magazine* 集郵博覽, the graphic side of postcard is a photo of either an artwork in the collection or an architectural complex in the Forbidden City. At the bottom side of the white border which frames the photo, a caption is included, such as "A View outside The Hall of Martial Valor" and "Embroidered Pine Trees, Cranes and Ganoderma, from Collection of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities."[98]

"Real photo" postcards were first produced and popularized after 1907 when the Kodak "postcard camera" was in use. Reportedly, the postcard camera could take a picture and then print a postcard-size negative of the picture. The top middle of the message side writes "POST CARD" and its Chinese translation "郵政明信片" in right-to-left Chinese traditional script direction. The bottom middle writes "Published by the Museum of the Board of Interior, China" without a Chinese translation and settled on a left-to-right direction. A vertical line divides the left and right sides, which reflects the international convention called "divided back" which decrees that the message to be on the left and address the right. The Republic of China joined the Universal Postal Union on March 1, 1914, meaning that China would not need to negotiate customized postal treaty with each country for exchanging mails, which expedited China's assimilation to the modern-nation's standard. The real photo postcards presented not only a civilization in material culture and art but also showed a "pre-modern" nation's modernization attempt to brand its cultural identity in visual art. Moreover, this time, transnational cultural construction was not reserved for a specific situation limited to the designated communal groups, such as gift exchange between the royal families or world expos, but it encouraged active

[97] Ibid., 30.

[98] Wu Ling, "The World's Oldest 'Museum Postcards," 6-7.

participation – sending, sharing and collecting the postcards – of those who bought the inexpensive print products. The stochastic journeys of the postcards led to recipients of different sociocultural background, which liberated both the art and the viewer, but at the same time the individual stochastic processes were highly regulated by the worldwide network of the postal system. Yet the individually democratized viewing experience in the globally institutionalized system marked China's endeavor for modernity modeled by the West.



Figure 1.5. Postcard Issued by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, Showing A Piece of Kesi Tapestry Screen, circa. 1917. Text: *Kesi guaping guwu chen lie suo* 緙絲掛屏古物陳列所 [Kesi tapestry screen, Institute for Displaying Antiquities]. Photo postcard. Source: auction site.

The minimally captioned subjects and sites on the postcard were entirely decontextualized from the sociocultural setting especially when the postcard was sent abroad, and then recontextualized as a means of media by the sender's text about his or her personal travel experience, the conscience given to the receiver, and the ambivalent semi-publicity. The

ambivalent name "public letter" 明信片[*mingxinpian*] for a postcard connotes both publicity and privacy, suggesting that a postcard interacts with the spheres of the private space and media – traditionally a prototypical media token is published, copied, distributed (maybe virtually) and passed on to the next person. Therefore, unlike the site for public diplomacy in formal or semi-formal context, the postcard of Chinese artifacts and historical sites became part of a new self-consciouness of the internationality of everyday life. The postcard is both a dependent and an enhancer in the internationality and intermediality sense: the sender gets to brag about his or her unusual visual experience on the exotic journey, and the pictures on the postcase also promote the printed subject, expanding the publicity and viewership.[99]

Conclusion: Facts and Significance of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities

In conclulsion, the chapter comprehensively delineates the establishment and institutional properties of the Insitute for Displaying Antiquities as an *in situ* museum occupying part of the Forbidden City, which symbolized the early years of the Republic of China as the liminality for the state and the society. In the liminal phase of a religious ritual, one is trapped between the unestablished new way and the previous construction of identity, normality, commonality, and commitment. That the main part of the Forbidden City became the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was an iconoclastic moment of the symbol that regulated and ritualized time and space. The collapsed past could no longer be restored to its untouched, old appearance. The distorted, reserved and dissolved spatial segregation and temporal regularity left a ruined wasteland for later activities and institutions to reconstruct the new framework. The visitors participated in the art immersive experience called "museum visit." From revolution to

[99] Jan-Ola Östman, "The Postcard as Media," *Text & Talk*, vol. 24, issue 3 (January 2004): 423-442. https://doi.org/10.1515/text.2004.017.

reenactment, the palace-turned-into museum embodied three significant sociohistorical identities: a national museum as part of the institutional configuration of a modern nation-state, a device that reduced the complex symbolic system into democratized visuality, and a social educational sector that replaced religion to bring the awareness of social solidarity to the public.

Firstly, to establish a national museum was on the one hand following the institutional configuration of a modern state, and on the other hand reconstructing history on the present base for nation-building purposes. Confronting the collapse of the Qing empire and overpowering foreign forces, the intellectuals and the Beiyang government all realized that the old system was unfit for the new world. Wherefore, how to become a modern nation-state became a lingering discourse in every aspect of instrumental rationality, specialization of social function, and formation of bureaucratic organizations. When dealing with the functionally and politically emptied Forbidden City, the government looked at other modern nations for reference, finding that "Both Eastern and Western nations have gathered rare treasures and founded specialized institutes to showcase industrial achievements and to provide artists with visual resources."[100] Therefore, to turn the old palace into a museum and to decide the new institution's beauracratic affiliation signaled an early attempt to be part of the "Eastern and Western nations" which "founded specialized institutes to showcase." The Republic of China was "defined and shaped … according to the nature of foreign relations" and also based on the institutional models of the imperial powers, namely the Euro-American countries and Japan.[101] The institute not only

[100] *Archival Materials of Republic of China* 中华民国史档案资料汇编, vol. 3: Culture, 269.

[101] William C. Kirby, "The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in the Republican Era," special issue "Reappraising Republican China," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, no. 150, *The China Quarterly* (June, 1997): 443.

showcased the artefacts, but also the institute itself, so the institute hosted diplomatic activities, received diplomats and welcomed foreign visitors. The postcards further introduced the institute to the rest of the world, through the newly built global network that modernized and standardized the communication channel.

The Institute for Displaying Antiquities was a radical sign demonstrating the commitment of the Republic of China to becoming a modern, disenchanted, culturalistic nation-state in the globalized world. China was not a rule maker in modern global history. By using the phrase "modern global history," I refer to a few major historical milestones that led to social economic changes in Europe and America, such as the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. Coined by historian Kenneth Pomeranz, the Great Divergence describes the process by which the Western world overcame pre-modern growth constraints and emerged during the 19th century as the most powerful and wealthy world civilization.[102] The following chapters further develop the disourse on how the newly emerged art institutions involved in the process of state-buildling and nation-building like other modern nation-states. For instance, the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Chapter Two on the two overseas exhibitions discusses how the artist-intellectuals regarded the literati painting as the equivalent of European modernist dynamism, so the exhibitory curation, lectures and *in situ* spontaneous painting were to establish China as an equal but alternative modernity outside the West world. The *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in the same chapter was the first overseas exhibition was a loan exhibition which mobilized multiple ministries of the government, promoted cultural

[102] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

nationalism in a statist way, which showed that the modern nation-building and modern state-building simultaneously progressed and mutually enhanced.

Secondly, visual democratization of the constructed past entailed a reflection on the strengthened common identity for those who had been radically cut from the past. The public's visual access to the collection housed in the public institution changed the conception of collection, the representation of power, and the relationship between power and visibility. In her book chapter "Defining the Collection," art historian Nicole T.C. Chiang points out that the notion of collecting and collection – *shoucang* 收藏 – in Qing dynasty, which involves two actions: to *shou* 收 [acquire] and to *cang* 藏 [hide, make invisible].[103] And the final and essential step of the whole process was to make the acquired object invisible to anyone other than the collector and the close cohort in an elegant gathering. Invisibility, mystery, and the privileged access to the publicly invisible and legendary objects together empowered and assured the authority of the collector. So although since Qianlong Emperor's reign, art acquisition, archives, research and management had been an institutional behavior conducted by experts of different expertise, it could hardly be called a prototype of a modern museum.

Unlike the bronze and marble figurative monuments presenting masculinity and war victory, or the large-scaled oil paintings by Charles Le Brun, the representation and presentation of power in dynastic China was not about monumentality and expanded visibility, but about the inaccessibility, invisibility, and distance from the ordinary. The inside of the Forbidden City was hidden behind the rather moderate wall and gates, and people from outside could only see the

[103] Nicole T.C. Chiang, "Defining the Collection" in *Emperor Qianlong's Hidden Treasures: Reconsidering the Collection of the Qing Imperial Household* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 1-19.

roofs under which the unseen "son of heaven" sat and ruled. Turned into the Institute for Displaying Antiquities, the public space of arts and crafts expanded the viewing experience from the owner and his close entourage, to a larger body of foreigners, intellectuals and emerging middle classes. Before, the hidden collection was part of the identity of its owner. After the transformation, the artefacts on display became part of the shared cultural identity of the viewers, and the cultural symbol of China as a nation-state in the eyes of the foreigners.

The ultimate democratization of aesthetics is mass art – the main discourse in Chapter Three on institutionalized design and crafts in modern education, mass production and mass market. A few design educators and theorists believed that design education should focus more on the industrial aspect than the artistic pursuit, because while collectable antiquities and luxury handicrafts longed by a certain class of people, the mass production could meet the need of the growing salary earners and achieve visual democratization.[104] The mass production boosted the mass market, and the technologized visuality of advertisement and machine-manufactured products made by the spectator-makers embodied the idea of capitalist realism among the spectator-buyers. Individuals removed from traditional commitments and support system became the modern masses, and they existed in the labor market and as a consumer. The traditional ties and social forms were replaced by new institutions, so the masses as spectator-buyers need to decide about how to act and who to be with the free-floating visual signs in the spectator-market.

Last but not least, while both the Institute for Conserving Antiquities (Institute for Conserving Ritual Objects) and the Institute for Displaying Antiquities were both affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior, the later museums and exhibitions were part of the Department of Social

[104]Chen Zhifo 陳之佛, "Meishu gongye de benzhi he fanwei" 美術工業的本質和範圍 [Ontology and scope of artistic industry], *Yiban* 一般, vol. 5, issues 1 to 4 (July 1928): 342.

Education under the Ministry of Education. The change of the institutional affiliation explains the new relationship between the revolutionized past and the reenacted present, and the changed social involvement and societal function of the museum from a religious facility to a social educational device. As the Institute for Ritual Objects affiliated to the sector of rituals and customs, the institute and the artefacts on display were part of the ongoing present, and used by the ruling class to regulate the society. Cai Yuanpei saw how religion could gather people, create communities and common identities, and permeate knowledge and feelings amongst the community members. He further realized the similarity between religion and art, that both could teach and evoke with content, emotion and empathy. As he writes, "Religion stays within the citizens' spiritual realm and constitutes a large portion of social education, so some European countries institutionalize religion as part of the Ministry of Education. Rituals and customs are mostly related to religious practices, so both belong to the education."[105] Hence, the museum became the new temples and churches for the disenchanted modern citizens.

Initially as a place mainly to storage and preserve, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities carried out social educational duties and became a modern temple – a museum. After the three halls and two side halls were open to the public, the museum etiquette in 1915 prevented the visitors from taking photos or sketching the architectures and artefacts. Both Chinese and foreign scholars needed to submit application for special studies on designated objects or genres. Led by Zhou Zhaoxiang, the executive of the institute since 1926, the academicization of the museum,

[105] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Jiaoyubu yi yi neiwubu guanzhi lijiaosi yiru jiaoyubu an" 教育部議以內務部官制禮教司移入教育部案 [The file on moving the Department of Etiquette from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Education] in The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 3: Education (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 11-12.

including the research and connoisseurial project to categorize and archive the collection, brought the new understanding of the artefact that "every object restored and displayed in the institute is about the national essence."[106] The "national essence" was the new cult to permeate the society. Later, in April 1937, the institute launched the Ink Painting Research Workshop for artists and art students to study and conduct research on the collection. The proposal writes, "The nature of the institute is a social education agency, so the antiquities, including vessels, painting and calligraphy, and carvings, are for scholarly research."[107] The proposal suggested that the institute should further connect with art schools and art departments in comprehensive universities, so higher education and social education could jointly boost academic achievement and propagate national culture.

The display of arts and crafts in a museum setting as the social educational device constructs the past, teaches the masses about the present with the curated past, and proposes the future as the common goal for the masses. "Who controls the present controls the past," and "who controls the past controls the future."[108] The present rulership of the Beiyang government and then the KMT government inherited the material remains of the past, accessed to the historical record, and controlled the communication channels. To construct history was to legitimize the present, to educate the youth, and to guide the future. In the chapter of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (1937), the archeological, the traditional, the present and the design drawings for future projects were juxtaposed side by side, which together instructed the public

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[106] "Letters of Appointment and Name List of the Connoisseurial," 272-273.

[107] Xu Wanling 徐婉玲, "Guwu chenliesuo guohua yanjiuguan kaiban shimo"古物陳列所國畫研究館開辦始末 [History of the ink painting research institute launched by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities], *Palace Museum Journal* 故宫博物院院刊, issue 5 (May 2014):18.

[108] George Orwell, *Nineteen Eight-Four (1984)* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949).

on the common cultural identity and social role in the society. The visitors prided themselves on the past glory materialized by the archeological findings from Anyang and Dunhuang on display, so an imagined past connection was built and shared. The then-contemporary ink painting reflected the artists' takeaway from the public display of collections in the museum. The artists' perception on art was broadened by the encyclopedic exhibitions of the masterpieces from different dynasties and of different styles, which resulted in a blooming variety of stylistic references and fusions. The social educational agencies of display venues and collection-based museums allowed artists to break the narrow-minded dichotomy of the literati and the academic, the Chinese and the Western, as well as the archaic revivalism and the modern twist. The national painting of China in the then-present broke the boundaries of schools and anachronistically viewed the entire history of Chinese ink paintings as a visual library, so the works on display reflected the ideal of atavistic culturalism and historicism. The curated past led to the curated present, which sent a message to the future to further promote cultural nationalism.

Chapter Two: Internationalist Nationalism and Statist Internationalism: *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*,1934 and *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, 1935

Section I: Nationalism on the International Stage: *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, 1934

After Japan's invasion and occupation of Manchuria in September 1931, the Kuomintang (KMT) authorities fully realized that the Republic of China was navigating the complex system of the modern world without two major sailing instruments: the economic and the military powers. China's absence in the hard-power leagues of money and military strength urged the alternative powers – culture, tradition and morality – to chime in and assume the responsibility to communicate to the domestic and global audiences. Thus it was necessary in this context to project a unified image of China as a modern nation-state that also possessed a venerable set of past traditions making it the equal of European countries. It was also urgent for the KMT to be seen as the party that could unify the various elements within China and subordinate them to a shared nationalist ideal. The Chinese artist-intellectuals' faith in systematically reviving and studying traditional arts and crafts, combined with the diplomatic incapability and frustration, plus Japan's outperformance in art on the global stage with outnumbered exhibitions and well-known scholars, could have been all that was needed for the increase in quality and quantity of Chinese art exhibitions in the 1930s.

In 1925, two non-governmental organizations – the Society of Chinese Artists in France and the Society of Chinese Decorative Art in France – managed to secure China's involvement in the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* (1925) in Paris, which was noticeably lesser in scale and quality compared to the exhibitors of other countries. Art historian Craig Clunas expresses his respect to the participation in the exposition by calling the proactive move "brave" and even "heroic," because at the time "The rest of Asia (with the significant exception of Japan), Africa and the Islamic world were spoken for and represented, if

at all, by the orientalist discourse of their colonial possessors, principally France."[109] Progressively, Republican China's participation in *L'Exposition Internationale de Liège* in 1930 was led by Chu Minyi 褚民誼 (1884-1946) and sponsored by the KMT government. The Chinese pavilion featured local crafts, especially products made of silk and cotton. The crafts and light industrial products were accompanied by more than 180 pieces of then-contemporary paintings collected by Ye Gongchuo 叶恭绰 (1881-1968), which were not included in the main exhibition, but later on display in October 1930 at the Liège Art Gallery.[110]

The art exhibition gradually found its own niche in the project of not only representing the culture but also materializing the nation – while the burial artifacts made the ancient China real, the then-contemporary arts acted as agents of cultural continuity, linking present and past. Compared to the participation in the 1930 Liège exposition, in which artworks only had accessorized the main exhibition, the original plan of the state-sponsored participation in the 1933 *A Century of Progress International Exposition* in Chicago was to take ink paintings, both ancient and contemporary, as one of the categories to highlight China's "century-long progress" by adopting scientific method of display. This vision, however, was not fully realized due to the destabilized political situation and financial insufficiency after the September 1931 Mukden Incident.[111] Artist-intellectuals such as Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994) were involved in the

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[109] Craig Clunas "Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France 1924-1925," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 44 (1989): 100. DOI:10.3406/arasi.1989.1262.

[110] Yuan Zhihuang 袁之煌 and Chen Zuen 陳祖恩, *Liu Haisu nianpu* 劉海粟年譜 [Chronology of Liu Haisu] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publisher, 1992), 97.

[111] "Bainianlai kexuehua jinbu: canjia zhibo zhengpin zhanlanhui zuo xing kaimuli (fu tupian) Chen weiyuanzhang zhuxi zhi kaihuici, mei canzan yanshuo shi zhongmei qinshan, chenliepin jun minggui, canguan yongji" 百年來科學化進步:參加芝博征品展覽會昨行開幕禮(附圖片) 陳委員長主席致開會詞,美參贊演說示中美親善,陳列品均名貴,參觀擁擠 [A century of

preparatory process. The 1934-1935 traveling exhibitions in Europe *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* [Chinese Contemporary Art] initiated by Liu Haisu and *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise* [Exhibition of Chinese Painting] by Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953) both received governmental support.[112] Needless to say, the 1935-1936 *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London was full-heartedly supported and vouched by the KMT government, which publicly confronted public doubts and conspiratorial suspicion about whether the exhibition was actually to cover the government's true intention of selling or gifting the antiquities to the foreigners. To delineate the enthusiasm in promoting traditional art overseas, most previous studies have concluded with a broad narrative about the demands of cultural nationalism among the citizens and nation building for the government. Identified by historian William Kirby, these studies adopt a more "interior approach," meaning that one tries to solely draw on domestic facts to

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scientific progress: exhibition of the submissions for the Chicago Exposition opened yesterday; Chairman Chen [Gongbo] gave the opening speech; American counsellor called for Sino-American friendship. Audiences flooded into the hall for precious exhibits (pictures included)] *Shen Bao* 申報, February 9, 1933.

[112] Most studies believe that Liu's exhibition received financial support from the government but Xu's did not, but it is not true. First, according to the decree No. 182 of Control Yuan, the preparatory committee of the Berlin exhibition was not adequately paid even after the traveling exhibition was over. The KMT government finally agreed to reissue the budget to the committee. Xu wrote a letter complaining that he only received part of the promised amount, showing that Xu's exhibition, although lesser in budget, was sponsored.

"Jianchayuan xunling di 182 hao feng guofu ling wei bolin zhongguo meishu zhanlanhui choubeihui chengqing bufa jingfei nizhuo gei guobi 6,5000 yuan zai 1935 jiaoyu wenhua fei diyi yubei fei xiangxia dong zhihe yu yusuan zhangcheng shangwu buhe yingzhun zhaoban deng yin chi zhaoyou"監察院訓令第一八二號奉國府令為柏林中國美術展覽會籌備會呈請補發經費擬酌給國幣六千五百元在二十四年度教育文化費第一預備費項下動支核與預算章程尚無不合應準照辦等因轉飭照由[Control Yuan decree no. 182: the national government considers retroactively pay the preparatory committee of the Berlin art exhibition 6,500 yuan. The payment comes from the annual education and culture budget of 1935. The quote asked by the preparatory committee matches the budget, so the proposal is passed.], *Shenjibu gongbao* 審計部公報 [National Audit Office bulletin], issue 55 (1935)

explain phenomena of China, while largely neglecting the international dimension. Therefore, many epistemological questions on the nature of the correlation between the exhibitions, the initiators, and the sponsors are left unanswered. This part of the chapter focuses on the 1934 *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* organized by Liu Haisu and challenges the interior approach by contextualizing the cultural nationalism within diplomatic tension.

Domestically, as theorized by historian Eric Hobsbawm, educational institutions are the most important incubator for nationalist thoughts, and towards the end of the 1920s, the increasing educational resources to some extent cured the modern knowledge famine in China's cultural realm, which made the revival and promotion of traditional art possible. The expanded literary class and intellectual community, including returned graduates from abroad, would be able to contribute to the invented tradition and the imaged community of the nation. The source to formulate a national identity in the global context was humanism and cultural tradition.[113] Hobsbawm writes that nationalism is constructed from above by economic and political elites, and in the earlier phase of the development of nationalism it involves political campaigners trying to raise awareness and mobilize their countrymen.[114] As literature professor Ni Wei argues, "In the eyes of those nationalist cultural theorists, the emphasis on 'nationhood' and 'nation' as a whole could effectively homogenize previously divergent ideologies and ideals.

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[113] Li Anyuan 李安源, *Liu Haisu he Cai Yuanpei* 劉海粟和蔡元培 [Liu Haisu and Cai Yuanpei] (Jinan: Shandong Pictorial Publishing House, 2012), 96.

[114] Eric Hobsbawm, "Foreword," in *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45* (London: Hayward Gallery, 1995).

Eric Hobsbawm. "The transformation of nationalism, 1870-1918," in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 101-130.

And their practical goal was to persuade the countrymen that the KMT government was the real-life embodiment of the abstract idea known as 'nation(hood).'"[115] In the late 1920s, the KMT government had fully recognized the failure of its cultural strategies to fight against the leftist writers and artists whose insubordinate art and literature had been emphasizing the class struggle and especially inspirational to the young audiences, so the KMT strategically synchronized the idea of a "nation," making it an unbreakable entity without Maxist class differentiation.

Globally, the 1930s can be rhetorically called one of the most turbulent eras that affected and further tied the world population together. As a result, Kirby asserts that Republic of China "was defined and shaped … according to the nature of foreign relations."[116] Facing Japanese troops in the Northeast and anti-Japanese movements all over China, the authority of the KMT government was destabilized due to its visible lack of commitment to national defense and toxic foreign policy of appeasement. Their excuse of endless "preparation to resist" without taking effective actions inevitably led to lost of faith in the party, which had built its reputation on

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[115] Ni Wei 倪偉, *"Minzu" xiangxiang he guojia tongzhi: 1928-1949 guomingdang de wenyi zhengce he wenxue yundong* "民族"想象和國家統制:1928-1949 國民黨的文藝政策和文學運動 [Imagined nation and systemized state: literary and art policies and literature movements led by the KMT party,1928-1949] (Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press: 2003), 133.

In a few book reviews, the reviewers translate the word *tongzhi* 統制 in the book title as "state control." I suspect that the translators confused *tongzhi* 統制 with the more commonly used word for a state, *tongzhi* 統治. The *tongzhi* 統制 in the book title means to institutionalize into a system of institutions, while *tongzhi* 統治 means to control and to police. Therefore, the translation of the book title here is different from the book reviews online.

[116] William C. Kirby. "The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in "Reappraising Republican China," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, special issue, *The China Quarterly*, no. 150, (June, 1997): 443.

reunification in 1927 and anti-imperialism.[117] On April 15, 1932, Mao Zedong 毛澤東(1893-1976), on behalf of the Chinese Soviet Republic, said: "The investigation group assigned by the League of the Nation is an organization that holds meetings to discuss how to carve up and share the loot of China and Shanghai."[118] This denouncement sums up a common view that was shared by many Chinese after the League had conducted a lengthy investigation but imposed no economic or military sanctions on Japan. Situated in the gathering storm of a global war, China was experiencing institutional betrayal caused by the League of the Nation, performing "appeasement" diplomacy for the benefit of the world powers, and fighting a battle of culture against Japan to seize back its position as Asia's cultural capital.

The series of international exhibitions of traditional Chinese arts, including Liu Haisu's *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, was realized under both the government's timely urgency "to impress, to present a favorable image," and each exhibition was shaped by its organizers' anxiety and (mis)understanding of traditional art.[119] The arts on display, the lectures introducing Chinese civilization, and the academic discourses on Chinese art history were all part of the "appeasement" diplomacy which can be further specified as a form of "public diplomacy." It is a term coined by diplomat Edmund Asbury Gullion in 1965, which "encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with

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[117] Lincoln Li, *Student Nationalism in China, 1924-1949* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 94.

[118] National Archives Administration of China ed., *Selective Documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (1921-1949)* (Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1985), vol. 8, 182-186.

[119] J. M. Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 5.

those of another..."[120] For instance, at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Wellington Koo 顧維鈞 (1888-1985) gave an impassioned speech about the importance of Shandong province to China, describing it as "the cradle of Chinese civilization" and "a Holy Land for the Chinese," because it was the birth land of Confucius and Mencius.[121] Public diplomacy on the one hand avoided direct confrontation of economic and military interest in traditional "hard" diplomacy; on the other hand, it mobilized the cultured and literate citizens – such as journalists, curators, and other middle- and upper-class members of the population who usually had more social and institutional capital – to probe politics with their voice. The intention of public diplomacy corresponded to what historian Xu Guoqi calls "internationalist nationalism" which led to many of China's overseas cultural activities that intended to internationalize China and merge China into the "world."[122] Kirby and many other scholars have recognized China's increasingly active participation in the "universal partnership" after the much trusted league had "fail[ed] to prevent or respond supportively to wrongdoings."[123]

The exhibition *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* first created an opportunity for China to show the instrumental rationality, specialization of function, and bureaucratic organization of a modern society to the European empires. The constitution of the Chinese committee and the

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[120] 'What is public diplomacy?' The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, Tufts University, accessed November 8, 2020, http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy.

[121] Bruce A. Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question* (Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 42.

[122] Wellington Koo, *Wellington Koo Memoir* 顧維鈞回憶錄, trans. Te-Kong Tong (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company and Xinhua Book Store Beijing Publishing House, 1983-1994), vol. 1, 162.

[123] William C. Kirby, "The Internationalization of China," 443.

German committee shared the commitment to this exhibition with diplomatic officiality and institutional professionalism. In June 1932, the 42nd meeting of the Executive Yuan chose the Preparatory Committee and twelve board members, including the pro-Germany Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua 朱家驊 (1893-1963), Germany-educated head of Academia Sinica Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), head of National Institute of Beiping Li Shizeng 李石曾 (1881-1973), and Chinese ambassador to Germany Liu Wendao 劉文島 (1863-1967). On August 6, 1932, the permanent council was constituted with Cai Yuanpei, Xu Beihong, Ye Gongchuo, Chen Shuren 陳樹人 (1884-1948), Liu Haisu and Gao Qifeng 高奇峰 (1889-1933).[124] In November 1932, the Preparatory Committee expanded and included people of tremendous cultural capital and institutional resource such as intellectual-businessman Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867-1938), core member of KMT Zhang Daofan 張道藩 (1897-1968), art professor Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864-1957), principal of Hangzhou National College of Art Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991), intellectual gentry Di Pingzi 狄平子 (1872-1941), and head of Academia Historica Zhang Ji 張繼 (1882-1947).[125] The long list of honorary members with official titles and institutional affiliations indicates that art and culture were regulated and supported by a designated governmental organization – the Ministry of Education. Before this time, China lacked anything resembling a modern centralized state which characterized the great imperial powers at the time. Many events of the state – including art exhibitions, cultural events, participation in overseas expositions, and educational programs – were exercised by alternative

[124] Wang Zhen 王震, *Xu Beihong nianpu changbian* 徐悲鴻年譜長編[A detailed chronological table of Xu Beihong] (Shanghai: Shanghai Pictorial Publishing House, 2006), 91, 137, 153.

[125] Ibid.

powers such as military agents, local gentries, or business tycoons. The KMT government, regardless of its desperate situation after the Mukden Incident and Chiang's stepping down, was the sole sovereign of China. Historian Mark Ravina asserts that "In a world of nation-states …if we treat international order as a society and states as actors then the implications of a common international culture becomes more apparent."[126] The institutional-organizational nature behind the curatorialship of the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, along with political interference of art and diplomatically politicized art, showcased China's dedication to its role on the global stage, while the traditional form of art only enhanced the particular position of the role.

Correspondingly, the German Preparatory Committee consisted of ten members: an officer from the Federal Foreign Office, Dr. Wilhelm Solf who was the president of the Oriental Art Association and former German Ambassador to Japan, Dr. Eng. V. Klemperer who was the vice president of the Oriental Art Association, Otto Kümmel who was the secretary general of the Oriental Art Association and director of the Oriental Museum and professor of Berlin University, William Cohn who was the deputy secretary general of the Oriental Art Association and director of the National Museum, Boerschmann who was professor of the Technical University of Berlin and architect adviser to the government, Dr. Glaser who was the director of the National Art Library and professor at Berlin University, Dr. Ginsberz who was the accounting officer of the Oriental Art Association, Dr. Von der Heyde who was the accounting officer of the Oriental Art Association, and Dr. Amcrsdorffer who was the secretary general of

[126] Mark Ravina, "State-Making in Global Context: Japan in a World of Nation-States," in *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State,* ed. Joshua Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005): 90.

and professor at Berlin University.[127] In April 1933, a meeting was held in the Consulate of China in Berlin, during which honorary and executive teams on both sides were finalized, as well as the miscellaneous budget and insurance of the arts. The participants at the meeting also sought to attach a price tag to each work, and determined that a ten-percent commission of the sales would go to the Prussian Institute of Art.[128]

The exhibition raised controversy and was challenged for lack of transparency in the selection process and for the curatorial decision to only include then-recent and then-contemporary ink paintings which were not commonly believed as a proper presentation and representation of China under the foreign gaze. Summarily, two questions were brought up: what contemporariness meant, and what Chineseness meant. In March 1933, an anonymous open letter on *Shen Bao* condemns the curatorial group, saying that the committee granted favoritism toward a selected group of artists, and thus turned exhibition into a gentry's elegant gathering that housed the curator's personal ego.[129] In November 1933, a week before Liu Haisu's departure, *Shen Bao* commentary "On *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin" by Fu Yiye

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[127] Baishi 白石 [pseud.] 柏林中國美術展覽會籌備紀(下) [(Continued) memo of the preparatory process of *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin] *Shen Bao* 申報, June 28, 1932.
"Liu Haisu: Promoting Chinese Art," Sheng Project, accessed March 31, 2019. http://shengproject.com/curatorial-projects/shanghai-modern/shanghai-modern-documents/promoting-chinese-art.html.

[128] "Important Information on the Preparatory Process of *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin." *Shen Bao* 申報, April 30, 1933.

[129] Wang Yiting 王一亭 et al., "Wang Yiting deng dui bolin zhongguo meizhan zhi gongxian: xiwang luozhi quanguo mingjia biren renjun keyi yingzheng" 王一亭等對柏林中國美展之貢獻:希望羅致全國名家俾人人均可以應征 [A letter to the exhibition committee: I hope the Chinese Exhibition in Berlin can hold an open call for everyone], *Shen Bao* 申報, March 23, 1933.

符一葉 brings up the transparency issue again and tackles the committee's explanation on why only then-contemporary artworks were included. Previously, the committee defended the selection of works by saying that only then-contemporary artworks could present and represent then-contemporary China, while the antiquities would cognitively mislead the foreign viewers. Fu then questions whether the prevalent presence of pre-modern subjects, such as temples and pavilions as the major types of architecture, could represent then-contemporary China, because the foreign audiences would also mistake the visual with the real.[130] A week later on November 13, art graduate Xu Suling 徐蘇靈 problematizes the exhibition in *Shen Bao* with Liu Haisu's headstrong arrogance and the concept of "modern-ness" or "contemporariness" in Chinese art. Also, Xu Suling argues that ink painting only constituted a small part of the broader definition of Chinese art which should be defined as all art created by the Chinese. He disclaims the attempt to distinguish the origin of art by media. Xu Suling questions whether writing a novella with Western writing instruments would make the literature Western, and whether introducing track and field in a national athletic contest would make the event not Chinese. Conclusively, Xu expresses his dissatisfaction towards Liu Haisu's monopolization in decision making and the misleading narrow-mindedness in equating Chinese painting with ink painting.[131]

Besides the debatable nuance of contemporariness, due to the rising consciousness of China as both a state and a civil-ethno naiton, when the infantile, subordinated "Chineseness" was presented to the culturally and politically dominant European audiences, the Chinese artist-

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[130] Fu Yiye 符一葉, "Guanyu Bolin zhongguo meizhan" 關於"柏林中國美展" [About *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin], *Shen Bao* 申報, November 5,1933.

[131] Xu Suling 徐蘇靈,"Guanyu zhongde meizhan" 關於中德美展 [About *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin], *Shen Bao* 申報, November 13,1933.

intellectuals viewed the exhibition as a "self-image" and imposed their individual agenda of an idealized community onto the exhibition – whether the exhibition should portray Chineseness as a civilization inherited the poetic spirituality of a pre-industrial society, or, instead, a modern, industrializing nation pursuing liberal capitalism on the global stage. On November 6, 1933, a petition submitted by a group of influential politicians, artists and art educators including Wang Qi 王琦 (1884-1937), Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942), and Liang Dingming 梁鼎銘 (1898-1959) was simultaneously circulated in major official newspapers such as *Central Daily News* and *Nanjing Daily News*, soliciting a reconsideration of the representational quality of the selected works and urging for a restart of the selection process.[132] Visually represented Chineseness on the international stage was China's perception of itself, its foreign relations, as well as a reflection of its much desired status in the world as an equal member. The protestors inclined to present Chineseness of the modern ear fully encompassing all aspects of scientific progress and Western values. Therefore, it is understandable that in contrast, the domestic preview of the not fully realized 1933 Chicago expo was well accepted among the Chinese, which comprehensively featured archeological findings, paintings, as well as material evidence of China's progress in healthcare, science, education, agriculture, and light industry.[133]

Historian Wen-hsin Yeh identifies four sets of dichotomies in common sense that can define Chineseness by othering non-Chineseness, namely "domestic" versus "imported,"

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[132] Shi Nan 石楠, *Canghai rensheng: Liu Haisu zhuan* 滄海人生:劉海粟傳[Life of Sea: Biography of Liu Haisu] (Heilongjiang People's Publishing House, 1996) Yifan Non-Profit eBooks, accessed March 31, 2019. http://www.shuku.net/novels/zhuanji/chrslhslm/chrslhslm09.html.

[133] "Chen Gongbo zhuxi fabiao jianghua" 陳公博主席發表講話[Chairman Chen Gongbo delivered a speech], *Shen Bao* 申報, February 9, 1933.

"native" versus "foreign," "Chinese" versus "Western," and lastly "traditional" versus "modern." The first two sets of comparison are spatially defined by the national borders, while the later two temporally distinguished between China's past and present.[134] Hence, in image-making and visual representation, the modern was always and only associated with the West or Westernized China, while the native and the Chinese remained in the tradition. So it was uncommon, if not totally revolutionary, that the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* neither addressed contemporariness through the aspect of progress, modernization and Westernization, nor did it present Chineseness in a comprehensive, well-rounded historical manner. Instead, the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* perceived a Chinese modernity upheld by the literati class, rendered in literati paintings, and carried on by the contemporary literatus such as Liu Haisu with his spontaneous painting and intuitive lectures.

Along with the curatorial and artistic agency, through the diplomatic lens, the choice of using then-contemporary ink painting to represent modern China reflected an active engagement with Japan's historical success and then-recent failure in introducing Japanese national art overseas. According to historian Sun Youli, the diplomatic strategists after the Mukden Incident still assumed an inevitable conflict between Japan and the Western powers.[135] Moreover,

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[134] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in A Republican City," in "Reappraising Republican China," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, special issue, No. 150, *The China Quarterly* (June, 1997): 391. https://www.jstor.org/stable/655342.

[135] Sun Youli, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War, 1931-41* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993).

Also see Scott D. Sagan's "The Origins of the Pacific War."

Scott D. Sagan, "The Origins of the Pacific War," in "The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars," special issue, ed. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Vol. 18, No. 4, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Spring, 1988), 893-922.

although the KMT government had enjoyed industrial, intellectual and diplomatic support from Germany, things became more ambiguous and uncertain with Adolf Hitler's unclear attitude toward the legitimacy of Manchukuo in 1933. Pro-Japan and pro-China officials around Hitler debated over friendship with which country would bring more economic benefit. Of course, the KMT government was watching the German's attitude closely, which explained why Germany became the first and most important battlefield to execute public diplomacy.[136] Two *Shen Bao* commentaries published during the preparatory stage identify Japan's strong position and recent failure in promoting Japanese art overseas, justifying the curatorial choice of the Chinese exhibition committee:

> …Japan is a tiny country whose art was learnt from us back in history and picked up some trends in West Europe in contemporary era. Their achievement is worth acknowledging but lacks depth. However, their government is willing to drain the money for international marketization. They held exhibition in Paris in spring 1929 and in Rome in spring 1930. It is needless to mention the grandeur modern art exhibition in Berlin last year [1931]. This time, our country is finally willing to sponsor an exhibition that shows the best of our contemporary artworks. This attempt can over shine the art of japan and become an eye opening experience for the European.[137]
> …
> …The works displayed in Berlin last year were made to please the European eyes. This approach resulted in a biased perception of Asian art … [In contrast] the modern paintings of China show spontaneity and simplicity that far excel Japanese mannerist art practice.[138]

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[136]Zuo Shuangwen 左雙文, "Chapter Four: KMT Government and The Sino-German Relationship in 1930s and 1940s." in *Kangri zhanzheng shiqi guomin zhengfu waijiao juece yanjiu* 抗日戰爭時期國民政府外交決策研究[A Study on Nationalist government's diplomatic strategies during the Sino-Japanese war time], (Beijing: Unity Press, 2015), Kindle eBook.

[137] Baishi 白石 [pseud.] 柏林中國美術展覽會籌備紀(上) [Memo of the preparatory process of *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* in Berlin (first part)] *Shen Bao* 申報, June 28, 1932.

[138] Baishi. "(Continued) Memo of the Preparatory Process."

The 1931 *Japanese Modern Art Exhibition* was fully funded by the Japanese government and co-hosted by Prussian Institute of Art and East Asian Art Association. The exhibition was first housed at Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen [Art Association of the Rhineland and Westphalia] in Berlin and received over 25,000 visitors, before travelling to Düsseldorf.[139] It was said to have received harsh criticism for only including oil paintings. The rationale behind the very attempt reflected Japanese artists' rethinking of the superficiality of how Japanese art or "Japaneseness" in an artwork was perceived and judged by the Western gaze. For instance, Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折(1866-1943) challenged the idea that one associated the Japanese national identity with specific painterly media, such as the rice paper and brush strokes. Therefore, Fusetsu's *Emperor Wu Meets Bodhidharma* (1914) and *Tang Monk Refuses to Answer the Legate* (1928) demonstrate that as long as the painting is created by a Japanese, it is in fact a Japanese painting, despite that the works are oil paintings depicting Chinese historical subjects. Fusetsu had been an influential figure for a group of his Chinese contemporaries, including Xu Beihong. Fusetsu's idea echoed the argument in an open letter challenging the idea of associating Chinese painting with the painterly skills rooted in dynastic China and painterly media of ink on silk or paper.

Besides Fusetsu's experimental attempt, the curators of *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* were nevertheless inspired by another earlier group of Japanese artists' call for rehabilitation of *nanga* – the Chinese literati painting modified through Japanese interpretation – to justify "an artistic ideology with the establishment of modern Japan as an imperial state

[139] Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, "Shanghai Modern," in *Shanghai Modern, 1919-1945*, ed. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, Zheng Shengtian Ostfildern-Ruit (Stuttgart and Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2004), 34.

monarchy."[140] Umezawa Waken's 梅澤和軒(1871-1931) *History of Japanese Southern School Painting* (1918), later translated into Chinese by Fu Baoshi 傅抱石 (1904-1965), sees literati painting as a reaction to the Western artistic dominance. In 1919, Tanaka Toyozō 田中豊藏 (1881-1948) attributed the recent re-popularization of the once despised Chinese Southern school to the permeation of Post-Impressionism amongst Japanese artists.[141] This wave of thought clearly inspired Chinese artists and intellectuals, such as Chen Shizeng 陳師曾(1876-1923) and Liu Haisu. For instance, back in 1923, in his earlier discussion on Qing eccentric monk-artist Shitao, Liu Haisu endorses his own non-representational painting by praising Shitao's breakaway from any traceable painterly tradition and skillful craftsmanship.[142] In later writings, Liu consciously links Shitao's art with modernist movements in Europe, such as Post-Impressionism. In the first and only issue of *Painting Monthly* 畫學月刊 published in September 1932, Liu Haisu explicates his admiration of Shitao and Paul Cézanne who both were "architects of their own cosmos … and milestones of human wisdom."[143] Liu calls Shitao's art the presentation of the artist's "comprehensive soul" and "uplifting self" unmasking the illusion of the world and overshadowing those who painstakingly pursued formal similarity by transforming the worldly

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[140] Chiba Kei, "The Imperialism of Japanese Thought of Fine Arts," *Bigaku*, vol. 54, no. 1 (Summer 2003): 56-68, quoted in Shigemi Inaga. "Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage: Paul Cézanne in Japan," *Japan Review*, no. 28 (2015): 157.

[141] Shigemi Inaga, "Between Revolutionary and Oriental Sage," 156-157.

[142] Liu Haisu, "Shitao yu houqi yinxiangpai"石濤與後期印象派 [Shitao and Post-Impressionism], originally published in *Study Lamp* 學燈 (August 25, 1923), included in *Journal of Nanjing Art Institute: Fine Arts & Design* (February, 2006), 6-8.

[143] Liu Haisu, "Shitao de yishu jiqi yishulun" 石濤的藝術及其藝術論 [Shitao's art and his discourse on art], *Monthly Journal of Paintings* 畫學月刊, vol.1, issue 1 (September, 1932):12.

illusion into a more illusionary representation of the already illusionary world, meaning that Shitao the monk understood the Buddhist dharma and saw the material world as the phenomenal universe – the illusion, so Shitao the artist would not further pursue formal likeliness to create another layer of illusionary representation of the illusionary reality on paper.[144] Eventually, Liu assertively condemns the academic practice and its supporters – presumably that of French tradition – by saying that "[There are people] blindly taking in the very outdated and least prestigious academic style from European feudal society and trying to transplant the style into Chinese art education without questioning whether it fits or not … Therefore, no matter how genuinely European academic the style is, due to the ignorance of one's own cultural origin, the practice will not benefit Chinese art and art education."[145]

Liu Haisu received his strongest support from Cai Yuanpei, also a key figure in realizing the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*. Cai recognizes that "Artists have recently started giving feeling greater prominence than objective description and proclamation, which is their first attempt for self-enlightenment."[146] In the 1930s, Cai constantly critiqued the mania of science and materialist wealth, and identifies maniac scientism as the obstacle to achieving aesthetic education. Cai saw science and material wealth as the opposite of religion and emotion. He redefined aesthetic education, writing that "People can find their lost self in music, sculpture,

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[144] Ibid., 13.

[145] Liu Haisu, "Liangnianlai zhi yishu" 兩年來之藝術 [Chinese art during the recent two years] in "Liangzhounianjinian teda hao" 兩周年紀念特大號 [Extra big, special issue for the second anniversary], special issue, in *Zhongguo xinlun* 中國新論 [A new discourse on China], ed. Lei Zhen 雷震, vol. 3, combined issues 4&5 (April, 1937), the 32nd entry, page unnumbered.

[146] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Ti 'Haisu jinzuo'" 題《海粟近作》[Forewords for Liu Haisu's latest works] in *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集 [A complete account of Cai Yuanpei], ed. Gao Pingshu 高叔平 (Beijing: China Bookstore, 1984-1989), vol. 5, 85.

painting and literature."[147] He commented on different schools of painting in Europe and gave attention to the recently popularized European philosophical and psychoanalytical discussions suggesting that human actions were not always the result of conscious thought. He appreciated European styles beyond the Impressionists' perceptual revolution. Cai's and Liu's converging interest in emancipation of ink painting from literal depiction naturally formed a curatorial plan to match the spiritual reality of ink painting with the sensational, expressive reality of European modernist paintings.

Liu Haisu set off for Europe on November 13, 1933 and arrived in December. He was warmly received by local curators and scholars such as art historian William Cohn. The exhibition was first launched at the Prussian Academy of the Arts on January 20, 1934, and lasted for forty-five days. The exhibition, according to the *Shen Bao* report, received more than 4,000 visitors every day, and attracted proposals from quite a few European institutions in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Czech Republic, France, Italy, England and Poland. The original budget of 25,000 DM was quickly used up for the two exhibitions in Berlin, and the later exhibitions were funded by local governments and institutions.[148] During Liu Haisu's stay in Europe, the exhibition traveled to the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin, Hanseatic College of Fine Arts in Hamburg, the Arts Academy of Düsseldorf, the Oriental Art Museum in

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[147] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集 [A complete account of Cai Yuanpei] ed. Gao Pingshu 高叔平 (Beijing: China Bookstore, 1984-1989), vol. 5, 521.

[148] "Liu Haisu zuo fanguo, shu meizhan jingguo" 劉海粟昨返國, 述美展經過 [Liu Haisu came back yesterday and told of the art exhibitions in details], *Shen Bao* 申報, June 26, 1935.

The expression *Bolin erchu* 柏林二處 confuses me here. It literally means "two places in Berlin," but later text shows that only one place in Berlin hosted the exhibition, the Prussian Academy of the Arts.

Amsterdam, the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Museum of Art and History in Geneva, the Museum of Fine Art Bern, the Royal Academy of Arts in Burlington and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague.[149] The Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale Genève was an important overseas cultural agency established by the government of the Republic of China in the 1930s. The existing literature often dates the establishment of the library in Genève September 1932, when Li Shizeng proposed the founding of the library in the annual cultural cooperation conference of the League of Nations. Important diplomats attended the opening, including Wellington Koo. This time, Liu not only sent more than 200 paintings from the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, but he also secured the loan of more than 300 Ming and Qing porcelain and lacquer wares from collectors, which were together exhibited in the City Hall for a month. According to *Shen Bao,* accumulatively there were at least 128 pieces of works sold during the tournament and more than 530,000 visitors attending the shows.[150]

The portable and comprehensive catalogue made *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* a multi-media and multi-sensory exhibition. Facilitated by the words in the catalogue, the exhibits gave visitors a vision of then-contemporary Chinese artists rooted in and branching out of cultural tradition which was coincidentally as modern as the modernist movements in Europe. In

[149] In the *Shen Bao* report, the "Hamburg Academy of Fine Arts" hosted the exhibition. However, unable to find an institution of the exact same name, I believe that today's University of Fine Arts in Hamburg might be the closest match. It was called Landeskunstschule (State School of Arts) between 1928 and 1933, and renamed to Hansische Hochschule für Bildende Künste (Hanseatic College of Fine Arts) under the National Socialist from 1933 to 1945.

History of The Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg (HFBK Hamburg). https://www.hfbk-hamburg.de/en/hochschule/geschichte/

[150] "Liu Haisu came back yesterday and told of the art exhibitions in details," *Shen Bao*, June 26, 1935.

the forewords, special envoy Liu Chongjie 劉崇傑 (1880-1956) – who looked closely at Hitler's Far East policy and reported to the KMT government on a regular basis – recognizes that the world current was flowing strongly in the direction of technological and industrial modernization that affected material standardization and uniformity across geopolitical borders, but he insists that the spiritual world of China would resist the wholesale Westernization and remain in accordance with the country's broader historical context and civil coherence that would connect every individual in the cultural community.[151] Liu Chongjie's words challenge the pan-ideas and a utopian "one-worldism" in the early twentieth century fashioned by European imperialist thinkers in response to the technological changes and colonial possession. He analogizes the long developed cultural complexity of Chinese civilization with that of the European tradition shared by different nations in the West, creating a notion of multiple coexisting humanities and modernities. Furthermore, Liu Chongjie contextualizes his discussion on the spirituality in Chinese art by bringing up the connectivity between Chinese art and Japanese art, as well as Japanese art and art of Western tradition. He assigns the positionality of Chinese art as the ultimate resource that parented Japanese art and guarded modern Japanese art from the wholesale of Westernization for the past six decades.[152] Following Liu's forewords, art historian Otto Kümmel, founder and director of the Museum of East Asian Art in Berlin and Director General

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[151] Liu Chongjie 劉崇傑. "Foreword," *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue, 7-9.

I have to thank Li Qiangshi, a graduate student in German Studies from Nanjing University, for translating the German text in the catalogue into Chinese.

[152] Ibid.

of the State Museums in Berlin, briefly thanks the hard work of the Chinese preparatory committee and laments the untimely death of curator and artist Gao Qifeng.[153]

Both Cai Yuanpei and Liu Haisu paid their intellectual tribute to the catalogue with two essays on *qiyun shengdong*, meaning living dynamism of energy or life-motion in empathetic resonance. In the essays, they examine how different schools of ink painters rendered and translated their interpretation of *qiyun* through divergent conceptions, visual languages, and other painterly choices. Cai encourages the audience to learn about Chinese scholarly perception, evaluation, and consideration of art. Cai points out how the minimal, abbreviated strokes on the picture could instill the sense of tedium for those superficially craving the visual excitement of vibrant color and formal variation. The joy of seeing Chinese ink painting, according to Cai, would be preserved for those devoting effort to learn and understand all the comments and theories. Therefore, the ideal audiences were expected to have high cultural literacy, because visual excitement and sublime with forms and colors were considered unsophisticated. Cai specifies that the exhibition "represented different schools but upheld the singular pursuit: to carry on the quintessential characters of Chinese art and true national spirit."[154] Cai's words connect the abstract, nuanced, self-reconciled intellectual gaze to the national spirit, which encourage the viewers to first assume the Chinese intellectual's gaze to the art, then to embody the scholarly spirituality to learn about the nation.

In his account, Liu Haisu responds to the anticipated doubts and criticism by European audiences by bringing up the stylized depiction of endlessly receding mountains, rootless grasses

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[153] "Words from Otto Kümmel." *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue, 9-10.

[154] "Words from Cai Yuanpei," *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue, 12.

and foliage, and still life against plain background that are typical in some ink paintings. These hypothetical counterarguments to invalidate Chinese art leave space for Liu to explain the different strategies used to capture the true nature of the subject and to express the artist's lofty spirituality by going beyond physical resemblance. For instance, the multi-perspective would free the artist's position of observation and eventually mobilizes the viewer's perception to achieve a more insightful understanding of the mountainous landscape; the empty space and the corner composition could avoid the definitive representation of nature, leaving nature and viewer's imagination open to the infinite. Moreover, empty space could suggest sky, water, and the cosmic realm whose nuances would never be exhausted by any single interpretation or set of painterly skills. Liu suggests that fine details would distract the viewers from meditating on the internal and external complexity of the main subject. Without direct reference or analogy, the liberation of fixated perspective reminded the European readers of Cézanne's visual language; the focus on personal realization rather than the visual reality reminded the readers of Symbolist or Expressionist practice, which viewed nature as merely a pretext for artistic expression and emphasizes the primacy of one's own personal vision.

Next, Liu Haisu puts artists participating in *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* within the long history of ink paintings to demonstrate the rich tradition and cultural assets inherited and carried on by the then-contemporary Chinese artists. With his informative and intuitive briefs, the audiences, both professional or ordinary, would more easily understand the foreign-look, non-narrative, non-figurative paintings with a very economic use of color. Moreover, the audience would exercise their learning and assume the Chinese intellectual's gaze. Liu Haisu identifies four schools of ink painting: literati, academic, anarchist, and synchronized. He first and foremost elaborates on the literati painting which, according to Liu, could release the

sophisticated connoisseur from the bustling worldly reality to an ethereal realm. Only a self-cultivated painter of goodness, erudition, talent, and opinion could round off a painting with both surface and intrinsic value, measured by the work's painterly techniques by art critics – whether the work belongs to the divine class, untrammeled class, or other lower categories – and written responses by intellectuals.[155] The literati legacy, according to Liu, was carried forward by contemporary artists who participated in the German exhibition, namely Wang Yiting, Di Pingzi, Liu Haisu, Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1894-1952), Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899-1983), Qi Baishi, Xiao Qianzhong 蕭謙中 (1883-1944), and Yu Shaosong 余紹宋 (1883-1949). Liu also points out that Xu Shichang 徐世昌, former president of Republic of China, was also a literati painter, whose work was included in the exhibition as well. Although amongst Xu's lifetime achievements, painting might carry the least weight, his presence among contemporary literati painters spoke for the well-roundedness and capability of other literati painting practitioners.

Liu Haisu then categorizes artists such as Pu Xinyu 溥心畬(1896-1963), Zhao Shuru 趙叔儒 (1874-1945), Chen Ziqing 陳子清 (1811-1889), Zhou Lengwu 周冷吾 (active 1930s), Xu Zhengbai 許徵白 (b. 1877), Zhang Hongwei 張紅薇 (1878-1970), and Zhao Anzhi 趙安之 (b. 1884) as academic artists whose style and practice could be traced back to Southern Song Imperial Art Academy. Liu recalls how Emperor Huizong procured the best artworks in his imperial art academy but not until decades later, academic artist Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1120-1182) and his peers revitalized the school by introducing more refined brushworks and delicate

[155] Chinese art historians and critics have tended to theorize their own evaluation systems of painting. For instance, in one of the earliest account, Tang dynasty art critic Zhang Yanyuan classifies paintings into "divine class," "wondrous class," "competent class," etc. Critics influenced by Daoism tended to add the "untrammeled" class to demonstrate the escapist, relaxed, unrestricted nature.

compositions. Thus, Liu transcends the academic painting from the academic setting and previous masterpieces. Liu Haisu endorses the previously disparaged group of archaists, such as Zhao Yunhe 趙雲壑 (1874-1955) and Zhu Liwo 朱立我 (date unknown), to be genuine connoisseurs and keen collectors who embodied ancient wisdom through capturing the quintessential nature of ancient paintings, rather than stubborn traditionalists or copycats with outmoded tastes. According to Yuan artist Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), "without an allusion to ancient philosophical thought, the painting does not have any depth beside craftsmanship."[156] Last but not least, Liu recognizes how artists of the synchronized school on the one hand admired European shading and single-point perspective, and liked to paint *en plein air* like the Impressionists. On the other hand, they mastered traditional ink paintings. Therefore, these artists, featuring Chen Shuren, Zhao Shaoang 趙少昂 (1905-1998), the Gao brothers, and their students such as Zhang Kunyi 張坤儀 (1895-1969) and Fang Rending 方人定 (1901-1975), could flexibly employ a variety of strokes, brushworks and colors from both Western and Eastern traditions.[157]

It seems that in the catalogue Liu Haisu's discourse on artistic schools replaced Teng Gu's 滕固 (1901-1941) brief history of Chinese art, which is strategically in accordance with the curatorial mission to emphasize contemporary accomplishment, cultural continuity, and civil unity. According to the chronological table of Teng Gu's artistic activities compiled by librarian Shen Ning, Teng Gu, who had presented his research "The Interrelationship between Poetry,

[156] Quoted in Liu Haisu, "Schools of Contemporary Chinese Art and The Historical Resources for the Schools," *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue,13.

[157] Liu Haisu, "Schools of Contemporary Chinese," 13-31.

Calligraphy and Painting" and received his doctoral degree from Berlin University in Art History and Archeology in July 1932, joined the curatorial committee in January 1933 during the second preparatory meeting. The committee decided to include Teng's writing on the history of Chinese art, presumably a major part his *A Concise History of Chinese Art* published in 1927, with some fresh refinement acquired through his doctoral studies.[158] Summarized by art historian Shen Kuiyi, Teng Gu divides the history into "four organically progressing periods: (1) birth and development (prehistory to Han); (2) interchange (Han, Wei-jin, and Six Dynasties); (3) efflorescence (Tang through Song); and (4) decline (Yuan through Qing)."[159] Compared to Liu Haisu's text, Teng Gu outperforms the rhetoric accuracy with precise academic writing and referencing, because Liu's writing makes up master and apprentice relationships, and arbitrarily and assertively groups historical and contemporary artists in a seemingly stylistically convergent "school" regardless of the divergent conceptions. Teng Gu's training in Germany-based higher education made him familiar with the macro-historical narrative of artworks periodized under a stratigraphic model which aligns the development of art with dynastic sequence. Most importantly, Teng Gu's account shows a direct reference to his doctoral advisor Heinrich Wölfflin's cyclical conception of Western art history, which also further references the Hegelian dialectical philosophy of history. Such fluency in the language and conception of German art history writing potentially made Teng's work perfect for the German audiences.

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[158] Shen Ning 沈寧, "Teng Gu yishu huodong nianbiao"滕固藝術活動年表[A Chronology of Teng Gu's Artistic Activities] *Art Research* 美術研究, vol 3, issue 9 (2001): 40. DOI: 10.13318/j.cnki.msyj.2001.03.009.

[159] Kuiyi Shen, "The Japanese Impact on the Construction of Chinese Art History as a Modern Field: A Case Study of Teng Gu and Fu Baoshi" in *The Role of Japan in Modern Chinese Art*, ed., Joshua A. Fogel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 231.

However, Teng's organic periodization fits less in the curatorial need than Liu's historically and factually inaccurate account. First, Teng's division of progressing phases is inspired by, if not derived from, Japanese writing about Chinese art history, which downplays the post-Song period's artistic achievement for one major reason that Japan intended to assume the position as the leader of Asia, replacing China politically and culturally. If art after the Song dynasty declined, then art from late Qing to the then-present was nothing but a spent force. Unlike Teng, Liu develops a theory which is close to Ernst Gombrich's emphasis on "cognitive experimentation" which, as art historian Jonathan Hay suggests, makes post-Song period art "correspondingly defined as an inward turn after the great cognitive advances," "a sort of inner cognition, a knowing of the self, taking aesthetic form as self-expression."[160] Liu's theory justifies the artistic, literary, and philosophical significance of contemporary artworks, which supports the proposed image of "contemporary China" as a respectable cultural and civil unity. Second, Teng's text is incomprehensible for ordinary audiences lacking a solid background in sinology, while the exhibition aimed to appeal to such a general audience. Hypothetically, Teng's text for the catalogue would be a condensed version of *A Concise History of Chinese Art* whose broad and dense content, including an extended range of subjects over thousands of years, frequently involves transliterate terms. In contrast, Liu's text requires less previous knowledge, because although Liu often quotes historical figures, the language serves more as an endorsement than as a nuanced, esoteric piece of theory.

The richly illustrated catalogue lists 274 works on display and highlights thirty-two pieces with black-and-white photos (Figure 2.1). In most cases, listed next to the artist's name is

[160] Jonathan Hay, "Toward a Disjunctive Diachronics of Chinese Art History," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 40 (Autumn, 2001):104.

the school to which the artist belongs: literati, academic, archaic, or synchronized. Genre-wise, it is clear that the curator leaned toward the bird-and-flower genre, followed by landscape. Featured in the catalogue are nineteen bird-and-flower paintings mainly by Shanghai School and Lingnan School artists such as Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844-1927) and the Gao brothers, in addition to ten landscape paintings, as well as three figure paintings, which reflect a carefree attitude towards representational quality and knowledge of anatomy.[161] Although Liu's text denotes extensively to the literati artworks for philosophical discussion on spirituality and metaphysics, most landscape and bird-and-flower paintings reproduced in photos possess a solid representational quality to appeal to general audiences. For instance, in Gao Qifeng's *Stone Bridge in Mist*, the ink wash of the foliage forms light and shade, while the three dimensionality of the stone bridge is indicated with the dark and light shades of the piers, showing off the artist's knowledge of the European painting tradition. Strongly influenced by landscapes and

[161] Zhang Shuqi's *Roosters under Flowers*, Zhang Daqian's *Lotus*, Chen Shuren's *Willow*, Zheng Wuchang's *Women under Willow*, Qi Baishi's *Eagle and Pine Tree*, Qi Baishi's *Grapes*, Xia Jingguan's *Winter Landscape*, Xiao Qianzhong's *In Mountain*, Xie Gongzhan's *Ducks in Spring*, Xu Shichang's *Pine Tree*, Gao Qifeng's *Lion*, Gao Qifeng's *Peacock*, Gao Qifeng's *Stone Bridge in Mist*, Gao Jianfu's *Mountain Temple*, Liu Haisu's *Ginfamleit*, Liu Haisu's *Wild Ducks*, Liu Haisu's *Gourds*, Liu Haisu's *Lotus*, Pan Tianshou's *Red Lotus*, Pu Xinyu's *Mountain Temple in Snow*, Teng Baiye's *Vanquisher of Ghosts Zhong Kui*, Di Pingzi's *Dwelling in the Mountain*, Ding Yunxuan's (1660-1740) *Crested Mynas in the Pine Tree*, Wang Qizhi's *Still Life* (anchovies) (1926), Wang Yiting's *Crow in the Pine Tree* (1933), Wang Zhongshan's *Woodsman*, Wu Fuzhi's *Bird and Flower*, Wu Hufan's *Waterfall* (1933), Ye Shaobing's *Red Lotus*, Yu Shaosong's *Steep Peaks* (1933), Ren Bonian's *Literati Angler* (1890), and Wu Changshi's *Wisteria*.

Most titles are faithfully translated from the German text, except for Liu Haisu's two paintings, as well as Di Pingzi's and Wang Zhongshan's works. The words used are not standard German, so I decide the titles based on the subjects and inscriptions.

Some works are dated in the catalogue, while others are not dated. I have provided the date if it is included in the catalogue.

cityscapes in Japanese woodblock prints, the painting adopts this compositional tradition by placing a large willow tree in the foreground, blocking the view as real things do in the real world. The highly naturalized receding stone bridge is depicted in the middle ground. Because the view-blocking foreground and receding bridge as the main subject had been fashioned by Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art such as Monet's *Japanese Bridge* (1899) and Cézanne's *Mont. Sainte-Victoire with Large Pine* (1887), Gao Qifeng's *Stone Bridge in Mist* would easily appeal to the European taste (Figure 2.2).[162]

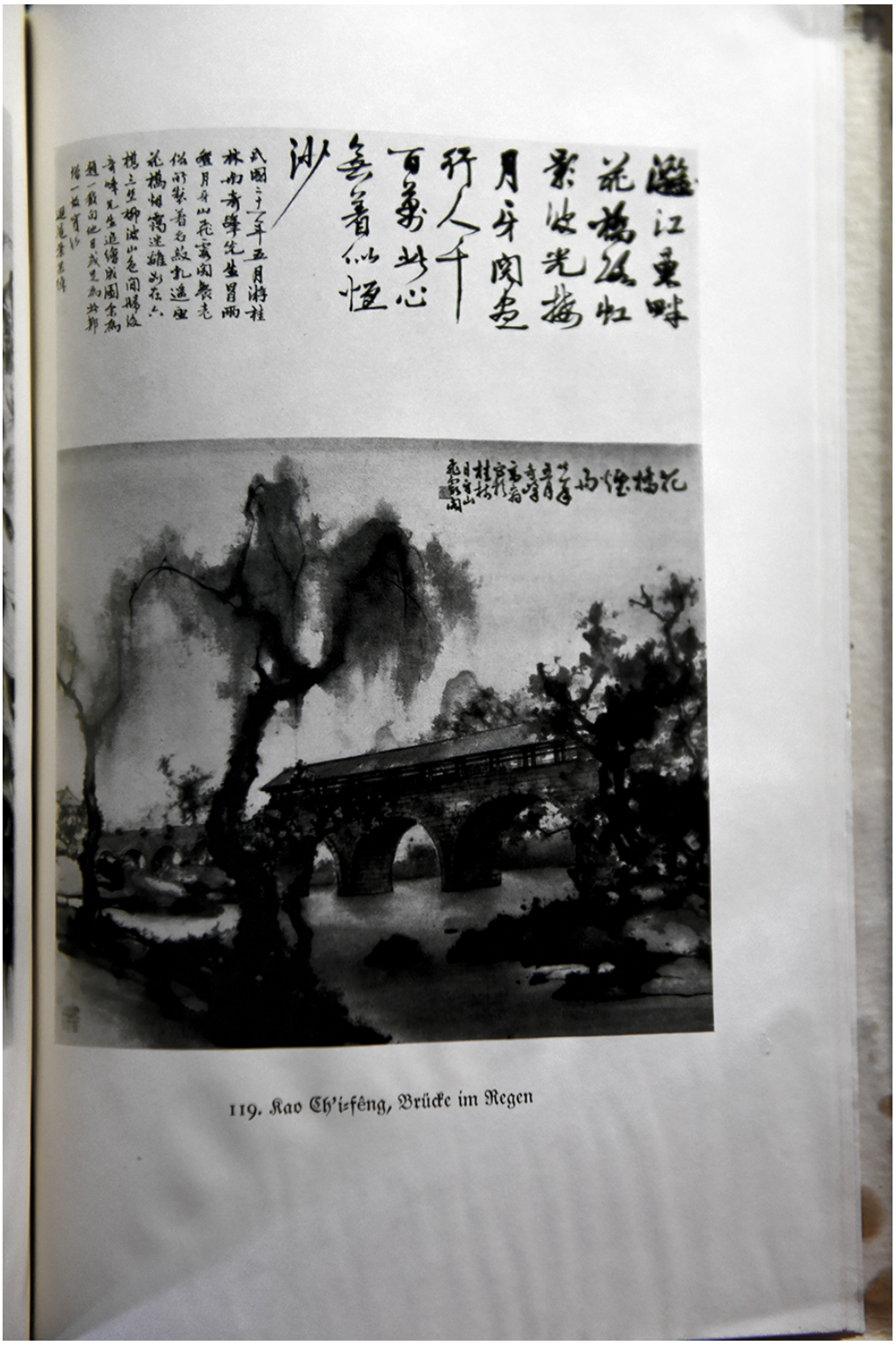
[162] Later, the head of the Ministry of Education gifted the Altes Museum sixteen paintings in August 1935 to their permanent collections. These sixteen rather large-scaled paintings were part of the *Chinese Contemporary Art*. These paintings include Wu Changshi's *Wisteria*, Ren Bonian's *Fisherman*, Liang Gongyue's *Chrysanthemums in a Vase*, Gao Qifeng's *Stone Bridge in Mist*,[162] Liu Haisu's *Eagle and Pine Tree*, *Gourd*, Singing and Boating, Wang Yiting's Raven and Willow Tree, Fu Ru's Snow Mountain, Gao Jianfu's *Tranquil Scene*, Chen Shuren's *Westeria*, Huang Binhong's *Ermei Mountain*, Zhang Daqian's *Lotus*, Pan Tianshou's *Red Lotus*, Sun Mentlu's *Lotus*, and Wang Geyi's *Manchurian Wild Rice*. All paintings bear inscriptions and writings of Nationalist government chairman Lin Sen and intellectual-politician Ye Gongchuo.

"Bolin bowuguan xinkai: zhongguo xiandai minghuating kaimu" 柏林博物院新開:中國現代名畫廳開幕[The Altes Museum in Berlin recently opened a new exhibition hall dedicated to contemporary Chinese paintings], *Shen Bao* 申報, August 27, 1935.

Lothar Ledderose 雷德侯, "Bolin shoucang de zhongguo huihua" 柏林收藏的中國繪畫 [Chinese paintings collected in Berlin], trans. Chen Baozhen 陳葆真, ed. Fan Jingzhong 範景中 in *History of Art and History of Ideas, III* 美術史與觀念, III (Nanjing: Nanjing Normal University Press, 2007): 78.



Figure 2.1. *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*. Chinese text: *Zhongguo huihua zhanlan* 中國繪畫展覽 [Chinese painting exhibition] (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue.



119. Kao Ch'i-fêng, Brücke im Regen

Figure 2.2. Gao Qifeng, *Brücke im Regen*. Gao titles painting *Huaqiao yanyu* 花橋煙雨[Stone bridge in mist] on the upper right corner. Before 1934. Ink painting. *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*. (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934), Exhibition catalogue, page unnumbered.

Figure paintings were largely neglected in the exhibition, because human subjects have naturalistic forms, narrative compositions, and definitive identities which were considered kitsch due to the lack of spirituality, self-reconciliation and philosophical discourses. Among the few selected paintings that involve figures, the subjects are either minimalized in scale and merging into the nature, or abstractly rendered. For example, Teng Baiye's 滕白也 (1900-1980) *Vanquisher of Ghosts Zhong Kui* depicts the mythical figure abstractly with excessive use of calligraphic brushstrokes. The movement of the brush is prominent (Figure 2.3). The viewer's gaze is accelerated by the running dry brush strokes and resisted by the pressed and dragged addition of the turns. The facial features are abbreviated, suggesting the insignificance of the personhood. Meanwhile, the minimal visual clues do not provide a definitive interpretation or reading of the figure, leaving ambiguity which is an important feature for modernist art. The robe lacks textures, leaving a large empty space in the middle of the painting, which is contrasted with the denser strokes on the boots and cap. The playfulness of the calligraphic strokes and the abstract quality make the figure look like a giant rock accompanied by some grass and birds. The landscape-like portrayal immortalizes the human figure, which on the one hand corresponds to the figure's mythical and godly nature, and on the other hand shows that the literati approach to landscape and calligraphy can capture a person's spirituality without reproducing a formal likeliness.

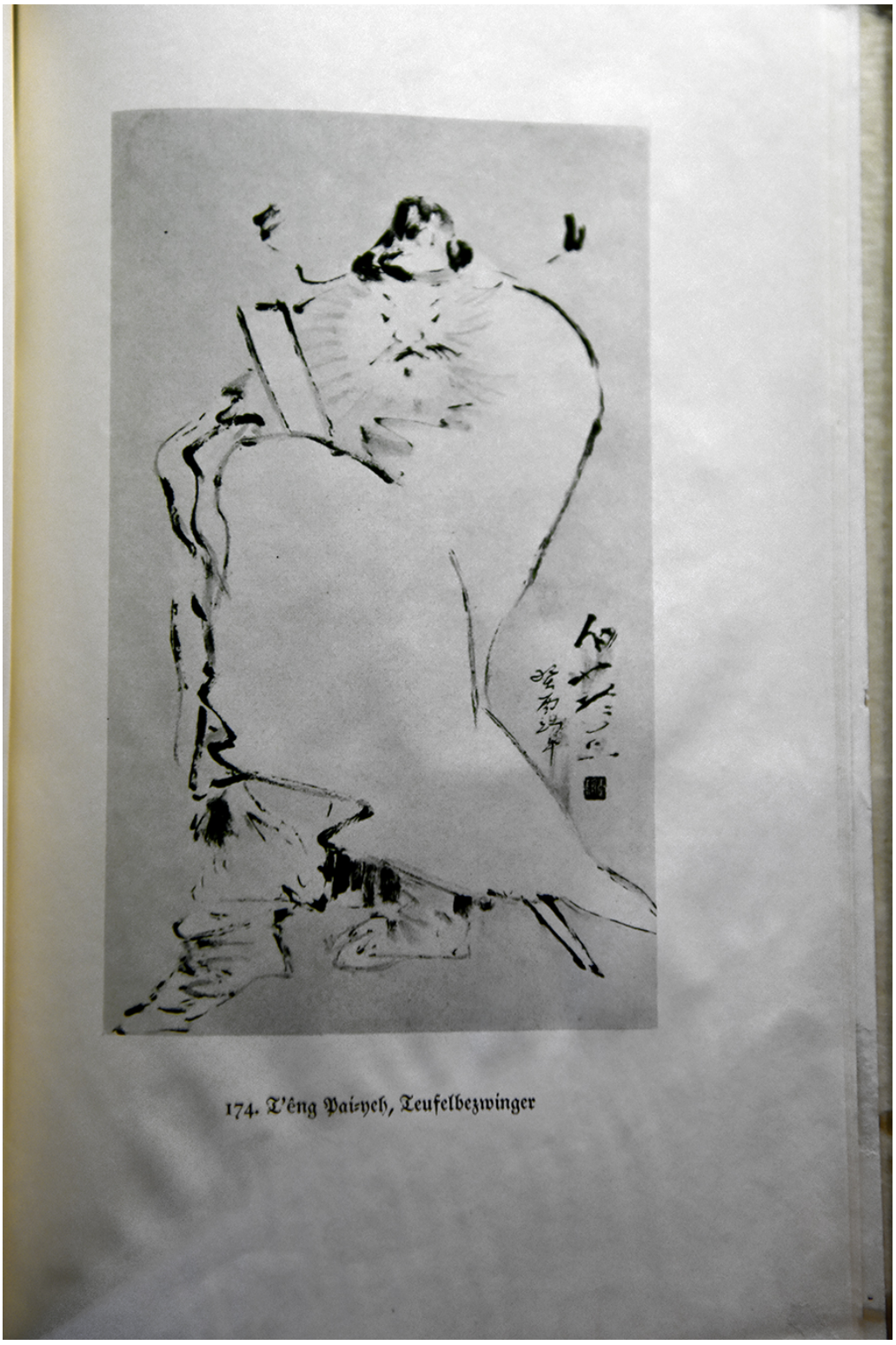


Figure 2.3. Teng Baiye, Teufelbezwinger [more often written as "Teufel Bezwinger" or "Bezwinger der Teufel," specifically referred to Vanquisher of Ghosts Zhong Kui]. 1933. Ink painting. *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*. (Berlin Lankwitz: Würfel Verlag, 1934)

During the exhibition's tour across Europe, Liu Haisu, along with other artists, art historians, and sinologists together offered a series of lectures for the general audiences and local scholars, which completed the exhibition on a cognitive and intuitive level. According to art historian Zhang Li, there were at least sixteen lectures given during the trip. These lectures included "The Changing Schools of Chinese Painting," "Characters of Chinese Landscape Painting, " What Is the So-Called *Qiyun*" (followed by Liu Haisu's onsite spontaneous painting), "Chinese Artists' Minds and Lives, Chinese Painting," "Poetry and Calligraphy," "Spiritual Key Elements of Chinese Painting," "The Six Principles of Chinese Painting," "Official Painting versus Literati Painting," "Why the Chinese Love to Paint Pines," "Bamboos and Plums," "Modern Chinese Painting," "Chinese Artists' Individuality and Independent Creation," "Trends in Modern Chinese Painting," "Chinese Painting and The Six Principles," "Chinese Literature and Painting," "Characters of Chinese Painting Theories," and "History of Modern Chinese Painting."[163] Besides, Liu Haisu's "The Development of Chinese Painting" was published in *The Thames* on February 7, 1935.

The spectacle of Liu Haisu's onsite spontaneous painting and lectures acquired a performative function and a high symbolic value. Liu embodied the ideal literati described in the catalogue. So, not only did the paintings indicate a cultural continuity from the literati past to the present, but the then-contemporary artist – as exemplified by Liu Haisu – reproduced the intellectual persona. The onsite painting non-verbally showcased the cultured visual cosmos perfected by a literati artist's mind and remembered in his heart through the fluid, non-stop

[163] Zhang Li 張黎, "1933-1934 nianjian Xu Beihong fuou xunzhan tanxi" 1933-1934 年間徐悲鴻赴歐巡展探析[A close look at Xu Beihong's European exhibitions between 1933 and 1934], *Art Historical Research*, issue 3 (March, 2015): 76.

strokes that were pressed, lightened, washed, and dried by elegant yet energetic body movements of the artist. It was a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that synthesized the casual space, the audience and their reaction, the short frame of time, the artist and his self-categorization, as well as the making and outcome of the painting. The lecture created a contact zone where transculturation happened in the direction from a traditionally subordinate culture to the dominant group that upheld standards to justify discrimination against the "other" culture and the "other" art history.

As Jonathan Harris argues, "Art history grew up as a (broadly Euro-US centric) discourse focused on national and international styles and forms, in the era of the rise of the nation-state and the glorification of national cultures and styles."[164] Although in the early phase of the discipline, research was focused primarily on Greek and Roman sources and antiquity as an attempt to understand non-Christian art cultures, by the time period "of the rise of the nation-state and the glorification of national cultures and styles" as addressed in this chapter, the dynamic has changed and the role of national styles became central to the discipline. Liu's lecture on the Chinese perception of art and art history did not follow the evaluation framework rooted in the historical development in the Euro-US context. Liu introduced the history of art out of the existing art history framework known to his audiences, which was significant in the way that Chinese artists spoke for themselves rather than being spoken for. Most importantly, if the Ministry of Education as the designated governmental body in charge of cultural affairs was a sign of institutional modernization of China, then the introduction of literati tradition in history, including philosophical thoughts, lofty spirituality and everlasting self-cultivation, which was reinforced by Liu Haisu's self-proclaimed literati identity and spectacular embodiment of a

[164] Jonathan Harris, "Art History and the Global Challenge: A Critical Perspective," in "Art History and the Global Challenge," special issue, *ARTL@S BULLETIN*, vol. 6, issue 1 (Spring 2017): 27.

literati, introduced an alternative modernity which was equally respectable as its Western counterpart. The traditional form of art created by the then-contemporary artists through their eyes and with some twists provided an image of an alternative modernity while avoiding the tendency of cultural modernization which at the time was arguably equal to Westernization.



Figure 2.4. Liu Haisu gave an onsite demonstration of ink painting at the School of Oriental Languages in Berlin University on February 10, 1934. Source: This photo was shown in *Liu Haisu Art Exhibitions in Europe – A Commemorative Exhibition in Celebration of Liu Haisu's Ninetieth Anniversary of His First Trip to Europ*e (Shanghai: Liu Haisu Art Museum, January-June, 2020)

The visual representation of modern Chineseness in the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* could be further understood in comparative framework with the alternative rendering of the idea in the simultaneous international exhibition *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise*

curated by Xu Beihong. Xu, a former preparatory committee member of the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, introduced his own vision of what could best represent Chinese artistic achievement on the international stage swift-footedly before Liu Haisu's exhibition, with the first exhibition of the series *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise* opening in Paris on January 28, 1933. In contrast with the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* which visualized and conceptualized the alternative modernity and ideal citizen – a literatus – rooted in Chinese culture with *xieyi* 寫意 [(self-)expressive] painting, Xu Beihong's curatorial practice stylistically accentuated *xiesheng* 寫生 [naturalistic and true to life] and subject-wise historical figures. Xu Beihong's internationalist nationalism was rendered differently from that of Liu Haisu in terms of their definitions of the "international," agendas for how China could engage with the international scene, and the ways to present "nationalism" to European and Chinese audiences.

Through comparative lens, while *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* introduced *xieyi* as an ecology of metaphysics that unified philosophy, literature, art and gentlemanship to the Western audience to expand the global art canon, *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise* registered ink paintings – especially that of Song art academy tradition – into the Western art canon which monopolized the standard-making and voice of art history discipline. Xu Beihong equated the international with the imperial West, and set the benchmark of high art as the German Romantic Realist anatomy, the Italian Renaissance grandeur harmony, as well as the educational capability and literary quality of French history paintings. In his early lecture given at the Institute for Displaying Antiquities in 1918, Xu claimed that "Before the fifteenth century, our painting was the best in the world," and his assertion was backed by the rediscovery of the Song academic paintings that were appreciated for the stylistic tendency that could capture the real world. Rehabilitating Song academic paintings corresponded to the New Cultural Movement

(1917-1920) when "The evaluation of Chinese tradition was inextricably linked to how the Western tradition was perceived."[165] Moreover, Song paintings – naturalistic bird-and-flower paintings, precisely measured architectures, and monumental landscapes – were seen as a model to reconstruct the institutional canon and artistic agenda in modern China.[166] This belief would only be enhanced after Xu's study in France and Germany, and stubbornly concretized through his debate with poet Xu Zhimo 徐誌摩 (1897-1931) in 1929, after which Xu Beihong almost branded himself as a champion of naturalistic painting and institutional training.

In conclusion, government-supported Chinese art exhibitions abroad of high quality and high frequency after the 1931 Mukden Incident can be interpreted as a reactionary strategy to resolve the domestic and international tension with alternative powers in the situation of global injustice as well as economic and military incapability. Thus, multiple China-s were created

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[165] Cheng-hua Wang, "Rediscovering Song Painting for the Nation: Artistic Discursive Practice in Early Twentieth-Century China," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 71, no. 2 (2011): 223.

Cheng-hua Wang's article talks extensively about the reevaluation of the Northern School, advocated by not only artists and art educators such as Xu Beihong, but more importantly, social reformists and influencers such as Kang Youwei and Cai Yuanpei. Song painting was not only linked to national spirit and civilization, but also put into competitive framework on the international stage. For instance, Wang quotes Cai Yuanpei's assertion that Italian Renaissance artists learned from Song paintings to perfect their composition and perspectives.

[166] Art historian Hua Tianxue's insightful article "'Tour' Japan: Xu Beihong's Discussion on the Japanese *Bun-ten*" discusses Xu Beihong's judgmental appraisal and negation to works shown in 1917 *Bunten*. Xu Beihong harshly attacked paintings of *xieyi* 寫意 [non-representational, abstract] tendency and was intrigued by *nihonga* paintings depicting Chinese historical subjects. It is a thorough and in-depth discussion on Xu Beihong's early diverging reflection on *xieyi* 寫意, *xiesheng* 寫生 [representational, naturalistic] and history paintings.

Hua Tianxue 華天雪, "Riben 'guanguang' zhi lü: yi dui Xu Beihong 'riben wenzhan' de jiedu wei zhongxin"日本"觀光"之旅:以對徐悲鴻《日本文展》的解讀為中心 ["tour" Japan: Xu Beihong's discussion on the Japanese *bun-ten*], Art Historians, Central Academy of Fine Art, February 28, 2019. Accessed November 13, 2020, http://cafa.com.cn/cn/figures/article/details/8110610.

through representations and perceptions: China in the government authorities' view, China in authorities' assumption of the Chinese audiences' view on how to represent China abroad, as well as China in the Western concept before and after major exhibitions of Chinese arts. Domestically, satirically identified by historian and diplomat Jiang Tingfu (1895-1965), the KMT government's "opportunity" came from the dystopian, nihilistic exhaustion after at least three high tides of crushed idealism around 1898, 1912, and 1927.[167] It is true that, disappointed and exhausted, even the most radical group – students – lost enthusiasm in calling for resistance against foreign invasions and unification. Therefore, providing an imagined community bonded by common culture and tradition was one of if not the solely best and easiest things the government could do. One way to do so was to reassure the curated China was well-recognized globally by those with greater real powers.

Internationally, under the crisis of a country that feared being carved up, the perceived integrity and continuity of a great civilization morally backed up China's pursuit for territorial autonomy, while public opinion of Western countries was mobilized in order to influence their governmental policy toward China and East Asia at large. Institutional-organizational modernization for a modern nation-state, alternative cultural modernity paralleled to European civilization, and artistic modernism corresponding to Post-Impressionist movements were highlighted in the formation and outcome of the exhibition. The state sponsorship and support from the Ministry of Education signified the specialized function of governmental bodies ready for a modern nation-state after the models set by imperial powers in the West. Deploying the communicative feature of art for public diplomacy showed the holistic operation of a modern

[167] Jiang Tingfu 蔣廷黻, "Nanjing de jihui" 南京的機會[Nanjing [Government's] Opportunity] *Duli pinglun* 獨立評論 [Independent Review], no. 31 (December, 1932), 2-4.

state that upheld not only the base but also the superstructure within it, which spoke a modern diplomatic language that carried out conversations with sophistication between countries, that embodied rising awareness of national uniqueness and internationalism promoted by the League of Nations. Although the exhibition was delivered through modernized mechanism and methods, the vision of the exhibition was to show China as a civilization of alternative modernity. The art history included in the catalogue abandons the stratigraphic writing based on dynastic division and formal analysis. By detailing the spiritual and philosophical pursuit of artists in the past and present, the word and image showed an intellectual system that had been created and refined through history.

Section II: Statism on the International Stage: *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, 1935

Amid the increasing number of Chinese art exhibitions in Europe during the interbellum, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London from November 1935 to March 1936 engrossed the international audience for its unrivaled arts. Compared to other interwar Chinese art exhibitions in Europe and America, the London exhibition has received much ampler scholarly interests from the angles of art history, history, cultural studies, and foreign relations. A brief look into the historiography of these studies shows clear stratigraphic divisions. Earlier studies have scrutinized the artworks and intellectual commentaries, and conceptualized the event with either Britain's Neo-orientalism or China's cultural nationalism. The discourse on either Neo-orientalism or cultural nationalism conveniently explains the intention and effect of the exhibition in two separate national contexts. Later, some scholars noticed the rhetoric in the Minister of Education Wang Shijie's 王世傑 (1891-1981) "Progress Report of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London" 倫敦中國藝術國際展覽會籌劃近況報告 in which Wang quoted China's plenipotentiary representative to the League of Nations and ambassador to Britain (1932-1940) Guo Taiqi's (Quo Tai-chi 郭泰祺 1888-1952) calculation for the possible monetary and diplomatic gain from the exhibition in reference to an earlier international exhibition of Italian art in Britain.[168] This finding of Guo's rhetoric enriched the case study,

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[168] Liu Nannan 劉楠楠 on behalf of the Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) ed., Wang Shijie, "Lundun zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui chouhua jinkuang baogao" 倫敦中國藝術國際展覽會籌劃近況報告 [Progress report of the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London], in "Beiping gugong bowuyuan canjia lundon zhongguo yishu guoji zhanlanhui shiliao xuanji" 北平故宮博物院參加倫敦中國藝術國際展覽會史料選輯 [Selected archives of Beiping Palace Museum's participation in the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art*, London], *Republican Archives* 民國檔案, issue 3 (September, 2010), page unnumbered, Appendix I.

In the executive summary section of the progress report, Wang writes, "According to the Chinese Envoy to Britain Guo Taiqi (Quo Tai-chi 郭泰祺 1888-1952), the international exhibition of

because it turned the abstract discussion on foreign gaze and domestic patriotism into financial stimulus which would benefit the economics and politics.

More recent studies have seen the interwar global dynamics in a holistic way and explored the role of liberal internationalism and Wilsonianism in the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London.[169] In her research, historian Ilaria Scaglia notices the staged photos documenting the process of transportation and exhibition setup, which were continuously publicized in the newspaper. She identifies the high symbolic value in the photos which magnify the careful handling with mutual respect between the Chinese and the British and highlight the British warship being transformed into an emissary of friendship by shipping the arts (Figure 2.5).[170] Given the rising geopolitical realism and nation-statism in the 1930s, Scaglia concludes that the Republic of China "epitomized commitment to the internationalist project" to obtain

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Italian art led to mutual understanding and friendship between the Italian and British. Benito Mussolini, the Prime Minister of Italy, budgeted for the exhibition with ￡20,000, but in fact the exhibition cost nothing and received a gross of ￡37,000, roughly equal to 700,000 yuan. This is the first time China hosts a first-class international exhibition in Europe. In the conventional rhetoric of international relation, it is predictable that the diplomatic relationship between China and BRITAIN will be tremendously strengthened. The ramification of the exhibition will be more successful than any other international exhibition held by a European country."

Fan, Liya. April 27-29, 2016. "Chapter 8: Chinese Diplomat and the 1935 *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London: From Proposal to Implementation." Conferene paper presented at *A Pirate's View of World History: A Reversed Perception of the Order of Things from A Global Perspective*, *International Research Symposium* 国際日本文化研究センター, Japan, April 27-29, 2016. *A Pirate's View of World History: A Reversed Perception of the Order of Things from a Global Perspective*, edited by Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美, 73-76 (Tokyo: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2017) http://doi.org/10.15055/00006756.

[169] Ilaria Scaglia, "The Aesthetics of Internationalism: Culture and Politics on Display at the 1935-1936 International Exhibition of Chinese Art," *Journal of World History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (March 2015): 105-137. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43818827.

[170] Ibid.,110.

more support from the peace-making League of Nations.[171] Scaglia further argues that after the exhibition, a clearer understanding of "China" replaced the vaguely imagined "East."[172] Conclusively, Scaglia celebrates the "achievement of a harmonious balance between national and international interests" in which "peaceful and cordial exchanges with one another" occurred.[173]



Figure 2.5. Exhibition Director Percival David, Special Commissioner of the Chinese Government Zheng Tianxin (Dr F.T. Cheng), and Secretaries accompanying objects Zhuang Shangyan (Chuang Shang-Yen) and Tang Xifen (Tang Hsi Fen) took photo with the unpacked crate and unboxed *ding*, 1935. Photograph. Source: Royal Academy Collection, accessed November 21, 2020, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/percival-david-exhibition-director-zheng-tianxin-dr-f-t-cheng-special.

[171] Ibid., 111.

[172] Ibid., 111.

[173] Ibid., 113.

Indebted to Scaglia's thought-provoking study, this section of the chapter consists of several distinct yet connected parts that together examine how the international exhibition performed as a symbol for the institutional-bureaucratic apparatus of the KMT government and the newly institutionalized non-territorial diplomatic practice –the different aspects of liberal internationalism endeavored by the Chinese and promoted in Britain. Alternatively stated, in the complex global political dynamics on the eve of the Second World War, the KMT government witnessed the fall of geopolitical idealism that the supranational authority which could retain equality and peace among states, and realized the rise of geopolitical realism that self-interested states self-defended and competed through economic weapon and military force. Therefore, simultaneously, to enhance the sovereignty of the party-state, the KMT government developed statism in the domestic context and relied on liberal internationalism on the international stage.

This section of the chapter first looks at the rise of nation-statism in the Republic of China and starts with a discussion on the statist interagency collaboration. Nation-statism, or simply statism, refers to the meta-institutionalizing doctrine that the political authority of the state legitimizes its leadership and involvement in the socioeconomic, politico-legal, and ideological realms. In Marxist spatial metaphor of the edifice, the superstructure is formed by the politico-legal institutionalization and the ideology. Thus, celebrating the artistic and literary achievement in Republican China's newly historicized pastness and exhibitory convention was to legally exercise the national apparatuses and mobilize different institutional agents to develop certain forms of nationalism which further reified the authoritarian leadership of the state. Therefore, the 1935 London exhibition marked a successful example of interagency collaboration at the state level, indicating how a gradually centralized institutional-organizational state structure in a modern nation could achieve a project of greater scale.

Next, this part situates the exhibition in the escalating geopolitical realism and delineates the internationalist struggle of the Chinese and the British organizers. The international exhibition participated in the cultural internationalism which was supposed to cultivate communication, understanding, and call for international equality among the sovereign states. I argue against many previous studies believing that the exhibition provoked cultural nationalism. I think that the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in 1935 reminded the Chinese of the standpoint as the subordinate, muted group in the cultural communication. Unlike the idiosyncratic exhibitions showing then-contemporary ink paintings curated by Xu Beihong in 1933 and by Liu Haisu in 1934, the Chinese organizers of the London exhibition allowed the British to determine the artefacts and interpret the art through writing and lecturing. Through the Western gaze, although the exhibition was a watershed moment for the field of Chinese art and sinology in Europe, the exhibition did not part the Orientalist mist of the East or solidify an image of "China." Instead, it further contributed to a new version of Orientalism which again served as the othered other for the self-identified Westerners to compare, contrast, and fantasize.

By 1935, the effective military suppression of the intraparty opponents and the competing party, along with the concession of a few provincial warlords, capacitated Chiang Kai-shek, the KMT party, and the KMT government to achieve greater military unification and set up a structural foundation for the provisional one-party government. According to Sun Yat-sen's 1923 political vision "Three Stages of Revolution," the KMT had to first achieve military unification, then political tutelage and finally the constitutional government. In the conventional historical rhetoric, the success of the Northern Expedition in 1928 marked the military unification, but not until 1934 did the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) of the KMT, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, crushed Fujian People's Government established by some leftist KMT

personnel and the 19th Route Army, and a couple months later, won the fifth encirclement campaign against the Jiangxi-Fujian Soviet. Political tutelage required a provisional government led by the KMT party to train the people on their rights and obligations as a modern citizen. An important feature proposed for this stage was to centralize the power and turn the Republic of China into a party-state, as stated by Sun "We should put the party (KMT) before the state (the Republic of China) …Many people envy the Western-style mansion, but despise the shelters for the construction workers. Without the temporary shelters to storage the tools and materials, the much admired mansion is merely a cloud castle never materialized…The party to the state, is like the temporary shelter to the permanent mansion.."[174]

The military and political centralization was reflected in the increasing institutional effectiveness and the interagency collaboration in the exhibition preparation. Four ministries, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education, assisted by the the Institute for Displaying Antiquities and the Beiping Palace Museum synergistically formed the London exhibition.[175] Collaboration in Thomson and Perry's definition means "A process in which autonomous actors interact through formal and informal negotiation, jointly creating rules and structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide to the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions."[176] The interagency collaboration amid the four ministries

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[174] Chinese Kuomingtang Party History Committee 中國國民黨黨史委員會 ed., *Sun Yat-sen* 國父全集 (Taipei: Modern China Publishing House, 1989), vol. 3, 412-414.

[175] Liu Nannan, Progress Report, *Republican Archives*, Appendix I.

[176] Ann M. Thomson and James L. Perry, "Collaboration Processes: Inside the Black Box," *Public Administration Review*, vol. 66, issue 1(November, 2006):20-32, 23. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00663.x.

indicated the recognized mutual benefits in these four aspects: international relations, domestic civil affairs, economics, and social education.

More importantly, a powerful central government was needed to mobilize, empower and coordinate the different institutional sectors to make them work together. In previous exhibitions, it had been rare for agencies to jointly develop and manage cultural programs. For instance, the 1929 *First National Art Exhibition* was mainly organized by the gentries and artist-intellectuals. The Ministry of Education endorsed the exhibition in recognition of Cai Yuanpei's personal charisma. China's participation in the 1933 *Chicago World Expo* was executed by the municipal, provincial, and overseas preparatory committees separately and coordinated by the Ministry of Basic Industries. Although arts, including paintings, red sandalwood sculptures, embroideries and handcrafted tapestries, made up most of the exhibits, artists and educators, including Liu Haisu and Cai Yuanpei, were invited as renowned guests, not as institutional personnel.[177] The 1934 Berlin exhibition and the 1933 Paris exhibition received minimal constructive support from any institutional sector in the formation stage, except for the government funding and some personal endorsement on behalf of the donors themselves.[178]

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[177] "Bainianlai kexuehua jinbu: canjia zhibo zhengpin zhanlanhui zuo xing kaimuli (fu tupian) Chen weiyuanzhang zhuxi zhi kaihuici, mei canzan yanshuo shi zhongmei qinshan, chenliepin jun minggui, canguan yongji" 百年來科學化進步:參加芝博征品展覽會昨行開幕禮(附圖片) 陳委員長主席致開會詞,美參贊演說示中美親善,陳列品均名貴,參觀擁擠 [A century of scientific progress: exhibition of the submissions for the Chicago Exposition opened yesterday; Chairman Chen [Gongbo] gave the opening speech; American counsellor called for Sino-American friendship; audiences flooded into the hall for precious exhibits (pictures included)] *Shen Bao* 申報, February 9, 1933.

[178] "Jianchayuan xunling di 182 hao feng guofu ling wei bolin zhongguo meishu zhanlanhui choubeihui chengqing bufa jingfei nizhuo gei guobi 6,5000 yuan zai 1935 jiaoyu wenhua fei diyi yubei fei xiangxia dong zhihe yu yusuan zhangcheng shangwu buhe yingzhun zhaoban deng yin chi zhaoyou"監察院訓令第一八二號奉國府令為柏林中國美術展覽會籌備會呈請補發經費擬酌給國幣六千五百元在二十四年度教育文化費第一預備費項下動支核與預算章程尚無不合應準照辦等因轉飭照由[Control Yuan decree no. 182: the national government considers

Xu Beihong complains about the lack of state-level financial support in the preparatory process for the 1933 *l'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise*, stating:

> Supported by very few friends, I overcame many obstacles and finally realized the vision. Domestically or internationally, I absolutely never deployed the name of the government to smooth things out. I only acknowledged assistance from academic institutions, including the National Central University, l'Institut franco-chinois de Lyon, the China National Art Association, Suzhou Fine Art Academy, and Xinhua Fine Art Academy… Budget was the most difficult part in the whole process. Even with generous support from Mr. Wellington Koo, his wife and l'Institut franco-chinois de Lyon, the support was far less from enough…Not until three days after the closure of the Paris exhibition did we receive a small amount of support from the Chinese government…All those institutions that are supposed to distribute funding for cultural purposes were muted and irresponsive.[179]

Although Xu might have downplayed the outside support to venerate himself, the excerpt above indicates that the public organizations and institutions chimed in the exhibition in a minimal, cautious, indirect manner. Therefore, the the organization and curatorship of the exhibition were largely subject to the curator's idiosyncrasy and eccentrics. Amongst the sponsors, except for the

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retroactively pay the preparatory committee of the Berlin art exhibition 6,500 yuan. The payment comes from the annual education and culture budget of 1935. The quote asked by the preparatory committee matches the budget, so the proposal is passed.], *Shenjibu gongbao* 審計部公報 [National Audit Office bulletin], issue 55 (1935): 1-2.

According to the decree No. 182 of Control Yuan, the preparatory committee of the Berlin exhibition was not adequately paid even after the traveling exhibition was over. The KMT government finally agreed to reissue the budget to the committee.

[179] Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Zai ou xuanchuan zhongguo meishu zhi jingguo" 在全歐宣傳中國美術之經過[How I promoted Chinese art in entire Europe], *Arts and Life* 美術生活, issue 8 (August 1934): page unnumbered.

Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Zai ou xuanchuan zhongguo meishu zhi jingguo" 在全歐宣傳中國美術之經過[How I promoted Chinese art in entire Europe], *Guangbo zhoubao* 廣播周報 [Broadcast weekly], issue 1 (September 1934):13-15.

money sent directly from the government three days after the Paris exhibition, the China National Art Association was the most official component in the preparatory process.[180]

The institutionalized civil actors, namely the educational system, the diplomatic corps, the control of budget, and the internal management, marked the milestone of the Republic of China becoming of a modern nation-state, because they indicated that the mere repressive state apparatus turned into the collaboration of repressive and ideological state apparatus. True that the ostensibly apolitical part of the civil society, including schools, religious facilities, museums and galleries, had been long involved in political and governmental activities, but the previous activities had been organized by individuals with either personal interest or universalist ideals. Although all arts, over the broad history of humankind, had some "institutional" infrastructure, the art patronage and scope of viewership was determined at individual level. As the government mobilizing different bureaucratic organizations to administer and utilize the apolitical realm, art and material culture were imposed by censorship and regulated by conventional narrative, but meanwhile their communicative features were exploited through institutional channels and thus acquired voice to interfere social events and global relations.

It is known that the KMT party had long anticipated China's participation in the network under Anglo-French leadership and imperial hegemony, meanwhile it avoided the possible involvement with the expanding Soviet-led anti-capitalist internationalism, but the intention of the Britain has received less scholarly attention, as if the international exhibition was purely part of the appeasement diplomacy launched by the Chinese side.[181] The international exhibition was

[180] See Chapter Four.

[181] Maggie Clinton, "Ends of the Universal: The League of Nations and Chinese Fascism on the Eve of World War II," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 48, no. 6 (November 2014): 1741. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24494646.

also in the political and ideological interest of the British pacifists who were aiming for a return of the 1920s democratic idealism and liberal internationalism in the currents of growing militarism and diminishing pacifism in Europe and within Britain. Founded in 1918 Britain, the League of Nation Union aimed for the "wholly new kind of diplomacy rooted in openness and trust," which was tremendously discredited by the League of Nation's failed attempts to ensure international justice and collective security in the 1930s.[182] While the Republic of China feared and yearned for Japan's militarism, the interwar years of Britain saw the extravagant rise of Nazism and the spectacular recover of Germany from the defeat, which destabilized the democratic idealism and evoked political imperialism and cultural pessimism. The mass media further educated the British people on the war technologies by foreign dictators, which brought imperialist ambition and sense of potential danger.

Earl Lytton's (1876-1947) involvement indicated the direct connection between the League of Nation Union and the international exhibition. In January 1932, appointed by the League of Nations, the Lytton Commission led by Earl Lytton inspected the Mukden Incident and the group ultimately decided that Japan had acted bellicosely and that China had proved stronger historical claims to Manchuria. After the League agreed in unison to accept the Lytton Commission's conclusions, Japan resigned form the League. Earl Lytton, head of the investigation team, also served as the director of the management and operation council of the exhibition, who led a group of vice directors constituted half and half by Chinese and British

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[182] Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011): 17. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155j7w7.

officers.[183] The international exhibition became a stage to reassure and perform the possibility of liberal internationalism in an era of permeating nation-statism. The British organizers of the exhibition attempted to visually presented the multilateral collaborations across the globe and the splendid Chinese civilization to remind the masses of the enlightened patriotism – meaning an "accommodating model of internationalism which anchored the movement firmly in the established value – and prejudices – of the British society."[184] Especially in the 1920s, the idea of enlightened patriotism crafted the rhetoric that engulfed the nation, inspiring the commitment to loving Britain "within a wider set of obligations to the international community."[185]

According to Sir Percival David, the exhibition was the first art exhibition held in Britain under direct "auspices of the governments of China and Great Britain," but its international character extended to the pacifists in other states.[186] The honorary committee consisted of ambassadors and ministers from states other than the Republic of China and Britain, including the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Belgian ambassador, the French ambassador, the German ambassador, the Italian ambassador, the Japanese ambassador, the ambassador of the Soviet Union, the Turkish ambassador, the ambassador of the United States, the Danish Minister, the Egyptian Minister, the Greek Minister, the Iranian Minister, the Minister of the Netherlands, the Swedish Minister. The splendid exhibits were lent from all over the world, including

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[183] *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (London: Royal Academy of Art, 1935), Exhibition catalogue, vi-x.

[184] Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nation*, 134.

[185] Ibid., 133.

[186] Percival David, "The Chinese Exhibition" *Revue des arts asiatiques*, vol. 9, no. 4 (December 1935): 170.

"governments, public institutions and private collectors in America, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, Japan, Korea, Russia, Sweden and Turkey have vied with each other in the generosity of their loans to the Exhibition."[187] Although in some states, militarism and imperialism were preferred by the authorities, there were always internationalist opponents who wanted to restore the authority of the League of Nations and equality among members in the global community.

The Chinese and British governments both saw the international exhibition as an effective mediator through which the League of Nation as a multilateral organization could overcome the power politics, grant weaker states equality in the international arena, and restore internationalism in the rise of nation-statism, but the Chinese intellectuals viewed the exhibition as a distorted communication and unequal representation rooted in the uneven power relations between China and Britain. This disagreement between the government and the intellectuals was rooted in the different understanding and goal of the international equality. From the KMT government's perspective, the equal membership was about the state – the spatially defined and bounded, independent, sovereign government – whose border was recognized by other states, while from the intellectuals' perspective, the equal membership was about their national identity which was more than the the collective consciousness, but "a nation's self-perception of its status in the world" – the equal opportunity to represent one's culture as an equal and not to be spoken for as the muted and subordinated group.[188] Thus, the displacement of the art had multiple layers

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[187] Ibid.

[188] Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005), 8.

Akira Iriye, "Cultural and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 3, no. 3 (1979): 115.

of interpretation. To the government, the displacement of art was to represent the territorial boundary on the international stage. To the intellectuals, the displacement of art was to visualize the intellectual history of the nation.

The intellectuals were sharing the collective memory of the belligerent looting in recent history and they were also humiliated by the latitude the KMT government gave to the foreign criminals who were allow to serve in the exhibition committee. The Chinese Organizing Committee assigned a few young university-trained Chinese archaeologists and art historians who had received higher education, even doctoral degrees, overseas to ensure the academic credibility and scientific methodology.[189] Moreover, the Executive Yuan showed great generosity, sincerity and compromise in all aspects "to establish an international identity based on … intellectual leadership."[190] However, the British committee insisted on playing a decisive role in selecting, exhibiting, and writing on the art, and moreover, the British kept condemning the the art historical writing by the Chinese scholars by changing the information in the captions.[191] As the subordinated group who were not the rule makers in the cultural contact zone,

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Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *American Historical Review*, vol. 94, no.1 (1989), 4.

[189] These archaeologists obtained their degrees from universities in England, France, Germany, Sweden and the United States.

Jason Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London, 1935-36," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* vol. 148, no. 1241 (August, 2006): 532. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20074523.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Na Zhiliang 那誌良 and Zhuang Yan 莊嚴, "Zao guonan yu zhan guobao: 1935 nian lundun yizhan qinli" 遭國難與展國寶:1935 年倫敦藝展親歷 [Show the national treasures in the national catastrophe: personal experience in the 1935 London exhibition], *Forbidden City*, issue 3 (2007): 36-52. https://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotal-ZIJC200703010.htm.

the Chinese scholars was muted again in the international exhibition. The forced muteness again negated the self-perceived equality in the realm of academia and cultural exchange.

The 1930s China saw an increasing effort in protecting historical objects and sites from both domestic and foreign art collectors, tombarolo, and curio dealers, indicating the growing perception of arts as the material evidence of the nation's inherited civilization. Pointed out by historian James Flath, the law systemized the public history into public policy, making the national history not simply the sum of the regional histories, but an integrated, continual entity rendered in a historicized academic eloquence.[192] The legal acts assisted the KMT government in nationalizing the provincial historical capital. On June 2, 1930, the KMT government passed the Law on the Preservation of Ancient Objects, the very first formal regulations concerning antiquities and historical sites. Between July and November 1930, the Ministry of Finance imposed the limitations on loaning ancient manuscripts to overseas events in order to prevent further loss of rare books and scripts.[193] Between May 1930 and December 1931, the Academia Sinica collected and reported the evidence that British archaeologist and ethnographer Aurel Stein had smuggled large numbers of artefacts from Gansu and Xinjiang provinces to the British Museum. The KMT government, for the very first time, suspended Stein's tourist visa and

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[192] James A. Flath, "Managing Historical Capital in Shandong: Museum, Monument, and Memory in Provincial China," *The Public Historian*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 41-59, 42. https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2002.24.2.41.

[193] "Caizhengbu heding guji chuguo fanwei chengbing xingzhengyuan xunling" 財政部核定古籍出國範圍呈並行政院訓令 [The Ministry of Finance checked and ratified which kind of ancient manuscripts could be sent abroad. A proposal was sent to the Executive Yuan for approval.]. *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture II, ed. The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 611-616.

deported him.[194] Renowned archaeologist Wu Jinding 吳金鼎 details Stein's expedition in *National News Weekly*, focusing on how Stein acquired the sutras and manuscripts from Dunhuang.[195] In the same year of 1930, the Library Society of China discovered the illegal trades in ancient manuscripts between Beijing-based bookstores and their foreign customers and banned future transactions.[196] These investigations conducted by the Academia Sinica, laws passed by the KMT government, and articles conceived by scholars indicated a centralized

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[194] "Yingren sitanyin laihua daoqu xin gan dengdiqu wenwu jingguo de youguan wendian (1930.5-1931.12)" 英人斯坦因來華盜取新甘等地區文物經過的有關文電(1930 年 5 月—1931 年 12 月) [Paper documents and telegraphic records of British man Stein stole material cultures and antiquities in places including Xinjiang and Gansu, between May 1930 and December 1931], *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture II, ed. The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 679-709.

[195] Wu Jinding 吳金鼎, "Sitanyin dunhuang daojing shilue" 斯坦因敦煌盜經事略 [A brief account of how Stein stole sutras and manuscripts from Dunhuang caves], *National News Weekly* 國聞周報 vol. 7, issue 33 (1930).

Also see historian and Dunhuang scholar Xiang Da's account below.

Xiang Da 向達, "Sitanyin heishui huo gu ji lue" 斯坦因黑水獲古記略 [A brief account of Stein's looting in Khara-Khoto], *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping* 國立北平圖書館館刊, vol. 4, no. 3 (1930)

[196] "Zhonghua tushuguan xiehui zhixing weiyuanhui yu guwu baoguan weiyuanhui xielie chajin beeping shusi touyu guji shouyu waiguoren wanglaihan" 中華圖書館協會執行委員會與古物保管委員會協力查禁北平書肆偷鬻古籍售予外國人往來函(1930 年 9 月 5 日) [The executive committee of the Library Association of China and the Central Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities collaboratively prohibited the Beiping-based bookstores from selling ancient manuscripts to foreigners.]], *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture II, ed. The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 720.

control and academic approach to systemize the public history into public policy. The structural efforts raised the consciousness of historical objects and sites as national treasures and symbols.

The biggest concern of the scholars and literate masses came from the public history of the constant loss of assets – antiquities, lands, silver, et cetera – to the imperialist powers. The collective memory was further fueled by the distrust of the KMT government, given its weakness in foreign policies. The forced displacement and dysfunction of the objects reminded people of their own powerlessness facing the loss of the material evidence of their national identity and eventually the national sovereignty. Therefore, jointly signed by twenty-eight renowned Chinese scholars, an open letter of objection was simultaneously publicized on several major newspapers on January 20, 1935. The letter writes:

> The Palace Museum is the only museum in China. How can we send the precious collection overseas without any insurance? This sounds like a joke. The British mood swung in a drastic reversal from modesty to arrogance momentarily. Their inimical intention leads to inevitable doubts. We also heard that the British side attempts to send a few committee members to China, whose visas allow two-month stay in Shanghai, so the British side can unpack the already safely handled boxes by the Palace Museum and re-select the artworks. Pitifully, the loan exhibits are national treasures of China, so the Chinese side should preserve the right of selection. How can the Chinese committee allow the foreigners unpack, mess up with, and choose the exhibits as they will? It only showcases the incapacity of the Chinese organizers.
>
> We heard that amid the selection committee sent by the British organizers are non-British members such Paul Pelliot who, accompanied by Aurel Stein, bribed local Daoist priest in Dunhuang and stole countless pre-Tang antiquities which have been kept in either the Bibliothèque Nationale de France or the British Museum ever since. Just a while ago, when Stein returned to China for another round of robbery, he attracted nationwide attention, which interrupted his plan. If we welcome Pelliot's participation in the selection process this time, we are stepping on our own dignity. The British organizer sent this person to China with hidden purposes. Therefore, the Chinese side should impose three requests. With the three requests, the loan exhibition still does not create a same-level lateral

> communication, but at this point, the Chinese government needs to handle the situation in accord with the current domestic and global situation…[197]

Pathetically pleading, this public letter expresses insecurity derived from past experience. It was not only the fear of losing the exhibits to the British, but the scholars were also irritated by the condescending attitude of the British side, reminding them of the unequal power relation extending to the non-territorial event. First, the British side not only intended to select the exhibits, but also denied the credibility of the Palace Museum by opening up the already packed objects. The interference challenged the full discretion, agency and authority of the Palace Museum and the Chinese side. Moreover, the British side insensitively if not intentionally invited the most infamous smugglers Paul Pelliot and Aurel Stein to join as the sinologists. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, in 1930, Stein's expedition in northwestern China was defined as *dao* 盜 (stealing) by Wu Jinding. Thus, Stein's participation to some extent whitewashed the past conduct of people like Stein as scientific expedition, cleaned up the stolen goods as proper acquisition of new objects into the museum collection, and announced that the legal enforcement in the Republic of China was ineffectual and biased.

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[197] Wang Li 王力, Li Biyun 李碧蕓, Lin Huiyin 林徽音(later 因), Hou Zonglian 侯宗濂, Chen Zhimai 陳之邁, Chen Daisun 陳岱孫, Zhao Zhaoxiong 趙詔熊, Zhu Junyun 朱君允, Shen Xingren 沈性仁, Jin Yuelin 金岳霖, Qin Xuanfu 秦宣夫, Shen Youding 沈有鼎, Chen Quan 陳銓,Xiong Foxi 熊佛西, Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, Zhou Peiyuan 周培源, Jin Yuerong 金岳榮, Pu Xuefeng 浦薛鳳, Zhang Yinlin 張蔭麟, Zhang Zhenru 張真如, Liu Xinfang 劉信芳, Li Jianwu 李健吾, Lin Zhengang 林振綱, Yao Hongzhu 姚鴻翥, Liang Sicheng 梁思成, Li Lian 李濂, Zhang Xiruo 張奚若, and Yang Jingren 楊景任.

"Xueshujie fandui guwu yunying zhanlan lieju sanxiang liyou xiwang zhengfu shenzhong xingshi" 學術界反對古物運英展覽列舉三項理由希望政府慎重行事 [The academia opposed the proposal for three reasons and was hoping the government could rethink.], *World Journal* 世界日報, January 20, 1935.

Other scholars and artist-intellectuals seconded the public letter. On January 27, 1935, historian Chen Yinque 陳寅恪 (1890-1969), on behalf of Beijing-based scholars, ferociously grills the KMT government in an open letter by contrasting the Chinese audiences' limited access of the artworks with the British audiences' prioritized access to the most precious national treasures.[198] Chen further points out that the KMT government's lesson learnt from the Japanese invasion in 1931 was ironically the growing appeasement toward the West and reliance on other countries for national defense and national sovereignty. Therefore, Chen calls the loan exhibition a "birthday gift" for George V, which although does not mean the transfer of ownership, sarcastically portrays the incompetent KMT government as a subordinate dependency of the more powerful Western countries. Moreover, Chen views the two shipments of the Palace Museum collection – the shipment from Beijing to Nanjing warehouse after the loss of Shanhai Pass to the Japanese Kwantung Army in 1933, and the shipment from Shanghai to London for the international exhibition – in parallel, because both shipments signaled the government's refusal to be proactive in retrieving and reconstructing a position of independence, dignity and equality.

On January 25, 1935, Xu Beihong, a member of the preparatory committee for the London exhibition, published a criticism full of obscenity called "China's Shitty and Slutty Side: My Thought on the Preparatory Process of the London exhibition of Chinese Art" 中國爛汙:對於中英藝展籌備感言.[199] In the text, he first identifies the British personnel sent to China as

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[198] "Pingshi xueshujie di'erci xuanyan fandui guwu yunying zhanlan"平市學術界第二次宣言反對古物運英展覽 [Scholars from Beiping for the second time opposed the proposal for exhibiting antiquities in Britain], *Beiping Morning Newspaper* 北平晨報, January 27, 1935.

[199] Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "China's Shitty and Slutty Side: My Thought on the Preparatory Process of the London exhibition of Chinese Art" 中國爛汙:對於中英藝展籌備感言[China's Shitty and

businessmen, not scholars or connoisseurs. Also, Xu denies the purpose of the exhibition as announced by the KMT government. In the official rhetoric, the exhibition was to promote Chinese cultural and civilization to the rest of the world. However, notified by Xu Beihong, the British organizers only wanted pre-1800 C.E. objects, implying a total denial and rejection of China's cultural and artistic achievement after then, including art in the Republic of China.

By requesting only pre-1800 works, Chineseness meant "historic relics" to the British. Art historian Colin Rhodes points out that in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the UK-based *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* approached non-European art with two different attitudes: the "tribal art" from West Africa, Oceania and North America, and the "historic relics" from Asia. Japanese, Chinese, and increasingly Indian works were considered to have the "advantage of being regarded as the products of historical civilizations" and thus were perceived as objects from a relatively high cultural context situated in the frozen and imagined past.[200] Commentating on the 1935 London exhibition, in the article "Chinese Painters" published in the *Journal of the Royal Society*, while Laurence Binyon devotes a full, lengthy paragraph to each dynasty from Tang to Ming, explaining new stylistic and philosophical achievements and trends in art, on art from the seventeenth century and beyond, Binyon only briefly mentions the European influence and "a tendency to revolt [against the academic tradition] in the direction of a more personal expression."[201] Binyon's belief in the artistic

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Slutty Side: My Thought on the Preparatory Process of the London exhibition of Chinese Art], *World Journal* 世界日報, January 25, 1935.

[200] Colin Rhodes, "Burlington Primitive: Non-European Art in the Burlington Magazine before 1930," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* vol. 146, no. 1211 (February, 2004): 98-104. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20073399.

[201] Laurence Binyon, "Chinese Painters," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 84, no. 4343 (February, 1936): 379. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41360680.

decline in Qing dynasty well reflected the dominant writing on Chinese art history first initiated by Japanese scholars.[202]

Between 1933 and 1935, Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu just finished their exhibitions of then-contemporary Chinese ink paintings, namely *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise* and the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, which were remarked by the two artists' insistence on the continuous spiritual and artistic achievement in Republican China. However, both Liu and Xu had to compromise at some point to accommodate the hosts' requests for pre-modern arts, which pompously violated the curatorial ideals and overstepped the authority of the curators. For instance, as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, when Liu Haisu's exhibition arrived in Genève, it was supplemented with dynastic antiquities, especially those traditionally adored by the Westerners, such as porcelains. Like Liu, Xu Beihong was forced to breach his own curatorial plan. On the eve of Xu's trip to Europe, Liu Dabei 劉大悲 (1894-1984) and Musée du Jeu De Paume reached an agreement to realize the exhibition only if the exhibition could add "purely Chinese art, not influenced by the European or Japanese styles…Besides the contemporary paintings, a separate exhibition is dedicated to ancient paintings, so the audiences can see the contemporary and dynastic works in comparative framework…"[203]

Instead of presenting the then-contemporary Chinese painting as a glimpse of an alternative present in the global community, the request of the Muséedu Jeu De Paume for pre-modern arts reflected the "universalizing historicism" in a Eurocentric perspective, that allocated

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[202] See section I of this chapter.

[203] French Office of l'Institut Franco-Chinois 中法大學駐法辦事處, "Bali zhongguo huazhan jingguo" 巴黎中國畫展經過 [An overview of the *Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise*], *Shen Bao* 申報, November 25, 1933.

different histories on a temporal scale and saw Chinese art embodying a "contemporary ancestor" of the European nations.[204] When the museum demanded the "purely Chinese art…not influenced by the European of Japanese styles," it was seeking for "art within a highly formalized, intensely local and very long established style" that reflected isolation, homogeneity, unconsciousness, and historical relationships of time-depth.[205] Historian Arif Dirlik talks about the Eurocentric perception of Asia: "Spatial differences were thereby rendered into temporal differences, and different societies placed at different locations in a progressive temporality in which Euro-America stood for the epitome of progress."[206] Therefore, the pre-modern Chinese arts homogenized the spatial and temporal factors of the imagined China as the contemporary ancestor for the Euromodernity. The pre-contact artists were thought to learn from their own ancestors and only the ancestors. In other words, the Chinese art could provide visual inspirations for European artists as primitive art and primary resources, but the Chinese artist should have learned nothing form Europe. Chinese art was subject to reinvention and reinterpretation by the European audience.

The cut-off year of 1800 also marked the first official contact between the British and the Chinese. George III and Qianlong Emperor of Qing exchanged gifts via the Macartney Embassy

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[204] Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," edited by Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, special issue "Theme Issue 35: Chinese Historiography in Comparative Perspective," History and Theory, vol. 35, no. 4 (December 1996): 100.

Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York 1983).

[205] Robert Redfield, "Art and Icon," *Aspects of Primitive Art: Three Lectures by Robert Redfield, Melville J. Herskovits and Gordon F. Ekholm* (New York: The Museum of Primitive Art, 1959): 21.

[206] Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," 96.

to Beijing in 1793 led by George Macartney, 1st earl Macartney, to celebrate Qianlong Emperor's 83rd birthday. The embassy did not reach a trade deal or cultivate friendship between two empires. In extreme condescendence, Qianlong Emperor wrote two edicts to George III of England, in which he expressed his negation of global connectivity, "Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its borders. There is therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce"[207] Leaving the Forbidden City, Lord Macartney, accompanied by the two illustrators, gathered information of the Qing empire. On his trip, Lord Macartney was disillusioned by the very much obstinate country, poor infrastructure of the towns and cities, and backward technology, so he realized the divinely fantasy of China in earlier travelogues were untrue. The new discovery foreshadowed Britain's later aggression to force Qing into its global trading and imperial network. Later, George III exhibited the gifts from Qianlong Emperor, which influenced later generations of the royal family, including George V who celebrated his 80th birthday in 1935 – the reason why Chen Yinke called the exhibition a "birthday gift." Therefore, the year 1793 – roughly 1800 – marked the time when isolationism and maritime expansion collided, when the Great Divergence started, and when the power relation between China and Britain started changing.

[207] "Two Edicts from the Qianlong Emperor, on the Occasion of Lord Macartney's Mission to China, September 1793," Asia for Educators, Columbia University, accessed November 21, 2020, http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/china/qianlong_edicts.pdf. Originally in Mason Gentzler, Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977)

The haunting specter of the KMT government's fawning sycophancy to the British and fraudulent sellout of the national treasures more or less came true. Hong Kong *Lih Pao* (1938-1941) gives the breaking news that[208]

> For the friendship between China and Britain, the Chinese government bought and gifted a gigantic marble Buddha sculpture to the British Museum. This Amitābha Buddha was shown in the *Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London 1935, receiving tremendous appreciation from the visitors. The sculpture was dated back to 585 C.E. during the six dynasties period, the most prospering era for Buddhist development in China. Receiving the gift, the British Museum enriched its collection of Chinese art and thanked the Chinese government.

In today's British Museum, there is a six-meter tall Amitābha Buddha dated back to 585 C.E (Figure 2.6 & Figure 2.7).[209] The acquisition memo remarks that the statue was "presented by C.T. Loo to the Chinese Government and via H.E. the Chinese Ambassador to Britain, to the British Museum." The notes further quote the message from the government that the present was "to commemorate the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* […] of goodwill between the two countries."[210] Na Zhiliang 那誌良 (1908-1998) and Zhuang Yan 莊嚴 (1899-1980) also recalled C.T. Loo's loan of a six-meter tall Sui dynasty Amitābha Buddha statue to the exhibition in their memoir.[211] Whether the KMT government bought the statue from C.T. Loo or received it for free

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[208] "Zhongguo zhengfu zeng ying gufo"中國政府贈英古佛 [The Chinese government gifted an ancient Buddha statue to Britain], *Li Bao* 立報, July 27, 1938.

[209] See the "Amitābha Buddha from Hancui" in the digital collection of the British Museum. Also, it is on permanent display. Accessed November 23, 2020, https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=227481&page=1&partId=1&plaA=40711-2-11&place=40711.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Na Zhiliang 那誌良 and Zhuang Yan 莊嚴, "Zao guonan yu zhan guobao: 1935 nian lundun yizhan qinli" 遭國難與展國寶:1935 年倫敦藝展親歷 [Show the national treasures in the national catastrophe: personal experience in the 1935 London exhibition], issue 3, *Forbidden City* (2007), 36-52.

was less important than the fact that firstly, C.T. Loo, the infamous smuggler of many national treasures, probably once stole the Buddha statue from Chongguang Temple; secondly, the KMT government did not take the opportunity, either through purchase or request, to reclaim the ownership of the statue, reminding people of looting, stealing and smuggling in Beijing, Dunhuang and many other places; thirdly, the gesture violated the newly launched law on the protection of historic sites and antiquities, as well as restrictions on foreign involvement. Although the gifting happened in 1938, not during the exhibition, it more or less confirmed the worries of the scholars and the public.



Figure 2.6. The Amitabha Buddha exhibited in the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London, 1935, is now in the British Museum. Acquisition date: 1938. Photograph. Source: British Museum Collection, accessed November 21, 2020, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1938-0715-1.



Figure 2.7. The Amitabha Buddha in the Central Hall, 1935. Photograph. Source: Royal Academy of Arts Collection, accessed November 21, 2020, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/the-amitabha-buddha-in-the-central-hall-view-from-the-vestibule-royal.

Silencing the Chinese scholars and depriving of their ability to select and curate the arts for the European audiences, the British scholars deployed the interpretated culture to substitute for the fossilized history. In other words, the pre-1800 arts on display did not represent historicity which was in contrast with the Republic of China's contemporaneity, but the arts represented the coherent unit of culture from the past to the present with the present simply the reproduction of the past in a relatively isolated society.[212] Disillusioned by the European culture and exhausted by the overly sophisticated system of symbols in art, the European modernizers and intellectuals sought for alternative art histories by othering other cultures. In search of the primal models for cultural renewal, the Europeans invented "tribal art" and identified "historical relics."[213] If the earlier fashion of Japonisme and Chinoiserie had inaugurated artistic ingenuity with unconventional color, composition and subjects that led to an imagined, mysterious East, then the introduction of primal models and search for the "contemporary ancestors" for alternative cultural possibilities fossilized the East in the imagined pre-modern spirituality, pre-industrial production, and whimsical relationship between nature and human society.[214] In 1911, Laurence Binyon, who later played a decisive role in the 1935 London exhibition, encouraged art historians to at least conduct some serious study on Chinese and Japanese art, because it had been "so long regarded as merely decorative and industrial, and relegated of the ethnographical

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[212] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York 1983) Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," 98.

[213] Colin Rhodes, "Burlington Primitive," 100.

[214] The "East" here is quoted from the original text of the editorial, referred to China and Japan. Here when I talk about the "East" and the imagination of the "East," I am not thinking of the Orientalist paintings that vilify the Middle East as the exotic, lazy and sexually accessible opposite of the self-identified rational and enlightened Europe.

sections of museums."[215] A 1910 *Burlington Magazine* editorial claims that "To us the art of the East presents the hope of discovering a more spiritual, more expressive idea of design."[216] During the interwar period, Bauhaus and other progressive institutions in Europe incorporated Japanese elements, including ink painting, tea ceremony, calligraphy and other "layers of inspiration prompted by Asian spiritualties."[217]

The three quotes below can generically map the different phases of Orientalist perceptions on East Asian art between mid-19th century to late-1930s, from visual exoticism and bizarreness, to the extracted visual elements, and to cultural interests and fantasized spirituality. In 1857, French writer Edmond de Goncourt writes that China was still a "world upside down! A paradise of paradoxes! Jade sky, red trees, rivers to Nanjing, chimerical creatures, cities of porcelain, and ten-story-high pagodas whose bells sing with the wind! The land where everything happens!"[218] By early-1920s, the visually familiarized Chinese artefacts became part

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[215] Laurence Binyon, "Colgne Museum for the Art of the Far East," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 18, no. 95 (February 1911): 290+293. https://www.jstor.org/stable/858665.

Colin Rhodes, "Burlington Primitive," 100.

[216] Editorial, "Oriental Art," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 17, no. 85 (April, 1910): 3-4. https://www.jstor.org/stable/858268.

Colin Rhodes, "Burlington Primitive," 100.

[217] Helena Capkova, "Bauhaus and Tea Ceremony: A Study of Mujtual Impact in Design Education between Germany and Japan in the Interwar Period," in *Eurasian Encounters: Museums, Missions, Modernities*, edited by Carolien Stolte and Yoshiyuki Kikuchi. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017): 104. http://www.jstor.com/stable/j.ctt1zxskgt.7.

[218] The original text is quoted by Ting Chang in "Goncourt's China Cabinet: "…Un monde à rebours! Une nature à l'envers! Une terre folle! Un paradis de paradoxes! Un ciel de jade, des arbres rouges, des fleuves nankin, des bestiaux chimeriques, des villes de porcelain, et des pagoda à dix etages de clochettes, que le vent sonne!"

of fashion and consumer engineering. "Following the Summer Palace's ransacking, in 1860, jade started to reach European in large quantities," says Évelyne Possémé, "…However, the use of carved jade in the Chinese style truly started in the early 20th century, especially with Cartier, which exhibited China-inspired jewelry in New York as early as 1913."[219] In the 1930s, the East Asian arts became a common visual reference and entered the realm of metaphysical beliefs. The prolific thinker and architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) once commenced his lecture *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* in 1935, with the statement that "The exotic no longer exists in Europe for Japan, or in Japan for Europe."[220] In other words, between the two world wars, The exotic charm of Japan or probably that of the entire East Asia faded away and gave way to research interests in the philosophical framework, such as D. T. Suzuki's invention of tradition in his Zen volumes.[221]

Ting Chang, "Goncourt's China Cabinet: China Fantasy and a Nineteenth-century French Collector," *Collecting China: The World, China, and a Short History of Collecting*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 31.

Also see Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013).

[219] Patrick Lecomte, "From Puccini to Powder Boxes, How China Infused art Deco Era," South China Morning Post, posted on March 5, 2016, accessed November 22, 2020, https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/fashion-luxury/article/1920075/puccini-powder-boxes-how-china-infused-art.

Évelyn Possémé is chief curator at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in the Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and antique and modern jewelry department.

[220] Bruno Taut, "Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture," (lecture, the Peers' Club, Tokyo, October 30, 1935)

[221] Victor Sōgen Hori, "D.T. Suzuki and the Invention of Tradition," *The Eastern Buddhist*, new series, vol. 47, no. 2 (2016): 41-81.

The 1935 London exhibition launched a new episode in the stratigraphic discourse on Chinese art by rethinking the nature of Chinese painting not as formal representation or a symbolic communicative system, but "a fabric of signs that a culture weaves around itself."[222] Abstract and suggestive paintings, especially the Southern school literati works, were considered expressive and poetic. The exhibition further conceptualized Chinese paintings by exploring the semiotics of the image and word as a form of language and a fabric of cultural signs. Laurence Binyon analogizes Chinese painters to poets in that painters "represent[ed]" while poets "evoke[d]."

> Many of the Chinese painters in fact were equally distinguished as poets. Alike in poetry and in painting the aim was to evoke or to suggest, rather than to display or to represent. Most western painters, if they took such a subject as the moon over rolling waves would (at least of recent years) have endeavored to give us the actual aspect of the scene … but the Chinese painter does not care so much about fidelity to the external appearance of things as about their essential character.[223]

Before the London exhibition, major exhibitions of Chinese art focused solely on vessels and other artefacts made of precious materials which were easily evaluated in the Western market. Art historian Ludwig Bachhofer compares the 1935 London exhibition with the 1929 exhibition of Chinese art in Berlin, stating that, "A visitor leaving the Berlin show and unacquainted with real conditions must have got the impression that the Chinese were from the beginning to the end of their history a nation of makers of vessels, occasionally dabbling in sculpture or painting. In London, the committee tried to convey the idea that painting and

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[222] W.J.T. Michell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 43.

[223] Laurence Binyon, "Chinese Paintings," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 84, no. 4343 (February, 1936),369-379: 371.

sculpture played an important part."[224] A 1937 commentary on an exhibition of Song and Yuan reflects the aftermath influence of the 1935 London exhibition, stating that

> The high prices paid recently in Japan for the work of Bunjingwa painters, inspired by the Southern School, also shows the present trend of taste in the Far East…There is no doubt that in England, if a representative group of works of this school were exhibited, great enthusiasm would be felt, not perhaps by the small group who frequent the oriental dealers, but by the larger and better-informed public who collect or admire old master drawings and prints. This public has rightly refused to be interested in most of the "Chinese pictures" it has seen in London hitherto…[225]

This short text tells that influenced by the London exhibition, firstly, Southern School of paintings originated in Song China was enthusiastically accepted and appreciated by the "larger and better-informed public," not just the "small group who frequent the oriental dealers," and secondly, replacing vessels, the poetic, self-reflexive, philosophized later paintings since Yuan dynasty received increasing attention and became the representation and embodiment of Chineseness and East Asia.

In conclusion, first, on the international stage, while the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* centered on the time-depth of a culture area, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* was to represent the territorially defined area as an independent sovereign state.[226] The London exhibition showcased a great number of splendid artworks to demonstrate the KMT government's intellectual leadership in art, state politics and legal control. The visual representation of statism was to maintain the liberal internationalism under Anglo-French

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[224] Ludwig Bachhofer, "A Few Final Remarks about the Exhibition of Chinese Art in London," *Parnassus*, vol. 8, no. 4 (Apr., 1936): 21.

[225] W.W.W. "An Exhibition of Chinese Paintings of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 70, no. 408 (March, 1937):134.

[226] Douglas W. Schwartz, "Culture Area and Time Depth: The Four Worlds of the Havasupai," *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 61, no. 6 (December 1959): 1060-1070. https://www.jstor.org/stable/666781.

leadership on the international stage, that fought against the rising nation-statism, militarism, imperialism, and eventually Nazism. In contrast to the growing awareness of geopolitical realism, the British enlightened patriotism was rooted in geopolitical idealism that a nation-state should extend its internal political philosophy and rhetoric to other nation-states. Therefore, the international exhibition in London was a result of Republican China's and Britain's internationalist vision in a nationalist and statist appearance at the end of the interwar period.

Second, state-building in the Republic of China depended on national bureaucracies with hierarchical governmental units and functionally specialized systems – such as the educational system, the legal system, and the communication channels. By 1935, in the hierarchical governmental units, art institutions had become part of the Department of Social Education. The institutionalized and nationalized imperial collection could staff the corresponding bureaucracies like the state's personnel, endeavoring to bring the betterment of society. Comparatively, in Chapter One, the social and institutional properties of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities seesawed the arts between the past and the present, and between the religious and the educational. Furthermore, while the societal and social function of the imperial collection in the Institute for Displaying Antiquities had been deliberately limited to woo the Qing loyalist gentries and intellectuals, the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* mobilized the ministries of Education, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Finance, as well as the two institutes based in the Forbidden city to fully exploit the symbolic value and institutional functionality of the imperial collection.

Third, indicated by the exhibition titles, Chineseness as the key attribute of the two overseas exhibitions stimulated vibrant discussions within China on what featured the national art, the nation, the national identity and the self-identity on the international stage, which aroused debates on what formulated the cultural normality and collective memory that homogenized the

masses. On the one hand, the intellectuals intended to portray Chineseness as a civilization inherited the philosophized and pre-industrial society away from imperialist aggression and militant cruelty, whose spirituality continued in the present; on the other hand, they also inclined to introduce Chineseness fully encompassing all aspects of scientific progress and pursuing liberal internationalism on the global stage. Either the nationalist or the internationalist attempts was to situate the national culture in the present and for present use. Sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein once writes, "Pastness therefore is preeminently a moral phenomenon, therefore a political phenomenon, always a contemporary phenomenon."[227] Nation-building was to transform the pastness from the past into a present cultural system by moralizing, politicizing, and contemporizing it. The further displacement of the imperial collection from the imperial household to the *in situ* museum and then to an overseas museum indicated the process of politically depoliticizing and then re-politicizing art and culture. The shared culture formed an organic community of ethno-civil kin entangled in a net of imperialist modern nation-states.

[227] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds. (London: Verso Press, 1991), 78-79.

Chapter Three: Mass Art, Mass Production, and Mass Market: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (April, 1937)

One of the most important keywords to describe a modern, industrialized society is "mass." Defined by cultural theorist Raymond Williams, the keyword "mass" implies lowness, mutuality, which is often interchangeable with the phrase "common people." Likewise, the masses form the base of the society, and the term "base" connotes the "amorphous and indistinguishable" aggregation.[228] "Mass" as a keyword in the modern society not only refers to the people of a lower socioeconomic class, but also serves as the modifier in the economic activities that determine and mobilize the globe: mass production and mass market. In modern history, mass production – the specialization of labor and assembly lines – generated new professions and led to mass availability. Mass availability in lower prices multiplied purchasing power. Meanwhile, design altered the ways people saw commodities and turned the standardized products into mass art.[229] The availability, price, and design together gave birth to consumerism and commodity fetishism.

In the Republic of China, industrial and commercial design emerged as a form of mass art. Mass art does not mean popular art or art for the masses, because mass art only exists in certain period and certain place of human history. Philosopher of art Noël Carroll defines that mass art "has arisen in the context of modern, industrial, mass society, and it is expressly designed for use by the society, employing, as it does, the characteristic productive forces of that

[228] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 192-193.

[229] Adrian Forty, *Objects of Design and Society Since 1750* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995), 11.

society, vis., mass technologies, in order to deliver art to enormous consuming populations."[230] Elaborated by Carroll, mass art is for mass consumption in the capitalist, urbanized and industrialized environment. Mass art is publicized by mass media to the masses, and much of the mass media, such as advertisement, is also mass art.[231] These characteristics distinguish the emergence of design, designer, and design education from the development of other art forms. For example, although visually democratized in museums and exhibitions, fine art and antiquities are still not fully accessible to the masses. A general visitor has to pay for the exhibitions, physically keep away from the object, and only look at what is on display. Also, a good piece of fine art challenges the audience's perceptive and cognitive boundary, and intends to transgress the common sense to a piece of philosophy, pedagogy or discourse. Hence, on the one hand, the discussion on design, design education and design exhibition is part of the discourse on art, but on the other hand, it is distinguished by the much broader and deeper social involvement and societal relevance, especially in the realm of economics and cultural identity.

This chapter will take the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) as the point of departure to delineate the emergence and institutionalization of design education and profession, as well as the industrial and commercial arts (Figure 3.1). The volume was compiled on April 20, 1937, roughly a year after the *First National Commercial Art Exhibition* 首屆全國商業美術展覽會 and a few months before the war interrupted the unrealized *Second National Industrial and Commercial Art*

[230] Noël Carroll, "The Ontology of Mass Art," special issue "Perspectives on the Arts and Technology," ed. Patrick Maynard, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 55, no. 2, (Spring, 1997):188. https://www.jstor.org/stable/431263.

[231] Ibid., 189.

Exhibition 第二次全國工商業美術展覽會.[232] In the volume are 148 works by roughly 100 designers, which are divided into two sections, namely the Arts and Crafts Part and the Commercial Art Part. The Arts and Crafts Part consists of thirty-two types of design, including the lacquered board, batik, dripping oil decoration, textile, brocade, fashion, duvet, oil-coated silk umbrella, silk fan, cushion, tower, metal, smoking paraphernalia, stationary, chandelier, lamp, porcelain lamp stand, porcelain dining ware, porcelain installation, porcelain tea set, porcelain stationary, porcelain female figurine, glass ware, bronze coffin, architectural decoration, retail store, interior, furniture, decorative glass for window, wall paper, mural painting, and caisson. The Commercial Art Part is constituted by mostly advertisements and posters, such as those for tea, tobacco, flower shops, cosmetics, and agricultural products. Besides the advertisement, there are other designs that enhance the visual quality for a product or a business, including neon light design, illustrations of beauties, calendar design, product label design, frontispiece design, lettering, letter paper design, window display design, stage design, packaging design and book cover design. Amid the commercial designs, seven were sent to the *Commercial Art Exhibition* in Japan, including Lei Guiyuan's 雷圭元 (1906-1989) Longjing tea advertisement design and tobacco advertisement design, Zheng Yuebo's 鄭月波(1907-1991) flower shop design and ferry company advertisement, Ma Yinghui's 馬映暉 (date unknown)

[232] Yao Aiqiang 姚愛強, "Shoujie quanguo 'shangye meishu zuopin zhanlan hui' juban shijiandian kaozheng,"首屆全國'商業美術作品展覽會'舉辦時間點考證 [Identification of the holding time of the First National Commercial Art Exhibition], *Art & Design* 装饰, issue 1 (2014): 78-79.

The article title was translated by Yao Aiqiang.

poster for ancient money expo, Jiang Shuzhu's 姜書竹(1914-1992) lip balm advertisement, as well as Miu Shaoxian's 繆少賢(1918-?) stationary advertisement.

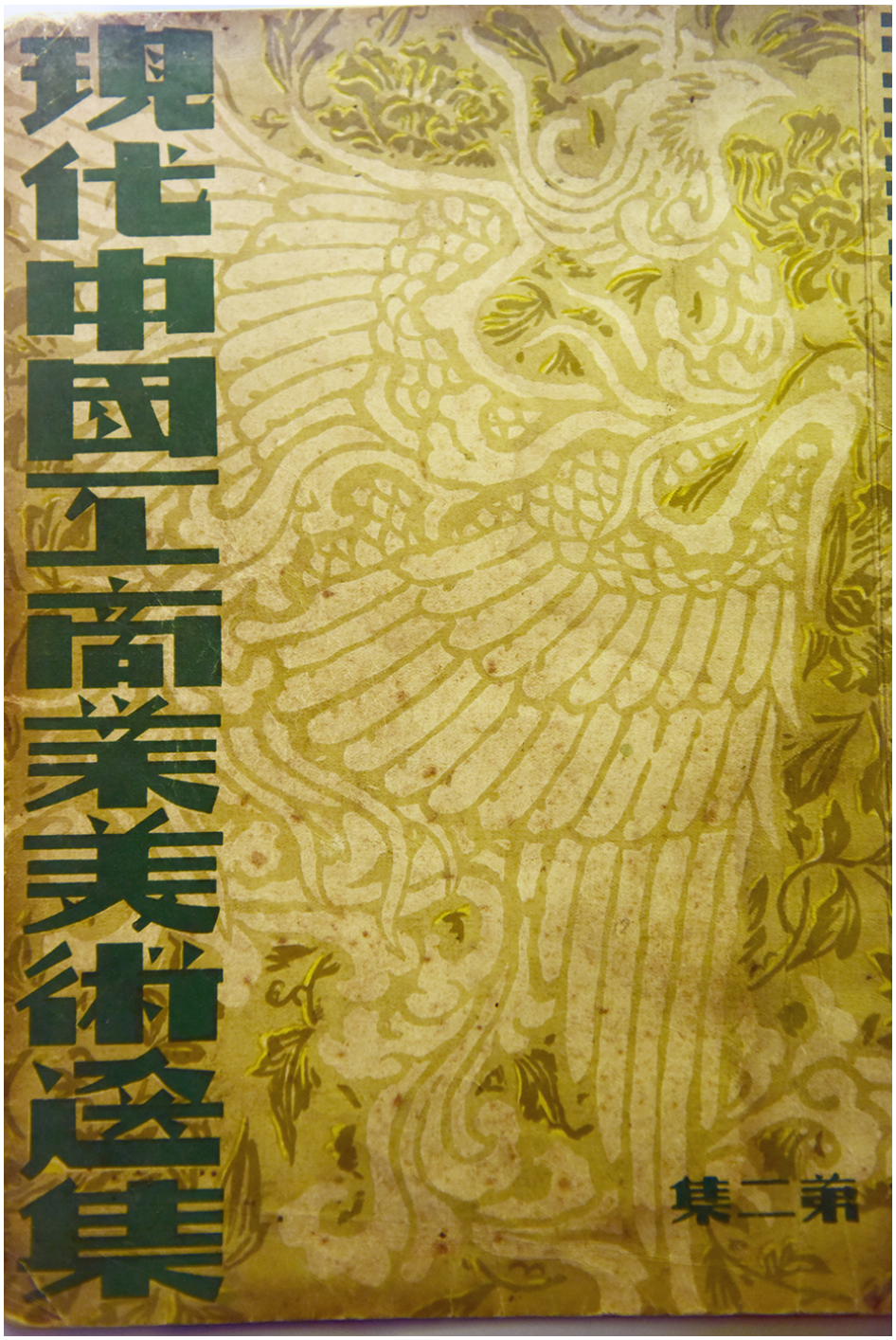


Figure 3.1. Cover of the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II, 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集), designed by Zheng Yuebo (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937)

Two sets of parameters that classify the societal activities and social components for the masses are employed in this chapter to organize the discussion. The societal activities include mass production and mass market, and the social components encompass economic and cultural factors – the base and part of the superstructure in Karl Marx's social theory.[233] Institutionalized design education engendered professionally trained designers and artist-craftspeople to work for mass production, so economically it enhanced the progress of industrialization. Yet, usually taught in an art institution, the design curriculum and academic training had to navigate the more developed and well-formulated art curriculum and discourses on fine art. The following questions serve to guide this chapter: Were designers considered artists? Was the design working for clients or for the designers? Different from the establishment of the art museum and the higher education of art which were part of the elite culture, the institutionalization of industrial and commercial design and crafts was for the masses and permeated the society in an anonymous, collective, and more or less unconscious manner.

The mode of production decided the mode of distribution, circulation and consumption, so mass industry led to mass market which imposed a tremendous effect on mass culture and cultural identity of the masses – namely the labors and consumers. The mass market, with its products, shopping environment and experience, largely determined the three main representations of mass culture: consumption, leisure, and media.[234] As the "exterior to the socio-

[233] Here I am using the word "societal" rather than "social," because the word "social" more often refers to interpersonal contact and relations, while societal usually talks about the complex forces such as the system and bureaucratic structure of the society itself.

[234] Stefanie Middendorf, "Mass Culture as Modernity Introductory Thoughts," in "Mass Culture as Modernity – European Perceptions, 1900-1980," ed. Stefanie Middendorf, special issue, *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2012):148. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26265968.

politico relations," culture as a "seamless web" of relationships that has certain principles within is constantly constituting and constituted by the masses.[235] Living in Republican China which had been abruptly broken from its past, the democratized access to goods empowered the masses to choose their cultural identities and be responsible for their own biographies. Being part of the National Product Campaign, the institutionalized China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association and its national exhibition in 1936 transformed the mass market into cultural consumption which was directly linked to national cultural identity. Thus, the dominant cultural identity of the masses became hegemonic. According to historian Arif Dirlik, "Culturalism is ideological practice in a fundamental sense: it does not merely reflect the social practice of intellectuals – it helps define such practice."[236] The gradually homogenized cultural identity and cultural behavior formed hegemony which would further overarch cultural, political, and economic factors, and homogenize the masses in the culturalistic and eventually ideological way, like a never ending, mutually enhancing loop.[237]

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[235] Arif Dirlik, "Culturalism as Hegemonic Ideology and Liberating Practice," in "The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse," ed. Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, special issue, *Cultural Critique*, No. 6 (Spring, 1987): 15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1354254.

[236] Arif Dirlik, "Culturalism," 16.

[237] The "Guomingdang zhongyang wenhuashiye weiyuanhui tuijin meishu shiye jihuashu"國民黨中央文化事業委員會推進美術事業計劃書 [Proposal for Promoting Arts by the Central Commission of Cultural Undertakings] writes that "to promote painting, sculpture and crafts …was to homogenize the viewers and users, so visual arts could be used for both political and educational purposes." 圖畫雕塑及工藝美術之推廣與提倡…則接觸美術品者，必將感而同化, 並收於政教並行之效.

Here, I translate *zhengjiao* 政教 into "politics and education." Usually, when *zheng* 政 [politics] is juxtaposed with *jiao* 教 which usually means "education," *jiao* 教 serves as the abbreviation for *zongjiao* 宗教 [religion], such as that in the common term *zhengjiao heyi* 政教合一 [a theocratic state]. Both "education" and "religion," in their verb form in Chinese, are to *jiaohua* 教化 [civilize and indoctrinate] the masses. This corresponds to Cai Yuanpei's idea of replacing

Alignment between Education, Production, and Commerce: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association

To institutionalize means to assemble, organize and systemize into a more objective manner. In August 1934, thirty-three like-minded Shanghai-based designers founded the China Commercial Artist Association. A *Shen Bao* commentary expresses resentment to the previously "unorganized and undisciplined" professionals, and expects that the new network could consolidate the art expertise, production, and market to take the field of commercial art as a whole to the next artistic and professional level, which would further enhance industry and commerce in the Republic of China.

> Commercial arts are closely correlated with the development of industry and commerce. The authors of commercial arts in China never had a formal organization to discuss the possible improvements. The professionals have been working on their own, in an exceptionally unorganized and undisciplined manner. Today, the commercial artists from some big companies in Shanghai initiated the organization and hosted the opening at the Xinxin Restaurant. The participants included […] from Xinxin Company […] from Wing On Department Store […] from Sincere Department Store […] from Company of National Products […]. The mission of the Association is to build the network of masters in commercial arts, conceptualize applied and commercial arts, advance production techniques, develop industry and commerce in China, and protect professionals in commercial arts. The Association will curate exhibitions, review submissions, launch publications, host conferences, form reading groups, encourage networking and

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religion with aesthetic education. Therefore, in my opinion, the Central Committee proposed to view visual arts as a sort of education and/or religion which could homogenize the masses through indoctrination.

The proposal was passed during the No. 417 meeting by the Fifth Central Standing Committee of the Kuomingdang Party in 1937.

"Guomingdang zhongyang wenhuashiye weiyuanhui tuijin meishu shiye jihuashu, 1937.7.7" 國民黨中央文化事業委員會推進美術事業計劃書 1937.7.7 [Proposal for Promoting Arts by the Central Commission of Cultural Undertakings, 1937.7.7] in The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture I (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 333.

> complete other administrative tasks. The Association is calling for participants…[238]

On August 14, 1935, the still informal association submitted an application for registering an official organization with the KMT-party municipal office in Shanghai. According to the No. 481 Proclamation issued by the Executive Committee of Special City Shanghai, on August 30, 1935, the executive committee members inspected the association, approved its eligibility, certified the license (No. 467) and created the record at the Municipal Education Bureau.[239] As the first design-specific organization, the association attracted attention from the KMT party and the entire society. On October 6, 1935, forty-five members attended the inaugural meeting held in the auditorium at Zhengcang Elementary School. Wang Longzhang 王龍章 from the KMT municipal office and Nie Haifan 聶海帆 from the Education Bureau joined the members at the meeting. As a KMT party official, Wang Longzhang was oftentimes in charge of social educational tasks such as the reading group for young professionals held in July 1935 which consisted of two terms, namely politics and laws.[240] Wang's and Nie's attendance showed the

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[238] "Zhongguo shangye meishu zuojia xiehui chengli"中國商業美術作家協會成立 [The establishment of China Commercial Artist Association], *Shen Bao* 申報, August 22, 1934, 14.

[239] Shanghaishi jiaoyuju guanyu zhongguo shangye meishu zuojia xiehui beian 上海市教育局關於中國商業美術作家協會備案 [Archival Papers on the China Commercial Artist Association under Shanghai Municipal Education Commission], record group no. Q235, catalog 055, vol. 2, Shanghai Municipal Archives, 1720-1730.

[240] "Dushu huodong" 讀書活動[reading group], Shanghai Office of Local Chronicles 上海地方誌辦公室, posted on April 26, 2010, accessed November 12, 2020, http://www.shtong.gov.cn/Newsite/node2/node2245/node82368/node82378/node82430/userobject1ai111909.html.

Shangye meishu zuojia xiehui chengli" 商業美術作家協會成立 [The establishment of China Commercial Artist Association], *Shen Bao* 申報, October 8, 1935, 12.

institutional amendment ratified by the KMT party and municipal government, signifying the Association's agreement and loyalty to the party-sanctioned social educational system.

By 1937, the association expanded in scale, institutional power, and professional services. And more importantly, in spring 1937, the association hosted the second general assembly during which the China Commercial Artist Association was renamed the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, reflecting the expanded involvement in both production and consumption. The volume *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II adopts the new name of the association, summarizes the past achievement, and proposes prospects for the future. Meanwhile, new branches were established in seventeen cities, including Hangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Beijing, and Wuhan. Moreover, some overseas Chinese industrial and commercial artists joined the association. The association self-claimed to be "China's supreme academic group for nationwide artist-craftspeople and commercial artists."[241] Therefore, the association was to supersede the economic activities from an academic perspective. Between 1934 and 1937, the association launched institutional activities to promote its goodwill, and implemented its academic and economic role through institutional power which set up norms and standards for a system. These activities included the industrial and commercial art exhibitions, the international research group for industrial and commercial art, the observation group for national industry and commerce, the career fair for unemployed members, and the academic conferences for members. The association also founded the library for reference books, the agency to receive commission, and two training programs.[242]

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[241] *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937), page unnumbered.

[242] Ibid.

With an enormous network that consisted of more than 400 professional designers, the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association set up an office for membership recruitment and for representing the members as a human resource outsourcing and consulting agent. If someone needed services such as packaging, marketing, selling art supplies, designing covers for store interior design, store arrangement, design drawings, and color advertising, he could come to the office for referrals.[243]

Mass Production and Design Education: Industrialization and Professionalization

Design and crafts were for the first time incorporated into higher education of art, institutionalized under the same roof with other modern disciplines and exhibited in national arts exhibitions. The discipline of design and crafts was first integrated into the modern education system as part of the teacher training, because handicraft or later called "labor" was a mandatory class for elementary students, which could be traced back to the German Humboldtian educational ideal that children were to acquire both literacy and rural or industrial labor ability at school. In the 1910s, some normal schools, such as Zhejiang Official Secondary Normal School, Guangdong Higher Normal School, National Nanjing Normal School and National Beiping Normal School, set up the Department of Graphics and Handicrafts to prepare the school teachers for the mandatory handicrafts class in elementary and middle schools. Later, returning art students from Europe and Japan introduced the new ideas from Bauhaus, École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs, as well as the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts. Art schools and comprehensive universities started incorporating design education into the curricula.

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[243] Ibid.

In 1918, the National School of Fine Arts in Beijing founded the Department of Design in its middle school sector, and added the Department of Design and Department of Graphics and Handicrafts to its high school sector. After the National School of Fine Arts in Beijing was upgraded to a college, it was constituted by the Department of Ink Painting, Department of Western-style Painting, and Department of Design. In 1923, the National Beiping Normal School was renamed the Peking Normal University and established the Department of Crafts. In the same year, the Ministry of Education required applied arts to replace handicrafts as a mandatory course for all elementary schools. In 1925, the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts added the Department of Design and Crafts to its programs, and it incorporated the Department of Graphics and Handicrafts into its normal sector. In 1928, the Hangzhou National College of Art was established and included Design as one of its four departments. In the same year, the Beiping University Art College, formerly National School of Fine Arts in Beijing, included the Department of Applied Art in its majors. In 1934, the National Art School in Beiping, formerly Beiping University Art College, specified two concentrations in the Department of Design and Crafts, so one could choose either Design or Graphic and Handicrafts.[244]

This part of the chapter dissects the foundation, ideology, evaluation system, and philosophical framework of design and crafts in higher education of art in the 1920s and 1930s. The new educational unity of art and design restructured the body of the designer-craftspeople and transformed the discourse on design and crafts to modern artistic criteria. Therefore, the concept of design and crafts shifted from antiquities and skillful handicrafts to arts. However, the

[244] Tian Jun 田君 ed. "Minguo gongyimeishu jiaoyu dashi nianbiao" 民國工藝美術教育大事年表 [The Timeline of Art and Craft Education over the Period of the Republic of China] in "Meiyu jiuguo" 美育救國 [Aesthetic Salvation], special issue, *Art & Design* 裝飾, Issue 10 (October, 2011): 39-43. DOI:10.16272/j.cnki.cn11-1392/j.2011.10.028.

ontology of design and crafts was under dispute. Among the educators and designers, there was disagreement about whether the discipline was to train artisans or artists, whether the curriculum was to cultivate artist-intellectuals or designer-craftspeople, whether design was a subgenre of "fine art" or not, whether crafts were popularized vernacular art or industrial mass art, whether design was for the visual or for the functional, and whether Chineseness meant revivalism or not. The debates on design, designers, and design education covered the discourses on the mode of production, professional identity, modernity and modernization, social involvement, and cultural identity. Under the roof established and dominated by artists and fine art educators, more departments of design adopted the curricula based on fine art education. However, in the industrializing and modernizing society, design distinguished itself from antiquities, handicrafts and fine art by taking part in mass production and mass market as mass art. Seeing the limitations under an academic credential, vocational programs were launched by the association before a specialized design school could be founded.

Former head of the Department of Design at the Hangzhou National College of Art and then architecture professor of the National Central University Liu Jipiao's 劉既漂 (1900-1992) asserted that design was dysfunctional and merely about the style, which reflected his and many other artists' superficial, if not mistaken, understanding of design and design education. Liu expressed his hope for the newly established Department of Design which he called *tu'an* – a borrowed word from the Japanese education system conventionally meaning design in both Japan and China before *sheji* 設計 [arrangement and plan] was coined– but Liu translated the academic discipline *tu'an* as its non-academic literal meaning: graphic, pattern, and decoration.

> *Tu'an* means decoration... Everything we see contains decorativeness, something apparently totally dysfunctional, but visually pleasing and lovable… Traditional Chinese *tu'an* exploited the possibilities of the ornamental S curves, which has been exhausted by now. we have to find a new way and initiate a new tradition. It

> seems that straight lines, angles and borderless can be three new techniques to be explored.[245]

Liu regarded *tu'an* as a subgenre of graphic arts, which was only meant to add pictoriality to daily visuality, so he limited the innovations of design to color, form, and surface. Thus, Liu upheld his personal preference to certain styles – the straight lines and angles in Art Deco — to encourage new practice, which had nothing to do with a better product for the mass consumers.

Artist and art educator Lin Wenzheng's 林文錚 (1903-1990) goal for the Department of Design in Hangzhou National College of Art showed a fine art ideology foisted on the sociocultural role and significance of crafts and design. Lin publicized "The Curriculum Convergence for Art Education of Our School" in 1934 school journal *Apollo*, in which Lin clearly promoted the fundamentals of plastic art, referring to the painterly skills such as form, perspective, and anatomy, and he suggested a hierarchy emphasizing the higher skills required for the high art versus the lower skills needed for the "low art."[246]

> Students of our institute can choose from four majors, namely Painting, Sculpture, Design, and Music…Painting, sculpture, and design all belong to plastic art with the same foundation of modeling. Just like mathematics as the basic for natural science, sketching is the foundation for plastic art… Aware of the drawback, our institute immediately changed the curriculum and required all freshmen and sophomores to solely focus on sketching before the students could declare their majors in the third year. Meanwhile, students are accepted by different majors based on their sketching skills. Students who can sketch the best can major in

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[245] Liu Jipiao 劉既漂, "Duiyu guoli yishuyuan tuanxi de xiwang" 對於國立藝術院圖案系的希望 [my hope to the Department of Design in School of Arts at the National Central University], *Central Daily News* 中央日報特, special issue, issue 1, February 10, 1928.

[246] Lin Wenzheng 林文錚, "Benxiao yishu dagang" 本校藝術教育大綱 [the curriculum convergence for art education of our school], *Apollo Journal* 亞波羅, issue 13 (March 1, 1934): 1-8.

Apollo Journal was the school journal for Hangzhou National Art College. The school also had "Apollo Society" and "Apollo Research Institute."

> painting or anything else; the second-tier can major in either sculpture or design; the mediocre can only study design.
> …
> Institutionalizing the Department of Design is urgent at the point…The third-year students of the higher vocational school will study the foundation of design while students of the art college will focus on fabric dyeing techniques, porcelain, interior decoration, architectural graphic and other related courses.[247]

Lin projected the great artists as aspiration for the designers. As Lin continues, "In the invisible dungeon of art education, we could only use spiritual uplift to overcome material downside, which mirrors those great Western artists working in their shabby studios… We firmly believe that the countless designers will revive the Chinese craft tradition and aestheticize daily life."[248] These Western artists, according to Lin, created eccentric works ahead his spatiotemporal presence. Besides conceptualizing design and crafts as fine art, Lin assumed that the making process of designed products and crafts from conception to execution would take place in the same person's "shabby studio." The handicraft mode of production restricted the output to one-off artefacts or a small number of products, but in contrast, goods in an industrialized society were designed in a studio or an office, and then made in factories.

Also, in the convergence, Lin hoped that the designers and artist-craftspeople could "revive the Chinese craft tradition," indicating that Lin's mission for design students and faculty was to seek for a craft identity for the nation and a national identity for the craft. What Lin defined as national culture and Chineseness stayed in the past, and to promote the culture and carry on Chineseness were the responsibility of the few elite professionals, not the masses. In short, Lin's convergence represented a common trend of the Department of Design in an art school, that the educators would apply the art theory and framework to define and perceive

[247] Ibid., 1-8: 3-6.

[248] Ibid., 1-8: 7.

design and craftsmanship. By institutionalizing the disciplines into modern education and venerating the disciplines into the realm of fine art, the art educators further distanced design education from production and commodification, and distanced design and craftsmanship from the masses and everyday life.

Student organization De Seagh Studio 蒂賽圖案社 from Hangzhou National College of Art published its members' designs in 1932 *Liangyou* 良友, which were mostly decorative and graphic, and the design drawings were for the one-off handicraft.[249] Most student-designers worked as artists of the modern era, meaning that they created a work not under the request of a patron, but to precede movements or ideas, and to advance their practice to a position of pure originality. The works included Wang Zihao's 王子豪 *Mandarin Ducks*, "Y. P. Cheng" Zheng Yuebo's *Advocating Art Advertisement* (originally in English), "Y.S. Lai" Li Yuxi's 黎毓熙 (1909-1982) *Lacquer Wares*, "H.Y. Chung" Zhong Huangyuan's 鐘煌元 *China Ware and Coffee Pots*, Li Xiansheng's 李賢生 *Advertisement*, and "C. Y. Shu" Xu Zhengyi's 徐正義 *Literary Decoration*.[250] Works of the De Seagh Studio corresponded to Zheng Ke's criticism of the commercial art created by the artists, not designers, "We most often see commercial arts, but most of the works are nonsense. It gives no clue about the product it sells, but merely focuses on the beautiful graphic. For instance, a tourism advertisement adopts a depressing grey tone, which

[249] "From the National Art College By the De Seagh Studio," *Liangyou Pictorial* 良友畫報, issue 67J (July 1932): page unnumbered. [The title is originally written in English.]

[250] Wang Zihao was later also an active member of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association who turned in a storefront design with stylistic typography and he registered for the contact list of the assocation. After graduation, Wang worked for Qingdao Municipal Land, Public Works and Transport Bureau. He was also head of the Qingdao-branch review committee for the unrealized second exhibition in 1937.

fails to cheer up the viewers and hence the commercial effect is unrealized…"[251] Among the students' works, Wang's *Mandarin Duck* and Li's *Advertisement* are merely decorative graphics, depicted for neither a brand nor for a specific product, and Xu's *Literary Decoration* are miniature sculptures of animal forms, which is ambiguous to define whether the work belongs to the category of sculpture or decoration.

Design Alumni who had entered the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts in 1933, accompanied by some faculty members such as Zheng Yuebo, made their virtual exhibition titled "Decorative and AD Drawings" (English in original text) in *Liangyou* (Figure 3.2). A brief foreword in *Liangyou* reads that "The development of commerce relies on art professionals for design and coloration …"[252] The designs are all two-dimensional graphics, showing no commitment to knowing "the manufacturing, the making process, the functionality, the price, the material and the unique nature of certain material, as well as the objecthood" suggested by Zheng Ke, but reflecting a good knowledge of global art history. For instance, Qin Hao's gridded graphic design of a tablecloth is clearly after Itō Jakuchū's *Birds, Animals and Flowering Plants, Mosaic Screens*. Li Baoduo's 李寶鐸 (1916-1999) six-paneled folded screen resembles the Japanese gold-and-blue Kanō school. Hong Ruigan's wall decoration for a ballroom uses the pictorial language of elemental geometric forms derived from Cubism, Neoplasticism, De Stijl and other modernist movements. Other works include Zhang Jingfei's Futurism-inspired car advertisement and artist Yi Qiong's 易瓊 (1916-?) Analytic Cubism-inspired cushion design.

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[251] Zheng Ke 鄭可, "Ruhe gaijin gongyi meishu" 如何改進工藝美術[How to improve arts and crafts], *Youth Art* 青年藝術, issue 4 (1937): 224.

[252] "Decorative and AD Drawings: Hosted by Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts Cohort Alumni of 1933" 上海美專圖案系二二級校友會主辦之圖案展覽會出品一覽 *Liangyou Pictorial* 良友畫報, issue 125, (February 1937): 32. [The original title is in English.]



Figure 3.2. “Decorative and AD Drawings: Hosted by Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts Cohort Alumni of 1933” 上海美專圖案系二二級校友會主辦之圖案展覽會出品一覽, *Liangyou Pictorial* 良友畫報, issue 125 (February 1937): 32.

Each of the two national arts exhibitions in 1929 and 1937 dedicated one separate section to design and crafts, which represented the conceptual trends in higher education of design and crafts. Antiquity and connoisseurship were once seen as an important sector of crafts in the 1920s, which was largely indebted to the visual democratization of the royal collection, as well as the boosted national confidence through the foreign gaze, in that traditional craftsmanship, such as embroidery, silk and jade carving, won awards in the international expositions. The late 1920s and 1930s saw a rapid systematic and institutional modernization of education after the Western models, which was carried out by the wave of returning art students from overseas institutions in late 1920s, including Lin Wenzheng, Liu Jipiao and many other art educators. In the Western tradition of higher education of art, the high and low arts were distinguished, and art education was based on theories of high art.

The committee of the 1929 *First National Arts Exhibition* clearly esteemed masterpieces of handicrafts. In the "Memorandum of the *First National Arts Exhibition*," the range for the sector of arts and crafts included "design, embroidery, music instrument making, porcelain, lacquer, bamboo and wood ware…"[253] Amongst the 288 exhibits categorized as arts and crafts, products of batik, cloisonné, embroidery and other traditional one-off artisan production made up the absolute majority of the section. There were only thirteen design drawings. The solicitation committee consisted of Ye Qianyu 葉淺予(1907-1995) who illustrated for advertisement and textbooks in mid-1920s, Tokyo School of Fine Arts alumnus Chen Zhifo 陳之佛 (1896-1962)

[253] "Diyici quanguo meizhan zuzhi dagang" 第壹次全國美展組織大綱 [memorandum of the *First National Arts Exhibition*], *Guoli daxue lianhehui yuekan* 國立大學聯合會月刊 [National Central University association monthly], vol. 2, issue 1, January, 1927, 9.

who worked as an instructor and a textile designer, and illustrator and cartoonist Zhang Zhenyu 張振宇.

Eight years later, the *Second National Arts Exhibition* incorporated the sector of arts and crafts in the exhibition, which comprised four subgenres of design, bronze wares, porcelain, and other.[254] The review committee of the arts and crafts included Guo Baochang 郭葆昌 (1867-1942), Zhao Taimou 趙太侔(1889-1968), Dong Zuobao 董作寶(date unknown), Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒(1898-1991), Chen Zhifo, Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991), Gu Wenlu 顧文祿 (date unknown), and Wu Yunrui 吳藴瑞(1892-1976).[255] In the committee, the head reviewer Guo Baochang was a connoisseur and collector of antiquities, who worked for the Institute for Displaying Antiquities as an expert in the research and connoisseurial project.[256] Zhao, majored

[254] In the "Summary of the Preparatory Process" for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (1937), there was one review committee for each sector, such as contemporary calligraphy, illustrated books, and arts and crafts. The chart showing the number of submissions and works selected includes four genres which do not have a dedicated review committee, including porcelain, bronze ware, design drawings and other. Meanwhile, the number of submissions and works selected was left blank for the arts and crafts sector. Given that the committee members for arts and crafts were specialists in porcelain, bronze, and design, I conclude that the four genres of porcelain, bronze wares, design drawings, and others were subsections under arts and crafts for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*.

[255] "Jiaoyubu dierci quanguo meishu zhanlan choubei jingguo, gexiang zhangcheng, huiyi taolun deng youguan wenshu"教育部第二次全國美術展覽會籌備經過、各項章則、會議討論事項等有關文書 [archival papers on the preparatory process, regulations and rules, and meeting minutes of the Ministry of Education Second National Arts Exhibition], Ministry of Education (Page 1 to 140 /117), fecord group no. 5, file no. 494 (2), Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

"Dierci quanguo meishu zhanlanhui choubei jingguo gaikuang" 張道藩: 第二次全國美術展覽會籌備經過概況 ["summary of the preparatory process of the Second National Arts Exhibition" by Zhang Daofan], Ministry of Education (Part Five) 141-350, record group no. 5, file no. 2324, Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

[256] See Chapter One of this dissertation.

in Literature at Columbia University, was an expert on drama. Shang specialized in paleography and seals. Although Chen Zhifo was a serious promoter of industrializing crafts and specializing labors, he was ranked the fifth in the committee, suggesting that he had a very limited voice in decision making.[257] There were thirty-nine pieces of design drawings selected from 140 submissions, which was insubstantial compared to 175 pieces of porcelain and eighty-one bronze wares, but proportionally significant compared to the *First National Arts Exhibition*, indicating the conception of design changed from popular art to mass art, and the professional role of a designer shifted from a maker to a planner.

Included in "A Small Part of Arts Displayed at the *Second National Arts Exhibition*" in *Arts & Life*, the editor dedicated one section to arts and crafts, titled in English "Applied Arts (New Style)." The works are all graphics which exhibit high painterly literacy and quality that originated in academic tradition (Figure 3.3).[258] For instance, Yang Shouyu's 楊守玉 (1896-1981) *Random Stitch Embroidery* demonstrated that reviving traditional craftsmanship could be achieved by combining painting traditions and Western techniques. Influenced by her cousin Liu Haisu, Yang studied Western-style painting and Chinese ink painting at a young age. She regarded embroidery as fine art and sought for techniques that could not only reach naturalistic depiction, but also add layers, textures, and color variation under different lighting. The "random stitch" technique was invented by Yang who had been inspired by shading and coloring techniques in oil painting. Multiple layers of stitches would be applied to achieve the accuracy,

[257] See the "Submission and Selection" part of Chapter Four.

[258] "Di'erjie quanguo meishu zhanlanhui chupin zhi yiban" 第二屆全國美術展覽會出品之一斑 [a small part of arts displayed at the *Second National Arts Exhibition*], special issue, *Arts & Life* 美術生活, issue 138 (May 1937): page unnumbered.

complexity, and variation of the color on one spot.[259] The embroidery depicts a smiling child in a very naturalistic way, but deliberately leaves the traces of "stokes" in the shaded places such as the background which is texturally covered in cross hatched diagonal lines. Besides Yang Shouyu's random stitch embroidery, Deng Ruicang 鄧鋭滄, who majored in Western-style Painting at National Art School in Beiping, was the author of *Advertising Design* which depicts a female nude holding a naked baby in a mountainous landscape with some cottages. The work is characterized by its amalgamation of different artistic elements found in proto-Cubism, Primitivism, and other types of abstract art with an emphasis on geometric shapes. The vague, non-narrative subject and the abstract, geometric shape contribute to a decorative quality to the painting, making it a good background for typographic writing. On the one hand, the work showed Deng's painting skill and knowledge of global art, but on the other hand, his work fell into Zheng Ke's and Yan Wenliang's criticism that students from art institutions were unable to distinguish design from painting. Interestingly, the same work of Deng, called *Flood* (Figure 3.4), was included in the Western-style painting section of the catalogue for the 1937 national exhibition, meaning that maybe the artist submitted the work as an oil painting, but for some reason, it was placed on the page of "Applied Arts (New Style)." The interchangeability further demonstrated a general view on design: decorative, graphic, abstract backdrop for typography, and themeless.

[259] Shen Shou 沈壽 and Zhang Jian 張謇, *Xueyi xiupu: chuantong shougong cixiu zhenfa, xiuyao yu pouxi* 雪宧繡譜：傳統手工刺繡針法、繡要與剖析 [Xueyi's embroidery handbook: Analysis of traditional hand embroidery stitch techniques and guidelines], ed., Geng Jipeng 耿紀鵬, (Chongqing, China: Chongqing Publishing House, 2010), Original work published in Qing dynasty. [The title was translated by Geng Jipeng.]



Figure 3.3. “Applied Arts (New Style)” in “A Small Part of Arts Displayed at the *Second National Arts Exhibition*” 第二屆全國美術展覽會出品之一斑, *Arts & Life* 美術生活, issue 138 (May 1937): page unnumbered.

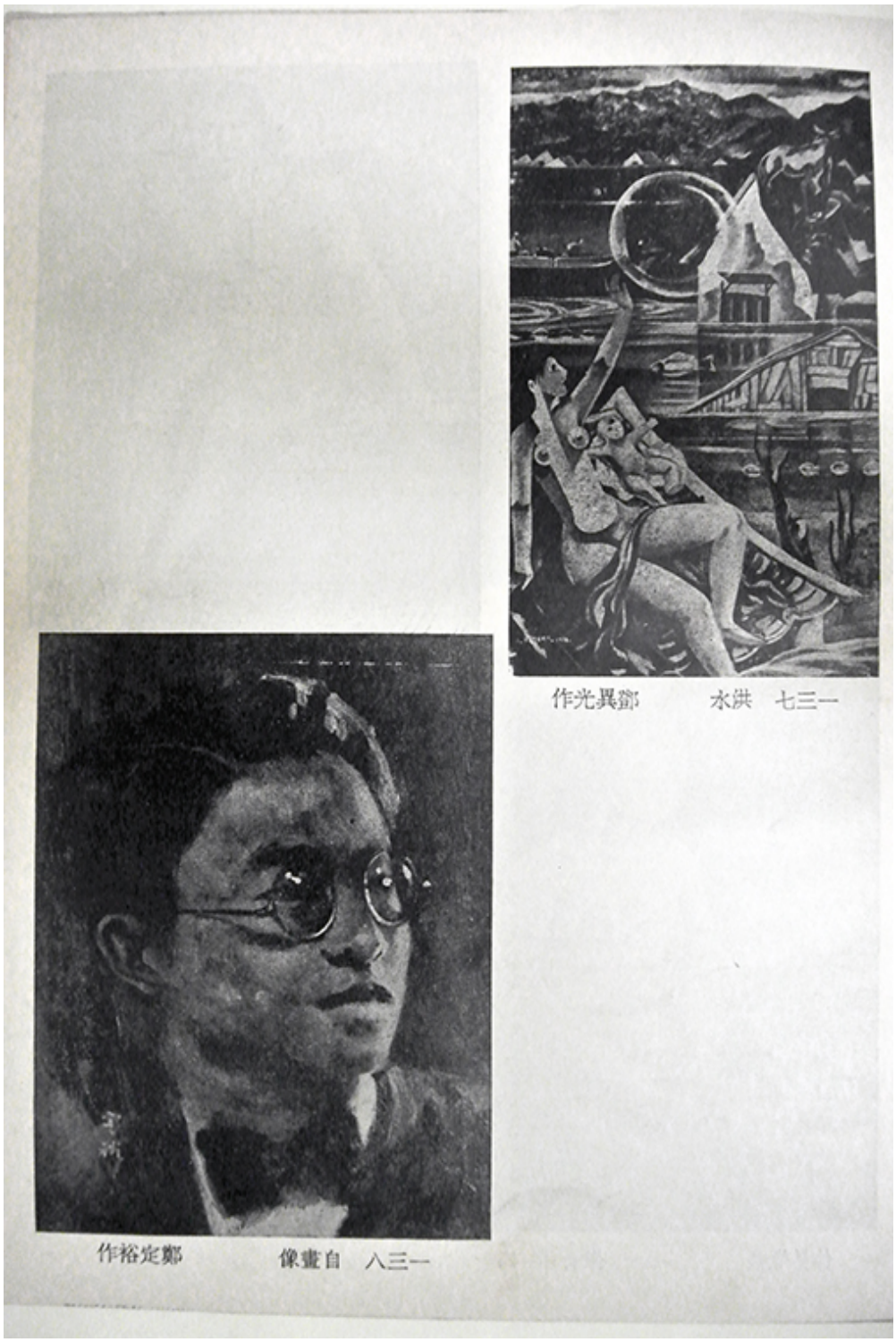


Figure 3.4. Zheng Yiguang (Ruicang), *Flood* 洪水, (Upper Right); Zheng Dingyu, *Self-Portrait* 自畫像, (Lower Left), before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Oil, gouache or watercolor painting. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 137, No. 138.

Zheng Ke, the chairperson of the Guangzhou-branch for the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association and chair of the Porcelain Department of SoengKen University of Canton, realized that the new unity that brought art, design, the modern, and the traditional under one roof would only lead to the dominant disciplines of fine art imposing their artistic and pedagogical philosophy on other disciplines.[260] Zheng briefly went to Guangzhou Academy of Industry where he studied mechanics before studying sculpture and crafts at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts and École Nationale des Arts Décoratifs in France. Back home, Zheng not only taught in schools, but also participated in the industrial enterprise. His hybrid experience in foreign and domestic art and technology, and his professional roles in education and industry made him investigate the connection between design education and its broader application in economics. In his "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," Zheng first and foremost identified that it was the changing economic system and social structure that required new products and new professions. Therefore, Zheng believed the design educator should fix their attention on training students to fulfill the emerging profession and to adapt to the new production mode, not to pursue philosophical and artistic idiosyncrasy.

> We have to further technologize the production and meanwhile, further aestheticize the products, so the domestic goods can compete with the imports… People in arts and crafts have paid little attention to applicability, so the professionals often divorce themselves from reality… Literally speaking, crafts refer to art with craftsmanship. A piece of craft cannot embody the Kantian disinterest like a painting. It has to be useful. Therefore, a craft is a useful object that can aestheticize people's life…[261]

[260] SoengKen University of Canton, the English name for Guangdong Provincial Rangqin University 廣東省立勷勤大學, was established in summer 1933. It consisted of an engineering school, a business school, and a teachers' college. The university closed in 1937, only four years after its establishment.

[261] Zheng Ke, "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," 217-218.

> The progress of the society is rooted in the change of the economic system and social structure, the manufacturing process is broken down and the industries are specialized…[262]

> The designer need to know the manufacturing, the process, the functionality, the price, the material and the unique nature of certain material, as well as the objecthood…[263]

In a traditional art school, the mandatory fundamental courses were designed for painting and sculpture majors, and the pedagogical mission for the school oftentimes aggrandized ideas like agency, disinterest, and visual literacy. Zheng's concern was echoed by other design educators. In 1936, Chen Zhifo differentiated fine art and crafts by accentuating the discourses on agency and skills, stating that

> Fine art is optical, so the work itself had some agency, while the craft is functional, so its objecthood is subject to the user's will…Etymological studies indicate that firstly although arts and crafts are two different genres today, they were only set apart in recent history, so the two genres still overlap, and secondly, historical linguistics show that artists and artisans both refer to men of skills, but now only artisans inherit the original meaning.[264]

Consequentially, Zheng found that the curriculum for the design major unpractical, and the graduates developed an imbalanced skill which could decorate an existing object but could not create an object from scratch. In other words, Zheng noticed that the design students were better at graphic design and decoration, than at making or planning the production of an object.

> Till now, we do not have a specialized school of arts and crafts. Although most art schools have institutionalized design education and the educators showing the best intention, the curricula are very unpractical…

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[262] Ibid., 219.

[263] Ibid., 220.

[264] Chen Zhifo 陳之佛, "Meishu yu gongyi" 美術與工藝 [Fine art and crafts], *China National Art Association Quarterly* 中國美術會季刊, vol. 1, Issue 2 (June 1936): 147-148.

> Looking at the exhibitions held by the art schools, we notice one general character: the works are mostly decorative paintings, plus the newly emerged batik. Thus we know what the students learn at school…
>
> There are two types of crafts in foreign countries: decorative art and artisanship. The former refers to the *designare* and the later *desegno*…The design education from now on shall not aim for bring large numbers of artists specialized in decorative arts, which has done nothing for the development in arts and crafts…[265]

The prominence of *designare* and the nadir of *desegno* in design education corresponded to the concept of high art versus low art. Other than the visual and functional dichotomy distinguished by Chen Zhifo as mentioned above, the low or lesser art, embodying "lowness," was for the masses. And oppositely, high art was for people of highness – the elites with cultivated taste acquired through higher education and high-priced cultural consumption. Being part of the new unity, design and crafts were limited to the symbolic form of experiences of seeing, imaging and picturing – visuality. For them, design made one "view" the object, instead of "see" the object. And a "craft" transgressed a thing by consolidating cultural, historical and visual meanings. Overall, to the educators, design and crafts were to be "experienced visually as an extra-pictorial world-recognition."[266]

Other design educators believed that the ontological dispute between art and design was about the mode of production, which further decided the mode of distribution, the mode of circulation, and the mode of consumption. The mode of production involved productive forces and the social relations of production. From this perspective, designed crafts and designs would leave the realm of art and lean toward industry. Pioneering design entrepreneur and educator

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[265] Zheng Ke, "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," 224.

[266] Whitney Davis, "Visuality and Pictoriality," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, vol. 46 (Autumn 2004): 9-31. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20167637.

Chen Zhifo founded the very first design-only studio for textile companies between 1923 and 1927. The mode of business was too advanced for its era, so it went out of business soon, and Chen devoted himself to higher education of design in different art institutions and comprehensive universities. In his 1928 article "Ontology and Scope of Artistic Industry," Chen defined the designer as a specialized labor force in the whole process of mass production, so the practicality of the good and producability of the design would be prioritized over the visual aspects. In other words, design as a new academic discipline was not only an expansion of fine art-based art education but also the development in industrialization, and the designer as a new profession was to further push the progress of industrialization.

> … [W]hen an ordinary citizen overhears the phrase "artistic industry," he will associate the phrase with the revival of traditional craftsmanship or appreciation of antiquities. How wrong that is! Then what on earth is artistic industry? Everything we use in daily life, including the living space itself, is subject to artistic industry.[267] … The term, "artistic industry" or "arts and crafts," contains two opposite components – the aspect of "beauty" 美 in (fine) art 美術 (literally means the technique of beauty) and the aspect of "practicality" as an industrial product. The two features – beauty and practicality – define a good piece of industrial art.
>
> Ichikawa Sūzou says that as life improves and technique advances, the most ordinary mass production can incorporate some aesthetic delights...[268]

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[267] The reason I translate *meishu gongye* 美術工業 [literally "fine art industry"] into artistic industry is because Chen Zhifo uses *meishu gongye* 美術工業 to refer to Karl Bucher's discussion. Bucher's idea is elaborated in his famous manuscript *Industrial Evolution*, stating: "It is for this reason that he products of domestic work throughout Germany have become for our age of artistic industry such a rich mine of models of popular style." (176) And the product of artistic industry here is translated into "industrial art" because Bucher writes, "The demesne servants, the landless villains who have learned an industrial art, begin to turn their industrial skill to independent account." (349) Also, in Thorstein Veblen's book *The Instinct of Workmanship: And the State of Industrial Arts*, Bucher's and Benjamin Butterworth's discourses are put together. Butterworth's *The Growth of Industrial Art* (1892) conceptually contributes to the discourse and enriches the discussion with illustrated examples. Therefore, if the product is called industrial art, then I will call the production artistic industry.

[268] Chen Zhifo 陳之佛, "Meishu gongye de benzhi he fanwei" 美術工業的本質和範圍 [ontology and scope of artistic industry], vol. 5, issues 1 to 4, *Yiban* 一般 (July 1928): 342.

Chen Zhifo partially condemned German economist Karl Wilhelm Bücher's definition of artistic industry and industrial art, because Bücher situated the conceptual foundation in the "art/artistic" rather than the "industry/industrial" and counted handicrafts and antiquities as industrial arts. Chen firmly believed that design should be part of the economic activities. To participate in the economic activity, the good design should penetrate the market as a useable, production-worthy, widely circulated object. Furthermore, Chen added to German economist Heinrich Eugen Waentig's discussion and redefined the artistic industrial as "industrial activity that meets the functional aspect of daily-use scenarios and at the same time incorporate artistic features." Conclusively, Chen believed that while collectable antiquities and luxury handicrafts belonged to a certain class of people, the mass production prioritizing functionality and incorporating beauty could meet the need of the growing middle class and achieve visual democratization, and as mass production consumption boosted, people would consequentially live a better life.[269]

Zheng Ke's criticism of batik and lacquer painting tackled the question on the mode of production, as well as the professional role and professional qualification of a designer. Recognizing the aesthetic value, Zheng regarded the aestheticized designed goods and crafts as mass art, not popular art, because, as explained in the beginning of this chapter, mass art belonged to the modern era of mass production, mass market, and the masses.

> In recent years, I saw many pieces of batik in magazines and expos…This technique can be seen as some sort of handcrafts, but cannot be put into mass production. Therefore, the cost of production must be high, so the batik products cannot compete with printed fabrics. Batik products are not worth promoting. In today's Europe and Japan, the batik product is outdated. We cannot waste more time on such things with no futures…

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[269] Ibid.

> …This kind of work (batik and carved lacquer) exhausted the talents and energy of many professionals, and contributed to the deadly, unchangeable atmosphere of the arts and crafts field.[270]

Batik designs and lacquer paintings made up a substantial portion of the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (1937). A piece of batik was designed, drafted, dyed and even framed by a single creator with or without very few assistants. In the age of mechanical reproduction, the handcraft mode and the handicrafts became residual phenomena and traditional revivalism, regardless of whether the good was part of the creator's own cultural tradition. In the catalogue, Wu Yisun's 吳貽蓀 (1911-1986) two batik designs depict the dark skin of African female nudes framed by fruitful tropical plants and extravagant leaves. Jiang Shuzhu's 姜書竹 batik design depicts a female nude in profile, which is distinguished by her flexible, athletic body formed and framed by geometric forms of triangles and circles. Jiang's figure and the figurine for Li Yuyuan's 李諭媛 lamp-ashtray design are both formally derived from French designer Max Le Verrier's 1928 "Clarte" figurine with the idea of an antique goddess of light. Wang Gang's 王綱 batik design puts a curious mink in the middle, surrounded by leafy branches and ferns. Artist-craftspeople Liang Qiyu's 梁啟煜 (1911-1995) submitted a batik design portraying a young lady sitting amid greenery, turning her head at the viewers with a confrontational but sentimental gaze. The flatness and simplicity of the figure and the extravagant plants remind the viewers of Paul Gauguin's *Exotic Eve* (1890), *Tahitian Women* (1891) and other Primitive works.

Batik and layered lacquer, featured by the one-off artefact, single-person execution, and lack of functionality other than to decorate, were the ultimate examples of the anachronistic

[270] Zheng Ke, "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," 222-224.

phenomena that the static past and the changing present, the everlasting tradition and the roaring modernity clashed. To institutionalize design education in an art institution was to resituate the conception stage of the production in the modern education system. Unlike the traditional education system focusing on morals and classics, the modern education system centered on the skills of science and technology, and arts and humanities. The vision of the modern education system was to be accessible to the masses, and the educated masses would mostly remain in the masses. Therefore, the design education in Republican China was to fuse the art and humanities with science and technology, and to introduce functionalist social aesthetics and technological humanism to the masses.

In one of the forewords in the catalogue of the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (1937), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894-1983), an art professor at the Xinhua Art School in Shanghai, who studied Western-style painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts School and then later France, could think beyond the framework of fine art and realize the interdependent relationship between the academic discipline of design, the innovation of industrial production, and the national economy. Wang writes, "It is urgent to educate people on the importance of design to boost the industrial development in China…but in recent decades, craftsmen were conservative, unwilling to innovate or change…[Because] in recent history of various industries, design is not part of the production lines".[271] Wang's thought was shared by Yan Wenliang 顏文梁 (1893-1988), a honorary trustee of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association and founder of the Suzhou Fine Arts School. Although Yan studied oil

[271] Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, "Xu wu" 序五 [forewords No. 5], *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and COmmercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937), page unnumbered.

painting at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts, he appreciated Russian Soviet's "education of production" and condemned the artistic attitude of disinterest and dysfunction. In "How I Realize the Necessity of Promoting Practical Arts by Looking at the Education of Production: An Essay for Applied Art Students at Suzhou Fine Arts School," Yan satirized the art students who never dared to step out of their comfort zone of fine art, and who venerated themselves by distancing themselves from the real life and production.

> The Russian Soviet included "education of production" in their five-year plan, which combines education and industry. (Recently, there is a proposal suggesting to merge the Department of Education and Department of Industry in our country) …
>
> Those art professionals only like to portray the nature and eulogize the scenery, never willing to share a little attention to crafts, which results in an oversupply of art graduates in the education industry…The educated young man is afraid of difficulties and willing to drag out an ignoble life, so the undeveloped industrial and commercial products are simple and rustic due to intended contempt…
>
> …Fine art and industry are inseparable and mutually enhancing to provide better products….[272]

Yan's account is appended by three illustrations in *Art Wind* 藝風, including art student Xiong Qilin's 熊啓琳 (1913- ?) *Umbrella Design* 傘之設計, artist Chen Mingkun's 陳明坤 *Porcelain Vase Design* 磁瓶圖案, and illustrator Chen Shenghong's 陳升洪 *Retreat into Nature* 嘯吟林泉 (Figure 3.5). Xiong's first umbrella design uses the roaring waves to frame most of the umbrella edge, the wave crest forming a dynamic concentric momentum, which echoes the round shape of the object. The second umbrella design takes each circular sector framed by two ribs as one unit

[272] Yan Wenliang 顏文梁, "Cong shengchan jiaoyu tuixiangdao shiyongmeishu zhi biyao: wei suzhou meishu zhuanke xuexiao shiyong meishuke tongxue er zuo" 從生產教育推想到實用美術之必要：為蘇州美術專科學校實用美術科同學而作 [how I realize the necessity of promoting practical arts by looking at the education of production: an essay for Applied Arts students at Suzhou Fine Arts School], *Art Wind* 藝風, vol. 2, issue, 2, (February 1934): 78.

and fills it with geometric kaleidoscope pattern. Chen's *Retreat into Nature* corresponds to Yan's comment that "Those art professionals only like to portray the nature and eulogize the scenery… an oversupply of art graduates in the education industry."[273] The illustration depicts a painter in profile. The painter, in disordered, natural, curly hair, is wearing an oversized frock coat and a cravat. The painter slightly leans backwards, loosely holds the end of the brush with two fingers, and expresses the sense of individual freedom and care-free attitude by disregarding the raindrops. The painter paints in the rain with his eyes closed, indicating the enclosed internal world of self-awareness, self-referentiality and reflexivity, which is presented on the canvas. On the one hand, the umbrella and vase, as useable objects, make a sharp contrast to the carefree Western-looking painter, and show how art learnt at school can transgress everyday objects. On the other hand, the two design works still correspond to Zheng Ke's claim that among the "two types of crafts in foreign countries: one is decorative art and the other artisanship," those specialized in decorative art outnumbered industrial designers.

[273] Ibid.



磁瓶圖案　陳明坤女士作

嘯吟林泉　陳升洪作

期近，邊邊焉盡于教育界思出路，擁塞一途，人才過剩，是兩失其益者也。

歐美無廢棄之物品；亦無廢棄之人才，而我國適反是，原料過剩，人才擁塞一處，而不思有以善用之，利導之。十夫多畏難苟安，工商業皆因陋就簡，此皆病根也！

余甚望國人憬然速悟，使美術與實業，兩者不可分離，互相提攜，改善出品。余尤望本校實用美術科同學，勿畏難中止，勿以其事之繁瑣而生怠視也！

故在今日而言「生產教育」者，舍美術與實業互相合作外不爲功，否則，從事實業者，祇知不絕產量，國民之愛好與否不問也；社會之需要與否不問也；日夜製造，悉成廢物。彼從事美術者，祇知描寫自然，嘯吟林泉，不肯分其一都分之勞力爲工藝品服務，及至畢業

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Figure 3.5. Chen Shenghong, *Retreat into Nature* 嘯吟林泉, illustration for Yan Wenliang's "How I Realize the Necessity of Promoting Practical Arts by Looking at the Education of Production: An Essay for Applied Art Students at Suzhou Fine Arts School," *Art Wind*, vol. 2, issue, 2, (February 1934): 78

To encourage the students, Yan Wenliang was one of the very few art professors showing works in the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II, although the association had invited almost all renowned principals of art schools or chairs of art programs to join their honorary board of committee. Yan Wenliang's mural painting portrays the street scene of Florence from Palazzo Vecchio, with Giambologna's dynamic Baroque sculpture *Abduction of A Sabine Woman* in the foreground. Although Yan's naturalistic oil painting – which he calls a decorative mural in the catalogue – fails to reflect his own understanding of crafts, his active involvement in the industrial and commercial activities inspired the students, which resulted in that the design and art students of the Suzhou Fine Arts School made up the largest art-institution-based group in the association's network.[274]

Discerning the difference between art and design education, educators and practitioners called for either a design school or an overarching program consisting of relevant subfields of design and crafts. Zheng Ke claims that the curriculum for design education composed by artists was detached from the social and functional role of design in real life, that "While we are expecting a specialized school of arts and crafts, those who designs the curriculum of the design program in the art school should pay attention to the reality…"[275] Although seeing design and crafts as a subgenre of plastic art, Lin Wenzheng admits the complexity of design and crafts that "Both Eastern and Western countries found specialized institute solely for design and crafts, whose programs and curricula are much more grandeur and ambitious than other art schools, because the category of design and crafts needs so many different disciplines which cannot be

[274] This preliminary conclusion is drawn from the contact list of the association, which will be elaborated later in this chapter.

[275] Zheng Ke, "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," 224.

put within one department."[276] The two educational programs launched by the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association transformed the pedagogical focus of design education. The courses were to train professionals to meet the needs of the client and for the economic activities.

Two educational programs of industrial and commercial art, both initiated by the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, were advertised in the catalogue to attract prospective students. The first program, known as the joint Commercial Art Program, was in collaboration with the Business School of University of Shanghai.[277] Such institutional collaboration meant that the curriculum became part of the business, rather than art program, which defined the nature of the pedagogy. The program would be located in the Business School on Yuanmingyuan Road. Headed by Zheng Yuebo, the academic personnel included Ye Jianxiu 葉鑒修, Xu Minzhi 徐民智, Wang Yichang 王宸昌, Jiang Shuzhu 姜書竹, Cai Zhenhua 蔡振華, and Qian Juntao 錢君匋. The two-semester program required five courses for the first semester, including introduction to advertising (one unit), chromatics (one unit), sketching and drawing (two units), packaging design (four units), and print advertisement (four units). The packaging design course included wrapping paper design, bottle label design, box label design, and other miscellaneous subjects. Four courses were required for the second semester, including introduction to advertising (one unit), linear perspective (one unit), print advertisement (four units), and 3D advertising (four units). The 3D advertising course covered window display, light box sign, billboard design, sculpture, and other miscellaneous subjects.

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[276] Lin Wenzheng, "Curriculum Convergence," 6.

[277] The University of Shanghai is not today's Shanghai University. The University of Shanghai in the Republic of China was merged into today's East China Normal University and other universities in Shanghai after 1952, and the site was taken by the University of Shanghai for Science and Technology.

Separately, the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association established its own correspondence school, and the admission office was located in the headquarter of the association. This program identified itself as part of the association's network building and created the institutional-organizational consciousness within the network. Four courses were provided, including advertisement, fabric dyeing design, window display design, and introduction to commercial art. The applicants needed to be "literate" and "interested in commercial art." The correspondence school provided post-graduation career support with internal reference if one could pass the class with high grade. The setup of the correspondence school showed a well-crafted adult education system, which could later grow from the certified professional development to a specialized higher school. The staff consisted of principal Ye Jianxiu, provost Xu Minzhi and Chi Ning 池甯, two academic staffs, a general-secretary, a registrar, a clerk, an accountant, and an admin, who were all members of the association, which meant they were professionals in art and design, not school operation. Fourteen courses were offered, including commercial advertising design, commercial caricature advertising, mobile billboard advertising, window display design, fabric dyeing and embroidery design, calendar poster design, furniture design, small handicrafts, typography design, black-and-white illustration for newspaper and books, storefront décor, interior design, introduction to commercial art, and stage décor.

The instructors for the correspondence school were either full time employees or school teachers of the field. Some instructors had benefited from a spare-time correspondence school established by an art association, so they were willing to come back and work for an educational program as such. For instance, Hong Huang 洪荒, an elementary school teacher, taught the class of x*iao gongyi* 小工藝, literally translated into "small handicraft" which included the activities

like DIY shoe polish, candles, and glue.[278] After the launch of the modernized Guimao Educational Program in 1904, handicraft became part of the mandatory school curriculum, which was merged with art class and called *gongzuo* 工作 [short for *gongyi zhizuo*, meaning "making crafts"] for lower level elementary students in 1932.[279] Zhang Xuefu 張雪父 (1911-1987) taught the typography design class. After graduating from a commerce school, Zhang studied painting at Swan Arts Remedial School. Renamed Swan Arts Remedial School in 1932, the organization, which was first established as Swan Arts Association in 1924 and later renamed Swan Research Institute of Painting in 1928, was the first vocational art association for amateur workpeople. The spare-time educational program offered two concentrations: Western-style painting and decorative painting. The Swan group not only launched their educational programs, but also founded an advertisement company for the students to practice their learning in the real world

[278] The Shanghai-based magazine *Xiao gongyi* 小工藝 [small handicraft] (1938-1940) publishes tutorial and new designs of home crafts such as knitting, embroidery, shoe polish, Western-style candles, self-made cosmetics, and so on.

Hong's information on his institutional affiliation can be found in the contact list of the association members in the volume.

[279] See Liu Juanjuan's "The Arts and Crafts Education in the Foreign-related Inspection Articles in Late Qing Dynasty" and Li Jiang's "Gui Mao Year's Educational System and the Establish of Design Educational System in Late Qing Dynasty."

Liu Juanjuan 劉娟娟, "The Arts and Crafts Education in the Foreign-related Inspection Articles in Late Qing Dynasty" 清末歐洲考察著述中的學校工藝美術教育, *Art & Design* 裝飾, issue 1 (January 2014): 76-77. DOI: 10.16272/j.cnki.cn11-1392/j.2014.01.043.

Li Jiang, "Gui Mao Year's Educational System and the Establish of Design Educational System in Late Qing Dynasty"《癸卯學制》的頒行與清末中國設計教育制度的建立, *Art & Design* 裝飾, issue 1 (January 2014): 80-82. DOI: 10.16272/j.cnki.cn11-1392/j.2014.01.033.

and to become the spectacle-makers for the spectator-buyers.[280] Later, Zhang Xuefu joined the Shanghai-based Consolidated National Advertising Company Ltd., arguably the most profitable company of its type. The company was aware of the three factors that could foster commercial art: business, mass media, and design. Hence, the company hired executives and business planning managers with business, communication and journalism backgrounds – quite a few of those with the bachelor's or master's degree from top-tier overseas universities such as Columbia University and New York University. Compared to the very Westernized operation team, the company had a specialized Department of Design with locally trained designers who balanced the image and word to accommodate the audience's wide spectrum of literate skills, and knew the visual preference and consumer psychology of the audience. Both the Swan Arts Association and the Consolidated National Advertising Company Ltd. made Zhang Xuefu realize how education, production and market could mutually enhance each other and form a situation of tripartite support of the domestic economy. Zhang Xuefu addresses the bigger mission for him as an advertising designer, "In unliberated old Shanghai, if the national product wanted to compete with the foreign good, it has to rely on advertisement"[281] This also explains why Zhang was

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[280] Liu Xin 劉欣, "The Study of Swan Arts Association" 白鵝畫會研究 (master's thesis, China East Normal University, 2018), 7-36.

Liu Xin's study on the Swan Arts Association is thorough, in which Chapter One "'Bai'e huahui de meishu jiaoyu" 白鵝畫會的美術教育[Art education in the Swan Arts Association] is especially relevant here. The thesis title is translated by Liu Xin.

Also see Jin Huihui 靳慧慧, "Fei Xinwo yu bai'e huahui" 費新我與上海白鵝畫會 [Fei Xinwo and Shanghai Swan Arts Association], *Chinese Artists in Painting and Calligraphy* 中華書畫家, issue 5 (May, 2016), 72-77.

[281] Yao Aiqiang 姚愛強,"The Experiences of Advertising Design Training of Consolidated National Advertising Co. 1930-1945" 聯合廣告公司的經營模式 (1930-1942), *Shanghai Arts and Crafts* 上海工藝美術, issue 2 (February, 2019): 32-38.

willing to spend his spare time teaching in a correspondence school founded by an academic organization.

The establishment of educational-professional programs indicated that although the desire for a cohesive Chinese craft identity was unable to be achieved nationally – unlike *mingei* for Japan or Bauhaus for Germany, the cohesive identity was successfully achieved professionally. In other words, although the domestic or non-Chinese masses were not given the constant visual information of cultural symbols from the products, like the undecorated surfaces and ribbon windows as visual signatures for Germany and the Edo street scene in ukiyo-e for Japan, the newly emerged designer group developed their professional identity by sharing the common consciousness of their social role in modern Chinese economic activities. The growth in educational programs in art schools and correspondence schools transformed crafts and design ideology, aligning it with the national product campaign, industrialization, commercialization and capitalism discourses. The business-centric, professional-oriented training, and decoupling of applied art and fine art resolved Yan Wenliang's worrisome of the "oversupply of art graduates in the education industry…"[282] and Zheng Ke's doubts about the new unity of art and design under one roof.

Connecting Education of Production and Design for Mass Market: Network and Contact List

There were 238 members in the contact list, which meant they were willing to be part of the professional network and share a professional identity in the field of industrial and

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The title is translated by Yao Aiqiang. The English title shows "1930-1945" while the Chinese title "1930-1942." I think it is simply a typo.

[282] Yan Wenliang, "How I …Education of Production," 78.

commercial arts. [283] The contact list consisted of people from government sectors, schools, manufacturers, merchandises, publishing industry, media, design studios, advertisement companies, and relevant associations. Three members, Ke Ding'an 柯定盦, Lin Weiru 林蔚如 and Chen Shijun 陳施君, were employees of the Shanghai-based China National Company of National Products 中國國貨公司, an entity that merged and consolidated the financial, marketing and production functions of the businesses (3.6). [284] Ke, Lin, and Chen, alongside other members affiliated to the department stores, founded the China Commercial Artists Association in 1935, the forerunner of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association. Unlike the four biggest department stores, China National Company of National Products was a shared-services center funded by the domestic manufacturers and banks for increasing volume of transactional activities and an expansion of economic scale. The January 28 Incident in 1932 worsened the financial crisis in Republic of China. Reportedly, "In the greater city of Shanghai, the countable loss exceeded 1,560,049,871 *yuan*," and "In the occupied area, there are 597 factories, making up a quarter of the municipal factories, and more than half of the occupied factors experienced direct losses up to 67,991,874 *yuan*. Shanghai-based factories experienced an

[283] Actually I think there are 237 members, because the name "Sun Meiying 孫梅影" was listed twice, with one affiliated to a Hangzhou-based textile factory and the other registered under a personal address in Hangzhou. Sun was not a famous figure of the time, so I cannot find further information on him or her.

[284] Every single online secondary resource, both Chinese and English, writes Ke Ding'an's name differently. I checked the catalogue and newspaper, so I am sure Ke's name is correctly written here. *An* 盦 is an uncommon character now both in traditional and simplified Chinese, so many people replaced it with a random character.

For further information, see Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

indirect loss of over 97,151,287 *yuan*."[285] On February 9, 1933, the company opened its office in the Continental Department Store on Nanjing Road whose nickname was "road of foreign goods" 洋貨之街. Due to the war devastation, there were very few retailers willing to pay the rent, so the Company of National Products was able to get two floors – one for display and one for retail – at a low cost. In the manifesto, the company lists eight missions which included to offer a platform for domestic brands to compete and improve, to amalgamate the national products under one roof for consumer's convenience and to distinguish from foreign goods in the guise of a domestic look, to help the manufacturers with their marketing strategies and ease individual brand's burden of advertising, and to inform the buyers of the wide range and variety of national products.[286] The manifesto reads that "Instead of the empty words screaming 'boycott,' the real development and improvement of national products are much more effective."[287] The Company grew so fast, that over 1,000 manufacturers joined the company and a year later, the number exceeded 2,000.[288] The Company coordinated the increasingly specialized expertise to formulate a new, more powerful unity of manufacturing and sales.

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[285] "Hubian sunshi zhi zhongyang chubu guji" 滬變損失之中央初步估計 [early estimates of the loss in Shanghai Incident, conducted by the central government] *Industry and Commerce Bimonthly* 工商半月刊, vol 4, no. 4& 5 (March 1932): 3-5.

[286] "Zhongguo guohuo gongsi kaimu xuanyan" 中國國貨公司開幕宣言 [The manifesto of the national product company] *Shen Bao* 申報, February 9, 1933.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Li Kangnian 李康年, "Jingying guohuo shiye zhi gongxian" 經營國貨事業之貢獻[My Contribution to The Business of National Products] *Zhonghua guohuo chanxiao hezuohui meizhou huibao* 中華國貨產銷合作協會每周匯報 [weekly report of the China National Product Production-Marketing Partnership Association], vol. 2, no. 22 (June 1936): 4.

Li Kangnian 李康年 (1898-1964) was one of the founders of the Shanghai National Product Company for more than twenty years. According to Li's memory, there were more than 2,000



Figure 3.6. In 1933, China National Company of National Products opened its office and retail space in the Continental Department Store on Nanjing Road. Photography. Source: Beijing Review, posted June 7, 2010, accessed November 19, 2020, http://www.beijingreview.com.cn/Expo2010/txt/2010-06/07/content_277486.htm

producers and stores joined the network of national product. A brief biography of Li was included in the digital archives of Shanghai Chronicles.

As the collaboration deepened and the sales fueled, the Company of National Products and department stores sought for a more integrated approach to leverage the manufacturing and sales processes to benefit the producers and retailers. The cost of exploring a new market was high for manufacturers and the risk associated with building a new product or a new version of an old product was also concerning. Meanwhile, the cost of manufacturing a good product that met the consumer's request was almost impossible for a retailer. Product design, production, sales, and inbound marketing strategies were to form a new unity. While the Company of National Products had connected production, sales, and some sort of inbound marketing, including expos and seasonal sales, and the department stores also used some inbound marketing strategies such as window display and neon light signs to boost sales, the segments of product design and advertisement images for spectator-buyers were missing. These two segments needed experts with an art background, so the integrated approach reached out to further connect the education institutions to the industry and retailers.

Among the members, fifteen were institutionally affiliated to different department stores, including the initiator of the contact list Xu Minzhi, an oil painter and student of artist Pan Yuliang 潘玉良 (1895-1977), who was working for Xinxin Company which owned one of the largest modern department stores in Shanghai. Presumably, the department store needed designers for interior decoration, window display, packaging, and other aspects of creative outputs to boost sales. Therefore, seven designers were from the Xinxin Company, one from the Shanghai branch of the Wing On Department Store, and four from the Sincere Department Store. Xinxin, Wing On, Sincere, and Daxin were the four signature department stores in Shanghai, embodying the city's ultimate cosmopolitanism, modernity, fashion and consumerism. These four department stores provided commodified markers of identity to the urban residents with

clothes, Western goods, and other things of symbolic significance that all together made Shanghai a city of floating signifiers – these visually vivid signifiers were new, foreign, and changing rapidly to the citizens, so they absorbed rather than emanated meanings.

People from the manufacturing sector made up the largest proportion of the contact list, and most manufacturers belonged to light industry, especially the Hangzhou- and Shanghai-based textile industry. The Du Jinsheng Silk Weaving Factory was the most famous textile manufacturer of the era. The Du Jinsheng brocade fabric paintings were sent to the Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition of 1926 held in Philadelphia, which received the gold medal. And after the Mukden Incident happened in 1931, Du Jinsheng joined the boycott of Japanese products and switched to Italian and French materials. His reaction won social support. Other light industry included cosmetics and skincare, paint, fans, lighters, stationary, ink and other types. Zhang Yiqin 張益芹, an in-house designer for Shanghai Family Industry Company, which was a leading personal care brand in China, had a poster for Meiyu [Beautiful Jade] toothpaste included in the *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Figure 3.7). The poster is arguably the most innovative and visually astounding design among all other personal care product advertisements in the catalogue. Against the black background, a woman's face is lit from the left side. Her oval face with succinctly indicated facial features in gentle shades of grey looks like a piece of simplistic but extremely elegant marble sculpture, reminding people of Amedeo Modigliani's (1884-1920) female faces or Constantin Brâncuși's (1876-1957) *Sleeping Muse*. Her hair is soft and slightly wavy, brushed to one side, shedding shade that covers one eye. It is the 1930s style, departing from the sculpted waves of the 1920s. This mysterious, sensual, romantic woman is looking over her tensed up shoulder and giving a playful, flirtatious smile to the light source. The only part that is purely white and pops out of the

background is her teeth. The upward calligraphy of "toothpaste" in English, accented by ambitious, confident, elongated full-pressure crossbars of the letters "T," echoing the angle of the confident, big smile of the lady. What makes the lady so attractive and her smile so perfect? What lights up her and her conversation partner? There is no need to show the product, because the white crescent smile and the text in both English and Chinese answer the question. In Zhang's design, the clear typography, bold imagery of modernist visual reference, and a minimum of text show features of modernist designs in advertising emerged in late 1920s and 1930s. However, design historian Helen Wilkinson comments on modernist advertisement, stating "In their extreme form, they were thought to alienate certain audiences."[289]

[289] Helen Wilkinson, "'The New Heraldry:' Stock Photorgraphy, Visual Literacy, and Advertising in 1930s Britain," *Journal of Design History*, vol. 10, no. 1, (January 1997): 23.

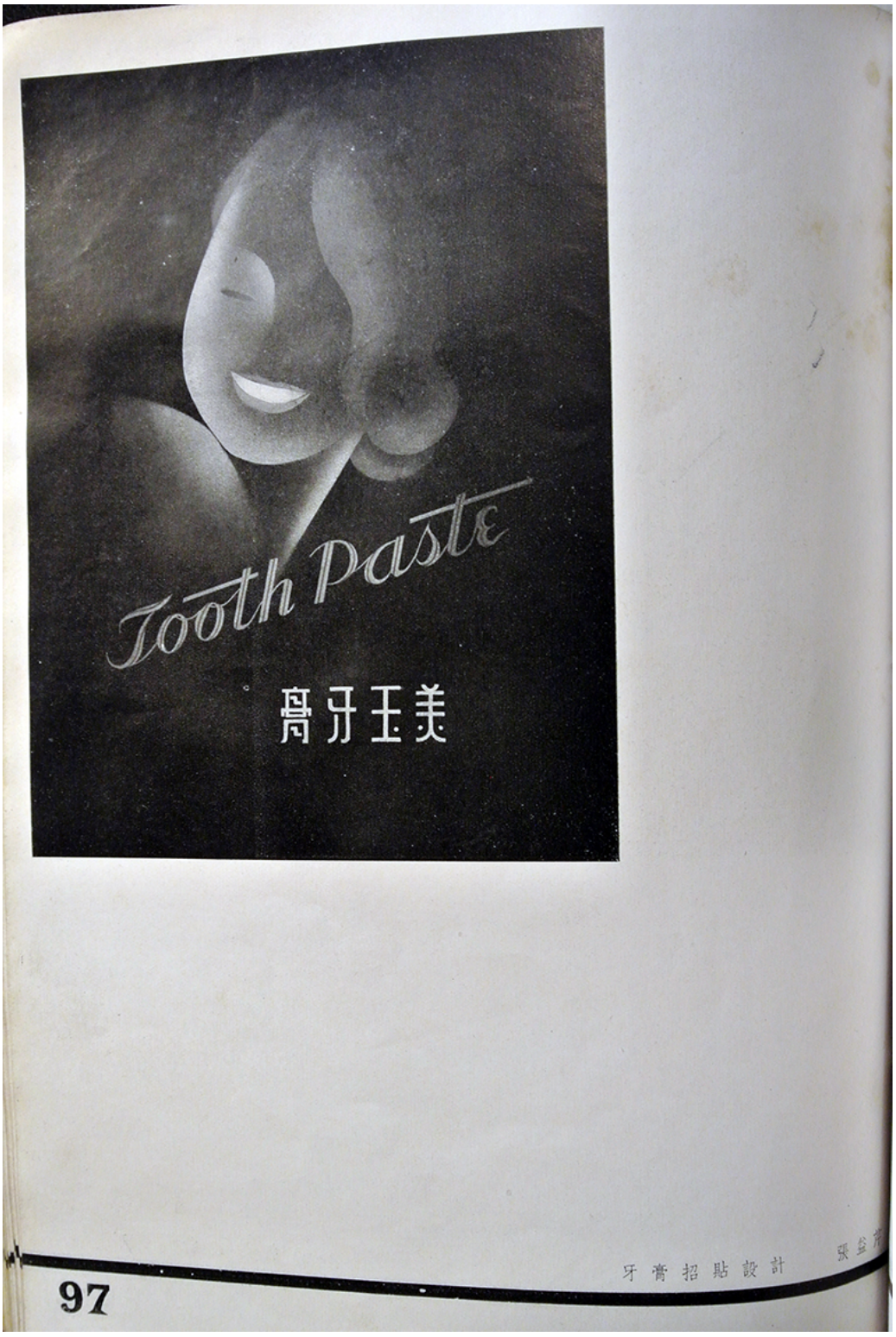


Figure 3.7. Zhang Yiqin, Advertising Design for Meiyu Toothpaste 牙膏招貼設計. Advertising poster. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 97.

Meanwhile, as commercial photography became a fast-growing profession globally in the 1930s, Zhang Yiqin's colleague Gao Kuizhang 高奎章 contributed all three advertising photographs in the catalogue. Gao's product-centric art photography resolved the false dichotomy of effectiveness versus attractiveness in advertising strategy, and it overcame the alienation of visual literacy caused by modernist design. Moreover, Gao's works indicated the distinction between advertisement by an in-house designer for a manufacturer and by a self-employed established artist-designer. Modern advertising was struggling between effectiveness and attractiveness. Sometimes works of famous individuals suffered from artistic ingenuity overshadowing the advertised product. For instance, famous illustrators Hang Xiying 杭樨英 and Jin Meishen 金梅生 who were both registered as self-employed designers in the contact list, each had a few illustrations in the catalogue, portraying beauties in dynastic or modern outfits, by themselves or the male suitors. These illustrations were all entitled *Beauty Advertising Illustration* 仕女廣告畫 and the designers were known for their signature subjects and styles (Figure 3.8). Their works were well received and widely used for advertisements for their general attractiveness, not suggestiveness and effectiveness. Wilkinson summarizes the basic concept of image-based advertisement claiming that "Before you can get a product into a customer's hands you have to get a picture of it into his mind."[290] In the 1930s, this "picture" and the increased mass visual literacy mutually influenced each other in terms of media, techniques, and styles. With the cinema offering visual entertainment and the blooming publishing industry circulating affordable illustrated publications, the mass-produced photography, as a form of technologized visuality, embodied the idea of capitalist realism among the spectator-buyers.

[290] Helen Wilkinson, "The New Heraldry," 27.

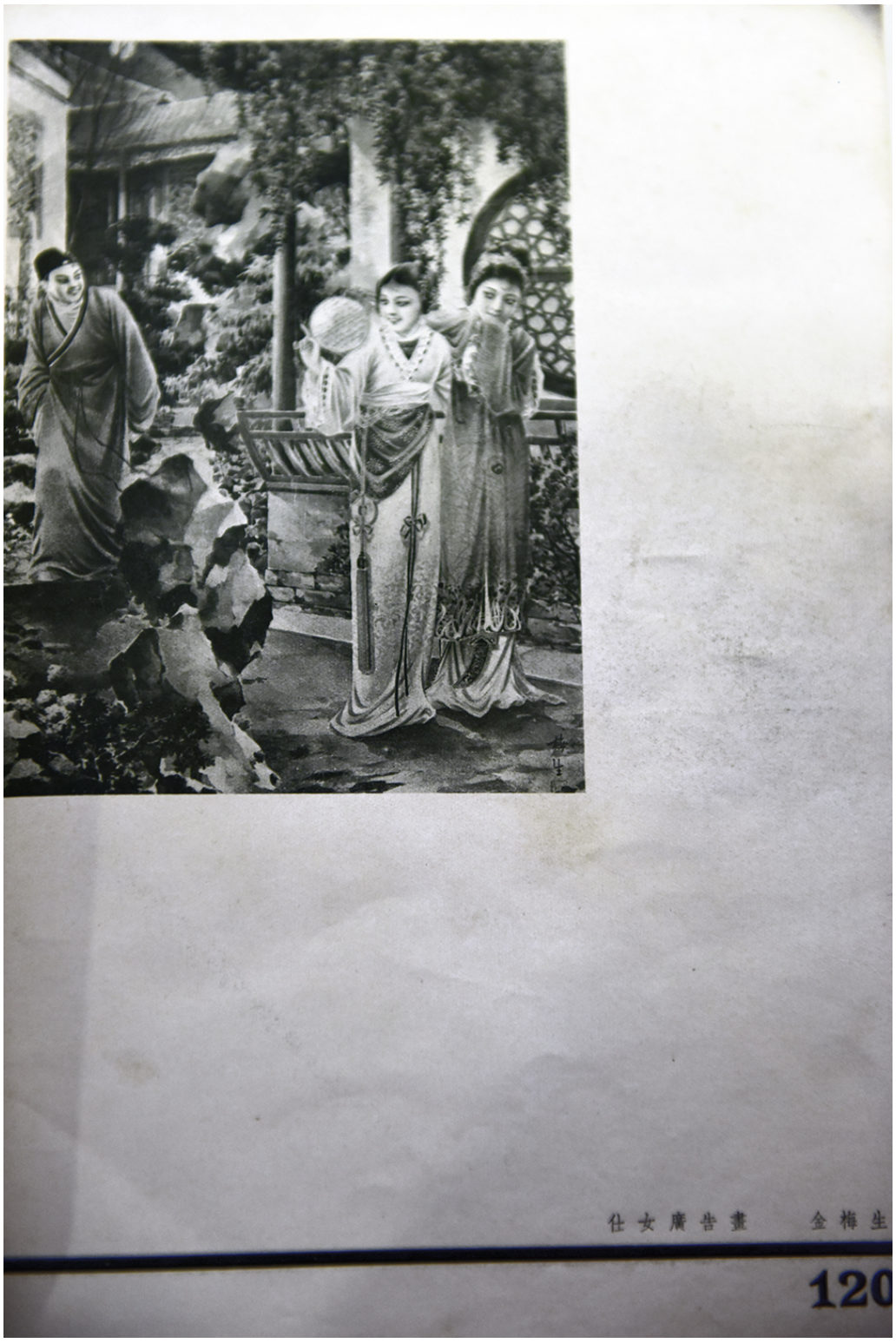


Figure 3.8. Jin Meishen, *Beauty Advertising Illustration* 仕女廣告畫. Advertising poster. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 120.

Gao Kuizhang's advertising photography makes the product the sole subject, but not in a loud statement that shouts out the product. Rather he exploits composition and lighting techniques of art photography to poetically portray the product in an almost anthropomorphic manner. For instance, in the advertising photo for Wudi ["Unmatchable" or "Invincible"] Face Powder, two round flat tins of the powder, one open and one closed, are placed on a surface (Figure 3.9). The surface forms a line along the diagonal of the picture, with the lower triangle in light and the other half in a gentle shade of grey. The low position of light source mimics sunset or sunrise, and generates elongated shadows of the tins, wreathing the photo in an elegant, tranquil, and lonely atmosphere. A foreshortened camellia is placed diagonally in the upper right corner, approaching the prismatic dimensional patterned tin. In Shanghainese, the homophone for the brand name Wudi is *hudie* which is also the English translation for the brand "Butterfly," and it is also the homophone for the name of actress Hu Die 胡蝶 (1908-1989) who was one of the most enduring beauty symbols on the silver screen in the Republican China. Litterateur Lin Shu's 林紓 1898 culturally adaptive creative translation of *La Dame aux Camélias* was arguably the most influential European literature in late Qing and Republican China. The flower, of course, epitomizes the pure-hearted, legendarily alluring woman in the most luxuriant environment. The tragedy is not a warning, but offers a platform for the female readers to explore the theme of pure, limitless and eternal desire regardless of social disapproval. The flower is to be accompanied and pollinated by the butterfly – just like a woman powdering her face with the Butterfly product. The text-free, non-figurative and non-narrative representation of the objects poetically evokes alternative ways to interpret. Maybe the two capriciously sparkling prismatic dimensional tins of beauty product are the personification of a quiet, sophisticated, treacherous, and pretentious woman receiving a camellia from some unknown suitor. Gao's

exploration of light and geometric shapes gives the photo its poetic beauty. Gao eliminates any reference to what kind of women – socioeconomic class, age, life style – would use the product, what they would use the product for, or how they would use the product, and the viewer, drawn to the product, is invited into the scene to pick up the powder and flower. Or, the viewer adopts a voyeuristic gaze into the private space where the owner of the face powder prepares for her elegant day or glamorous night in the sun light.

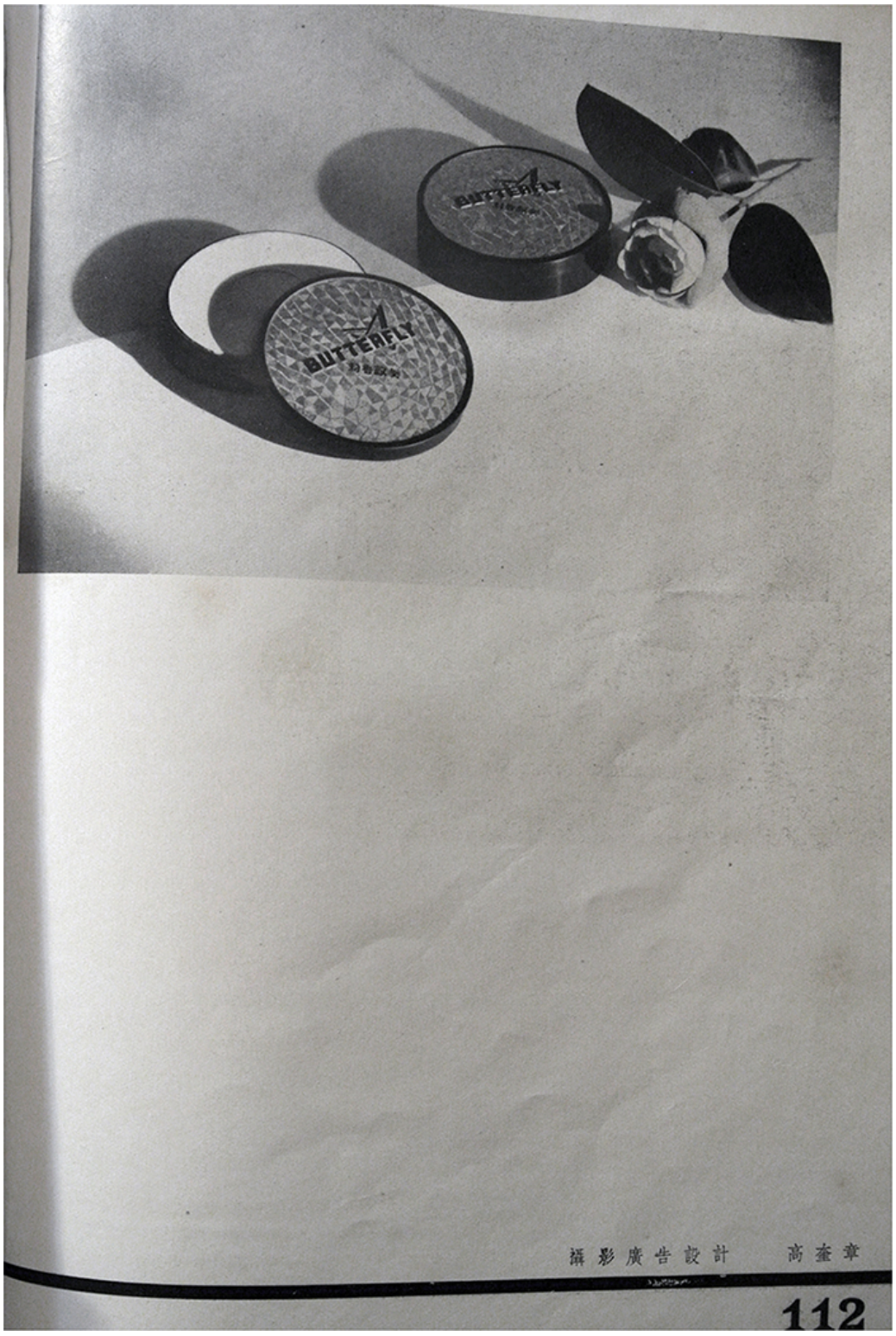


Figure 3.9. Gao Kuizhang, *Advertising Design for Butterfly Beauty Cream* 設計廣告攝影. Advertising photography. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 112.

Students and faculty from schools like Xinhua Art Academy, National Art School in Beiping, as well as various middle schools and high schools were also part of the contact list, showing the alignment of institutional training, professional development, and the manufacturing and marketing strategies. Among all educational institutions, students majoring in Western-style painting or applied art from Suzhou Fine Arts School made up more than half of school-affiliated members, indicating the school's commitment to making the students who were potentially "afraid of difficulties and willing to drag out an ignoble life" dedicate themselves to the "undeveloped industrial and commercial products."[291] Although the school principal Yan Wenliang's Impressionist oil painting of Florence could hardly count as a piece of industrial design or commercial art, his participation largely encouraged the students. Registered member Jiang Wenyan 江文燕, presumably a student of Suzhou Fine Arts School, submitted a textile dyeing design whose simplicity ensured the applicability in mass production. Another then student Yang Zushu 楊祖述 (1913-1995) expressed his interests in traditional craftsmanship and pattern in a dragon-patterned cushion cover. Later in his professional life, although he studied under Xu Beihong at National Central University, Yang worked as the professor of Stage Design at Shanghai Theater Academy, which might have reflected great influence from his involvement in design and crafts. Other student members later worked as professional designers or taught design in higher education. For instance, Lu Minsun 陸敏蓀 (1917-1999) later became a graphic designer for China Petroleum Corporation in 1946, and Fang Jiakun 商家堃 (1905-?) later received her master's degree in Design from Tokyo Higher School of Arts and Technology and taught design at Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts and then Suzhou Fine Arts School.

[291] Yan Wenliang, "How I …Education of Production," 77-78.

Bourgeois Culture: Enchantment of Materiality

The collective consciousness of the intergroup professional assurance, including granting awards, holding group exhibitions, designing education curricula, writing critiques, and providing internal referrals, was in great need to expand from the specialized body of knowledge to the mass body of potential buyers. The ideology generated by the professional insiders – including the educators, designers, and businessmen – did not own its economic base. Design always owes much of its ubiquity to the fact that the Western society has been a liberal, capitalist one where consumerism relies on design to fuel ever greater consumption. To turn the traditional historical emphasis on the masses' role as producers, including farmers, makers, or owners of a workshop, into consumers – buyers and users, the society needs a value system that looks at consumerism, consumption, and materialism positively and even plausibly.[292] In a consumerist society, people who have different income levels and are not in the same sociocultural realm, can adopt similar personal outlooks, lifestyles, and other material accessories.[293] For sociologist Alan Warde, the upper classes' attempt to be different and the lower classes' constant pursuit for an upper-class look is the "societalizing process and individual autonomisation" that urges new designs of material goods, which also simultaneously encouraged mass production to make available the fashionable designs of the upper classes to the lower classes at a reasonable price while driving new fashion for the elite to stay ahead and continue to differentiate themselves.[294]

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[292] Ann Smart, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 28, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1993): 142.

[293] Alan Warde, "Consumption, Identity-Formation and Uncertainty," *Sociology*, vol. 28, no. 4 (November 1994): 879.

[294] Ibid.

Therefore, design educator Lei Guiyuan's 雷圭元 (1906-1988) foreword "On Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art from Present to Future" and essay "The Fall and Resolution of Chinese Decorative Art" in *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II together pointed out the limited economic and social influence of the artist-craftspeople community, unless the changed awareness of design and designed goods could go beyond academia and the small group of people. He writes that

> In the past thirty years, those who studied industrial and commercial art from the European and American predecessors gave the industrial and commercial product which had been dying in the hands of traditional Chinese craftspeople a new look. Simultaneously, it became a discipline in academia and secured its space in art education. As design and production of more and more ordinary objects are done by the professionals who have gone through the institutional training, the masses have noticed such products, which is cheerful!
>
> However, this phenomenon, in my opinion, is temporary. We are only borrowing other people's mirror to correct our own appearance….[295]

In Lei's opinion, the downfall and collapse of the production and market of traditional handicrafts brought the mirror stage to the Chinese entrepreneurs, businessmen, and artist-craftspeople. Even art educators, such as Yan Wenliang, investigated into the economic situation, concluding that "The trade statistics shows that the first half of the year 1933 saw a large quantity of imported industrial products. The oversupply of foreign goods and decline of domestic products together demonstrate the situation."[296] The Republic of China not only acquired a clearer image through the mirror stage by visualizing the national economics and

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[295] Lei Guiyuan 雷圭元, "Duiyu zhongguo jinhou gongshangye meishu zhi wojian" 對於中國今後工商業美術之我見 [On Chinese industrial and commercial art from present to future] in *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and COmmercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937).

[296] Yan Wenliang, "How I …Education of Production," 77.

national products being inferior to other "grown-ups" whose production and market had moved on to an advanced phase of the teleology. It also foresaw a desired and practical future that would take the appearance of the Western design education, design, manufacture, and consumption. However, Lei condemned the perpetual effect of recreating Western institutional subsidies in education and economics in China, and asserted the temporality of current implementation. It is easy to understand that simply copying the Western-style design would not profoundly improve domestic industry and market, but what did Lei mean that even with the emerging institution-based professionals and increasing interests amid the masses, the hype was only temporary? In a longer account in the catalogue, Lei supplemented his previous writing and answered his own concern.

Lei Guiyuan further expressed his concern with the elites' and masses' unconscious repulse of materiality and consumerism, which would become the obstacle for forming the mass market and changing the economic structure.

> …Most handicrafts were collectable treasures, even the useful mosquito netting was decorated with the seven treasures of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, red pearl and carnelian…These were all considered extremely ordinary for the collector-users. Therefore, in the commoners' mind, decoration meant luxury and not accessible…
>
> The common personality of our civilization is lazy, disorganized, and dirty. That is because no one sees decoration as part of one's daily life. As mentioned before, the love for decoration was condemned and negated by religious beliefs. Except for the born privileges, the commoners saw themselves as a mere husk of a human shape…
>
> When we walk into a family or enter a country, if the residential place is properly arranged and decorated, urban landscape neat and organized, we generate the feeling of respect and admiration toward them. We know they are up-lifting and enjoying life…[297]

[297] Lei Guiyuan 雷圭元, "Zhongguo zhuangshi yishu zhi moluo jiqi dangqian chulu" 中國裝飾藝術之沒落及其當前出路 [the fall and resolution of Chinese decorative art], in *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected

According to Lei, it is not only the missing fluidity in the social classes, religious pedagogy and the aspiration of literati immateriality together played a critical role in rejecting materiality and the market dependency. In Lei's "Foreword No. 3," the educated upper-class "regard[s] industrial and commercial art lesser and crafty, not belonging to the lofty taste of the educated class. Therefore, strenuous effort was needed to win positive responses from people of high social status."[298] Lei talked about the Daoist ideal of *chaoran* 超然 in the foreword – *chao*, meaning to go beyond or to surpass, and *ran*, meaning the "appearance of something." Therefore, if one could surpass the ontological security of a lifestyle and reject the ordered pattern in habits and orientations, he or she would be considered to have placed essence above appearance. For the masses, Lei asserts that "The commoners saw themselves as a mere husk of a human shape." Lei used the phrase *chouxinghai* 臭形骸, literally meaning a smelly corpse of skeleton or, more poetically, a husk of a human shape. The phrase contains a bunch of connotations such as ugliness, ephemerality, vulnerability, detachment, and worthlessness. One lives the bitter life in one's decaying body as a result of karma, and he or she expects to be reborn to a better next life. It is not simply a negative phrase that negates the individual's longing for the beautiful, enduring, loved and worthwhile things, but also refers to the madness or drunkenness of Chan figures such as the mad monk Jigong. The outlook and sociality–the attire, diet, ritual and language – like everything else in the world, is illusion, while the Buddha nature

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Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937).

[298] Lei Guiyuan 雷圭元, "Xu san" 序三 [forewords No. 3] in *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and COmmercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937).

is invisible and critical.[299] In common codes of ethics and morality, attention to appearance and decoration oftentimes implies dismissing inner cultivation. One most famous section of the *Admonition of Court Instructress* scroll depicts a consort lady looking into the mirror seeing her maid doing her hair, and after being dressed, the same lady holding a mirror and checking the details. The inscription writes, "All people know how to ornament their appearance, but none know how to ornament their nature." Her face is shown in the mirror as a reflection, something purely visual, intangible and unreal. Therefore, to promote decoration, beautification through materialism and consumerism in the Republic of China was not only about producing and marketing quality, but the advocates needed to revolutionize the existing dichotomy of materiality and spirituality and to reconstitute a value system –a belief, a cultural identity, a social relation, and a set of rules – by first decoupling spirituality and immateriality, and then transcending material everyday life into the ethical, spiritual realm.

Previously, the everyday object was regarded unspiritual and non-Chinese in the higher, poetic sense of Chineseness. While not finding its position in the representation of the traditional Us, the everyday object of the masses secured its cultural identity in the Western Other. Internationally or domestically, when presenting Chineseness, it was always the fine art, imperial collections, religious art, classical texts, and excavated ritual objects on display. The invisible and private – the collection as "assemblage 收 *shou* and hiddenness 藏 *cang*" as discussed in Chapter One, inessential – the collectable writing derivatives "literary playfulness/toy" 文玩 *wenwan*, and non-vernacular – the poems, classics and sutras – had been considered cultural and reflecting the social and cultural practice of the intellectuals. The notion of the imperial and

[299] James Cahill talks extensively about the emergence of the madman and the monks in his book *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming*.

literary tradition was essential to culturalism, because it was used to distinguish the Chinese us and the Western other. In modern history, the hegemonic function of culturalism, in confrontation between us and other, had to decide whether to "escape into tradition (and, therefore, the past) or absorption into the West (which is the present and the future)."[300] Lei advocated respect to and even admiration for personal ornaments and public hygiene, stating that "When we walk into a family or enter a country, if the residential place is properly arranged and decorated, urban landscape neat and organized, we generate the feeling of respect and admiration toward them." His advocacy expressed the positive psychological assessment to the social practice of decorating, cleansing, and organizing. Therefore, the public opinion and certain dominant ideas were to be cultivated to form the new cultural hegemony.

In "Foreword No. 1," Pan Gongzhan 潘公展 (1894-1975), on behalf of Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs, identified democratization as the trend and mass as the receiver for the modern visual culture and the new standard of beauty. Pan believed the art making of the modern era should reflect the new features.

> In my opinion, beauty of contemporary standard needs two features: to be democratized for the massive access and cost-effective for daily life. The democratized beauty refers to the visual preference of the masses, not customized for or designated to individual taste of the privileged group. The cost-effective beauty refers to the designed aspects of one's daily life, including clothes, food, residency and transportation. The cost-effective beauty contributes to our nation-building, such as people's welfare, economics, and societal well-being.[301]

[300] Arif Dirlik, "Culturalism as Hegemoic,"17.

[301] Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs 上海市社會局 was an organization between 1928 and 1949. It was the administrative organization superseding industrial and commercial enterprises and activities.

In Marxist philosophical belief, economic existence determines social consciousness, just like what Zheng Ke writes "The progress of the society is rooted in the change of the economic system and social structure, the manufacturing process is broken down and the industries are specialized."[302] The socioeconomic system evolves on the basis of innovative technology, but China's industrialization arrived after modernization and modernity in various aspects. Modernization of China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was clearly a result of the immense number of imported Western commodities, whereas in Europe, industrialization drove modernization. China's industrialization even trailed far behind China's commercialization. Therefore, under the situation that the traditional ties and social forms – including social hierarchy, marital system, family constitution, and other aspects – were broken, and that the democratized access to commodities was free of sumptuary constrains, the masses faced the rapid process of individualization that consisted of two features, namely "market dependency in all dimensions of living" and personal responsibility for their own biographies.[303] Marxist theorist Frederic Jameson asserts that "The Western Enlightenment may be grasped as part of a properly bourgeois cultural revolution, in which the values and the discourse, the habits and the daily space, of the ancient regime were systematically dismantled so that in their place could be set the new conceptualities, habits and life forms, and value systems of a capitalist market society."[304] The masses constituted and was shaped by the bourgeois cultural revolution by participating in the new mode of production, mode of distribution, mode of circulation, and

[302] Zheng Ke, "How to Improve Arts and Crafts," 219.

[303] Alan Warde, "Consumption, Identity-Formation and Uncertainty," 879.

[304] Michael Hardt and Kathi Weeks ed., *The Jameson Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 50.

mode of consumption, through which the production and consumption became cultural and related to the masses' sociocultural identity.

Mass Market: Consumption as Culture, Democratization and Hegemony

When the national goods campaigns turned the negative popular boycotts against foreign goods into a positive promotion of Chinese products after 1925, the promotion of Chinese products led to the discourse on and reconstitution of Chineseness of the products. As discussed before, Wen-hsin Yeh's four sets of dichotomies, including "domestic" versus "imported," "native" versus "foreign," "Chinese" versus "Western," and lastly "traditional" versus "modern," spatially and temporally defined Chineseness.[305] Statistics show that by the 1930s the number of Chinese people in wholesale and retail commercial activities was twenty-four times the number of workers in industrial production.[306] There was a large body of compradors 買辦, a Portuguese word meaning "buying and executing," who had been originally the native servants in East Asia in servitude for his European masters. Later, the comprador bourgeoisie not only formed a concrete socioeconomic class, but also a culture that fetishized the Western and modern, and fixated on the imported and foreign. Therefore, the promotion of "national products" faced dual challenges rooted in the lagged industrialization, and the spatially and temporally biased market.

The emerging institutionalized designers and artist-craftspeople in the Republic of China introduced professionalized aesthetics to create such Chinese modernism that simultaneously aimed for the civilization's strategized uniqueness which could boost exportation and evoke

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[305] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in A Republican City," in "Reapprasing Republican China," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, special issue, no. 150, *The China Quarterly* (June, 1997), 375-394: 391. https://www.jstor.org/stable/655342.

[306] Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 43.

cultural nationalism, and the nation's urban cosmopolitanism which showcased China's modernization and visually presented the country as part of the international system of sovereign equality. Therefore, one of the most prominent features of design styles and designer products of this era in the Republic of China was eclecticism, referencing cultures ancient and contemporary, familiar and exotic, functionalist and decorous. For instance, the great tomb discoveries of Anyang starting in 1928 were transformed into Shang dynasty-inspired designs in patterns and shapes of products. The vitality of the era was further expressed through the theme of commodity, material fetish, department stores, young men and women in newly stylized clothes, and Shanghai as *shili yangchang* 十裏洋場, meaning "ten *li* of foreign markets." These are the emblems of contemporary urban chic that flourished along with the social, political, economic, cultural turmoil, and even national catastrophe.

In the bustling era stylized by the eclectic designs, the Chinese society was whipsawed between Western liberal capitalism, German fascism, Soviet communism, as well as domestically developed cultural nationalism and statist culturalism which refers to political ideology that resulted from partisanship and growing totalitarianism. Art schools produced designers, consumer culture provided mass-produced goods to sell to a rising middle class, overseas education programs brought fantasies of internationalism and European burgeoning dandies and modern girls, and "modern citizens" were coming from modern education. Moreover, women had gained a certain amount of freedom to smoke, wear body-conscious and skin-showing dresses, and attend leisure places such as department stores and ballrooms. Fashion trends and commodity fetish were led by both women of ill-repute and female students, especially female students who were educated abroad – both groups represented the accessibility

to the public spheres and a broader world, the acceptance of gaze from both males and females, and materialism featuring ever-changing fashion.

Fundamentally, unlike the *mingei* movement or the invention of *nihonga* in Japan, Chinese design and crafts could not achieve a national craft identity that would counter the influences of Japan and Europe, so the "national products" reconstituted Chineseness by interweaving the spatial and temporal attributions of Yeh's dichotomies and indigenizing what had been previously seen as the imported, foreign, Western and modern. Unlike the discourse on painting that only ink painting on silk or rice paper could be "national art," the "national products" intended to cover product types introduced by foreigners, such as tobacco, matches, and painting frames, as well as styles previously not associated with the "traditional" in Chinese context, such as art deco, Neoclassicism, and Internationalism. Such eclecticism, referencing cultures ancient and contemporary, familiar and exotic, functionalist and extravagant, altogether inaugurated a new *gesamtkunstwerk* experience of time and space under an overarching product identity as the Chinese national products. The displaced and anachronistic objecthood and style created "a totally changed sense of time and "an expanded imaginary space that reached foreign shores" which "entailed new social practices and redefined boundaries of community identities in a way that ultimately led to the very reconstitution of Chineseness itself."[307]

The formation of Primitivism as an art movement, addiction to tribal arts, and obsession with encyclopedic ethnography were rooted in imperialism and Euromodernity, so they were conceptually and visually alien to the Chinese. Hence, incorporation of primal elements in consumer goods was at first glimpse completely random. Wu Yisun, alumna of Hangzhou National College of Art and instructor at Provincial Leizhou Normal College, who was also the

[307] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity," 382.

chairperson of the Leizhou branch of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, had two pieces of batik design in the catalogue, both reflected the profound impact of Primitivism in modern Western art. The first one depicts three half-naked African women handling round woven sieves and fruitful palm plants (Figure 3.10). The composition is balanced and coherent. The three figures are in the fore-, middle-, and backgrounds, facing right, left, and right accordingly. The standing woman in the background poses while looking over her shoulder, showing the s-curve of her back, which forms a smaller triangle of light color to balance the triangle composition of the three dark-colored figures. The visual features of the design reference the Primitive art initiated by European avant-garde artists in early twentieth century. Exotic ethnographic images in expos, Western museums and modernist art were aptly circulated in the magazines and journals subscribed by the college libraries. Tribal art was a popular visual motif amongst Chinese artists and designers in the 1930s. Besides Wu, Xiong Qilin, an art graduate of Beiping National College of Art, submitted a silk umbrella design – a functionally Chinese native object – with a decorate round panel of abstract elephants, birds, bees, and extremely lavish plants (Figure 3.11). The stylistic features, including the thick, uneven outlines and the lined up animals in profile, look like the folk art in South Asia.

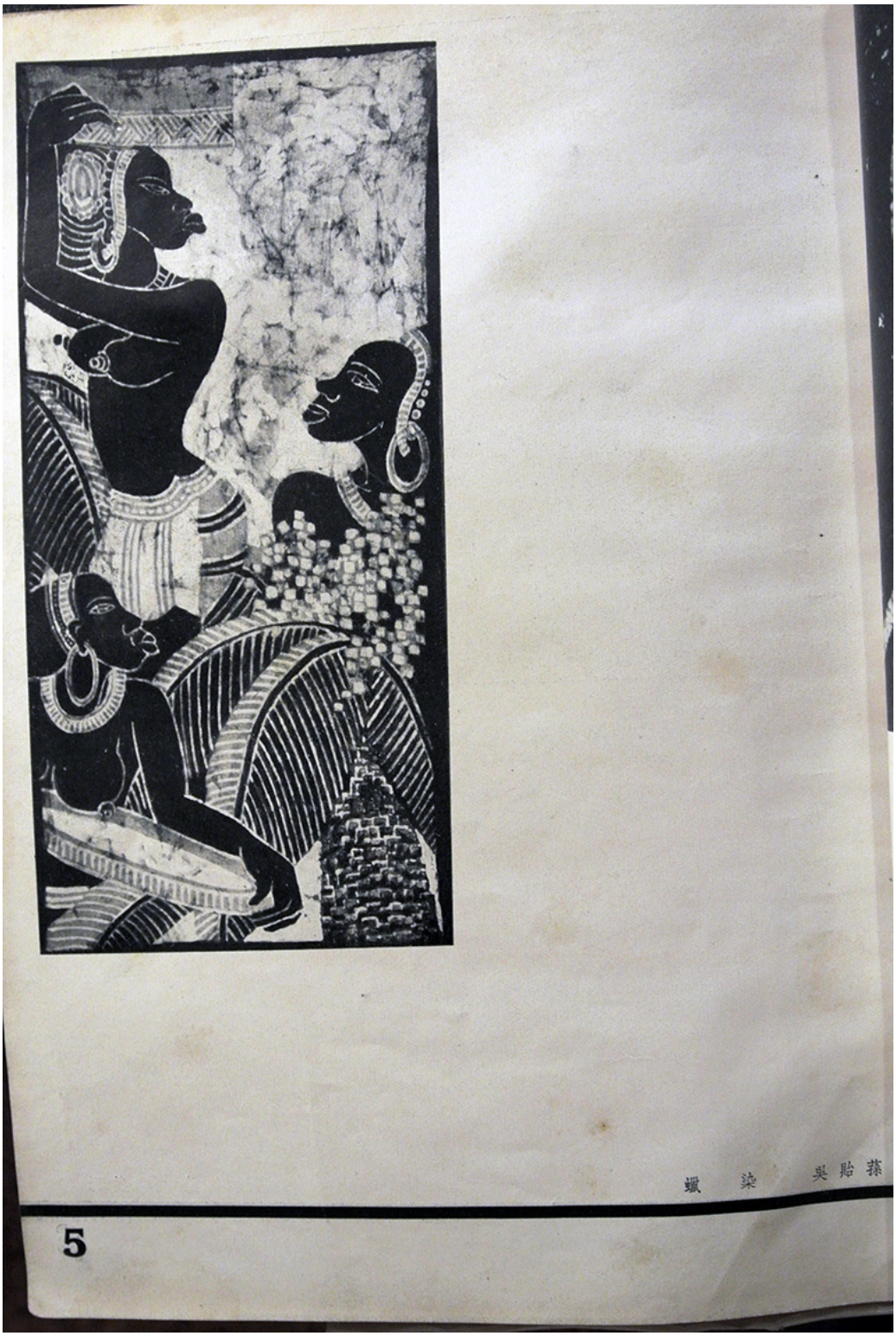


Figure 3.10. Wu Yisun, *Batik Design* 蠟染. Textile. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 5.

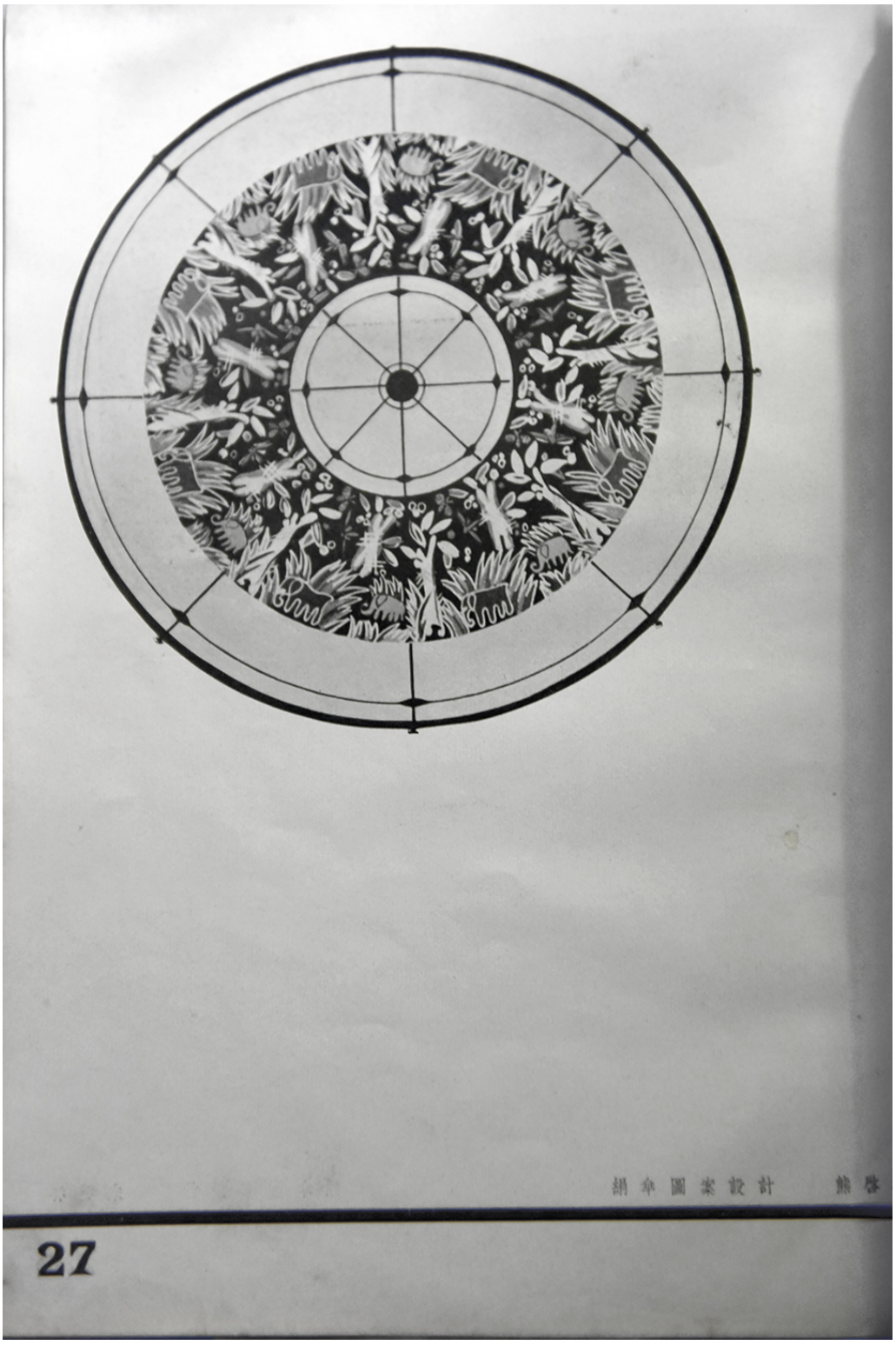


Figure 3.11. Xiong Qilin, *Umbrella Design* 絹傘圖案設計. Design. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 27.

But how do we understand the visual adaptation of Primitivism by a Chinese artist who had barely experienced colonial expansion or colonial suppression? Unlike the escapist attempts of the European artists who were longing for "alternate identities that lay outside the frame of Western modernity," this Western sense of self and the Other, when used in mass consumption, suggested the "Western modernity's seemingly limitless ability to absorb and appropriate the marginal and the subversive."[308] Therefore, the cultural and commercial significance of tribal images as product design in consumerism was less about the aesthetic or social relations between Europeans and the Other, but more about the empirical experiences of Europeans themselves. Thus, the decontextualized aesthetic creativity of tribal art in China connected more tightly with the social and cultural production within China, than the formal citation of modernist painting or the tribal culture. Following the European models, the Chinese designers stereotyped consumerist exoticism in mass culture and performatively declared their "limitless ability to absorb and appropriate," which expanded the boundaries of China's production identity.[309] Unlike the European counterparts, the absorption and appropriation did not mean subordination. Instead, the inclusion indicated the rivalry of cultural gravity and cultural influence against Europe in global context. Discussed more extensively in Chapter Two, especially in the 1930s, China was self-presented in the international relations as a cultural system with exquisite uniqueness and pride. Thus, weak in military power to colonize, the exoticism in mass culture

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[308] Mary Gluck, "Interpreting Primitivism, Mass Culture and Modernism: The Making of Wilhelm Worringer's Abstraction and Empathy," in "Special Issue on the Holocaust," special issue, *New German Critique*, no. 80 (Spring-Summer, 2000):150, 153.

Also see Marianna Torgovnick*, Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991)

[309] Ibid.

served as a virtual superiority, expansion and domination of imaginary space for the domestic consumers.

Public museums and growing number of ethnographic and archeological expeditions removed the arts and material culture from their ancient or otherworldly – such as tombs – context. They were historicized into the reconstructed history and art history written in present tense and on the basis of the present experience. With scientific methodology of the modern research field, the underworld objects of ancient times were displaced under the museum spotlights, receiving close investigations of modern audiences. Symbols, decorations and forms from different place and periods were extracted to form a library of visual references. The use of the visual elements was not cultural revivalism or archaism, but historicism with a mixture of displaced and anachronistic visual elements. Lei Zhen 雷震 (1897-1979), a politician and publisher, designed a set of dining ware including a fruit plate, a lidded soup bowl, an oval plate for whole fish, and a flat dish. Each piece is round-shaped and the rim is framed by a polygon inscribed in the circle with the corners touching the outer boundary, and a smaller circle inscribed in the polygon. In the spatial organization of traditional Chinese architecture, the layout of inscribed polygons and circles symbolizes the belief that heaven is round and earth square, and it has been commonly used. This symbolic layout has been long used in daily objects as a formal or structural system. While the shape of the rim design subtly resonates with the traditional culture, the arabesque of intertwined thunder patterns encircling the outer surface and the edge of the rim is clearly inspired by archaic bronzes. The light-colored thunder pattern floats on the darker background, reminding the viewer of the ink rubbings in art exhibitions and books.

Another example of historicism of ancient Chinese art was Xiong Qilin's storefront design. Xiong, the designer of the South Asia-inspired umbrella mentioned above, submitted a

storefront for “Chinese Longjing Tea Company” with motifs and structure borrowed from ancient vessels and architecture (Figure 3.12). Leaving the window part blank, she uses horizontal and vertical panels with reliefs to stylize the storefront. The upper panel is covered by low reliefs of dragon motifs. The moving momentum and casual shape of the flying dragons remind the viewers of the serpentine creatures on Han coffins as an indication of *qi* – the vitality of life. The same relief pattern is used to frame the entrance. Under the dragon relief panel is a line of round-shaped decors, resembling either the studded door to a palace or the nipple pattern on a bronze vessel. The letterings are in restricted by invisible narrow rectangles and constituted by bold geometric strokes, making the characters more like graphic decoration than readable text, echoing the pictographic origin of Chinese writing.

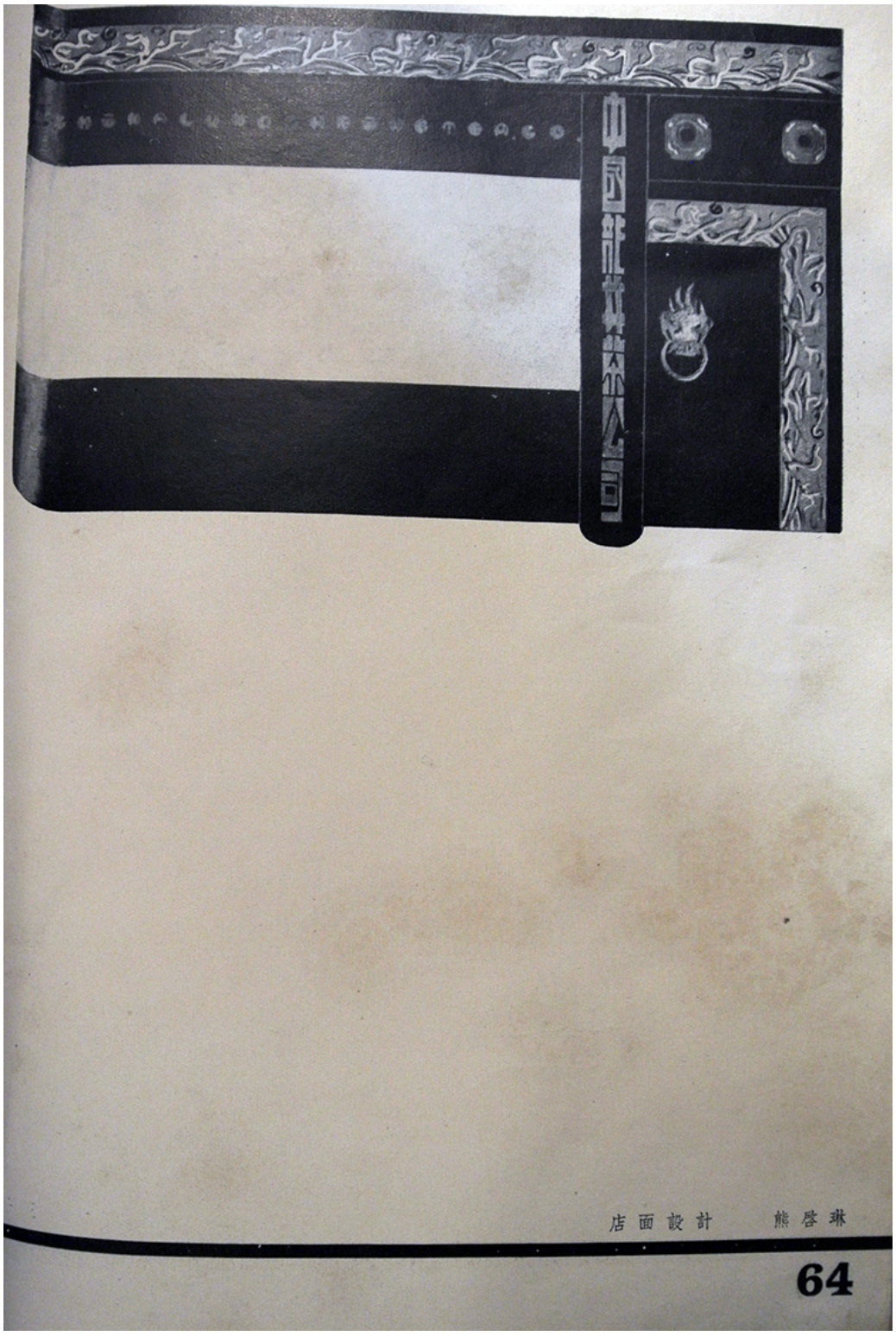


Figure 3.12. Xiong Qilin, *Store Front Design* 店面設計. Design. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 64.

European modern architecture and interior design had been a major influence during the Republican era. Interior designer Cai Zhenhua 蔡振華 (1900-1949) surveyed different Western-styles and designed a multi-purpose room, including a corner shelf, a table set, a bookcase, a sofa, a tea table, a ground lamp and some other furniture and decors (Figure 3.13). The armchairs placed around the table are modeled after Marcel Breuer's "Cesca" chair first designed in 1928, or Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Burno chair created in 1930. As faculty members at Bauhaus, Breuer and Mies saw art and technology as a new unity. Abandoning the traditional construction of the four legs, the tubular arms and craned legs express simplicity and minimalism. Tubular steel was an intriguing material to modern designers for its wide use in industry. To create a sterile, modern-spirited home, one wanted to incorporate the industrial material and industry-inspired aesthetics to technologize the domestic experience. Overall, Cai's interior design consists of straight lines and geometric shapes. Natural forms are minimal with the exception of the portable decors like the vases, the plant, the likely-to-be Art Deco sculptor Max Le Verrier's bronze tiger sculpture, and the organic form in the painting. However, unlike modernist designers of De Stijl or Bauhaus, Cai assembled and synthesized different European movements. In addition, the designer accented some "Chineseness" in the space by placing a few traditional objects in the Bauhaus bookcase. The interior design therefore represented the designer's identity and self-positioning as a transitional moment mediating between the past and future. The past was equivalent to the Chinese culture that originated in the dynastic tradition. Like the three-legged bronze vessel displayed in the Western-style bookcase, the past object was decontextualized, deprived of its objecthood, and re-membered into the present as a dysfunctional thing.

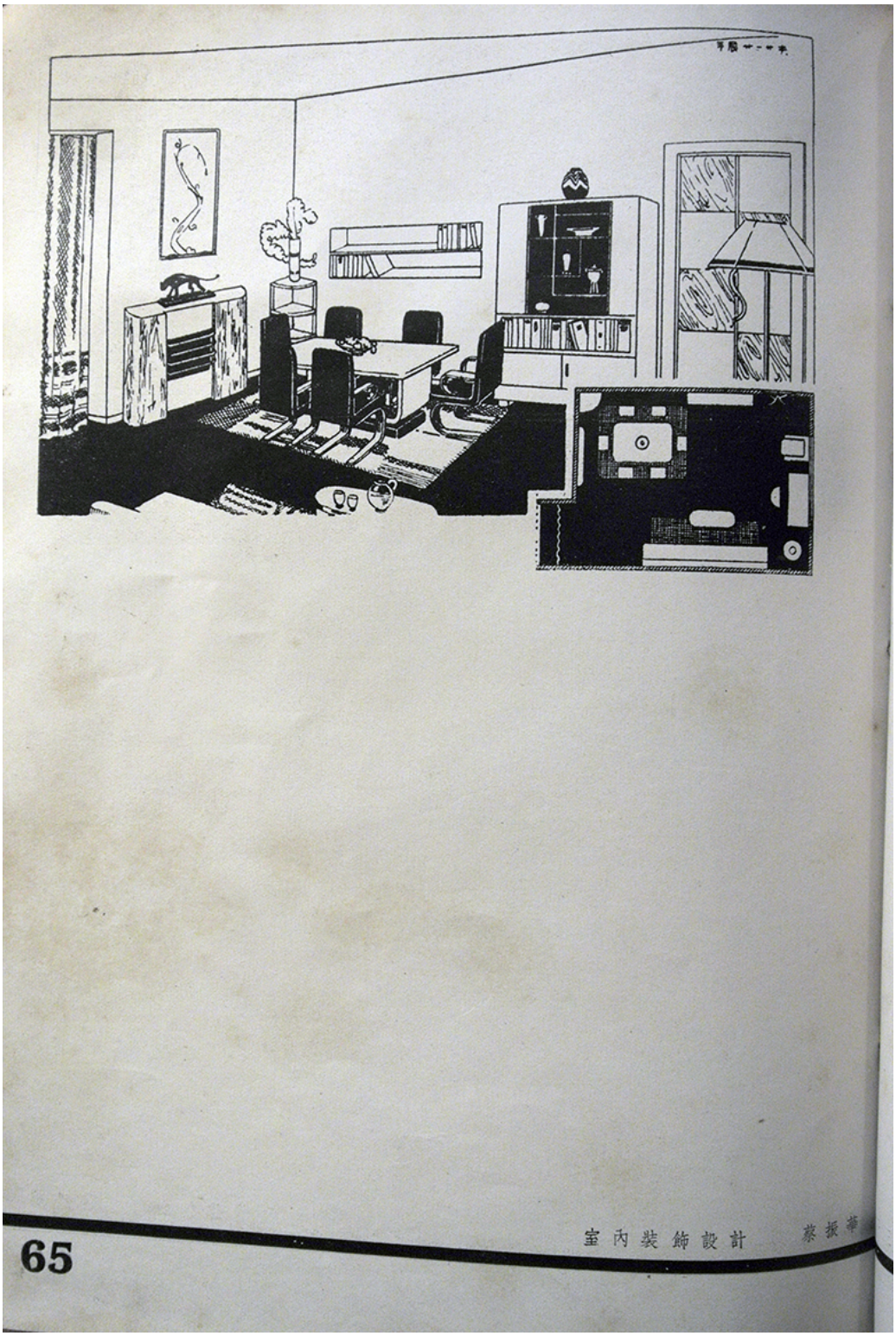


Figure 3.13. Cai Zhenhua, *Interior Design* 室內裝飾設計. Design drawing. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 65.

The new commitment to the national products of global styles led to the expansion and redefinition of space and time which placed the masses in the labor market as a salary earner and in the mass market as a consumer. Modernity, according to historian Dipesh Chakrabarty, deals with the problem of entangled times" that forms the "timeknot."[310] Victorian art historian Lynda Nead writes that "modernity … can be imagined as pleated or crumpled time, drawing together past, present, and future into constant and unexpected relations"[311] The past was reconstructed for present use and re-membered into future project. Visual illusions were caused by the dissociation between the physical reality and the subjective perception of space and time in a Chinese store selling Chinese manufactures. This illusion of dissociation, according to artist Zhang Yuguang's 张聿光 (1885-1968) words in "Foreword No.4" in the *Selected Works*, Volume II, would trap people to consumerism.

> As little as a piece of paper or a bottle, it needs a beautiful form, well-designed core, a variety of choices, and constant renovation. Entering the store, the customer is visually overwhelmed with vivid colors and forms, their eyes dazzled and intrinsic desires evoked. At the point, the customer will forget their fixation with foreign products. Hence the money will not go to foreign countries! Loving beautiful things is human nature. If one can cater for the customer with pleasure and optical illusion, the customer will fall into a "spider's web" trap… Everything designed and manufactured should keep the masses' preference in mind…[312]

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[310] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 243.

[311] Lunda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (2000; repre., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 8.

[312] Zhang Yuguang 张聿光, "Xu si" 序四 [foreword No. 4] in *Xiandai zhongguo gongshangye meishu xuanji* (di er ji) 現代中國工商業美術選集 (第二集) [Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and COmmercial Art, Volume II], (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, April 1937).

To dazzle was to amaze with overwhelming impression and to fill the viewer with tremendous delight, and eventually to enchant. Zhang's call for optical illusion dazzling people's eyes and evoking their intrinsic desire echoed the phrase "consumer engineering" coined by advertising man Elmo Calkins in 1930 as a new "business science," which conceptualized the marketing strategy that stimulated consumer demand and shortened the cycle of consumption through prioritizing the appearance of the product, such as new color variations, as the paramount, compared to the functionality.[313] When early advocacy of institutionalizing design education and professional designers had been rooted in the modernist movement of utility, standardization and mass production, the function and the form based on function had formulated the basic design vocabulary. In terms of the design process, according to many art educators' and designers' writing, the utility and mechanic reproducibility of an object was most important. The form followed the functionality and the decorative details were not to negatively affect the practicality.[314] The production-focused manufacturer in the 1920s gradually became the market-oriented manufacturer in the 1930s. Historian Yeh calls the new mode of production and the individual's social role as a consumer the "Nanjing Road Phenomenon" that "a novel commercial culture [that made] a shopping trip not as a chore but as a diversion, not as an economic transaction but as a cultural consumption…Commerce and consumption also acquired a certain glamour that was closely associated with a modern way of life."[315]

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[313] Elmo Calkins, "The New Consumption Engineer and the Artist," *A Philosophy of Production: A Symposium*, ed., Justus George Frederick (New York: Business Bourse,1930), 126-28, quoted in Jeffrey Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939* (Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 1979), 70.

[314] Juliette MacDonald "Design and Modern Culture" in *Exploring Visual Culture: Definitions, Concepts, Contexts*, ed., Matthew Rampley (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 53.

[315] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity," 386.

National products of Western-style commodities became active agents of a new lifestyle that re-membered the indigenous and the traditional into Western and modern framework. While "consumer engineering" design stylistically contributed to people's perception of the modern world as a mediator of modernity and a channel of propaganda. Consumption became more than paying for the ownership of the goods, but also for the prescription of new social forms and sense of modern contexts. The disenchantment of traditional knowledge, faith and norms needed to be replaced by the re-integration dimension through consumable space and time. Marxist theorist Guy Louis Debord regarded the eye-dazzling marketplace as "the spectacle" and the consumable in the marketplace as "words" in a language – a system of signs. This image-based system of signification meant cultural representation beyond the commodity's economic and functional features.[316] Marxist sociologist Robert G. Dunn explained commodity fetishism as "'relations among things' [that] displaced 'relations among people.'"[317] Such fetish contained key elements for a cult, including the images envisaging a longed future, the negation of the past, and the indication on the consistency and perpetuity of action.

The two advertisements designed by Jiang Shuzhu 姜書竹 (1914-1992) and Qiu Yu 仇宇 portray not only what to consume but how to act and who to be as the subject of their creative outputs. Jiang Shuzhu's storefront window display advertises the product of Beauty Cream of

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[316] To further dig into the discourse, please read Part II in Baudrillard's *Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* and Douglas Kellner's *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity*.
Jean Baudrillard, *Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage Publications 1998).

Douglas Kellner, *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, and London: Polity Press, 1989).

[317] Robert G. Dunn, *Identifying Consumption: Subjects and Objects in Consumer Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 53.

Five Continents 五洲美容霜 and Pearl Powder of Supreme Fragrance 一品香雪花霜. Jiang's work turns the display window into a beauty room or the vanity corner of a luxurious bedroom (Figure 3.14). The backdrop portrays a lady with a low bun, curled face-framing hair, and a hair roller in her bangs. She wears a long short-sleeved silky slip-over nightgown and a pair of T-strap dancing heels. She leans toward the dressing table with a built-in mirror with one knee on the cushioned stool and shoe dangling. She looks straight into the mirror with her fingers pointing to her face. The shadow of her dangling heel and gown drapery is projected on the curtain, whose angular shape reminds people of the German expressionist films which were known in China at the time. In strong contrast with the glamorous Western-style life in the room, the upper left part of the backdrop reveals gloomy grey sky and the shape of the tiered eaves of a pagoda – a symbol of traditional Chineseness, indicating the location and social environment where the glamorous lady resides. The contrast also emphasizes a sharp division between traditional Chineseness and modern Western culture. The placement in the back corner distances that cultural past like a foggy memory. Therefore, although the exterior environment is still Chinese, one is to live in a Westernized interior as a modern female. The products of the beauty cream and the pearl powder are loosely placed and lined in front of the backdrop as if they are excess overconsumed by the lady and casually left on the ground of her vanity space.

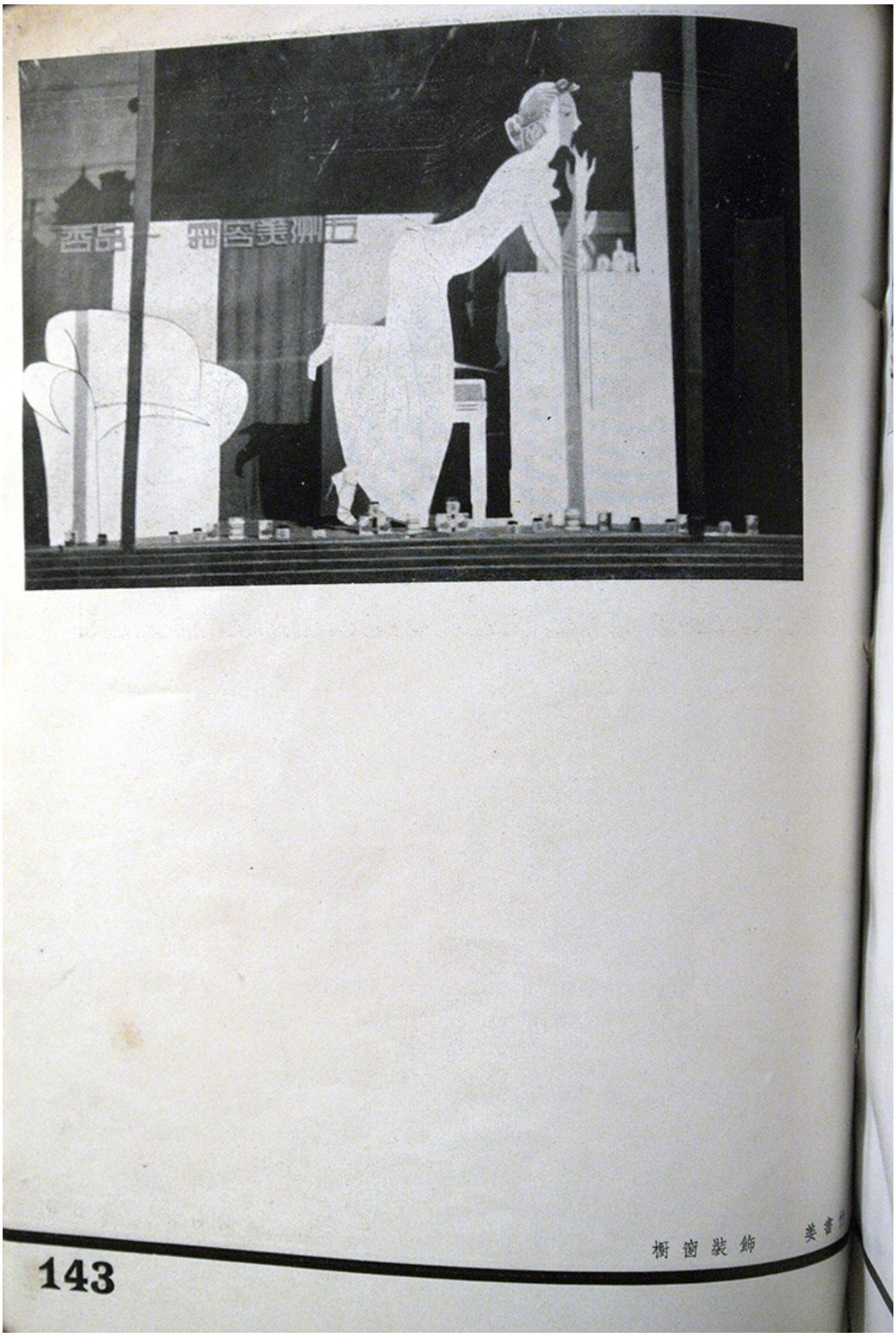


Figure 3.14. Jiang Shuzhu, *Window Display Design for Beauty Cream of Five Continents* 櫥窗設計. Design drawing. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 143.

Jiang's design revolutionarily internalizes the effort of wearing makeup and makes it part of the female consumer's self-appreciation and self-esteem, which avoids the common advertising strategy that uses the gaze of a heterosexual male viewer to acknowledge the female beauty. In comparative framework, an earlier image-based advertisement for a similar product, the Dual Beauty Jasmine Cream 雙姝老牌茉莉霜, depicts a nymphet-like young girl standing on the riverbank. A curvilinear willow tree frames the young girl, echoing her tilting posture.[318] Historian Li Qiang interprets the young girl under the willow tree as the projected result of using the product – to make the user as beautiful and sexually desirable as the girl walking out of the thousand-year poetry "'Guan Guan' cry the ospreys/ On the islet in the river. The beautiful and virtuous young maiden/ Is a fine mate for the noble man."[319] I agree that the cultural-referential image poetically personifies the sentiment of the user. When looking at the girl, the viewer assumes the vantage point of the noble man's gaze. Therefore, the advertisement for the Dual Beauty Jasmine Cream suggests that to use skincare and makeup was part of the male viewer-buyer's life, not that of the female user. In comparison, Jiang's advertising design ultimately encouraged the consumer – user – of the product to take the initiative and become the consumer – buyer – of the product.

Qiu Yu's baby formula billboard advertisement depicts what Republican women could do or could be if they were freed from the traditional perspective on motherhood and embrace the modern way of raising a child in a healthy and joyful way (Figure 3.11). Both women and babies are consumers of baby formula. Instead of focusing on the baby consumer who will

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[318] Commercial, *Shen Bao* 申報, February 1, 1931, 14.

[319] Li Qiang 李強, "The Research of the Propagandistic Strategy of Shen Bao's Commercial Advertisements (1927-1937)" 《申報》商業廣告宣傳策略研究(1927-1937) (master's degree thesis, Capital Normal University, 2007), 25. [The title is translated by Li Qiang.]

benefit or suffer from consuming (eating) the product, the design emphasizes the mother who decides whether to consume (pay) or not. In the center of the picture are three women holding their arms in an open position. The maximum personal space indicates a confident, constructive attitude, creating a positive impression for the viewers. The ladies are identical to each other, with elongated bodies, curled long bob, as well as prominent lashes, blush and lips – they could be three people or one same person. The only difference is their outfits and what they hold in their hands. The lady in the front wears a Chelsea collar dress with a red cross badge on the upper left front. The dress embodies simplicity, practicality and femininity. She is wearing a stethoscope with the earpieces positioned in her ears, holding the chest piece in one hand and a syringe in the other. The middle lady wears a dark French maid dress with a white apron. She holds a boat-shaped Victorian feeder – the "most easily cleansed" hygienic feeder first mass produced by Allen and Hanburys in UK. The lady in the back wears a body-hugging full-printed cheongsam dress with a dollar bill in her hand. In the foreground of the billboard, framed by the extended white dress of the front lady, is a line of naked, robust babies standing under a banner "Welcome The △△ Baby Formula." The upper right corner of the billboard is a blank tin, presumably containing the product.



Figure 3.15. Qiu Yu, Advertising Design for Baby Formula 設計廣告牌路體立. Design drawing for advertising billboard. Source: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (Shanghai: China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association, 1937), No. 109.

Art critic John Berger asserts that "A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself."[320] The Republican lady saw herself in the fashionista standing in the back, wearing the cheongsam dress stylized with a high mandarin collar and a pair of tight cap sleeves. This particular style of cheongsam was popular among the educated women in the 1930s, because it was flexible for sports like golf and horseback riding, and it looked stylistic with a Western-style outwear, such as a blazer or trench.[321] She elegantly handed the money and enjoyed herself. She had given birth to the babies in a Western-style hospital with help from the professionally-trained, modern-educated nurse. Then her servant dressed like a French maid fed her babies with the internationally popularized boat-shaped double-ended hygienic feeder first made in UK. There was no breastfeeding nor was a wet nurse needed, so the special relationship of milk kinship would not exist, meaning that her children would not develop a mandatory brotherhood and friendship with the wet nurse's children. A nurse in Western medicine, a Western-style maid, and an educated mother formed the trinity of the modern motherhood. On the billboard, the white triangular skirt of the nurse frames and illuminates the babies from the dark background. With the bodily attitude of outstretched arms and closed eyes, the composition embodies some messianism-related concepts of a savior, reminding people of images such as Jesus Christ liberating the souls or the thousand-hand bodhisattva holding symbolic attributes of modern motherhood that brings brightness and health to the babies and saves them from the uncanny dark environment. The three ladies'

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[320] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing: Based on the BBC Television Series with John Berger* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, and London: Penguin Group, 1972), 46.

[321] *Cheogsam and Fashion Art Exhibition*, January 27, 2015 to March 15, 2015, Henan Museum, Zhengzhou, China, accessed November 13, 2020, http://www.chnmus.net/clzl/2015-01/26/content_212145.htm.

gesture of giving and liberating transforms into the impression of the Western-style newborn care redeems the suppression of the woman and liberates the mother.

In contrast, an earlier advertisement for a similar product, the Ovomaltine malted milk, proves that a mise-en-scène of using the product in a modern setting does not necessarily make the product the medium through which the buyer can transform him- or herself. In the 1936 advertisement in *Shen Bao*, a father praises his son, "You are much stronger than before!" and the mother, "the Ovomaltine malted milk really works." The son looks happy and proud.[322] Two Ovomaltine advertisements were submitted for *Shen Bao*'s Commercial Art Competition in 1928. The first advertisement puts a four-picture panel on the diagonal, depicting a couple playing with their child, the wife drinking the malted milk from a coffee cup in her bed, the husband giving a thumbs-up to the drink, and lastly the family of four drinking the beverage together. The two corners separated by the diagonal panel are filled with texts in classical Chinese written language, that lavishly gratify how the product suits everyone and brings fortune. The endorsements are signed and seals added, assuring the authority of the words. The other advertisement borrows the seasonal sentiment from the Japanese ukiyo-e, and depicts a young lady enjoying the spring rain, summer flower, autumn wind and winter snow in elegance and fashion. At the bottom of each picture writes how the malted milk will cure the seasonal sickness, such as weariness and influenza. The product name is highlighted and framed by a diamond shaped frame with brief descriptions such as "for all four seasons" and "delicious."[323]

[322] Commercial, *Shen Bao* 申報, February 20, 1936, supplementary issue, 1.

[323] Ibid.

Standing in front of Jiang Shuzhu's window display or Qiu Yu's billboard, the female urbanite of Republican China saw a glamourous lady whose lifestyle she could pursue through consumption. Art critic John Berger sharply points out that "In the city in which we live, all of us see hundreds of publicity images every day of our lives"[324] and that "Publicity is about social relations, not objects."[325] The consumer is aware that the gaze of the other and of herself form the visible world. Berger's "publicity" refers to image or any type of visual message in public, including museum collections and advertisement. The social relation in consumption suggests the interactions between the buyer and future buyer, and exchanges of envy and happiness of being envied. The advertisement helps the future consumer envisage herself made enviable by the product. Once the future consumer projects herself onto the ladies in the advertisement, she stands on the vantage point and her envy to the advertised image is transformed into another person's envy of her. Such imagination of being envied is the essence of glamour.[326] The two advertisement manufactures glamour – a lady's life disconnected from traditional familial, moral, physical commitment and pledges herself to a new social role and presence in the public sphere. The products and their publicity created the spectacle, and the spectator-buyer transform themselves into the spectacle and create the culture.

The spectacle created by the elite "promulgate[d] the discourse of modern disenchantment" and "enchant[ed] themselves with the spell of disenchantment" – the fetish of Western modernity and modernization, which includes new discourse on consumption,

[324] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 129.

[325] Ibid., 132.

[326] Ibid.

consumerism, capitalist free world, urbanism, and nationalism. For instance, the dismal shadow of the pagoda eaves in Jiang Shuzhu's beauty cream commercial– the soaring iconography of religious symbolism and absolute authority – is both, or even deviant external and internal.[327] Now it is outshone by the interior brightness and glamour. The bold juxtaposition of the "color" – meaning the appearance, sentiments, form, and lust – which is the woman of temptation and the "emptiness" of the pagoda in shadow. The contrast is shocking, because the demoralization is in brightness and glamour while the ultimate moral iconography is in darkness and distance. The old social relation is humiliated and the new is to be established by the lady depicted in the window display and her followers. The spectator-buyer would break from the tradition and implement her individualism. When the culture becomes dominant, the hegemony is formulated. Thus, the national products of Western-style commodities, through the enviable mise-en-scène of modern glamor, urged the spectator-buyers to transform themselves by cutting off from the traditional lifestyle and social ties, and embrace the new enchantment of the modern discourses.

Thus, the promotion of the national products redefined the word "national" by escalating the consumer's cognitive domain of "Chineseness" and educating the consumers on cultural consumption that one could be the person he or she wanted to with the consumer goods. The promotion of Chineseness and cultural nationalism changed from valuing cultural uniqueness to acknowledging an alternative modernity in China and celebrating urban cosmopolitanism. The awareness of the "national," including national essence 國粹 and national art 國畫, was formed in late Qing and early Republic when the country was all of a sudden unconsciously displaced in the connected, modernized globe not as a rule maker, but as a rule bearer. While struggling for

[327] Michael Saler, "Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 693.

an independent state, people started rethinking the territorial, political and cultural domain of "China" from *tianxia* 天下 ("all under heaven") to one nation-state. There was the strong will to define and maintain the territorial and cultural boundaries by othering the others, so pre-globalizing cultural uniqueness became the basis of Chineseness.

When the centralized KMT government led to the short, comparatively peaceful interval for economic, political and cultural development, politicians and intellectuals sought equality and competiveness on the international stage by not only following the Western styles, but also the rationale and motives behind the look. For instance, the 1934 ink painting exhibition in Berlin exhibited literati painting because the curator saw literati painting as the conceptual equivalent to European modernism. Moreover, the Primitivism-inspired design was the designer's intentional declaration of their "limitless ability to absorb and appropriate," just like the Europeans as the self-appointed spokesman for other civilizations. Consumerism normalized and eventually fetishized the modern, the ephemerally fashionable, and the foreign as part of the national products, so consumer goods and commercial arts could enchant the consumers with culturalized consumption. Thus, consumption became a fashionable leisure activity, and consumer goods decided lifestyle and personal label. A new cultural identity of the (urban) masses was formed through the shared aesthetic experience of industrial and commercial arts.

Conclusion: An Era of Mass Reenchantment

In conclusion, modernity in the Republic of China, if there was any, was not only featured by the culture and politics, but was also determined by the economics. The culture consisted of both high culture and mass culture, while the economic activities encompassed the production, distribution, circulation, and consumption. Most part of the dissertation concentrates on what is known as the high culture and high art in Republican China, which oftentimes served

as the instrumental device of social control for the elites to impose their cultural hegemony and to institutionalize their ideas. The social elites focused on the form of the government, the nature of the national museum, the sociocultural role of art and aesthetics, the role of art in the education system, the art exhibition that spoke for the new nation-state on the international stage, and the official art as the social solidarity device. While the elites were thinking of the globe, the state, the nation, and the society, the masses, according to sociologist Herbert J. Gans, shared the commonality and formed social coherence around morality, familial problems, and individual well-being. Gans differentiates the low culture from the high culture that, "Aesthetic standards of low culture stress substance, from being totally subservient, and there is no explicit concern with abstract ideas or even with fictional forms of contemporary social problems and issues.... Low culture is content to depict traditional working class values…"[328] Two social roles emerged in the Republic of China: the waged workers in the factories and the middle-class consumers enjoying the department stores, which resulted in the working class consciousness and the bourgeois ideology among the masses.

This chapter examines the alignment of the industrial, commercial and educational institutions, whose network included but was not limited to factories, department stores, design studios, and schools. To institute meant to maximize the outcome through collaboration and specialization. One problem with art education was the oversupply of fine art graduates who could do nothing but teach fine art or become an independent artist. And the art exhibitions were unable to reach to those lacking self-motivation to see arts and impossible to be fully integrated into everyday life. Meanwhile, the industrial products could hardly compete with the imported

[328] Herbert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York City: Basic Books, 1999), 115.

goods, partially because of the less sophisticated industrial design, packaging design, and advertisement. Under the context, higher education of design was the mediator that connected the aesthetic education and the education in material wealth, which visually empowered the products and consumer experience, so the material wealth became visible, visually appreciable, and pursued by the masses. From handicrafts to "education of production," from foreign literature class to product packaging design course, and from normal schools to art schools to specialized professional schools, the design education went from a theoretical and directive position to a participatory and integrative social actor. Moreover, the founding of the China Industrial and Commercial Artist Association was cheerfully welcomed, "Commercial arts are closely correlated with the development of industry and commerce…The mission of the Association is to build the network of masters in commercial arts…and protect professionals in commercial arts." [329] The association claimed itself to be the "China's supreme academic group for nationwide artist-craftspeople and commercial artists."[330] Thus, the association was to supersede the economic activities from an academic perspective. It connected the art and design professors, students and graduates with production and commerce.

Usually, the transformation of the superstructure would take place far more slowly than that of the substructure, because mass production led to mass market which led to consumerism, but in the Republic of China, commercialization had been launched by industrialized countries before industrialization was gradually developed domestically in China, hindered by much more matured foreign production with better quality and design. Commercialization oversupplied products, which required consumerism to sustain the circulation. Consumerism promoted a

[329] "Establishment," *Shen Bao*, August 22, 1934, 14.

[330] *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and COmmercial Art*, Volume II, 1937.

culture of overconsumption and the preference to fashion over duration, which required a new value system among the masses. Traditionally, the virtue ethics in Chinese history had been influenced by Buddhist canon of ephemerality and emptiness, Daoist immateriality and intangibility, and the Confucian value of humility, so attention to appearance and decoration oftentimes implied dismissing inner cultivation. The best way to dissolve the traditional commitment was to replace it with the new value system that decided the priority and the behavior. The post and lintel for the new ideological construction were the Western modernity on the basis of capitalism, and the consciousness of China as a nation-state in the modern globe. The industrial and commercial design portrayed the using of the products as a Western, scientific and modern way of life, and the product as the passport of the user's global citizenship. The national product campaign further made consumption a faithful behavior in national salvation. Therefore, oversupply of goods and overconsumption were both individual and national behavior. Eventually, the power of consumerism disbanded the spatial and temporal dichotomies and brought a hegemonic consumer identity to the urbanites. These dichotomies include "domestic" versus "imported," "native" versus "foreign," "Chinese" versus "Western," and lastly "traditional" versus "modern." Thus, one most prominent character of design styles in the Republic of China was extreme diversity, referencing cultures ancient and contemporary, indigenous and outlandish, functionalist and extravagant. The spatial and temporal lattice of the Republic of China was both cognitively and normatively reconstructed among the masses.

Chapter Four: Populist Authoritarianism and Atavistic Culturalism as National Art: *Second National Arts Exhibition*, 1937

The Republic of China's widespread, comprehensive involvement with art was shown in its use of domestic and international exhibitions. The Nanjing-based Kuomingtang (KMT) government systemized school funding and exhibition opportunities to provide for the growing number of artists and create a form of political patronage of the arts. There were three juried national arts exhibitions held in Republican China: the first in 1929 Shanghai, second in 1937 Nanjing, and finally the third in 1942-43 Chongqing. The Chinese version of a national arts exhibition was styled mainly after the Japanese and French examples, namely the Japanese *Exhibition of the Culture Bureau* [*Bun-ten*] 文部省美術展覧会 (1907-1918; 1936-1944) and *Exhibition of Imperial Art Academy* [*Tei-ten*] 帝国芸術院展覧会 (1919-1935), as well as the French salons such as *le Salon de Champs-Élysées* (circa 1881). These nationwide art competitions were admired, scrutinized, and discussed by Chinese artists, educators, politicians, and party ideologists. For instance, artist and art educator Xu Beihong's 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953) discourse on the Japanese *Bun-ten* talks extensively about the organization and operation of the exhibition, as well as his personal assessment, reflections, and takeaways.[331] Similarly, artists and art educators Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994) and Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1894-1983) co-wrote "*Tei-ten* in Japan" for the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, in which the two art educators trace the consequence that after *Bun-ten* had existed from the censorship of the Ministry of

[331] Hua Tianxue 華天雪, "Riben 'guanguang' zhi lü: yi dui Xu Beihong 'riben wenzhan' de jiedu wei zhongxin"日本"觀光"之旅:以對徐悲鴻《日本文展》的解讀為中心["tour" Japan: Xu Beihong's discussion on the Japanese *bun-ten*] Art Historians, Central Academy of Fine Art, February 28, 2019. Accessed November 13, 2020, http://cafa.com.cn/cn/figures/article/details/8110610.

Education, Science, Sports and Culture (*Monbu-shō*) 文部省, the exhibition acquired institutional freedom and scaled up. Later, compared to the expanding *Bun-ten*, more officially affiliated and stylistically homogenized *Tei-ten* was challenged by its alternative, the *Second Section Association* [*Nika-ka*] 二科会.[332] Also, on French salons, Xu Beihong records his instructors' works displayed in the 1920 *Salon de Champs-Élysées*, showing his familiarity with the exhibition through in person participation, while Liu Haisu full-heartedly expresses his appreciation to *Salon d'Automne*'s positive effect on modernist art movements.[333]

As a new and exploratory institution, the national arts exhibition involved questions on the conception of the "nation" and the system of art within the nation. Historian Yü Ying-shih suggests that "the replacement of the tributary system by the treaty system" forced the politicians and intellectuals to acknowledge the nation as a marginalized entity reified by a cultural identity and visualized by arts.[334] According to political scientist John Fitzgerald, "Before the modern period, the term *zhongguo* [for "China" historically and now] designated neither the nation nor the territorial state but the place of the emperor at the center of the world."[335] The Republic of

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[332] Liu Haisu 劉海粟 and Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, "Riben zhi dizhan" 日本之帝展 [The Japanese *Tei-ten*] in *Wang Yachen yishu wenji* 汪亞塵藝術文集 [An anthology of Wang Yachen's writing on art], ed., Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (Shanghai: Shanghai Fine Arts Publisher, 1990), 347-348.

The essay was first published by Liu and Wang on *The China Times* 時事新報 on November 18, 1919.

[333] Liu Haisu, "1929 nian qiuji shalong" 一九二九年秋季沙龍 [1929 *Salon d'Automne*], in *Liu Haisu youji: you ou suibi* 劉海粟遊記:遊歐隨筆 [Liu Haisu's travelogue: diaries in Europe] (Beijing: Oriental Publishing & Media, 2006), 151-166.

[334] Yü Ying-shih, "The Radicalization of China in the Twentieth Century," in "China in Transformation," special issue, Daedalus, vol. 122, no. 2 (Spring, 1993), 135.

[335] Ying-shih Yü, *Chinese History and Culture: Seventeenth Century Through Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 186.

China – *zhonghua minguo* – was the first reign that frequently used *zhongguo* to refer to both the state and the nation. The state not only aimed to present the nation to the citizens and on the international stage through art exhibitions, but also attempted to determine the frame and shape of the nation. Furthermore, it was not only the nation that determined the national art, but the construction of national art would simultaneously reify the definition of nation. The nation further became a new patron of art through the channels of education and exhibitions.

The history of official or national art in China in its broadest development is a history of transition from the resource-driven arts for private appreciation and collection to an education-oriented system sponsored by the state. The transition coincided with both a social and conceptual change in pedagogy, wherein art instruction, collection, and education shifted from the private to the public domain, and from the practical focus on which technique was superior to the theoretical focus on which art movement was more progressive. Instead of viewing the development of modern Chinese art – in both Western style and traditional form – as a sequence of dramatic conflicts between innovating "heroes" and academic "villains," the familiar historical pattern of artistic styles of the period can be amplified by a fair appraisal of the public-sponsored art education and the national arts exhibitions' historical role. Overall, the state-sanctioned exhibitions furnished a convenient test for encouraging artists' loyalty to the institutional system.

This chapter provides a detailed account of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* as the convergence point where state-building combined with nation-building inseparably through the

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John Fitzgerald, "The Nationless State: The Search for a Nation in Modern Chinese Nationalism," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 33 (January 1995),75-104: 86. https://doi.org/10.2307/2950089.

channel of art education.[336] While state-building provided the framework for nation-building, the nation-building activity of constructing national history amplified national art, clarified national culture, and promoted national spirit. Since decisions made by the preparatory committee of the exhibition were subject to confirmation by the Minister of Education and the KMT party, the arts exhibition was resting on a pedagogical and political base which sustained it, and was in turn sustained by it.[337] This chapter first looks at *aesthetic education* – not art education – as the pedagogical base for the formation of a national arts exhibition. Unlike art education which focused more on the practical aspect of art training, aesthetic education was more theoretical and inclusive, ranging from art education to general education, and examining the definition of art, the relationship between art and society, and the influence of art on general public. Art education could vary from one institution to the other, while aesthetic education was oftentimes more

[336] In this chapter, I translate the title of the exhibition into *the Second National Arts Exhibition*, not the *Second National Art Exhibition* for three reasons. First, it is the English translation in issue 38 of *Arts & Life* (1938). Second, the exhibition consisted of different genres of exhibits including fine art, crafts, design drawings, illustrated books, and archeological findings. Lastly, to turn the exhibition into a cultural carnival, the preparatory committee decided to have concerts, modern dramas, and operas taken place next door. In a broader definition, arts cover not only visual arts, but also music, literature and other disciplines in humanities. Therefore, one can even argue that the *Second National Arts Exhibition* was not only the visual components in the exhibition hall, but also arts of different artforms, such as music and performance art happening in the National Theatre of Drama and Music Auditorium.

[337] This chapter takes the *Second National Arts Exhibition* as the center of focus because the *First National Arts Exhibition* was mainly organized by alternative social powers such as the local gentries and artist-intellectuals, and the *Third National Arts Exhibition* was during the wartime devastation of the Sino-Japanese war officially declared in December 1941. The duration of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (April 1 to 23 1937) was close to the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Nanjing government on April 18 1927.

It was the only national arts exhibition taken place in the newly built National Art Gallery in the capital city, and operated by the almost fully functioned governmental sectors, so it summarized the pre-WWII art education achievement in the Republic of China and the bureaucratic and intellectual leadership of the KMT government.

unified as it was a part of the cultural policy disseminated from the state. Therefore, a discussion of the trends in aesthetic education throughout the era provides a background of how the state understood the role of art in both school and social education.

Second, the chapter looks at the formation, operation, effects, and significance of the state-sponsored China National Art Association. The Association provided the institutional infrastructure and rehearsals for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* by hosting juried exhibitions of growing scales – from association-based, to municipal and provincial level, and eventually to the national scale. The regularized nationwide juried exhibition helped shift the cultural center of the Republic of China from the commercial heartland of Shanghai to the political center of Nanjing. Thus, the formation of cultural nationalism and nation-building in visual cultures converged with the centralization of the KMT party and state-building project that meta-institutionalized the economic, political, and cultural sectors.

Last, but most importantly, after briefly talking about the submission and selection process, the chapter focuses on the two sections of then-contemporary works best reflecting the outcome of higher education in art, namely the modern Western-style paintings and the modern ink paintings. As social-educational devices for aesthetic education and political ideology, the two sections were the visual embodiment of the then-present populist authoritarianism in Western-style painting and atavistic culturalism in ink painting. Starting from the 1920s, the so-called "Western-style painting," meaning the representational, abstract, and conceptual artistic tradition based in Europe, became embedded in the higher education of art, social educational device, mass media, and cosmopolitan visual cultures. As a new, imported artform, the perception of Western-style painting was constantly changing, which led to the rise and fall of different art movements. The *Second National Arts Exhibition* saw the revival of representational

paintings in Neoclassicism and Social Realism and simultaneously the decline of the modernist painting. Meanwhile, like Western-style painting, ink painting went through tremendous institutional, stylistic, and conceptual transformations over the years of Republican China. It joined the modern higher education of art as a discipline of study later than Western-style painting, partially because ink art was at first considered the archaic, elitist, unchangeable, and not socially relevant or functional. In the late-1920s and early-1930s, ink art found its artistic niche as more artist-intellectuals realized the philosophical resonance between literati painting and European modernist movements, and ink art became a diplomatic device on the international stage.[338] Benefitting from the democratized viewership of the collection-based museums, and influenced by the modern education where different disciplines of art were under one roof, the *Second National Arts Exhibition* witnessed the ink paintings break the dichotomies of the ancient and the modern, the literati and the academic, and the archaic and the westernized.

From Pragmatic Liberalism to Totalitarian Uniformitarianism: Aesthetic Education in the 1930s

Aesthetic education provided an overarching pedagogical and theoretical base for art education, art exhibition, and other art-related cultural policies in the Republic of China. Art and aesthetic educators were mostly foreign-educated, and when they came back to China, they began to manifest particular opinions shaped by the dominant structural and ideological facts in the countries where they had studied. For instance, a capitalistic democracy featured in the Progressive Era was proposed by American-trained students, socialism by French graduates, and

[338] See Chapter Two "International Nationalism and Statist Internationalism: *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart*, 1934 and *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* in London, 1935."

militaristic government by Japanese graduates.[339] In 1922, the KMT government launched new rules for general education and made the formerly elective art courses mandatory, marking the importance of art and aesthetics in general education.[340] John Dewey was most influential between 1919 and 1927, before the KMT party centralized power in the new capital. John Dewey's view on aesthetic education is featured in his *Art as Experience* where he claims that

> Instruction in the arts of life is something other than conveying information about them. It is a matter of communication and participation in values of life by means of the imagination, and works of art are the most intimate and energetic means of aiding individuals to share in the arts of living. Civilization is uncivil because human beings are divided into noncommunicating sects, races, nations, classes and clique.[341]

Calling aesthetic experience "arts of life" and "arts of living," Dewey's view on aesthetics is social, civil, intuitive, and transcendentalist. Art would permeate life, become part of life, and eventually integrate with life. Therefore, civilization would incorporate arts of living and turn living into art – aesthetic education shaping individuals into indisputably moral beings. Hence, Dewey held a progressive view aiming for an internationalist morality. Dewey emphasized a non-communicative but provocative function of art, which was formally resonant with symbolist, expressionist, abstract, or even surrealist art. Art, Dewey and his followers believed, is more intuitive than intellectual, and more about provoking thoughts and feelings than teaching what to think and how to behave.

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[339] Nancy F. Sizer, "John Dewey's Ideas in China 1919 to 1921," *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 10, no. 3 (October, 1966): 392.

[340] Tian Jun 田君 ed., "Minguo gongyi meishu jiaoyu dashi nianbiao" 民國工藝美術教育大事年表 [The Timeline of Art and Craft Education over the Period of the Republic of China], in "Aesthetic Salvation," special issue, *Arts and Crafts* 裝飾, issue 10 (October, 2011) 39-43. DOI:10.16272/j.cnki.cn11-1392/j.2011.10.028. [The English title is translated by Tian Jun.]

[341] John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Perigee Books, 1980), 350.

The late-1920s and 1930s saw a decline of Dewey's pragmatic thought and rise of the German holistic way of education, which bolstered the centralized and ideologized KMT government's efforts to make aesthetic education the device to unify a totalized nation. From early on, aesthetic education, or simply the accessibility and appreciation of visually pleasant things, has been closely tied to the wholeness of a modern human being, and eventually the wholeness of a modern society.[342] For instance, William Morris politicized craftsmanship and introduced his conception of wallpaper design in order to oppose the alienated and fragmented making of things and living of beings. Russian constructionist artists merged art and engineering, and turned the individual aesthetic personae into a society-wide style of living and working. This notion of completeness also transformed educational visions, as specified by German educator Alexandra Kertz-Welzel: "The fascination with a 'holistic' way of education has been a crucial issue since 1900, when several movements were afoot to renew the German culture and way of schooling."[343] Holistic education, according to Friedrich Schiller, refers to an intellectually and emotionally harmonized human through cultivation of aesthetic education. The collectivity of morally perfected individuals will eventually improve social and political situations. In his *Briefe iiber die isthetische Erziehung des Menschen* [Letter the Aesthetic Education of Man, 1793-95], Schiller used the term *Ästhetischen Erziehung* [aesthetic education] for the first time to describe an education through art as a way to "humanize" mankind and to create a free and just society.

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[342] Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/chea13018.

[343] Alexandra Kertz-Welzel, "In Search of the Sense and the Senses: Aesthetic Education in Germany and the United States," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, vol. 39, no. 3 (Autumn, 2005): 104. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3527435.

Chinese educators and education theorists were familiar with the names, movements and conceptions in Japan, European countries, and America, so translated works and original discourses frequented major journals and publications. In his 1931 article "Twenty-five Years of Aesthetic Education in China," visionary educator and the first head of the Ministry of Education Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) explains that his frequently used the term *meiyu* [aesthetic education] was translated from and inevitably shaped by the German term *Ästhetischen Erziehung*.[344] Therefore, presumably, Cai's original vision of aesthetic education was to cultivate well-rounded individuals who embody cognitive and intuitive features that meet certain ideals. Detailed in an earlier article written by Cai, aesthetic education was seen as the way to harmonize cognitive and intuitive faculties. Cai transformed this idea into a detailed education plan in "Suggestion on the New Education" 新教育意見, more commonly known as "Mission of Education Publicized in the First Year of Republican China" 民元教育宗旨, in which he calls for five types of education to be implemented simultaneously. First of all, he puts military-national-civic education and education on material wealth as the most urgent tasks. Second, Cai proposed that education should center on civil morality and aim to cultivate people's worldview. Finally, Cai named aesthetic education as the bridge that takes students to the ultimate goals and links the other four types of educations, namely the education military-national-civic education, the materialist wealth education, the world view education and the civil morality education, to

[344] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Ershiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi meiyu" 二十五年來中國之美育 [aesthetic education in China in recent twenty-five years] originally in *Huanqiu zhongguo xueshenghui ershiwu zhounian jiniance* 寰球中國學生會二十五周年紀念冊 [special issue for the 25th anniversary of Trans-Global Student Union of China] (May, 1931), included in *Cai Yuanpei quanji* 蔡元培全集 [complete collection of Cai Yuanpei] (Beijing: China Publishing House, 1988), vol. 6, 54.

make schooling and societal cultivation a holistic totality.[345] Cai's proposition was publicized through official channels and widely circulated especially after 1927. Famously quoted as "replacing religion with aesthetic education," Cai's emphasis on art as a critical human endeavor that could take the place of obsolete religion and become the ideological and social denominator of the educated classes, and reflected the role of art in German artistic discourse and Confucian pedagogy such as the Six Arts 六藝, both of which were particularly favored by the KMT government. Cai attempted to unite China affectively and to forge a Chinese identity through the symbolic power of aesthetics, since modern China, after the collapse of its traditional value system, urgently required a way to heal its fragmented society and solve its cultural crisis.[346] To Cai Yuanpei, the art exhibition is an especially effective tool to unite the three situational aesthetic ecologies of family, school, and society.[347] Since the China National Art Association had regularized juried art exhibitions by synthesizing the educational and governmental resources, the *Second National Arts Exhibition*, as an important social educational strategy to teach aesthetics to the masses, reflected the changing education ideology from pragmatic liberalism to totalitarian uniformitarianism.

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[345] The original text is "The military-national-civic education and education on materialist wealth are the most urgent tasks. The education system should center on civil morality and aim for cultivating people's worldview. Aesthetic education serves as the bridge that takes students to the ultimate goals and links other four types of education." 以軍國民教育,實利主義為急務,以公民道德為中心,以世界觀教育為終極目的,以美感教育為橋梁.

[346] Regarding Cai's views on the importance of art in education and on value systems and social solidarity, see Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan* 蔡元培美學文選 [selected essays of Cai Yuanpei] (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1983), 53, 80.

[347] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Meiyu shishi de fangfa" 美育實施的方法 [methods to implement aesthetic education] *The Education Magazine* 教育雜誌, issue 6 (June, 1922):4.

China National Art Association: An Organizational and Ideological Prequel

The organizational and ideological prequel for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* was the China National Art Association 中國美術會, which hosted the biannual exhibitions that filled in the eight-year gaps between the *First* and the *Second National Arts Exhibitions*. The Association and its exhibitions improved the mechanics and operation of curating large-scale nationwide exhibitions, relocated the cultural and artistic gravity to the political capital city of Nanjing, developed a mutually enhancing relationship between the Ministry of Education and the artworld, and finally, cultivated the intertwining correlation between the KMT party and the masses through art. In other words, the state-sponsored association mobilized educational resources to formulate the conception of national arts exhibitions. The mission of the association aimed to "build a nationwide network for artists, gather strength panoramically from every aspect of the artworld, investigate in art education, and fuel art movements."[348] The use of the phrase *meishu jie* 美術界 in the mission proposed by KMT ideologist and formal art student Zhang Daofan 張道藩 (1897-1968) literally means the "world of fine arts" or "the boundary of fine arts," suggesting the consciousness of an enclosed organization with a designated structure, set of rules, and clear limits. According to art critic Arthur Danto's institutional definition of the "Artworld," preconditioned by the formation of functionally specialized institutional-organizational structure, the artworld draws attention to a network of institutions, including but not limited to schools, museums, galleries, commercial market systems and professions, where art is the main subject. The artworld is an operational idea of art that participants use to

[348] "Zhongguo meishuhui zhangcheng" 中國美術會章程 [the articles of the China National Art Association], *China National Art Association Quarterly* 中國美術會季刊, vol. 1, issue 3 (September 1936): 104.

distinguish art from non-art— the boundary.[349] Philosopher George Dickie recognizes the institutional power to not only make art but also to define and evaluate art: "An artworld system is a framework for the presentation of a work of art by an artist to an artworld public."[350] Sociologist Howard Becker concurs with Dickie and points out that collective activities and shared conventions are the two features of the artworld. The two features summarized by Becker corresponds to Raymond Williams' definition of the term "institution" that a group of people bonded by some common interest is potentially institutionalized when it embodies two characters: systematic and objective.[351] The collectiveness implies uniformity, which usually happens in a systematic way and is enhanced by the systematic operation. Shared conventions lead to the inevitable sacrifice of outliers and individual preference, reflecting a more objective and less personal character. According to Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the artworld is conditioned by social and economic lived positions in institutions, and it requires knowledge and ownership of cultural capital as part of social class identity. Institutions function as socializing structures for reproducing cultural capital for its "owners."

The China National Art Association was a state-sponsored organization. The fifty-three founding members came from different subfields of art, including painting, sculpture, poetry, music and drama. Zhang Daofan was elected to the position of director-general, Tang Wencong

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[349] Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," in "American Philosophical Association Eastern Division Sixty-First Annual Meeting," special issue, *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 61, no. 19 (October 15,1964): 571-584. https://doi.org/10.2307/2022937.

[350] George Dickie, *Art and the Aesthetic: An Institutional Analysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1974).

George Dicke, *Evaluating Art* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1988).

[351] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 168.

湯文聰 (dates unknown) to general affairs, Wang Qi 王祺 (1890-1937) to academic director, and Liang Dingming 梁鼎銘 (1898-1959) and Gao Xishun 高希舜(1895-1982) to co-directors of publicity. Among the personnel, Tang and Gao were art educators of high institutional status. Wang was a key figure in the KMT party and government, whose multiple social labels included, but were not limited to, revolutionary, politician, military commander, artist, and educator. Liang was working in the art and propaganda sector in the Political Department of the Military High Command of KMT's National Revolutionary Army (NRA), and commissioned by the government to paint a wall-sized paintings of the NRA's Northern Expedition.[352] The articles of the Association were finalized in 1934, suggesting a commonly agreed contract of membership between the association and the participants. In the same year, the Association was registered by the National Steering Committee for Popular Movements 中央民眾運動指導委員會, marking the lawful establishment and state acknowledgement of the China National Art Association. The Steering Committee was first discussed in 1928, growing out of and serving to reify the KMT party's ideological dominance in the government. In August 1928, the KMT party committee proposed during the 5th Plenary Session of the 2nd Central Committee of the KMT Party that the party and the masses should further unify and intertwine: "The party cannot overarch the entire population, while it is also impossible to have all citizens join the party. Therefore, there is the segregation of the party from the masses. In the last one or two years [1926-1927], the question

[352] Shaoqian Zhang, Oklahoma State University "Combat and Collaboration: The Clash of Propaganda Prints between the Chinese Guomindang and the Japanese Empire in the 1930s–1940s," Heidelberg University Transcultural Archives, accessed November 14, 2020. https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/article/view/11548/8648.

Also see Wen-hsin Yeh, Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)

of whether the KMT party needs the masses has permeated through all media. If the party and the masses are one unity, how can the party need or reject the masses?" This proposal of "Clarification on the Guidance of the Popular Movement" reflects the KMT party's intention to supervise, interfere with, and guide popular movements. Eventually the session passed a revised, less aggressive plan: "There is a legally protected right for citizens to form organizations as long as their action is lawful … [The member and the organization] must be guided by the party committee and subject to government censorship." Later, in 1929 and 1930, detailed laws and regulations were made and passed for later implementation.[353]

The Association regularly hosted exhibitions, which normalized the cultural activity of juried exhibitions and gradually attracted artists from all over the country, enhancing the cultural gravity of Nanjing. In "A Retrospective Survey on Art in 1935," Xu Beihong, an art professor at National Central University in Nanjing, writes, "Since Wang [Jingwei] 汪精衛 restored his position in the Executive Yuan, he has attempted to encourage art-loving activities in the capital. Nanjing soon became the center of art. So many expositions and exhibitions dazzled the visitors. The spring and autumn biannual art exhibitions were hosted by the China National Art Association."[354] The first exhibition was the *Commemorative Exhibition for the China National*

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[353] Yue Zonghui 岳宗福, Zhang Xianyong 張獻勇, Nie Jiahua 聶家華, Chen Changzheng 陳長征 and Zhang Yanli 張彥麗, "Minguo shiqi shehui zuzhi guanli tizhi yanjiu – yi guomin zhengfu shehuibu wei kaocha zhongxin (1938-1949)" 民國時期社會組織管理體制研究——以國民政府社會部為考察中心(1938-1949)[An institutional style of managing the social organization in the Republic of China: a close look at the Ministry of Social Work of the Nationalist (KMT) government], China Social Organization (under the Ministry of Civil Affairs, People's Republic of China). Accessed November 14, 2020. http://www.chinanpo.gov.cn/700101/92581/newswjindex.html.

[354] Wang Zhen 王震 ed. *Xu Beihong wenji* 徐悲鴻文集 [Collection of Xu Beihong] (Shanghai: Shanghai Huabao Publishing House, 2005), 83.

Art Association on September 15, 1934, during which more than 300 participants contributed to over 1,000 works of art. Opened on April 15, 1935, the second exhibition included more than 400 works of art by more than 300 participants. Starting in July 1935, the Ministry of Education paid a monthly stipend to fund the Association, making it more state-dependent and officialized, but also able to support regular exhibitions. Impressed by the growing scale and maturing mechanics of regular exhibitions, some critic agreed that the KMT government not only relocated the political center from Beijing to Nanjing, but also the art center from Shanghai to Nanjing. Therefore, the capital city symbolized both political and intellectual leadership.[355]

The third exhibition was held in the same year between October 10 -16, featuring 326 pieces of artworks by roughly 150 participants. Unlike its two predecessors, the committee secured extra financial support from the government, so they could turn the exhibition into a nation-wide competition and reward the winning artist monetarily.[356] The proposed evaluation and reward system would further enhance the authority and cultural gravity of the Association, the exhibition, and the capital's dual leadership in politics and art. The fourth exhibition was launched between April 18-26, 1936, showcasing 429 pieces of artwork by more than 200 participants. Noticeably, this time the exhibition included ink painting, Western-style painting, sculpture, design, calligraphy, seal carving, photography, and crafts. The participants were from

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[355] Yiming 亦鳴 [pseud.], "Chongman le yishu de kongqi: zhongguo meishuhui di'erjie chunji zhanlan pingshu" 充滿了藝術的空氣: 中國美術會第二屆春季展覽會述評 [In the air of art: comments on the second spring exhibition of China National Art Association], vol. 3, no. 5, *Art Wind* 藝風 (May 16, 1935).

[356] Li Yishi 李毅士, "Zhongguo meishuhui disanjie (qiuji) meishu zhanlanhui de huigu" 中國美術會第三屆(秋季)美術展覽會的回顧 [Review of the third exhibition (autumn) of the China National Art Association], *China National Art Association Quarterly* 中國美術會季刊, initial issue (January 1, 1936), 62-77.

not only the more cosmopolitan cities in the lower Yangtze delta where Japan- or Europe-trained artists founded art schools and art departments in comprehensive universities based on foreign models, but also hailed from areas that were less artistically progressive, such as Fujian province, Beijing, Tianjing, Shandong province, and Anhui province. In the same year, the fifth exhibition took place between November 1-8, displaying 379 works by nearly 200 participants. There were many more submissions than the number of works on display due to the spatial limit.[357]

As the growing cultural activities in the political capital further legitimized the party-state's leadership, a monumental state-sponsored architectural project dedicated to the arts was to be built to demonstrate the political leadership's cultural involvement. The "Proposal to the Government for A National Central Art Museum" 備文呈請中央設立中央美術館 was presented at the first annual meeting of the council of the Association on March 4, 1935. Three days later on March 7, the KMT party committee reviewed and passed a draft proposal for the

[357] See "Zhongguo meishuhui diwujie zhanlan zhici"中國美術會第五屆展覽致辭 [Opening remark for the fifth exhibition of the China National Art Association], "Zhongguo meishuhui diwujie zhanlanhui chupin qingkuang gaishu"中國美術會第五屆展覽會出品情況概述 [An overview of the exhibits in the fifth exhibition of the China National Art Association], "Sinianlai zhongguo meishuhui"四年來中國美術會 [Four years of the China National Art Association], "Huihua yu shidai"繪畫與時代 [paitning and our era], and "Duiyu benhui tongzhi zhi xiwang" 對於本會同誌之希望 [My hope to the artists participating in the fifth exhibition of the China National Art Association] in *China National Art Association Quarterly* 中國美術會季刊, vol. 1, issue 4 (last issue) (January, 1937).

Art historian Si Kaiguo summarizes the exhibition held at the Overseas Chinese Hostel in a chart. One of the largest hall in this high-end hotel served as the vanity space for art exhibitions till the completion of the National Art Gallery.

Si Kaiguo 司開國, "Huaqiao zhaodaisuo yu minguo shoudu de meishu jiyi" 華僑招待所與民國首都的美術記憶 [Overseas Chinese Hostel and the memory of art in the capital of the Republic of China] *Art Research* 美術研究, issue 2 (February, 2013): 104-108: 106. DOI: 10.13318/j.cnki.msyj.2013.02.013.

National Art Gallery. Zhang Daofan —who was the director-general of the Association, a member of the Central Executive Committee, and later became chairman of the standing committee of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* — attended both the annual meeting and the state council meeting, and played a significant role in realizing the National Art Gallery.[358] The empty space of National Art Gallery was eventually located on Guofu Road in 1936, next to the National Theatre of Drama and Music (circa 1935), the National Central University (circa 1928), and the National Great Hall (circa 1936), and across Zhongshan Road from the Presidential Palace (circa 1927). The name of the road, *Guofu* 國 [meaning "nation"] 府 [meaning "government" or "mansion"], was an abbreviation for national government of the Republic of China 中華民國國民政府. The placement of the institutions embodied high symbolic value of nationalism and statism. Zhongshan (Yat-sen) Road was named after the founding figure of the Republic of China runs through the capital city of Nanjing. Politically, Sun led the Xinhai Revolution that overthrew Qing dynasty; ideologically, Sun's "Tridemism" guided the cultural policy of the KMT party. Facing south, the state institutions are on the left and national ones on the right, like the two croziers held by Sun Yat-sen as the spiritual leader of the nation-state, or two billowing sails propelling the nation-state built on Sun Yat-sen's leadership forward.

The state-sponsored, government-involved, and competition-based art exhibition hosted in the ahistorical but politically symbolic gallery created a fundamental shift in art ideology, firmly aligning it with the anti-modernist and totalitarian art discourses. Zhang Daofan celebrated the KMT government's more active and authoritative role in the sponsorship,

[358] Shang Hui 尚輝,"Guoli meishu chenlieguan chengli shimo"國立美術陳列館成立始末, [the full story of the National Art Gallery] *Minguo chunqiu* 民國春秋 [History of the Republic of China], issue 4 (August 1996): 18-21.

production, censorship, distribution, and reception of art in his executive summary by referring to the Western countries in comparative framework:

> People knowledgeable about the development of art in different countries will come to the same conclusion that in every country, a thriving art scene is rooted not only in artists' dedication but also state-sponsored promotion and assistance. The national patronage of art is not only a feudal, monarchist thing. Instead, many modern democratic countries, such as France, America, and the Soviet Union, all sponsor their own arts and art exhibitions. Of course, the Republic of China cannot be an exception.[359]

The KMT government's attempt not only showed its greater ability to mobilize different institutional sectors, but it also demonstrated its modern perspective on sponsoring art, so the abstract "state" replaced powerful individuals and the new patron's interest was reflected in the visual output. The establishment of collective consciousness among the artists and art-viewing literate masses resulted in granting awards, holding group exhibitions, implementing educational curricula, writing critiques, and other intergroup professional and ideological assurance. In a state-sponsored art exhibition, the value—namely the socially functional merits—of art is under examination of judges and audiences inside and outside the artworld. To the artists, the autonomy of art—the self-governed, idiosyncratic artistic interest—is likely to give way to the cultural system that reifies the structural and political interest of the sponsor—the government.

The exhibition was further intertwined with and became part of the political current, making it more society-wide and ideology-driven. Zhang Daofan commemorated it by saying,

> It has been eight years since the *First National Arts Exhibition*. Last October, the Ministry of Education suggested a second national arts exhibition. While the Department of Social Education under the Ministry of Education was discussing

[359] "Jiaoyubu dierci quanguo meishu zhanlan choubei jingguo, gexiang zhangcheng, huiyi taolun deng youguan wenshu"教育部第二次全國美術展覽會籌備經過、各項章則、會議討論事項等有關文書 [archival papers on the preparatory process, regulations and rules, and meeting minutes of the Ministry of Education *Second National Arts Exhibition*], Ministry of Education (Page 1 to 140 /117), record group no. 5, file no.494 (2), Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

> the logistics, the Xi'an Incident happened, which astounded the entire nation and interrupted the exhibition preparation. Fortunately, our national commander 民族領袖 (literally "leading figure of the civilization") Chiang Kai-shek safely returned to the capital. The entire nation celebrated, and the political situation was peaceful again…[360]

The preparatory process was paused as Chiang Kai-shek was seized by his subordinates, generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng in the Xi'an Incident on December 12, 1936, and it resumed when Chiang's power was restored. Chiang was the signifier of political stability and the switch that turned the whole mechanism of different organizational institutions on and off. The art exhibition was thus both a cultural manifestation of achievement and a political statement of restoring order.

Chairman of the arts exhibition and head of the Ministry of Education Wang Shijie 王世傑 (1891-1981) wrote in the foreword of the catalogue and expressed on *Shen Bao* newspaper about his vision for the mission of the exhibition, in which he defined art as a representation of popular culture and replacement for religiosity in a society, as well as of the cultural characteristics of a nation, which institutionally legitimizes the structural change – the nationalization of art.[361] In the foreword, Wang first presented the *Second National Arts Exhibition* as a retrospective overview that would examine the development of and trends in art since the *First National Arts Exhibition*, and could further guide later education plans. He then expressed his hope for popularization of art, since when art is considered a luxury preserved for a

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[360] Ibid.

[361] "Quanguo meizhan mingri kaimu: jin zhaodai Wang Lin liangzhuxi ji gezhangguan waibing jizhe. Wang jiaozhang tan meizhan yiyi"全國美展明日開幕:今招待林汪兩主席及各長官外賓記者.王教長談美展意義 [The Second National Arts Exhibition will open tomorrow. Chairman Lin (Lin Sen), Chairman Wang (Wang Jingwei), governmental personnel, foreign guests, and journalists attended today's pre-view. Head of the Ministry of Education Wang Shijie talked about the significance of the arts exhibition.], *Shen Bao* 申報, March 31, 1937.

privileged group, very few people could themselves become professional artists or appreciate art intellectually. Wang attributes the reason for the limited presence of art in the non-institutional environment to the misplaced social identity of art as a leisure-time hobby, and so he argues for the necessity of the government to play a role in systemizing and disseminating art for national merits. Moreover, Wang believed that the popularization of art does not simply mean the expansion of art schools and organization, but also to make the voice of the public matter to artists. For Wang, the voice of the non-artist public represents the nation more fully than the enclosed artworld. So, Wang asks, "If the evolution of art does not engage with the intellectual achievement of the entire nation, why does it even deserve any attention?"[362] In his conclusion, Wang situates the national exhibition in the midst of nationwide sorrow and anxiety, so the art exhibition was hoped to inspire visitors to fight "for the nation and for 'ism-s.'"[363]

Elaborating on the relationship of art and the nation from institutional, political, cultural, and ideological perspectives, Wang expected the *Second National Arts Exhibition* to contribute to the institutionally in-house system of art production that involves the state as the patron, party ideologists as personnel, art schools (not independent artists) as the base of art production, the exhibition review process as the apparatus for censorship, and the exhibition as the public sphere where the artworld and non-artworld interact and influence each other. Meanwhile, the state

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[362] Ibid.

[363] Wang Shijie 王世傑, "Foreword," in Jiaoyubu dierci quanguo meishu zhanlanhui 教育部第二次全國美術展覽會[The Second National Arts Exhibition, Ministry of Education] (Nanjing: National Art Gallery, 1937), Exhibition catalogue.

The catalogue consists of different volumes, such as the volume for modern ink painting and calligraphy, and the volume for the Western-style painting, sculpture, and design. The forewords by Wang Shijie and Zhang Daofan are included in each volume.

institutions that ran the exhibition, such as the Department of Social Education, were essential for marshaling resources to accomplish goals. [364] The art that reflected the political, cultural, and ideological homogeneity of the nation was national art. The in-house system of hierarchical governmental units produced state art. The state art that fulfilled the duty of the state-affiliated institutions and functioned to homogenize the masses of people morally, politically, culturally, and ideologically was the art of the nation-state—the official art.

"Making Art for the New Era:" Submission and Selection Process

Reportedly, in early January 1937, the standing committee and the preparatory committee of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* hosted their first meetings in the Office of the Ministry of Education, during which the committees reached some tentative agreements regarding submission, selection, jury nomination, reward, and the slogan "making art for the new era." [365]

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[364] As a subsector of the Ministry of Education, the Department of Social Education consisted of three sections. The first section was in charge of mass education, the Literacy Campaign (1928-1937), public lectures, and other education programs outside institutions. The second section oversaw different types of venues, including museums and libraries, as well as archeology, art history, archives, material culture and other object-based visual materials. Also, the second section overarched entertainment and customs, such as theaters, dramas, parks, films, folklores. The third section did not have a fixed set of obligations. I assume it was to assist the first and second sections. The institutional obligation of the second section of the Department of Social Education supplimentarily explains why the concerts and modern dramas became part of the simultaneous activities taking place next door to the National Art Gallery during the exhibition.

[365] "Quanguo meizhan zuoshi kai changwu huiyi" 全國美展昨開常務會議 [Standing committee of the *National Arts Exhibition* hosted a meeting yesterday] *Shen Bao* 申報, January 6, 1937, 12.

"Archival Papers on the Preparatory Process, Regulations and Rules, and Meeting Minutes of the Ministry of Education Second National Arts Exhibition], Ministry of Education (Page 1 to 140 /117), Record Group No. 5, File 494 (2), Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

"Minute of the First Meeting" 第一次會議記錄 in "Jiaoyubu dierci quanguo meishu zhanlan choubei jingguo, gexiang zhangcheng, huiyi taolun deng youguan wenshu"教育部第二次全國美術展覽會籌備經過、各項章則、會議討論事項等有關文書 [archival papers on the preparatory process, regulations and rules, and meeting minutes of the Ministry of Education

The call for submissions was enthusiastically met with responses from individual artists, art institutions, and institutions of other disciplines in the Humanities. Between March 16 – 25, 1937, over 3,000 artists sent almost 6,000 works of art to Nanjing, and roughly 2,000 pieces were selected. Of the submissions, those accepted included 16 out of 61 submissions of architectural models or architectural drawings, 24 out of 87 sculptures, 207 out of 685 Western-style paintings, 429 out of 719 pre-modern ink paintings or calligraphies, 487 out of 1,981 modern ink paintings, 55 out of 285 modern calligraphies,[366] 102 out of 139 illustrated books, 68 out of 126 seals, 77 out of 228 photos, and 448 out of 1,234 industrial and graphic designs (which included 18 out of 88 copperwares, 39 out of 140 graphic designs, 175 out of 250 porcelains, and 153 out of 756 other design pieces). In total, 1,913 submissions had been selected for the exhibition. Although proportionally speaking, ink paintings—both pre-modern and the modern styles—made up nearly half of the works on display, with modern ink paintings facing the toughest competition. Comparatively, Western-style paintings and sculptures comprised just over one tenth the works on display.[367]

Since submissions came from twenty provinces and cities, and continued to arrive during the selection process, the final selections were delayed due to various reasons. For instance, works from Guangdong Province did not arrive on time, partially because of the long distance,

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Second National Arts Exhibition], Ministry of Education (Page 1 to 140 /117), Record Group No. 5, File 494 (2), Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

[366] The catalogue that combines modern ink paintings and calligraphies contains 508 pieces of work in total. Maybe the reduced number is due to the delayed shipment of Guangdong artists' works.

[367] "Archival Papers on the Preparatory Process," Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

but also because Guangdong province had held a preview of works selected by their equally strict local review committees. Therefore, the standing committee of the national exhibition came to the resolution that in order to accommodate the large number of artworks arriving at various times, works would be put on display in turns. Reportedly, both the budget and number of selected works—672 out of over 2,000 submissions after two rounds of provincial level pre-selection processes—from Guangdong were the greatest compared to other provinces.[368] However, due to the limits of the Nanjing venue's capacity, only 212 works were displayed. Luckily, all selected works of Guangdong not only had their provincial preview before being sent to the capital, but were also given compensation in the form of a separate exhibition in Shanghai to honor every single piece delivered to Nanjing together with works by Guangdong artists who resided in Shanghai.[369]

The national exhibition did not only showcase individual merits, but it also represented and embodied the institutional achievement of the government's nationalization of arts and humanities by having different cultural and educational organizations dedicate their deeds to the exhibition. Besides individual artists, state-sponsored institutional organizations such as the Palace Museum (1925 –), Institute for Antiquity Display (1914 – 1948), Academia Sinica (1927–), Institute of History and Philology (1928 –), National Central Museum (preparatory

[368] Wu Qian 伍千, "Guangdong meishu: Yue Jing Hu sanzhan zhi jingguo" 粵京滬三展之經過 [the three exhibitions in Guangdong, Nanjing, and Shanghai] in *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong chupin zhuankan* 廣東美術: 第二次全國美展廣東出品專刊 [art of Guangdong: special issue for Guangdong-based artworks selected by the provincial committee for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] May 20, 1937.

[369] Lu Danlin 陸丹林, "Guangdong meishu gaikuang" 廣東美術概況 [an overview of arts in Guangdong] in *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong chupin zhuankan* 廣東美術: 第二次全國美展廣東出品專刊 [art of Guangdong: special issue for Guangdong-based artworks selected by the provincial committee for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] May 20, 1937.

office established in 1933), National Central Library (preparatory office established in 1933), National Peiping Library (1928 – 1949), National Beiping Academy (1929-1949), Sino-Swedish Expedition (1927-1935), and Chinese Mechanical Engineering Society (1913-1950) all brought their research and publishing accomplishments.[370] The panorama of arts and humanities extended to music and performance art, looming large to create a *gesamtkunstwerk* experience of a cultural and civil renaissance under the holistic planning carried out by the education, culture, and propaganda divisions of the party-state in which ideology and governance coalesced. According to Zhang Daofan's preparatory report, the Central Cultural Planning Committee 中央文化事業計劃委員會 received extra funding from the KMT Central Committee and turned the national arts exhibition into an "art festival" during which two on-stage comedies and three concerts were featured in the Great Hall of the People right next door to the National Art Gallery.

All works on display were either selected from submissions or by members of the review committees who could bypass the selection process. Each work was submitted to one of the exhibition categories, such as modern calligraphy, modern ink painting, pre-modern ink painting and calligraphy, Western-style painting, sculpture, architecture, seal cutting, illustrated books, graphic and industrial design, or photography. The submissions were reviewed by the committee which comprised two to eight experts of certain disciplines. Zhang Daofan deliberately requested the names of the committee members to be put in certain order. Conventionally, the designated order would list the ranking of the person's accomplishments, seniority, titles, relationship with the party, the prestige of the person's institutional affiliation, and other factors. Ultimately, the order stood for the power hierarchies within the committee, which was single-handedly

[370] Wang Shijie, "Forword," "Archival Papers on the Preparatory Process," Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

determined by Zhang Daofan.[371] Hence, this ranking to some extent gave those who were more closely aligned with the cultural policy proposed by Zhang more institutional capital. For instance, Zhang made Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942) the prime juror of Western-style painting, even though he was arguably less academically active and artistically accomplished than other jury members such as Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994) and Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991).[372]

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[371] The review committee of the calligraphy section included Hu Xiaoshi 胡小石 (1888-1962), Li Shikan 李釋堪 (date unknown), and Peng Hanhuai 彭漢懷 (1876-1952). The review committee of modern ink painting section included Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865-1955), Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 (1880-1954), Gao Jianfu 高劍父 (1879-1951), Zhang Shanzi 張善子 (1882-1940), Wang Caibai 汪采白 (1887-1940), Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899-1983), and Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 (1897-1971). The review committee of the pre-modern ink painting and calligraphy section included Yü Shaosong 余紹宋 (1883-1949), Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 (1894-1968), Pu Dong 溥侗 (1877-1952), Peng Gongfu 彭恭甫(1897-1963), Zhu Jiaji 朱家濟 (1902-1969), and Chen Ziqing 陳子清 (1895-1946). Yang Zhensheng's 楊振聲 (1890-1956) name was crossed and replaced by Chen Ziqing. According to the preparatory report, the members of the standing committee could not interfere with the decision made by those of the review committee. Serving for the standing committee, Yang had to resign from the review committee.The review committee of the Western-style painting section included Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942), Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994), Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991), Chang Shuhong 常書鴻 (1904-1994), and Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997). The review committee of the sculpture section included Liu Kaiqu 劉開渠 (1904-1993), Jiang Xiaojian 江小鵰 (1894-1939), and Jin Xuecheng 金學成 (1905-1990). The review committee of the architecture section included Guan Songsheng 關頌聲 (1892-1960) and Su Gin-Djih 徐敬直(1906-1983). The review committee of the seal cutting section included Wang Fuan 王福厂 (1878-1960), Qiao Zengqu 喬曾劬(1892-1948), Fang Jiekan 方介堪 (1901-1987), and Wang Geyi 王个簃 (1897-1988). The review committee of the illustrated book section included Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 (1880-1956), Zhu Xizu 朱希祖(1879-1944), and Jiang Fucong 蔣復璁(1898-1990).The review committee of the design section included Guo Baochang 郭葆昌 (1867-1942), Zhao Taiban 趙太伴(date unknown), Dong Zuobao 董作寶(date unknown), Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒(1898-1991), Chen Zhifo 陳之佛(1896-1962), Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 (1902-1991), Gu Wenlu 顧文祿 (date unknown), and Wu Yunrui 吳蘊瑞(1892-1976).The review committee of the photography section included Zheng Yingsun 鄭穎蓀 (1893-1950), Lang Jingshan 郎靜山 (1892-1995), Feng Sizhi 馮四知 (1911-1984), and Zhong Shanyin 鐘山隱(date unknown).

[372] The fifth jury Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997) was a student of Xu Beihong, so in terms of the lineage, he was much more junior than other juries.

However, Li's view of art making concurred with that of Zhang Daofan, whereas Liu's and Lin's did not. Li firmly disagreed with the modernist movement after observing the dispute following the 1929 *First National Arts Exhibition*, and in his "Review of The *Third (Fall) Art Exhibition* (1936) Organized by China National Art Association," Li warned the artists not to "depict subjects that will invoke evil thoughts harmful to national progress."[373] Zhang Daofan's "The Literary and Artistic Policies We Need" consolidates his conceptualization of art and nation over the years, and asks artists to make art that "renews reality, improves society, and aestheticizes life" and not to "promote class struggle… [because] the country needs alliance, not hatred; it needs construction, not destruction."[374] The state-sanctioned exhibitions furnished a convenient test for encouraging the loyalty of artist to the institutional system.

The selection started on March 16, 1937, roughly two weeks before the opening. The review process for each sector lasted from a day or two up to over a week, based on the different volume of submissions for each section. Unlike the first exhibition in 1929, this time there were no special commissions from renowned artists. This was said to avoid the previous disputes regarding who would be considered "renowned." If someone was a member of a review committee, the person could skip the review process and exhibit up to three works. If someone served on more than one review committee, this person could exhibit up to five works directly. This privilege acknowledged the committee's authority in the field and ensured some high-quality works on display under the condition that there were no special commissions from renowned artists. Reportedly, the standing committee and preparatory committee could assist the

[373] Li Yishi, "Review of The Third Exhibition," 62-77.

[374] Zhang Daofan 張道藩, "Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce" 我們所需要的文藝政策 [The literary and art policies we need], *Cultural Pioneer* 文藝先鋒, initial issue (October 1942), 5–16.

review committee, but the standing committee was not supposed to give any opinion regarding the juried process.[375] Also, due to the anticipated harassment of the review committee, the names of the members were not released to the public until the opening of the exhibition. This seemingly overcautious decision was rooted in numerous previous incidents that had occurred in other juried exhibitions such as the *First Guangdong Provincial Exhibition* in 1921. During the selection process, local warlords, gentries, and socialites thought the public exhibition was another fashionable gathering sugarcoated by art, so they felt they could show their amateur, low-quality works through nepotistic channels. However, the committees eliminated all unskillful drawings, as well as watercolor paintings of beauties used for the calendar posters. The aesthetic standard was to authorize the fine art in European academic tradition, so commercial art, paintings like student artwork, or art created by non-academic amateurs were less appreciated. The judges' decision annoyed "some lady" – perhaps a mistress of some military personnel – who brought two soldiers to the preview and threatened to batter Chen Qiushan 陳丘山. The turbulence was calmed down by Chen Jiongming 陳炯明 (1878-1933) who was the civil governor of Guangdong and chairman of the exhibition, but the farce taught a lesson to the exhibition committee.[376]

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[375] The standing committee members include Ma Heng 馬衡 (1881-1955), Chu Minyi 褚民誼 (1884-1946), Yang Zhensheng 楊振聲 (1890-1956), Teng Gu 滕固 (1901-1941), Gu Shusen 顧樹森 (1886-1967), Huang Jianzhong 黃建中 (1889-1959), Lei Zhen 雷震 (1897-1979) and Chen Lijiang 陳禮江 (1896-1984).

[376] Hu Gentian 胡根天, "Ji liushinian qian guangdong diyici quansheng meizhan de fengbo" 記六十年前廣東第一次全省美展的風波 [A crisis in Guangdong provincial arts exhibition sixty years ago], in *Hu Gentian meishu wenji* 胡根天美術文集 [Collection of Hu Gentian], ed. Guangzhou Municipal Research Institute of Culture and History 廣州市文史研究館 (Guangzhou: Research Institute of Culture and History, 2002), 214.

Western-style Painting: Populist Authoritarianism as National Art

Establishing "national art" as an officially approved style—not only for the artists conceiving work but also for the spectator in assessing its worth—was integral to securing cultural practice under the authority of the political structure, censorship, and ideology. Establishing the "official" art in the "academic style" formed a holistic institutional system that synchronized higher education of art, social education, and politics in a mutually enhancing closed loop. Heroic leaders, a suffering nation, hard-working and peaceful peasants, neutral subjects of landscape and self-portraits, and the appeal to nature and tradition reflect a conservative perception of the world and defended against the competing perception of art and culture – the superstructure and metaphysical domain of the nation. Both history painting in Neoclassical style and the depiction of contemporary events in social realist style were sanctioned and prominent in the *Second National Arts Exhibition*, but the modernist art movements saw a decline in the 1930s. Unlike the Soviet Union in the 1930s, the art spectators and cultural politicians of the KMT government would never take stances denouncing capitalism and imperialism that conceived the modernist art movements, nor did the spectators associate modernism with the cultural history of the proletarian revolution. Their denunciation of non-representational paintings focused on the unleashed individualism generated amid political uncertainty, the influx of Western influence, and the newly emerging socioeconomic classes such as the compradors and artist-intellectuals. This incited a growing sense of individualism that

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Also in Hu Gentian 胡根天, "Yuzhanhui chupin chushen de jingguo ji ganxiang"預展會出品初審的經過及感想[my thoughts on the process of the preliminary review of the Guangdong provincial preview of the *Second National Arts Exhibition*], *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong yuzhanhui zhuankan* 第二次全國美展廣東預展會專刊 [special issue for the Guangdong provincial preview for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] (Guangzhou, March 1937), 37-38.

fostered “a repudiation of tradition and encouraged the exaltation of individual sensation as the unique source of social judgment and creative originality.”[377] An aesthetic solipsism was seen to be repaired by reconnecting the artists with real life and by emphasizing the collectivist national consciousness. Transcending the painting to rejoin national salvation and political ideology was to make the artist regard one’s art as merely a physical manifestation of moral and political values set by the masses and the authority—not oneself. Also, representational painting in classical techniques offered an equilibrium between China and the West, a stimulus to "Chinese Learning as Substance, Western Learning for Application"中體西用.

Artistic discourses on Western-style painting went through different phases over the three decades of the Republic of China. Summarized in a generic way, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Western-style art first entered the spotlight together with rising attention to science, so graphic design for machines and ships, as well as the naturalistic portrayal of objects to create illusionistic scenes marked the grand entrance of Western-style painting practice. Entering the late-1920s, overseas graduates introduced the latest art movements where naturalistic depiction in history paintings served to teach moralistic and nationalistic lessons to the audiences while modernist movements negated illusionism and politicized art with manifestos. The humming scene of the different art movements and styles and the competing attitudes toward representation and abstraction was interrupted in the mid-1930s as the academic style was better acknowledged in the juried exhibitions and the state-sponsored China National Art Association further connected visual nation-building with the political state-building.

[377] Neil McWilliam, “Action Française, Classicism, and Dilemmas of Traditionalism in France, 1900-1914,” in “Symposium Papers XLV: Narionalism and French Visual Culture, 1870–1914,” special issue, *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 68, (2005): 269.

In the first phase starting from the early-1910s, the emergence of photography and one-point perspective taught in missionary schools introduced naturalistic paintings and life drawing. The pursuit of likeliness, interwoven with the fetish of science and empirical studies, challenged the introspective, expressionist, and other stylistic and philosophical features, such as splashed ink, "floating perspective" and literati tradition in ink painting. Liu Haisu's nude model dispute in 1926 marked a pivotal point in this phase.[378] The naturalistic depiction of objects was soon transcended and dismissed by the waves of European-trained Chinese students who were not only artists but also appointed to important positions in the newly established art institutions. Therefore, their personal belief and stylistic preference further influenced the pedagogy and curriculum of the institution, and later grew into co-existing art movements. Consequently, naturalistic style developed into pedagogical, moralistic history paintings which incorporated mythology, culture and history into contemporary narratives to preach to the Chinese audience. On the other hand, the naturalistic style was also largely overshadowed by the bustling scene crafted by modernist painting exhibitions in bourgeoisie Shanghai. As an example of Neoclassical history painting, Xu Beihong's 1930 *Tian Heng and His 500 Retainers* was the artist's public denunciation of Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of revolutionary ideals and lack of commitment to national sovereignty, and the artist hoped that the monumental scale would impose his thought on the viewers in an authoritative way. Meanwhile, for the modernist group, not only the pictorial content or the subject, but the intrinsic nature of art was at center of the discourse to question. To negate and reconstruct the definition of art, artists especially in

[378] Guohua Zhu and Wei Feng, "The Invention of Body Representation in Modern China: Case Study of Liu Haisu and the 'Model Event,'" in "Special Issue: Comparative Cultural Studies – The Budapest Conference 2018 (2019)," Thomas O. Beebee ed., special issue, *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 56, no. 3 (2019): 587-603.

Shanghai experimented with many artistic movements in Europe – including Impressionism, Fauvism, Cubism, Surrealism, Futurism etc. – and held numerous exhibitions. The experiments with non-figurative styles and the rising popularity of Qing ink artists Shitao and other eccentric literati ink artists mutually supported each other theoretically by associating the European modernist movements with the Chinese traditional artistic practice.

Until roughly the early- or mid-1930s, the artistic milieu, especially in Shanghai, vividly reflected Arthur Danto's term "the Age of Manifestos," which describes the continuously emerging manifestos from artists and movements trying to distinguish themselves from one another and struggle over the definition of the truest and purest form of art.[379] Danto furthers his argument by writing that regardless of the artists' and art theorists' conceptual differences, the central concern was always about "creating art explicitly for the purpose of knowing philosophically what art is."[380] In the fierce argument between Xu Beihong and Xu Zhimo, Xu Beihong tackles modernist painting by calling it "shameless"卑鄙 and "kitsch"庸/俗 because he believes the rising of the modernist styles was the result of gallerists' market manipulation, and "the most famous modernist painters are nevertheless carrying some commercial nature."[381]

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[379] Arthur Danto, *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 29, 31.

[380] Ibid.

[381]Xu's assertion that "The most famous modernist painters are nevertheless carrying some commercial nature" is translated for "Zui kuaizhirenkou zhi meihsujia, duo dai jifen shangye xingzhi" 最膾炙人口之美術家，多帶幾分商業性質 in the commentary "I Am Confused."

Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Huo" 惑 [I am confused.], *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 5, April 22, 1929, 1.

Xu Zhimo 徐誌摩, "Wo ye 'huo'" 我也惑 [I am also "confused"], *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 5, April 22, 1929, 2.

Discussing the relationship between "a work of pure art" and one's "masterful skills and knowledge," as well as defending Cezanne's pursuit of pure art rather than commercial success, Xu Zhimo centers his discourse on the definition of art and how to appreciate non-representational and non-narrative art in "I Am Not Confused." In his response "The Puzzled Confusion," Xu Beihong argues that "Form comes first, then color," so "without a (naturalistically depicted) form, there is no art." Despite the two Xu-s conceptual differences, both the "confusion" and "clarification" center on the exact questions that Danto mentions: What is art? How to define art? What is the purest form of art? Does art have autonomy? The discovery of the West by modern Chinese artists reminds us of Plato's philosopher who returns to his cave after having discovered the sunlight in the outside world. This Platonic symbolism is particularly appropriate for the "returned" Chinese artists of the 1920s and early 1930s.

Artist Xie Haiyan 謝海燕 uses the phrase "whirlwind of passion" 狂飆的激情 and art historian Li Chao employs the word "bustling" 熱鬧 to describe the art scene in Shanghai during the first half of the 1930s and attributes the liveliness to The Storm Society 決瀾社.[382]

> [The first half of 1930s] saw the Shanghai-based artists' devotion to different styles originated in Europe. Meanwhile, Fauvism roared; Cubism distorted; Dadaism mystified; Surrealism hoped …The bustling art scene in 20th century Paris reoccurred in Paris of the Orient, Shanghai. We can easily name a few key

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Xu Zhimo 徐誌摩, "Wo ye 'huo' (xu)" 我也惑 (續) [I am also "confused" (continued)] *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 6, April 25, 1929,1.

Li Yishi 李毅士, "Wo bu 'huo'" 我不"惑" [I am not "confused"] *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 7, May 1, 1929, 1.

Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Huo zhi bujie" 惑之不解 [The unsolved confusion] *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 9, May4, 1929,1.

[382] Xie Haiyan 謝海燕, "Foreword," *Ni Yide huaji* 倪貽德畫集 [Art of Ni Yide] (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1981).

> figures in this blooming scene, who were associated with The Storm Society, such as Pang Xunqin, Ni Yide and Zhang Xian.[383]

This bustling scene of art movements faced not only condemnation from individual artists but the challenge of a gradually formed cultural system which was not monopolized in the Republic of China, but in fact a global phenomenon initiated in the West. For instance, in Germany, *kulturbolschewismus* or "art bolshevism" a term used to denounce modernist movements, gave way to *System-Kunst*, an expression used to cover the whole trail of changes in the arts which had been left in the wake of the November Revolution in 1918.[384] In other words, previously, the disputes on art styles and the intrinsic nature of art had been between individuals and sometimes organizations comprised of like-minded individuals; now the system – the connection between the institutions and the structure with certain properties – chimed in and determined the rules of the game. The *System-Kunst* was quickly learnt by the pro-Nazi and anti-leftist Nanjing government which intended to ideologize art and culture through policy, propaganda, and institutional education.

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[383] Zhang Jie 張潔, "Jiantao Shanghai huatan" 檢討上海畫壇 [critically rethinking the artworld in Shanghai] quoted in Li Chao 李超, *A History of Oil Painting in Shanghai* 上海油畫史 (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1995), 69.
The title is bilingual, so there is no pinyin here.

[384] Christine Fischer-Defoy and Paul Crossley, "Artists and Art Institutions in Germany, 1933-1945," *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 9, No.2 (1986), 16-29: 17.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360413.

In the article, Fischer-Defoy and Crossley write, "A further criterion of Nazi arts politics was the rejection of all 'isms' that could be regarded as French or un-German. Any breakdown of form, be it through Impressionism, Expressionism or Cubism, was considered as a manifestation of irrationalism and, in the final analysis, as in the 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition, the product of populist awareness and the rejection of 'decadent art' began to be mobilized long before 1933." The populist condemnation of the 'isms' and non-representational painting in Germany, to great extent, could explain the ideological trend of the artworld in the Republic of China after the *First National Arts Exhibition* (1929).

Consequently, the mid-1930s saw a decline of modernist movements, and abstract, non-representational forms primarily remained only in industrial and commercial designs and decorative art. Meanwhile, art increasingly played the role of a social participant and mediator that disseminated the nationalist message and party ideology to the masses and influenced the public opinion. In 1935, Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1901-1970) asserts in his "A Memoir of My Years as An Artist" 藝苑交遊記 that the first phase of the Western-style painting movement was approaching an end by describing "a society where art is regarded as 'a means to certain ends,'… the dying Chinese Western-style art scene…" He calls for the unification of modernist artists to form a strong movement capable of contending with the academic style and official art. Commonly known as a modernist painter, Ni dismisses the academic style, stating that "some people picked up some leftover of the 'Academic' (originally in English) and have fetishized it ever since; some people managed to incorporate a hint of Impressionism in their paintings and celebrated their accomplishment."[385] As the institution-based in-house system expanded, representational painting that reflected the curriculum became "academic." Moreover, as more state-funded public art in the forms of public sculpture, murals, and reliefs were exposed to the general public, certain socially relevant subjects were tied in with the newly officialized cultural policy in art and literature, so subjects in "academic" style were seen as "official" art.

[385] Ni Yide, "Yiyuan jiaoyou ji" 藝苑交遊記 [A memoir of my years as an artist], *Qingnianjie* 青年界 [Youth Epoch], vol. 8, no. 3, quoted in Li Chao, "A study of 'the Storm Society:' Chinese Modernism as a Resource of International Modern Art" 決瀾社藝術研究——作為國際藝術資源的中國現代美術" in *Complementary "Modernism in China and the United States: Art as Life/Art as Idea*, ed., by Zhang Jian and Bruce Robertson (Punctum Books, 2020), 247 (Chinese version), 270 (English version).

The academic style, official art, and *system-kunst* seemed to merely signify the return of naturalism and the victory of Xu Beihong's advocacy of Neoclassical history painting in Chinese narratives, but new content and a new approach soon joined the scene. Mainly initiated by the younger artists, the new approach was close to social realism that embodied social relevance by depicting the darker side of the contemporary history and expressing concerns about national salvation and the devastating situation of workers and refugees. Generally speaking, representational paintings overshadowed modernist art for two reasons: first, the endless discussion of "-isms" lacked direct social relevance and societal involvement amid the intensified national catastrophe in the 1930s, distancing the artists from the common people and social reality. Second, the higher education of art had been further indigenized in the Republic of China, meaning that the domestically trained students who were receiving conventional trainings of oil painting (the technique to achieve likeliness) either were not exposed to European sociocultural and political milieu like their Japan- or Europe-trained instructors, or went abroad to advance their skill rather than to learn from ground zero, so the students were less likely to feel attached to or appreciate the totally alien theories and visual forms.

Therefore, while the elder generation of visionaries – including Xu Beihong, Li Yishi and even Cai Yuanpei – sought to create and display art that symbolizes the harmonious reconciliation of self and other through beauty and historical narratives to educate the incapable masses, the younger generation of artists and art students – including Tang Yihe 唐一禾 (1905-1944) and Xu Beihong's students Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997) – preserved the revolutionary consciousness through the brutally realistic depiction of the suffering masses by depicting current events and rejecting therapeutic universality and beauty. Wu Zuoren's commentary "Art and Chinese Society" attests to the emergence of social realism, which is different from the

pseudo "realism" promoted by Xu Beihong.[386] Wu uses the phrase "to devote oneself to society" or "to enter the material world" 入世 to demonstrate the social role of art.

In short, the younger artists switched their focus from the world of utopian dreams to the world of real life. Xu Beihong portrayed Qin dynasty revolutionary Tian Heng to establish a counterexample of absolute loyalty, determination, and leadership, and to censure the KMT leaders' weakness facing the Japanese invasion. Xu's fellow Glasgow graduate Li Yishi's serial works on display for the *First National Arts Exhibition* (1929) *Illustrations for "Song of Everlasting Regret"* visually translated a Bo Juyi's poem and depicted the incestuous love tragedy between Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty and his favorite concubine. As the head judge of the Western-style painting committee for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*, Li Yishi submitted an ink painting in naturalistic style, depicting the historical figure and Song scholar Jiang Kui and his favorite singer-concubine Xiaohong – a historic, romantic, idealistic and classic love story between a scholar and his beautiful companion (Figure 4.1). Like the history paintings of Charles Le Brun, the founder of Academie des Beaux-Arts, the visual rhetoric in Xu's and Li's works requires literacy and a good knowledge of history. Institutionalized as part of secondary or higher education, art school in the Republic of China included arts and humanities courses in the curriculum and encouraged intellectual discussions on politics and society, which resulted in an artworld or a culture system distanced from the general mass

[386] Wu Zuoren 吳作人, "Yishu yu zhongguo shehui" 藝術與中國社會 [art and Chinese society] (1935), quoted in Zhao Li 趙力 and Yu Ding 余丁 ed., *Zhongguo youhua wenxian 1542-2000* 中國油畫文獻 1542-2000 [literature on oil painting in China, 1542-2000] (Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 2002), 678.

audience.[387] The artist-intellectuals visually communicated to the selected audience in a somewhat condescending way. Comparatively, the younger artists focusing on the world of realities – the proletarian class, working scenes and brutal revolutions – were leftists if not self-claimed socialists. For instance, Xu Beihong's student Sun Duoci 孫多慈 submitted her work *Stone Breaker*, showing her knowledge and appreciation of Gustave Courbet who had been part of the Paris Commune. From naturalism to Neoclassicism to modernism to social realism, there seemed to be a consensus that the arts were struggling for relevance in a social atmosphere of catastrophe and national salvation. Many of the efforts to make art and art schools more relevant focused on direct involvement in social movements and war resistance, as well as depicting struggles for "national salvation." Also, the comprehensive pictorial narrative was much more accessible to general audiences and welcomed by them. Therefore, the concern for social relevance and the easy-to-read naturalistic style made Western-style art appealing because it aligned with the KMT government's aesthetic preferences and cultural policies.

[387] An expansive discussion can be found in Chapter Three "Mass Art, Mass Production, and Mass Market: *Selected Works of Modern Chinese Industrial and Commercial Art*, Volume II (April, 1937)."



Figure 4.1. Li Yishi, *Xiaohong Sings Softly While I Play the Phoenix Flute* 小紅低唱我吹簫, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Presumably ink painting. Source: catalogue for the contemporary ink painting and calligraphy of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 87.

Artists and critics noticed the overwhelming percentage of representational paintings selected for the exhibition compared to what they observed in the artworld, suggesting certain styles were more in line with the state policy on arts and culture. In "On The *Second National Arts Exhibition*," artist Zhang Yuanji 張沅吉 writes that works of representational and naturalistic painting outnumbered those leaning toward modernist and abstract painting:

> In a generic overview for analysis purpose, Western-style paintings from Suzhou Fine Arts School show extensive loyalty to the academic style and the natural forms, but the overly detailed depiction distract the audiences. Besides, works from the National Art School in Beiping reflected the solid training in naturalistic painting, but they are not as loyal to the objective world as those from Suzhou. Work from Nanjing, Wuhan and Guangdong [Province] lean toward naturalism and the simplicity in their paintings are well received by audiences. Meanwhile, two place, Hangzhou [Hangzhou National College of Art] and Shanghai [Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, Xinhua Art School, etc.] have been trapped in modernist movements and the submissions from the two cities are few in quantity and trashy in quality.[388]

Zhang concludes that the juries' stylistic preference led to roughly seventy percent academic, representational paintings which were the "new representational method for the new era," and thirty percent abstract paintings which expectedly resulted in aversion from the modernist artists and the split between official and unofficial art. He writes, "Therefore, Shanghai-based artists Liu Shi 劉獅, Chen Baoyi 陳抱一, Ni Yide cursed the official art and the official salon, and called for alternative exhibitions organized by independent artists. Well, maybe that is the expected reaction from the many modernist artists whose works were voted out."[389]

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[388] Zhang Yuanji 張沅吉, "Erjie quanguo meizhan pingshu: shoudu yitan tongxun"二屆全國美展評述:首都藝壇通訊 [An in-depth review of the *Second National Arts Exhibition*: an overview of the artworld in the capital city], *Youth Art* 青年藝術, Issue 4, (1937): 247.

[389] Ibid., 248.

According to Chen Xiaonan 陳曉楠 who was also Xu Beihong's student, more than eighty percent of the paintings were "in realistic (naturalistic) style." Unable to accumulate cultural capital to a competitive level in Shanghai, Xu Beihong accepted a professorship at National Central University in Nanjing in 1929. Unlike the loosely grouped modernist artists who saw a decline of institutional capital support from the government, the supporters of the academic style, namely Xu Beihong and his followers, found their artistic position and social obligation in the government's cultural policy. Chen Xiaonan quotes Minister of Education Wang Shijie's words in "Art Activities during the Recent Four Years of War of Resistance Against Japan" that "[We] encourage today's artists to put aside their esteem called 'art for art's sake' for a moment, step out of the ivory tower, and give some favor to our 400 million countrymen." Chen continues,

> The *Second National Arts Exhibition* … received enthusiastic responses from different provinces. There were 215 pieces of contemporary paintings, more than eighty percent of which were in realistic style.[390] I have to point out Gu Liaoran's *Watch Out* in which the volunteer soldiers in ragged clothes are holding self-protective weapons and waiting for the next battle. The deep and stable feeling, and the soldiers' angry faces touch the audiences' heart. Wu Zuoren's *Unloading the Kiln* …Xu Beihong's *Looking into the Distance* … Tang Yihe's *Guards of Wuhan* …Zhang Anzhi's *Houyi Shooting the Sun* … Li Jianchen's *Harvesting Taro* …Huang Yuan's *The Getaway*… Wang Yuezhi's *An Abandoned Commoner* … Sun Duoci's *The Stone Breakers* …all authentically reflect the time and society.[391]

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[390] Nowadays, the standard translations for naturalism is xieshi zhuyi 寫實主義 (literally meaning "portraying the reality"-ism) while realism *xianshi zhuyi* 現實主義 （literally meaning "reality"-ism). Back in the Republic of China, artists used the two terms interchangeably and undistinguishably. Most times, they use *xianshi zhuyi* 現實主義 (realism) for both naturalism and realism, because realistic paintings were usually, if not always, painted in more naturalistic, or at least non-abstract, ways. In all writings of Xu Beihong and his students, they only use the term *xianshi zhuyi* 現實主義 (realism).

[391] Chen Xiaonan 陳曉楠, "Kangzhan simian lai de yishu huodong" 抗戰四年來的藝術活動 [art activities during the recent four years of war of resistance against Japan], *Art Monthly* (August 1942): 26-27.

The influential periodical *Arts & Life* used twenty-six pages to provide "A Small Part of Arts Displayed at the National Exhibition."[392] The selected works included ink paintings, Western-style paintings, crafts, architectural models, and sculptures arranged accordingly. The Western-style painting section in *Arts & Life* highlights Xu Beihong's *Looking into the Distance* 眺望 depicting three military officials on horseback. The painting was originally titled *Three Greats of Guangxi*, featuring Li Zongren, Bai Chongxi and Huang Xuchu. Compositionally, this painting exemplifies art historian Hua Tianxue's description of Xu's signature visual language: "flatness with a vanishing point to indicate perspective." On a typically landscape-oriented canvas, only part of the picture – such as the background landscape – shows depth while the main subject is flattened, and the flatness is reinforced by the horizontally composed figures. The two dimensionality is for pictorial balance and noble simplicity. The three dimensionality shows off the artist's academic training.[393] However, regardless of all the analysis, Xu's *Looking into the Distance* can hardly be highly assessed due to its mediocre quality in representation, composition, strokes, and coloration. Xu Beihong's disciples Gu Liaoran's 顧了然 *Watch Out* and Zhang Anzhi's 張安治 *Houyi Shooting the Sun* (Figure 4.2) venerate the soldiers and the mythological archer in the type of history painting promoted by Xu Beihong.

[392] "Di'erjie quanguo meishu zhanlanhui chupin zhi yiban" 第二屆全國美術展覽會出品之一斑 [a small part of arts displayed at the *Second National Arts Exhibition*], special issue, Issue 38, *Arts & Life* 美術生活 (May 1937): page unnumbered.

[393] Hua Tianxue, "'Tour' Japan"



Figure 4.2. Zhang Anzhi, *Houyi Shooting the Sun* 后羿射日, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 28.

When people talk about Xu Beihong, the artist is considered to be associated mostly, if not exclusively, with the French academic style. However, Arthur Kampf's impact on Xu is more or less neglected. In Xu Beihong's autobiographical article "My Recollection," Xu recounted his experience in Germany,

> In the summer of 1921…I moved to Germany and stayed in Berlin, where I studied under Professor Arthur Kampf. We had a close relationship …I found that in their approach to art, the Germans were fascinated by the strange and absurd, and very few artists had a grand and elegant style. "Sir," I asked Kampf, "you are a revered senior artist in the art world and are in charge of an art school in Berlin. Do you feel responsible for the absurd?" Kampf replied, "Well, they are mad. What can I do?" … Kampf's outstanding and imposing style, however, did not enjoy much popularity with others.[394]

Xu Beihong also recalled that he once came across paintings by Kampf and Franz von Stuck in a gallery. Due to inflation in Germany, these paintings were relatively inexpensive, but still, he only managed to borrow a small sum, with which he purchased two of Kampf's paintings. The triumph of realistic paintings over modernist styles led by Xu Beihong and his followers in the 1937 *Second National Arts Exhibition* was a timely coincidence with *The Degenerate Art Exhibition* in 1937 Germany which showcased the victory of Kampf's like-minded parties. Art historian Benjamin Buchloh discussed the sociocultural causes of the return to figurative and representational paintings in Europe in the early twentieth century, which can be used to explain the situation in 1930s China and Germany when the non-representational styles were not sponsored and even banned, while history paintings and social realist paintings in a naturalistic style became official art. Buchloh raises questions about the correlation between the resurgence of figurative representation in the present-day and the ideological impact of growing

[394] Zheng Shengtian, "Waves Lashed the Bund from the West: Shanghai's Art Scene in the 1930s," in *Shanghai Modern: 1919-1*945, ed. Herausgegeben von, Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum and Zheng Shengtian (Berlin: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2005),186-187.

authoritarianism. He recognizes that the first major breakdown of the modernist idiom in twentieth-century European paintings happened at the beginning of the First World War, when cubism and futurism came to an end. A few artists, including Pablo Picasso, André Derain, Carlo Carra and Gino Severini even returned to the traditional values of high art. As Buchloh states, "If the credibility of iconic referentiality was reaffirmed, and if the hierarchy of figure-ground relationships on the picture plane was again presented as an 'ontological' condition, which other ordering systems outside of aesthetic discourse had to have already been put in place in order to imbue the new visual configuration with historical authenticity."[395] In other words, the ordering system of aesthetic discourse reflected a greater institutional-organizational configuration in the public order, such as the governmental units of culture, education and propaganda. It was a way to execute and experiment with a centralization of power that could further unify the state into an autonomous entity, both culturally and politically.

Departing from the historical heroes who serve to teach contemporary viewers, a few artists chose the real life of suffering and the darker side of the contemporary experience as their subjects to create works requiring low visual literacy and resonating easily with viewers encountering the exact same hardships. Chen Xiaonan's *An Era of Construction* features factory workers involved in mass production. The outer wall is removed so the building skeleton with horizontal and vertical steel columns, bars, and scaffolds divides the painting into smaller parts framing the different types of labor. The composition and subject of the painting remind the viewer of Mexican artist Diego Rivera's murals such as *The Making of a Fresco, Showing the*

[395] Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting," *Art World Follies*, vol. 16 (Spring 1981): 39-40. https://doi.org/10.2307/778374.

Building of a City (1931). Subject-wise, the painting also carries the momentum of German artist Adolf Menzel's *The Iron Rolling Mill* (1872-1875), which theatrically portrays the hearth of a furnace in a factory with epic dynamics. Sun Duoci's *The Stone Breakers* (Figure 4.4) and head of Henan Art Museum Li Jianchen's 李劍晨(1900-2002) *Harvesting Taro* (Figure 4.5) contain similar themes of peasants in the middle of their hard labor. Sun's appears to reference Millet's gleaners as well with the cluster of figures against a high horizon line of suppression. In Li's work, the old man leaning backward and laboriously carrying a basket of taros poses like the younger worker in Courbet's *The Stone Breakers* (1849), while the older woman kneels on one knee, again showing the artist's admiration of Courbet. Wang Yuezhi's 王悅之 (1894-1937) *An Abandoned Commoner* (Figure 4.6) is a portrait of an old beggar with bent trembling legs, balancing himself with a crutch. The old beggar has no belongings except for a woven basket and a water jug. This oil painting was either done by ink brush, or the artist used the brush tip to create the quivering strokes and uneven coloration. The background of the portrait is left plain, reminding people of much earlier portraits that combine Western and Chinese techniques, such as Ren Xiong's 任熊 (1823-1857) *Self-portrait*. The indigenized oil painting not only depicts a visually familiar subject, but also renders the subject in a less alien manner.



Figure 4.3. Chen Xiaonan, *An Era of Construction* 建設時期, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 79.

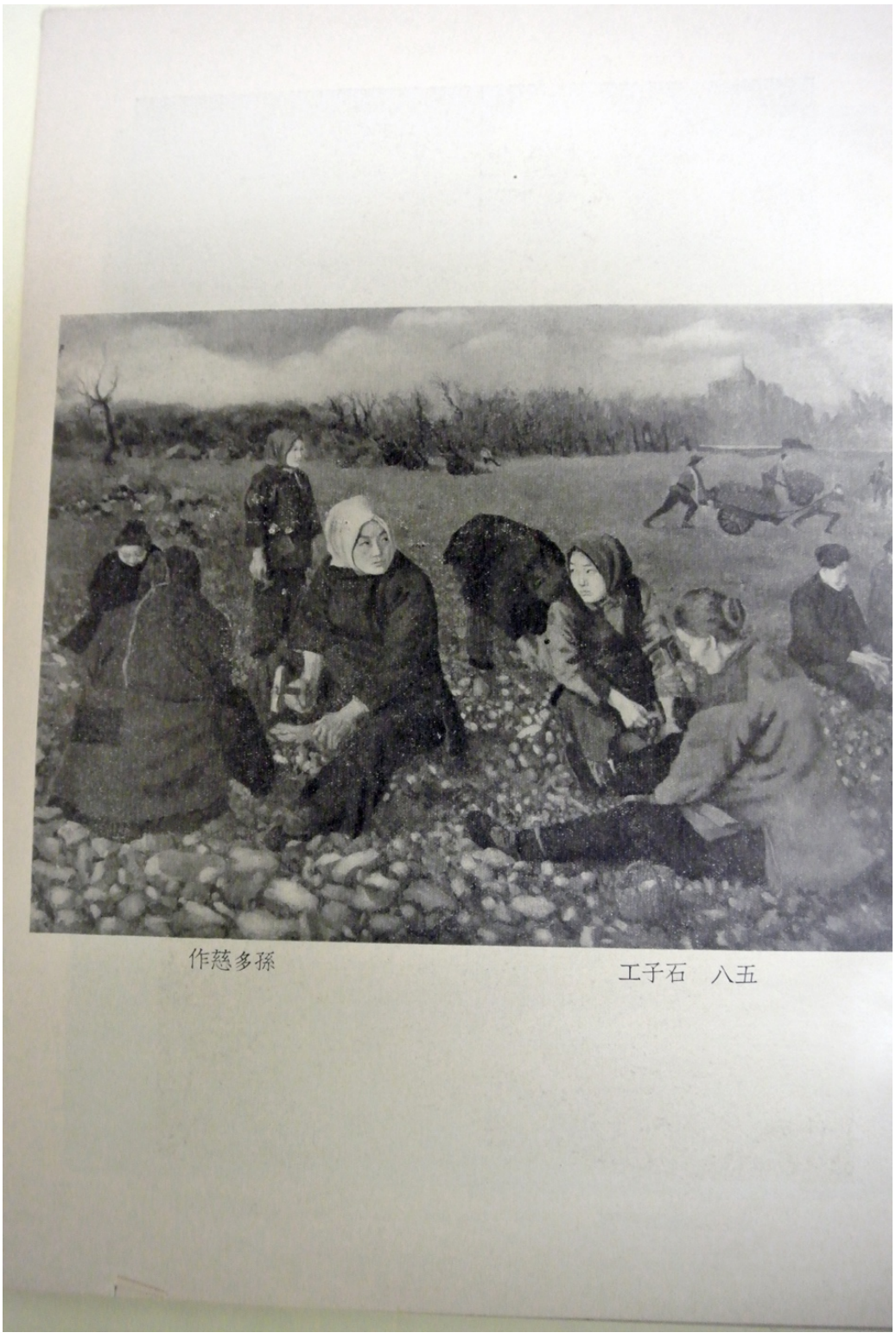


Figure 4.4. Sun Duoci, *The Stone Breakers* 石子工, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 58.



Figure 4.5. Li Jianchen, *Harvesting Taro* 掘芋, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 32.



Figure 4.6. Wang Yuezhi, *An Abandoned Commoner* 棄民圖, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 5.



Figure 4.7. Li Xiang 李驤, *Big Kid and Small Kid* 大娃娃小娃娃, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 28.



Figure 4.8. Hu Xianyu 胡羨餘, *Sellers* 賣物者, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 50.

Li Yishi, head judge of the Western-style painting section for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* as ranked by Zhang Daofan,[396] calls for an ideology-sanctioned form of national art in several of his writings such as "Review of The *Third (Fall) Art Exhibition* (1936) Organized by China National Art Association."[397] He writes,

> The artist carries the responsibility of cultivating the masses, so we have to know what can benefit the nation. Do not depict subjects that will invoke evil thoughts which harm national progress. In other words, although it is important for the artists to express themselves, it is more important for the artist to express what is needed by and good for the nation. What is the situation like in China right now? What is the current fundamental policy of the government? What should the masses do to help the nation flourish? These are all things that the artist needs to know and everyone should agree on the artist's knowledge as such.[398]

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the China National Art Association and the annual exhibitions of the Association functioned as the transition between the first and second national arts exhibitions. The 1936 fall exhibition to some extent could be seen as a rehearsal of smaller scale for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*. In his essay, Li Yishi sets the mission of painting as "cultivating the masses" and to do so, he believes the artist should "express what is needed by and good for the nation," instead of simply "expressing oneself." Li continues,

> Comparatively, a history painter contributes more to the nation than a birds-and-flower painter, and the latter seems to be no good for the public. However, it is difficult to make a history painting, given the amount of time and energy that needs to be put into a piece. Only very accomplished artists can do history paintings. In contrast, birds-and-flowers painters have refined skills and are able to produce a collection of works within a year. While such works are not related

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[396] The review committee of the Western-style painting section included Li Yishi 李毅士 (1886-1942), Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896-1994), Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900-1991), Chang Shuhong 常書鴻 (1904-1994), and Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908-1997).

The order of the juries was requested by Zhang Daofan, and the head jury presided in the review process.

[397] Li Yishi, "Review of The Third Exhibition," 62-77.

[398] Ibid., 67.

> to issues central to the nation-state in their subject matter, they can still express a lofty and heroic spirit.[399]

Sequentially, Li proposes two sets of Do-s and Don't-s to provide a guideline for the artists to follow. According to Li, artists should paint "(a) works that depict subjects related to national salvation and other lofty thoughts; (b) works that evoke nationalistic thoughts; (c) works that are effective for mass education; …(h) other works that meet contemporary political needs." And artists should avoid creating "…(d) works that blindly follow Western traditions unfit for our own national character; …(f) works that are formally similar to latest movements in Europe, which are conceptually incomprehensible to the artists…"[400] Li Yishi's 1936 review is in line with his 1929 essay "I Am Not 'Confused'" which supported his colleague Xu Beihong's condemnation of modernist art. Li analogizes the difference between intellectuals' comprehension of the masses in China versus the foreign-educated artist-intellectuals with his own son versus himself, so the artist-intellectual should guide and correct the masses just like Li Yishi could spank his son if the kid dared to paint like the modernist artists. Li asserts that art criticism and moral judgment were inseparable in wartime China, so that is why he evaluated the artwork in certain ways. Ideally, artwork should mediate Li's and his like-minded artist-intellectuals' ideological agenda and showcase their literary fluency.

Educator and politician Xu Chongqing 許崇清, who served as the vice chair for the Guangdong provincial preview of the *Second National Arts Exhibition,* wrote the foreword for the special issue of the preview, specifying his expectations for art's social responsibility. He

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[399] Ibid., 69.

[400] Ibid., 74-75.

calls the *First National Arts Exhibition* a "holy war" that aimed for the mission of cultural progression. He claims that progression can only be achieved when the high culture of a society interlaces with its social realities. He asserts that when certain culture happens to meet the functional merits of a progressive nation, it can flourish in full swing. Xu assesses the first provincial exhibition held a few years earlier by recognizing how "dispirited" ink artists were in realizing their own "social value" through public display. Subsequently, this urged the ink artists to "actively join the institutional and systematic paths." Xu comments on how "naïve" Western-style artists should learn the right way to appeal to a progressive society. Xu further set the goal of social involvement and democratization of art for the second preview in 1937, asserting that "the time is gone when art is an individual's leisure-time plaything or a piece of decoration for some socioeconomic class."[401] Municipal party representative Xie Shounan 謝壽南 of the Guangdong preview preparatory committee contributed a short essay to the special issue titled "What Kind of Art Does China Currently Need?" in which Xie denies the "hermits detached from mundane life" and care-free flâneurs who painted busts of noble women. He declares that works of both groups are "tasteless and meaningless."[402] He calls for a form of "national art."[403]

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[401] Xu Chongqing 許崇清, "Fa kan ci" 發刊詞 [foreword to the issue], *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong yuzhanhui zhuankan* 第二次全國美展廣東預展會專刊 [special issue for the Guangdong provincial preview for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] (Guangzhou, March 1937): 2.

[402] Xie Shounan 謝壽南, "Zhongguo muqian xuyao zenyang de yizhong meishu" 中國目前需要怎樣的一種美術 [What kind of art does China currently need?], *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong yuzhanhui zhuankan* 第二次全國美展廣東預展會專刊 [special issue for the Guangdong provincial preview for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] (Guangzhou, March 1937),19-20.

[403] Ibid. 20.

Li Jinfa 李金髮 (1900-1976), an École Nationale des Beaux Arts de Dijon alumnus and key member of the preparatory committee for the *Second National Arts Exhibition* in charge of proposing the review process and nominating the review committee, writes in "Things Worth Attention in the Guangdong Preview" that "Art emphasizes production, distribution, and communication. An esoteric enclosed production on one's own cannot exist."[404] He is also against the "ism-s" that reflect individualistic tastes, stating, "I think that artistic schools rooted in individualism are off-the-track now. A publicized artwork should at least be an influencer, which means it has to clarify how the propagandistic feature of the work functions."[405]

Someone under the pseudo-name Muchi 暮池 gives his understanding of how artists should focus on representational, social realist art in "The Kind of Painting We Need," stating:

> Looking around with your eyes, you see the deadly national catastrophe. The fear haunts everyone everywhere. We are like sheep being led to slaughter. The sheep should only have the united awareness and consciousness. This awakened consciousness will teach us about the era and guide our painterly practice.
>
> In a stable and developed society, art transcends to the detached state of *l'art pour l'art*. Such purity of painterly abstraction is enjoyed by citizens of a peaceful and wealthy nation, and only a nation of peace and wealth deserves such aesthetic elegance. At the same time, if we bring such a beautiful, esoteric thing to this ruined land, would such art of purity and elegance have any functional merit in today's China, which is on the verge of death? Therefore, let's stop talking about things like the spirit of the era in the art, because such art only represents the spirit of its corresponding era in Europe and Japan.
>
> Let us make it clear: we do not need the highly cultivated philosophized paintings of the advanced colonizers We need painting for a half-colonized backward nation. This kind of painting first of all should be absolutely realistic. It should

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[404] Li Jinfa 李金髮, "Guangdong meishu yuzhanhui zhong suo yao zhuyi de shi" 廣東美術預展會中所要註意的事[things worth attention in Guangdong preview], *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong yuzhanhui zhuankan* 第二次全國美展廣東預展會專刊 [special issue for the Guangdong provincial preview for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] (Guangzhou, March 1937), 9.

[405] Ibid., 10.

> avoid any kind of decadent pessimism, and celebrate positive and progressive subjects.[406]

The non-representational approach and *l'art pour l'art* were rooted in the emphasis on the autonomy of art. Associated with the Bloomsbury Group, art critic Clive Bell (1881-1964) asserts that good art should not depend on its spatiotemporal context.[407] German critic Julius Meier-Graefe argues in his 1904 book *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modern Kunst* [The developmental history of modern art] that art should be independent from state politics and the artist's national identities.[408] In other words, the autonomy of art meant to be loyal to the formal criteria and "art" itself. Meanwhile, nation-building was "to overcome ethnic, sectarian or communal differences and to counter alternative sources of identity and loyalty"[409] Hence, argued by Muchi and his like-minded critics such as Xu Beihong, Li Jinfa and Li Yishi, autonomous *l'art pour l'art* called for loyalty to the formal criteria and art itself, which were seen as "alternative sources of identity and loyalty" of nation-building.

The re-shaping of spatial and personal relations, including the emergence of public spaces, the democratization of art viewing, and the rise of new intellectuals with overseas

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[406] Muchi 暮池 [pseud.], "Women xuyao shenme huihua" 我們需要什麼繪畫 [the kind of painting we need], *Di'erci quanguo meizhan Guangdong yuzhanhui zhuankan* 第二次全國美展廣東預展會專刊 [special issue for the Guangdong provincial preview for the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] (Guangzhou, March 1937), 35-36.

[407] Clive Bell, *Art*, reprinted (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2005)

[408] Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art: Being a contribution to a New System of Aesthetics*, 3 vols, trans. Florence Simmonds and George W. Chrystal (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons; London: William Heinemann, 1908)

[409] Rocha A. Menocal, "State Building for Peace: A New Paradigm for International Engagement in Post-Conflict Fragile States?" *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 32, issue 10, (2011), 1715-1736: 1715. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41341196.

background led to both institutional and counter-institutional practices in the material and cultural realms. Entering the Nanjing decade between 1927 and 1937, the chaotic, esoteric, and provocative became a counter-institutional force that opposed the centralized and nationalized governance. Artistic features and theoretical discussions of non-representational art—both modernist styles and their rivalries such as surrealism—were simplified as "art of purity and elegance," "decadent pessimism" and "beautiful esoteric things" in Muchi's words. According to Li Jinra, art was meant to be comprehensively "publicized" and influential. Unlike the Avant-guard artists who imposed a cognitive assault on the viewer's consciousness through their iconoclastic practices of art making, Xie Shounan and Li Yishi believed that institution-based representational depiction of "the real life," "subjects related to national salvation," and "works evoking nationalistic thoughts" established visual iconographies that existed to help disseminate the message to a broader audience than non-visual media of communication.

Meanwhile, the academic style, including Neoclassical history paintings and social realist paintings, was questioned and condemned frankly by Shanghai-based artist Liu Shi. Liu Shi first denied the overall quality of the Western-style paintings on display by saying "I totally disapproved of the event as an art exhibition that could represent the best art of our time. Instead, it was at most a third-class, mediocre art market merchandising paintings and sculptures. A nice way to put it: even an exhibition of student work would show a clearer structure." Liu categorizes the paintings that follow the academic styles into three types, "Three types of paintings constituted the exhibition: those by the opportunists, those by the copycats, and by those who have no conception of art."[410] He further names the paintings in each category,

[410] Liu Shi 劉獅, "Guanyu er quan meizhan youhuabu" 關於二全美展油畫部 [About the oil painting section in the Second National Arts Exhibition], *Qingnian jie* 青年界, Vol. 1, Issue 3, (1937), 55-57. Liu Shi uses the word *xuesheng* 學生 which literally means "students." However,

> The first genre includes Gu-XX's *Watch Out*, Zhao-something's [Zhao Zuozhong 趙作忠] The *Cost of Labor*, Sun Duoci's *The Stone Breakers* and *The Old Carpenter at Work*, Zhou-something [Zhou Gui 周圭]'s *Depend on Each Other*, Mo-XX's *Escape*, Wu Zuoren's *Unloading the Kiln*, Tang Yihe's *Guards of Wuhan*, Xu Beihong's *Looking into the Distance* (On this gigantic, size-200[411] painting, Xu depicts three horses with three Guangxi-based generals on the horsebacks.) … Ordinary audiences might think that these paintings are pioneering, nationalist, and revolutionary. For me, they are nothing more than an honest reflection of the painters' superficial opportunist mentality.[412]
> … …
>
> If we regard Xu Beihong's *Gazing Forward* as a representative selection from the capital city, then the perfunctory attitude overflows out of the painting and betrays the true color of the creator's soul and his role as an artisan – someone who was

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the artists assigned to this category are not students, but established art educators such as French-trained Yan Wenliang 顏文樑 and Pan Yüliang 潘玉良. The similarities shared by their submissions reside in the direct stylistic, compositional and subjectwise citation of European masterpieces.

[411] Ibid.

A size-200 piece of canvas can be 259cm*194cm for figure painting, 259cm * 182cm for landscape, and 259cm *162cm for seascape in Taiwan standard. A size-200 piece of canvas is 260cm * 193cm in today's Korean standard. I cannot find the French or Japanese standard sizes larger than size 120. And there is no record of the dimension of Xu's painting. Therefore, I would assume it is around 259cm*194cm/260cm*193cm.

[412] Ibid.

Liu Shi continues with the second and third types of art and artists. It is redundant to include everything in the text, but it is worth of notation, so I put it here in the footnote: "The second genre of works – those by the followers – consists of Lü Sibai's *A Portrait of Huang*, Li's *The Big and Small Kids*,[412] Yan Wenliang's *Bedroom* and *Night with Moon* , Fei-something [Chengwu]'s *Portrait*, Wu Zuoren's *Still Life* and Pan Yüliang's *Spring* . Those works with no sense of art include Zhou Lihua's *Burning Tree*, Fei-something [Chengwu?]'s *Close Look*, Lin-something's *Flower*, Zhang-something [Anzhi]'s *Houyi Shooting the Sun*, Yan Wenliang's Kitchen (This is a photo colored with chalk which borrows the technique of rubbing charcoal.), Peng-something's *Huaqing Pool* (This is a giant composition which is almost size-200. Peng depicts a few female nudes which he copies from European masterpieces. Then the artist adds head of ancient Chinese court ladies to make the work a "Chinese-Western-style painting.") and *A Harmonious World* (This is a poster for *Tarzan of the Apes*. It depicts an elephant, a beauty riding the elephant, as well as a lion, a tiger and a leopard around the elephant. It was regarded as the best masterpiece by some newspapers the other day.), Wu Kunshan's *Su Wu Tending Sheep* …"

> patronized to bring out a colored photograph for propaganda! It is a fact that no one could paint these three important figures on horsebacks en plein air…

By labeling the artists "opportunist," Liu Shi is referring to the artists' cooperation with the party ideologists, which turned art into propaganda tools and media aesthetics. For instance, Xu Beihong's *Looking into the Distance* depicts three Guangxi-based military figures right at the point when the KMT government tried to ally with them. The painting is huge, venerating the subjects in a heroic, larger-than-human, and fetishized manner. Therefore, this obviously rashly composed painting would only be celebrated for its nationalistic connotation and propagandistic value.

The disparaging comment calling the Western-style painting section a student exhibition justly describes the formulistic orthodox academic training and agenda of the art education that was systemized and matured over the years since the *First National Arts Exhibition* in 1929. Artist and social activist Xu Jingbai 徐驚百(1915-1946) called out the embarrassing gap between the proactive, high-minded words of the catalogue foreword and the artist-intellectuals' argumentative manifestos, and the mediocre, "conventionalized" images.[413] In terms of genre, landscape paintings outnumbered both figure and still life paintings in the exhibition and the catalogue. Established art educators, such as Wang Jiyuan 王濟遠 and Wang Yuanbo 王遠勃 both of Shanghai Art Academy, chose to depict tranquil outdoor scenes with no human disturbance. In Wang Jiyuan's *Landscape of Guangxi*, a nearly square canvas like an album leaf is foregrounded with a few fishing boats in the lower left corner and waveless water that reflects mountains, mounting a symmetric composition by flipping the peaks up-side-down (Figure 4.9). Compared to European references, the avoidance of dynamic narratives and mythic references tie

[413] Xu Jingbai 徐驚百, "Quanguo meizhan cemian guan" 全國美展側面觀 [reviewing the national arts exhibition from the side], *Youth Art* 青年藝術(March 1937): 172.

the work to the Chinese landscape painting tradition. Nature in three dimensions is balanced two dimensionally by reflection in the water and two peaks concaved to each other bracketing the proportionally oversized country houses in the distance. The layered facets forming the mountain peak avoid closed contours, so the independence of the outline is a pictorial element. On the one hand, the landscape reflects Paul Cézanne's composition, some cubist touch by early Georges Braque, as well as landscape paintings of der blaue reiter group. On the other hand, a European modernist twist can be alternatively seen as rendering x-cut strokes of ink painting in a new medium.



Figure 4.9. Wang Jiyuan, *Landscape of Guangxi* 廣西風景, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No.9.

Self-portraits, portraits, and female nudes made up most of the figure paintings, which were manifestations of the absence of either artistic refinement or intellectual input. For instance, future trainee of the Maximov oil painting group Yü Yunjie 俞雲階's charcoal drawing *Portraits* – maybe his self-portrait given the face's similarity to Yü's self-portraits and photos – depicts three three-quarter faces of a man with different facial expressions (Figure 4.10). The picture is plain except for the three heads showing the artist's knowledge of light and shade as well as of facial anatomy, both of which are fundamental to an art student. French-trained Zhuang Ziman 莊子曼, a drawing instructor at Hangzhou National College of Art, probably casually submitted his *Sketch* having been used as a class demo or practiced in his sketchbook (Figure 4.11). It is an abbreviated female nude sketched most likely with a charcoal stick. The lines are fluid and confident, and the shades are sophisticatedly done with pressed charcoal. The woman seemingly sits on a flat surface, with her upper body twisted either away from or toward the audience. Artists such as Qiu Ti 丘堤, Feng Gangbai 馮鋼百, Wang Sizheng 王嗣征, Li Wenping 李問平, Zheng Dingyü 鄭定裕, Lu Qiqing 陸其清, Yü Zhonghe 於中和, Xu Julin 許九麟 and Wu Qianli 伍千裏 all had self-portraits not only on display but also highlighted in the catalogue. According to art historian Liu Xiaolu, one may trace the reason for self-portraits becoming a prominent genre to the curriculum of Japanese art academies which required the graduates to paint a self-portrait to be preserved at the school. Liu found at least forty-four self-portraits done by Chinese graduates in the archive of today's Tokyo University of the Arts.[414]

[414] Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路, "Xiaoxiang de lishi dang'an zhong de qingchun 肖像後的歷史 檔案中的青春:東京藝大收藏的中國留學生自畫像(1905-1949) [a history of portraits and the artists' early years in the archives: self-portraits of Chinese international students in the collection of Tokyo Fine Arts University, 1905-1949], *Art Research* 美術研究, issue 3 (March, 1997): 37-46.DOI :10.13318/j.cnki.msy. j .1997.03.009.



Figure 4.10. Yü Yunjie, *Portraits* 人像, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), 56.

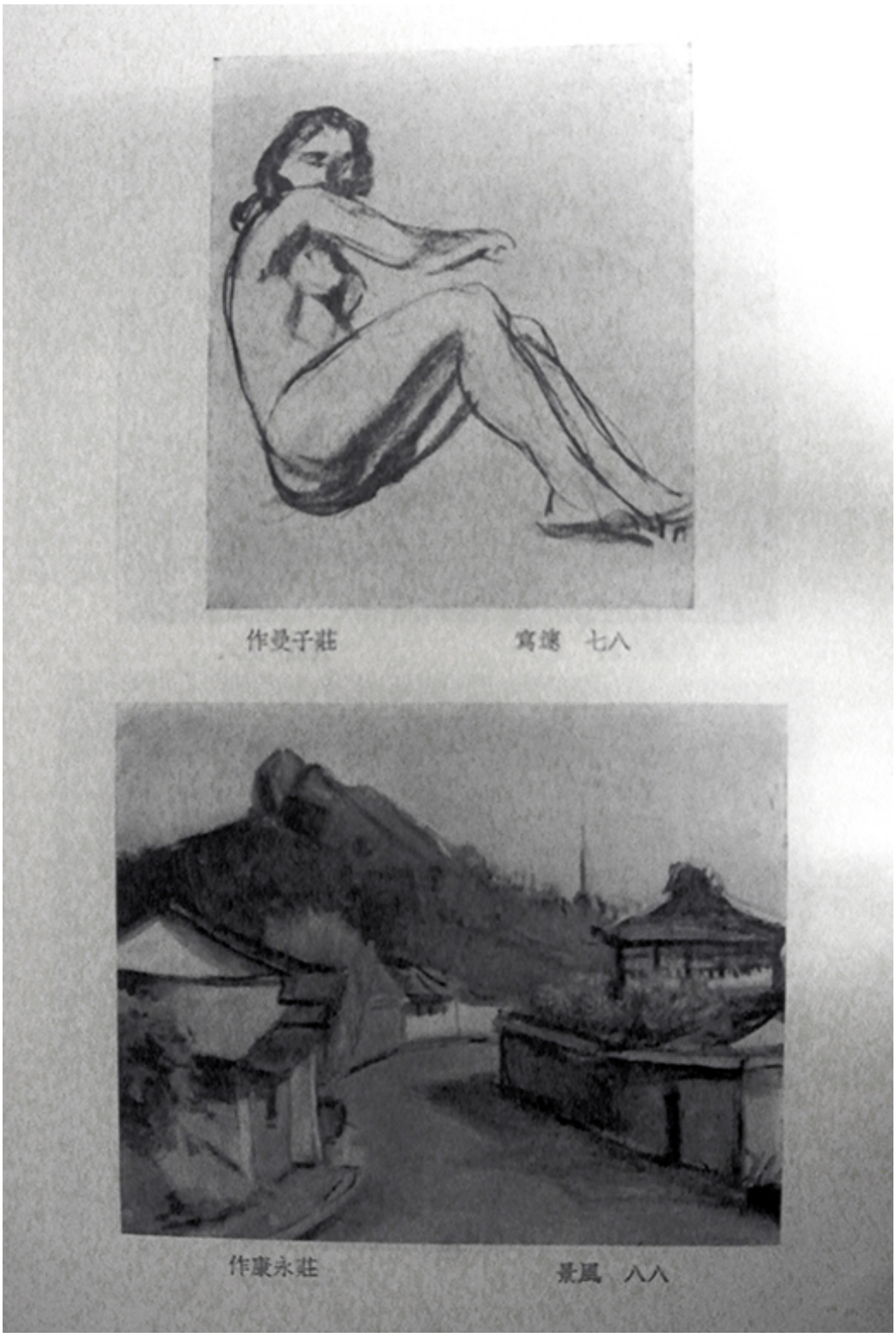


Figure 4.11. Zhuang Ziman, *Sketch* 速寫, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Unknown medium. Source: "Western-style painting" section in the catalogue for the contemporary Western-style painting, design and sculpture of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), 87.

Regrettably, as pointed out by artist and art critic Lu Danlin 陸丹林, many well-known artists of overseas background were absent, including Chen Baoyi, Li Chaoshi 李超士, Ding Yanyong 丁衍庸, Huang Chaokuan 黃潮寬, Liu Shi, Ni Yide, Zhou Bichu 周碧初, Yang Taiyang 陽太陽, Zhou Duo 周多, Qiu Daiming 邱代明, Cai Weilian 蔡威廉, Yang Qiuren 楊秋人, Zhao Shou 趙獸, Lang Luxun 郎魯遜, Jiang Xiaojian 江小鵰 and Li Tiefu 李鐵夫.[415] Some of these artists later wrote to criticize the exhibition and justify their absence for reasons such as the "officiality" and bias in the selection process. Despite the different excuses, their absence took away the latest experiments on modernist art movements. For instance, Japanese-trained Zhao Shou 趙獸 never hesitated to use bold fauvist colors and thick outlines. The content of his paintings ranges from geometric shapes to surrealist collages. Self-claimed "Matisse of the East" Ding Yanyong's oil painting reflects the artist's interests in not only fauvism, but also Pablo Picasso's African mask influenced Primitivist art, as well as symbolist artists' treatment of obscured landscape in monochromic colors. It was not that the style and brushwork were all classically refined. In fact, a majority of the Western-style painting section showed influence from various movements by incorporating stylistic twists, but the twists were kept minor and did not interfere with the subject by distorting human figures and even landscapes. Thus, the

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[415] Lu Danlin 陸丹林, "Er quan meizhan guanhougan" [exhibition review: the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] *Yijing* 逸經, issue 29 (May 1937): 62-63.

Li Chaoshi was also known as Li Xiang 李驤. A work of Li Xiang was included in the catalogue, so Lu Danlin might be wrong here. See Figure 4.7.

Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬, *Zhongguo meishu de xiandaihua* 中國美術的現代化:美術期刊和美展活動的分析 1911-1937 [the modernization of Chinese art: art journals and exhibitions, 1911-1937], (Beijing: Joint Publishing, 2008), 334.

movements were reduced to mere styles that would never overpower the realistic or allegorical content. Whether the modernist artists refused to submit or had their work rejected, either way speaks to the downfall and unpopularity of modernist art and its advocates.

In his commentary "New Hopes Given by the National Arts Exhibition," Hangzhou-based artist and art educator Ni Yide expresses his condemnation of the official art and academic authoritarianism.[416] Ni Yide's "new hopes" map a changing diagram in the art scene with a shifted power dynamic based on the artist's visit to and observation of the *First National Arts Exhibition*. From the conflicts of the 1929 exhibition between different schools – a school as an educational institute, as a public body with formal membership and of internal authority, or as an organization around some collective public manifestation, Ni realized the emerging division between the officially favored and less supported styles and subjects in art making, and the rise of official art.[417] He first brings up the "salon in spring" – either le Salon du Champ-de-Mars or le Salon de Champs-Élysées – in France and calls it the "most apathetic and dreary" event.[418]

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[416] Ni Yide 倪貽德, "Quanguo meizhan geiwo de xin xiwang"全國美展給我的新展望 [New hopes given by the *National Arts Exhibition*], *Meishu Zazhi* 美術雜誌, vol. 1, issue 1, (March, 1931): 12-13.

The title is "New Expectations the *National Arts Exhibition* Gives to me" 全國美展給我的新展望 for the original text, and that is the title used by all previous scholarship, but the announcement of correction is posted on Page 72 in May 1937 *Meishu Zazhi*, which clarifies the title should be "New Hopes" instead of "New Expectations."

[417] The discussion on the schools – or "public bodies organized for cultural production" – is largely inspired by Raymon Williams' *The Sociology of Culture*, in which Williams tries to categorize art groups in Europe.

Raymon Williams, *The Sociology of Culture: A Critical Reconstruction* (New York: Schocken, 1982), 68.

[418] He could mean either le Salon du Champ-de-Mars organized by société nationale des beaux-arts or le Salon de Champs-Élysées by société des artistes français. In 1890, weary of the academic authoritarianism, the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts created le Salon du Champ-de-

Meanwhile, Ni praises the Salon d'Automne in France as being full of vitality. He goes on to claim that artists serving the government are stubborn conservatives, while great artists such as Henri Matisse stayed outside the official circle.[419] Noticeably, it is not important whether the Salon du Champ-de-Mars was official and boring or not; that Xu Beihong's *Old Woman* 老妇 and Yan Wenliang's *Kitchen* 厨房 were selected for the exhibition in 1923 and 1929 made the salon the mirror reflection of Ni's impression of the two persons, their art, their advocacy, their influence, and their relationship to the government's cultural policy which were less easy to confront directly. Therefore, Ni's "new hopes" do not refer to those institutionalized artists and art, but rather the "new hopes," in my understanding, have two different layers of meaning. First, it comes from the inevitable "split of artists into the official and unofficial camps" in "modern nations." Ni concludes that "true art is never produced under the government's direction." Second, Ni Yide might have come up with ideas of forming some strong and sustainable non-government artistic organization – like the Nihon Bijutsuin under Yokoyama Taikan after 1914 – that could balance or even fight against the government's interest.

Ni's observations regarding academic painting gradually overshadowing non-academic painting, and Ni's cognizance of academic painting gradually being officialized were echoed by more and more artists over the eight years between the two national arts exhibition. They also emphasized that there was a widening division between the state-sponsored in-house system of art and the less supported unofficial art. The growing aggravation and aversion to the official or

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Mars that was more open to new ideas. Here, Ni Yide who studied domestically and in Japan obviously lacked knowledge of the situation in France, but his condemnation comes with reasons which will be talked in the essay.

[419] Ni Yide mentions another name here, but I cannot recognize the characters from the photocopy of the aged print. Fortunately, it will not affect our understanding of Ni's intention.

national art drove artists to seek alternative, non-institutional, independent options. Artist Yang Taiyang 陽太陽 (1909-2009) compared what he saw in Japan and what he heard about the exhibition in China, concluding that the *Second National Arts Exhibition* promoted a "bureaucratic style" as the "cultural infrastructure." Hence, seeing the "bureaucratic style" hold the dominant position in art education and exhibition, Yang called for an alternative artistic identity more than just something other than the state-sponsored national art—a counter force that could oppose and balance the authoritarian institutionalization of art.

> [The Japanese] independent exhibition was derived from the anti-official and anti-imperial exhibition … [The independent exhibition] sets the foundation of Japan's new art and keeps advancing aggressively … I heard that [the *Second National Arts Exhibition*] is in the hand of those who know nothing about art… The government is now aware of the importance of building cultural infrastructure … but the bureaucratic style … makes [the cultural infrastructure] far from being optimistic…[420]

According to Ni and Yang, the biased selection process asserted the inevitable "split of artists into the official and unofficial camps" in "modern nations." The word "official" was translated from the Chinese word *guanfang* 官方. *Guan* 官 either means a high-ranking person in the government and military, or state sponsorship for public use. Meta-institutionalization resulted in official art commissioned by and for official artists affiliated with state-run sectors. In most cases, official art and artists tended to exaggerate the political ideas of the patron. Nowadays, the word *guanfang* 官方 is interchangeable with *tizhi nei* 體制內, literally meaning "inside the institutional system." In other words, if the opposite of the official art and artists was the independent, then the official was dependent on the state institutional infrastructural.

[420] Yang Taiyang 陽太陽, "Yifeng dongjing de laixin" 一封東京的來信[a letter from Tokyo] *Meishu Zazhi* 美術雜誌, issue 3 (March, 1937): 69-70.

The designation of art as "official" referred to both the style and the subject. After the national arts exhibition, Zhang Daofan proposed a clear guideline for making both art and cultural policy, which was developed from the outcome of the *Second National Arts Exhibition*. It reflected the meta-institutionalizing attempt of the Central Committee to control arts and culture, which could retrospectively explain the officialized style and subject in the exhibition. Zhang asserts that art had been the "reflection of politics all the time, and never escaped from political restraints… Art delivers its message through imagery, while political theory is presented as ideology…The ideology and the imagery are the same thing. We artificially name the means of expression in politics and art as ideology and imagery."[421] By addressing art and ideology as the same thing, Zhang talks about the ideological hegemony that would be internalized by the mass audience of the art. While Dewey's idea of aesthetic education was pragmatic and life-integrative, Cai Yuanpei saw aesthetic education as a substitute for religion to provide social solidarity and to bridge other aspects of education and social education. Zhang Daofan's aesthetic education targets the mind and unconsciousness.

> The so-called aesthetics is the *déjà vu* of the unconsciousness of life in the artwork, and one relates oneself with the artwork…Art deploys people in reality to recreate real life and people's unconsciousness of that reality. Political ideology

[421] Originally, the article was published in *Cultural Pioneer* in 1942.

Zhang Daofan 張道藩, "Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce" 我們所需要的文藝政策 [the literary and art policies we need] *Cultural Pioneer* 文藝先鋒, initial issue (October, 1942): 5–16.

The version I used for the dissertation is the anthology compiled and edited by Zhang Daofan, called *War of Arts*文藝論戰 published in 1944, in which Zhang expanded his original version of "The Literary and art policies" by further detailing the directive regulations for art making. Zhang Daofan張道藩, "Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce" 我們所需要的文藝政策 [the literary and art policies we need] *Wenyi lunzhan* 文藝論戰 [war of arts], Zhang Daofan ed., in the series *Zhongyang wenhua yun dong weiyuanhui wenhua yundong congshu* 中央文化運動委員會文化運動叢書 [Collection of cultural movements led by the central council on cultural movements] (Chongqing: Central Council on Cultural Movements, 1944), 1-46.

> is part of the unconsciousness, and it is the drive that constructs the unconsciousness of life. If aesthetics can be the *déjà vu* of the unconsciousness of life, then political ideology can be aestheticized and become aesthetics. In this way, political ideology can evoke action.[422]

To implement the project of art as ideological unconsciousness, Zhang comes up with six "Don't-s" that regulate the style, subject, and ideology of the creation of official art:

> 1.Do not depict the dark side of the society… Art is not the copy of reality, but the reconstitution of reality. 2. Do not promote class struggle…Our country needs alliance, not hatred; it needs construction, not destruction. 3. Do not be pessimistic…In the devastative situation of civil wars, bureaucratic corruptions, social turbulence…people have no faith or power of the will… [Pessimistic painting] meaninglessly reinforced the sense of powerlessness. 4. Do not depict romantic irrationality. It refers to the sentimentality of illusion, passion, sensuality, pessimism, lamentation, subjectivity, and other relevant emotions. 5.Do not create meaningless artwork…The baseless mise-en-scene and sentimentality…Nothing more than a beautiful form… 6. Do not express wrongful ideology. This includes outdated ideas, extremely leftist or rightist ideology which is not for our time.[423]

Zhang's proposal reminded people of Andrei Zhdanov's definition of socialist realism in "Soviet Literature: The Richest in Ideas, the Most Advanced Literature" during the 1934 Soviet Writers Congress, which could be rephrased as "idealized realism" or "reinvented realism" if not serving socialist purposes.

> To be an engineer of human souls means standing with both feet firmly planted on the basis of real life. And this in its turn denotes a rupture with romanticism of the old type, which depicted a non-existent life and non-existent heroes, leading the reader away from the antagonisms and oppression of real life into a world of the impossible, into a world of utopian dreams.[424]

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[422] Zhang Daofan, "The Literary and art policies We Need," 3-4.

[423] "Do not depict the dark side of the society," 16-17; "Do not promote class struggle," 18-19; "Do not be pessimistic," 20-21; "Do not depict romantic irrationality," 21-22; "Do not create meaningless artwork," 23-25; "Do not express wrongful ideology," 25-27.

[424] Art critic Boris Groys explicates socialist realism with reference to the Soviet art that "Socialist realism represents the party-minded, collective surrealism that flourished under Lenin's famous slogan 'it is necessary to dream,' [...] The popular definition of the method as 'the depiction of life in its revo- lutionary development,''national inform, socialist in content,' is

Summarily, in terms of style, the ideal official work within the institutional system should be representational and figurative, because abstract work would oftentimes elaborate on individuals' subjectivity and sentimentality, and thus fail to play an instrumental role in real life and society. In terms of the subject, both Zhdanov and Zhang recommended the reconstituted, idealized realism rooted in reality, but above reality. Art critic Boris Groys calls socialist realism "dream realism" which depicts the idealized future under the current form of government and national development.[425] "Dream" is unconsciousness, so to cultivate the masses' unconsciousness, Zhang's reconstituted realism also referred to the depiction of the dream and proposed future under the governance of the KMT party-state. The academic style, according to Zhang, could help people project themselves onto the artistic image and form ideological hegemony. Last but most importantly, Zhang's guideline for art making was ideologically-driven as anti-leftist and anti-class struggle. By 1935, the effective military suppression of intraparty opponents and competing parties the KMT party-state to achieve greater military unification. The public opinion of the growing educated middle class in the 1930s was also anti-communist and called for dictatorship to contain social instability and uncertainty. People tended to imagine China as an organic community of ethno-civil kin entangled in a net of imperialist modern nations enjoying equal rights amid themselves. Therefore, Zhang's opposition to portraying class

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based on this dream realism [...] The typical of socialist realism is Stalin's dream made visible, a reflection of his imagination [...]"

Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (London and New York: Verso, 2011), 52.

[425] Ibid.

struggle and introducing the idea of class differentiation was in line with the political agenda and middle-class interests which the government saw as the foundation of the nation-state.

Ink Painting: Atavistic Culturalism as National Art

One of the most prominent features of then-contemporary ink paintings in the *Second National Arts Exhibition* of 1937 is the coexistence of visual references from a variety of earlier artworks that overarch different schools, including Song academicism, Yuan literati, Ming genre, Qing eccentrics, and Republican synthetism, which respectively corresponds to "Western labels ranging from realism and expressionism."[426] After two or three decades of dichotomous debates over ink paintings – whether to accept the wholesale Westernization or to pursue the holistic nationalism, whether to preserve of the "national essence" or to syncretize with new techniques, whether *L'Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise* (1933) or *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (1934) represented Chinese ink painting – the flexible citation of stylistically and conceptually diverging resources resulted in the juxtaposition of works derived from an encyclopedic range of historical resources. The exhibition turned into a space of anachronism – an ignorance of the ownership, formalist development, school, and master-apprentice lineage of ink paintings. The socially constructed anachronistic space negated and dissolved the sense of esotericism and elitism amongst the ordinary viewers and artists. This anachronistic space not only flattened traditional aesthetics for present efficacy, but it also connected and eventually set the present paintings together against the historical consciousness.

In 1914, the Institute of Displaying Antiquities prepared the ink paintings for the emergence of modern and nationalistic consciousness by decontextualizing and dehistoricizing

[426] Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 95.

the paintings. Schematically placing hanging scrolls and unrolled handscrolls prevented the audiences from stamping seals or writing poems on the scrolls, distancing the audiences from intimately reading the intellectual discourse behind the images and reducing the paintings to their visual features – namely the painterly, formalistic, and aesthetic aspects. Ink paintings were intended to be created, circulated, and appreciated within an enclosed group defined by shared artistic interests, similar intellectual capacities, and interconnected socioeconomic classes. It was supposed to receive critical examination beyond the visual stimulus – the artist's idiosyncratic biography through turbulent years, the self-reflexive poetry composed by the artist, traces of former collectors in seal stamps and colophons, and other nuanced pieces of information only captured by knowledgeable appreciators. However, in a densely assembled display facing many viewers, each work was put in comparative framework with its neighbor, and the viewers' relationship with the work was reduced to a hurried and distracted gaze. The assessment of ink paintings became merely visual, disinterested, and ahistorical, which prepared for the present efficacy of the traditional form of art.

The present efficacy was to make ink paintings national and have national paintings both represent and present national identity and nationalism of multiple cultural facets. The so-called national painting is a conceptual and institutional by-product of new forms of art produced and promoted in Japan – such as *nihonga* – and the West. Back in the late-1910s, Xu Beihong's "Comment on the Paintings in the Hall of Literary Brilliance (*Wenhua dian*)," together with other critics and reformers such as Lu Danlin, first associated ink paintings with not only national culture but also national spirit and identity.[427] By the time of the *Second National Arts*

[427] For further information, read Xu Wanling 徐婉玲, "Guwu chenliesuo guohua yanjiuguan kaiban shimo"古物陳列所國畫研究館開辦始末 [History of the ink painting research institute

Exhibition, the term *guohua* 国画 [national painting] had long been coined, evidenced by the frequent use of the term in publications. Fueled by literary advocates as well as ink painting exhibitions in Europe, national and nationalist art branched out to different connotations: the holistic nationalism of German romantic realism – mostly shown in the oil paintings, the civic nationalism originated from Xinhai Revolution, anti-colonial nationalism emerging from imperial powers' invasions, and *Sanmin* 三民 [Tridemism] nationalism for social solidarity against leftist class tensions. If the rediscovery of Song realism was a response to civic nationalism, then the dozens of self-reassuring overseas exhibitions and "national paintings" functioned as a shield against imperial influence and foreign interference. Overall, the realization of a national exhibition that included national paintings was rooted in the enthusiastic national consciousness that reached its zenith when the KMT government decided to react against the leftist emphasis on revolution and class oppression. Positioning a ruler-painting 界畫 next to a splashed-ink piece 潑墨, the national painting section was both ahistoricist and anachronistic, which embodied the kaleidoscopic multiplicity and holistic solidarity of national consciousness.

Therefore, from a top-down perspective, the KMT government relied on atavistic culturalism – the chosen antiquities capable of codifying an episodic cultural history into visual evidence of spatial-temporal continuity and unity of the ancient civilization and contemporary nation-state – to dissolve the social alienation and class segregation identified by leftists. From a bottom-up perspective, the pre-existing hierarchy of aesthetic preferences and categorization was negated as the original sociocultural structure had been destroyed, and further flattened by the booming publication, photographic reproduction, and public exhibitions that created the physical

launched by the Institute for Displaying Antiquities," *Palace Museum Journal* 故宫博物院院刊, issue 5 (May 2014): 16-32.

and virtual public sphere. The exhibition juxtaposed literati works, genre painting, fine-lined *gongbi*, and other schools. For instance, historically, the art of monochrome ink bamboo painting received special favor amongst people of social status, for it was a natural subject for the *wenren* – the proud scholar-officials, literati, and opinion leaders of principle, virility, and morality – as well as a subject easily accessible to amateurs due to the profound literary connotations. Bamboo was seen as a symbol of the genuine gentleman, which could be bent flexibly by wind but never shaped permanently into a twisted silhouette. Yü Shaosong's 余紹宋 (1882-1949) *Ink Bamboo in Style of Shitao* is an example of the literati tradition, and received compliments from various art critics (Figure 4.12). Yü Shaosong had been a member of the Central Political Consultative Conference and later deputy minister for the Ministry of Justice before he resigned. Resigning from his government employment, Yü worked in art education, exhibition, connoisseurship, and publishing industry as an artistic gentry. His manuscripts on Chinese paintings include *Essential Methods of Painting* 畫法要錄, *An Anthology of the Origins of Chinese Painting Schools* 中國畫擎源流之概觀, and *On* Qiyun *in Chinese Painting* 國畫的氣韻問題.[428] Alongside Yü, monochrome ink bamboo was picked by other amateur literati of important civil positions and more or less artistic achievement, such as the warlord Wu Peifu 吳佩孚 (1874-1939) and

[428] Li Chu-tsing 李鑄晉 and Wan Qingli's 萬青力 *History of Modern Chinese Paintings* 中國現代繪畫史 categorizes Yü Shaosong as a "neo-traditionalist" 新派傳統 artist of the Republican era, which means the two art historians belief Yü did not simply revive the tradition, but modified and updated the past styles.

[428] Li Chu-tsing 李鑄晉 and Wan Qingli 萬青力, *History of Modern Chinese Paintings* 中國現代繪畫史, Vol II (Shanghai: Wenhui Press, 2004).

Mao, Jianbo 毛建波, "The Art Scholar Yü Shaosong in the Perspective of Modern Chinese Art History" 近代美術史視野中的余紹宋, *New Arts* 新美術, vol. 27, no. 6 (2006): 78-85.

biomechanist Wu Yunrui 吳蘊瑞 (1892-1976) (Figure 4.13). The conceptualized ink bamboo marks the reconciliation of the artists' selves and the outside subjects, just like Su Shi 蘇軾's (1037-1101) comments on Wen Tong's 文同 (1018-1079) bamboo almost a thousand years ago:

> When Wen Tong painted bamboo,
> He saw bamboo and not himself.
> Not simply unconscious of himself,
> Trance-like, he left his body behind.
> His body was transferred into bamboo,
> Creating inexhaustible freshness …
> …

Yü's simplistic work is inclined toward the Yuan tradition. The monochrome painting is on a narrow vertical piece of paper mounted onto a hanging scroll. The boneless stem, knot, branches, and leaves are rendered in calligraphic brushwork and spontaneous ink wash. Each stem is drawn with one stroke, although interrupted by the pressed knots, from the bottom upward. The loaded brush with intense ink starts from the bottom, moves rapidly and is gradually lifted as the stem grows up, so the shade of ink is increasingly washed, giving a lofty feeling and leaving the upper half of the paper to the leaves. The leaves are grouped and positioned in rhythmically diagonal compositions. Titled *In Style of Shitao*, Yü Shaosong's bamboos show archaic simplicity compared to the Shitao's eccentric composition and ecstatic brushwork—there is no rustic rock, schematically patterned banana leaves, or curvilinear orchids to contrast with the texture and shape of the bamboos, and the sword-like bamboo leaves are not dynamically pointing toward one direction suggesting a tough environment with wind. The simplicity of Yü's work echoes Yuan and early Ming paintings, such as those of Guan Daosheng 管道升, Ke Jiusi 柯九思 and Wang Fu 王紱. This archaic simplicity is also shared in Wu Peifu's and Wu Yunrui's works.



Figure 4.12. Yü Shaosong, *Bamboo in Style of Shitao* 仿石濤墨竹, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Presumably ink painting. Source: catalogue for the contemporary ink painting and calligraphy of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 116.

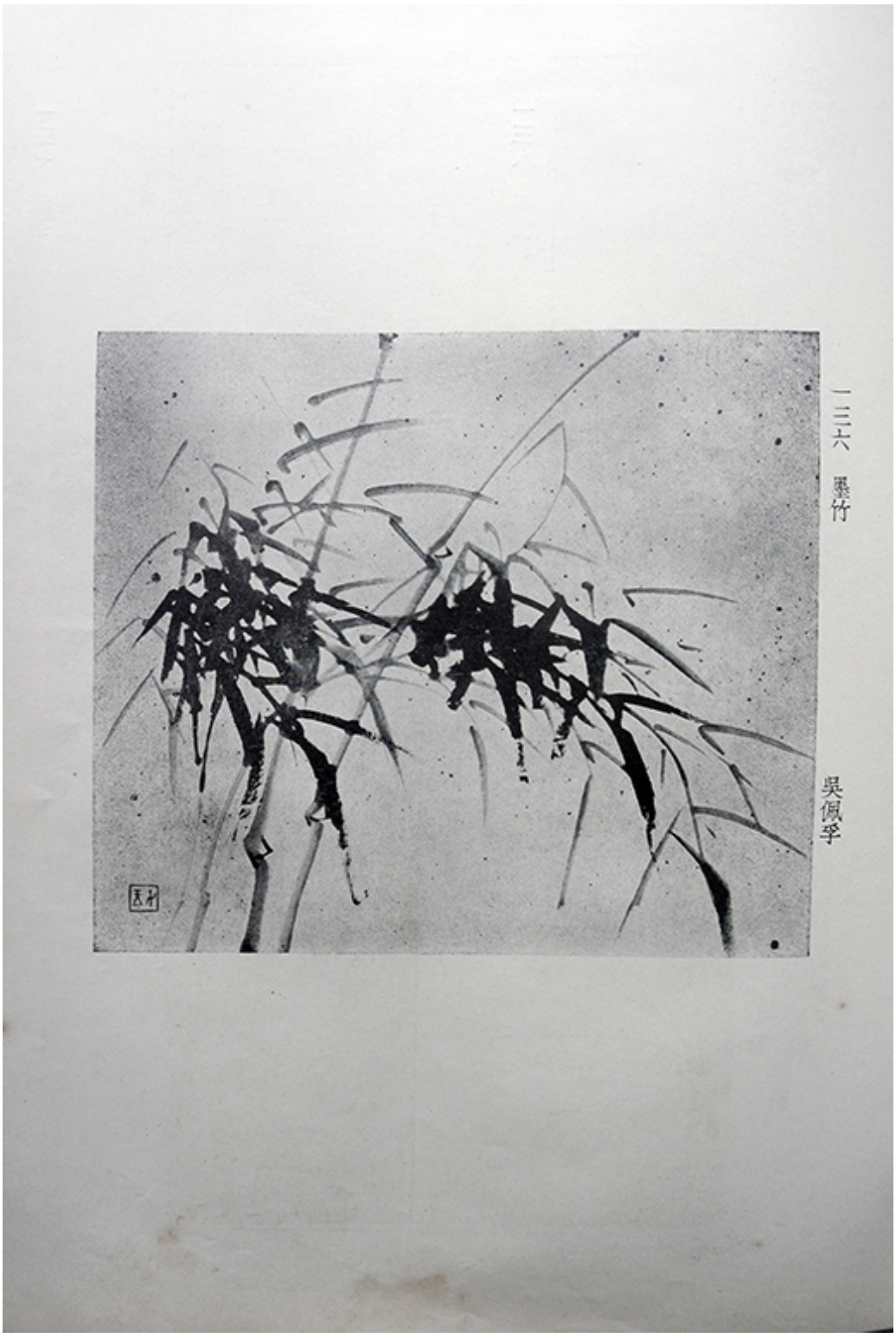


Figure 4.13. Wu Peifu, *Ink Bamboo* 墨竹, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Presumably ink painting. Source: catalogue for the contemporary ink painting and calligraphy of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 136.

In direct contrast to the literati bamboo, female artist Yü Muzhen 郁慕貞 (1915-1995) submitted an ink and color painting *Children Playing* with an inscription noting that "[The work was painted] when I was seventeen." The painting was done in fine lines, depicting five children mimicking a royal procession in a courtyard. One child with a gong in his hand walks ahead of his peers and looks back (Figure 4.14). Two children were carrying a sedan chair on which a child is dressed like an official under a royal parasol lifted by another child. The child-official points his index finger forward, directing the sedan carrier. In the front is a cropped bonsai, and the playground is fenced by stone railings, leaving the upper half of the paper blank. A poem is added to praise the aspiration of Chinese youth. The painting belongs to the *Children Playing* genre developed in Northern Song, and further popularized in Ming and Qing. Stylistically, Yu's work differs from the abbreviated strokes of literati depictions of children who look pretty much like miniature adults. Instead, the bodily proportion of the children, the fine lines, and their naturalistic forms are following the tradition of Northern Song academic painting such as the famous *Children Playing on A Winter Day* collected in the Palace Museum, and the light-hearted playful subject is often seen in folk art and on decorative crafts. Subject-wise, it is reminiscent of Chen Hongshou's 陳洪綬 *Children Worship The Buddha*. Children understand neither the royal possession nor the essence of Buddhism. However, they performatively and playfully turn the most ritualistic, noble, and spiritual aspects of the adults' life into a play on a playground. It is fun and satirical at the same time. The children can assume the roles without knowing the meaning of their practice, which is just like the way adults can fulfill their social and professional role through pure performance.



Figure 4.14. Yü Muzhen, *Children Playing* 嬰戲圖, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Presumably ink painting. Source: catalogue for the contemporary ink painting and calligraphy of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 192.

A comparison with the modern ink painting in the *First National Arts Exhibition* shows tendencies changing from the fetish of reformation through synthetic and eclectic methods to the consciousness of national art history and faithful revival of traditional styles. Art historian Liu Ruikuan noted that the key word for ink painting in late-1920s to early-1930s is "reform," and the core question is "how to change."[429] The reviews and art criticism of the contemporary ink painting section of the *First National Arts Exhibition* (1929) tended to group and differentiate ink painters based on their relationships with non-Chinese art. Trained at the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, art critic Li Yüyi 李寓一 (active 1920s) stylistically categorized the contemporary ink paintings she saw at the *First National Arts Exhibition* into three sets: continuation of Qing tradition, Gao brothers' synthetic painting, and new ink painting of both Chinese and Western traditions. Those who continue the Qing traditions, according to Li, are polarized into either the four Wang-s' Qing academic tradition which encyclopedically cites and combines old masterpieces, or the four monks' eccentric condemnation of the classic with extremely unrestricted strokes. Li classifies artists such as Tao Lengyue 陶冷月(1895-1985), Zhu Fengzhu 朱鳳竹, Hong Ye 洪野 (1886-1932), and Ma Yi 馬貽 (date unknown) as new ink painters because "Tao paints Western-style painting within Chinese scheme, Ma applies light and shade in oil painting, Hong uses colors in oil painting."[430] Cai Yuanpei's 1926 appraisal for Tao's style reads, "Tao scrutinizes his observation overseas and eclectically consolidates the strengths of

[429] Liu Ruikuan, *The Modernization of Chinese Art*, 285.

[430] Li Yüyi 李寓一, "Jiaoyubu quanquo meishu zhanlanhui canguanji er: xihuabu zhi gaikuang" 教育部全國美術展覽會參觀記二 [reports on the visit to the *National Arts Exhibition* of the Ministry of Education part two: an overview of the section of Western-style painting], *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 15, no. 7 (July 1929): 6.

different foreign resources. Using European-style shading and perspective, Tao strictly follows the compositional structure and emotional tension of Chinese ink painting. Thus, Tao formulates a well-accepted mode of innovation…"[431] Technically, Tao reduced the saturation and smoothed the stroke textures to stylize his watercolor painting into a monochrome ink painting, which could be seen as a plausible gesture of renovating ink painting with a modern twist without losing the essence that could identify an ink painting – the compositional structure and expressive aroma 神韻. And of course, the modern twist meant Western painting techniques and painting materials. Alongside Li Yüyi, He Tianjian 賀天健 (1891-1977), Tao served as the judge for the *First National Arts Exhibition* and, having seen more works than the ordinary audience, categorized the submissions into the reform school, the traditionalist school, and the synthetic school. Not basing his argument on the stylistic lineages, artistic concepts or technical refinement, He Tianjian regards the reform school as "genius," traditionalist "unable to create anything new," and synthetic "good at learning widely from other cultures' strong points."[432] Clearly, He's account cannot be seen as a credible art criticism or even evaluation, but it indicates the "trend" – as suggested by the title of the article – and preference of an established member of the artworld – an artist, art educator, art publisher, and someone enjoying prestigious institutional capital.

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[431] Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良, "Tao Lengyue ni zu i de" 陶冷月についで [about Tao Lengyue] *Art Research* 美術研究, no. 358 (December 1993): 323.

Liu Ruikuan, *The Modernization of Chinese Art*, 283.

[432] He Tianjian 賀天健, "You quanguo meizhan tuixiang jinri meizhan zhi qushi – chansheng xin zhongguopai zhi meishu" 由全國美展推想今日美展之趨勢 —產生新中國派之美術 [thoughts on the trend in today's art based on my visit to the national arts exhibition – to create new Chinese-style art] *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], issue 2 (April 13, 1929): 8.

Comparatively, commentaries on the then-contemporary ink painting in the *Second National Arts Exhibition* take a more critical perspective than the dichotomy of reform versus archaism, and assess the paintings through an art historical approach – to historicize the painting through a stylistic and philosophical lens. Artist and art educator Wang Xiazhou 王霞宙 (1902-1976)[433] provides an extensive review in a series of articles discussing his reflection on different components of the exhibition. Although labeling the then-contemporary ink paintings "new ink painting" and "traditionalist," Wang does not attribute the revival of traditional Chinese styles to the lack of artistic creativity, as He Tianjian argues in his comment on the 1929 exhibition. Wang's discussion not only lays out a variety of historical references flexibly imitated and reworked by the artists, but also sets a few comparable pairs of artists to stress that artistic success can be achieved in diverse ways. Wang writes,

> Today, artists who are not part of the new ink painting school are labeled as the traditionalists. However, today's "traditionalists" do not simply copy the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing masterpieces. One can tell their works are done by contemporary artists. Their preference and style have been changed ephemerally over time…
>
> Pu Xinyü's landscape, with its lavish strokes and classic elegance, is neither meticulously refined nor rustically splashy, which is orthodoxically Northern school…
>
> He Lüzhi's unconstrained clouds and mist, accompanied with his poem, cleanses the Qing artists' mediocre and unquestioned fetish of previous styles. His masterpiece has an expansive compositional structure and lofty spirituality, which surpasses the four Wang-s of Qing academy…Southern Qi (Baishi) and Northern He (Lüzhi) are usually paired in comparison with similar reputation for their altruistic personalities that allow them to dedicatedly cultivate their art for years without opportunistically chasing fame in the dynamic world…Old man (Qi) Baishi can find another vista when the other artists seem to have exhausted the explorative trails of the scene. Qi's practice refreshes the art of the era and

[433] Wang Xiazhou 王霞宙, "Canguan quanguo meizhan jiyao (xu)" 參觀全國美展紀要(續) [critical notes on my visit to the national arts exhibition (continued)], *Zhongxing zhoukan* 中興周刊 [rejuvenation weekly], vol. 7, issue 176 (1937): 17-19.

> inspires other artists. Qi is never a copycat. He distills a style that is uniquely his own, regardless of his stylistic debt to Shitao and Wu Changshi…
> …
>
> Wang Yachen's *Gold Fish* (Figure 4.15) incorporates refreshing ideas with traditional techniques, while Chen Zhifo's *Bird and Flower* is anciently accented with innovative strokes, both of which convey a distant but alluring feeling.

Wang Xiazhou believed that the then-contemporary ink painting transcended the old masterpieces and renowned painting schools, so the history of ink art was constantly developed and the history of ink art continued evolving. Unlike antiquities restored and displayed in a museum, which became preserved, enshrined, sacred, and unchangeable, the then-contemporary ink painters could "refresh the art of the era and inspire other artists." They could even experiment with the non-Chinese, non-traditional subjects and techniques to genuinely incorporate ink painting and ink painters into modern education and modern activities.



Figure 4.15. Wang Yachen, *Goldfish* 金魚, presumably before March 25, 1937 (deadline of submission). Presumably ink painting. Source: catalogue for the contemporary ink painting and calligraphy of the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (Nanjing: Preparation Committee, 1937), No. 110.

Although it is believed by many people that ink art had been integrated into modern education and newly constructed artworld, Xu Jingbai 徐驚百(1915-1946), like many artists and the intellectuals, struggled to fit the long history of ink painting into the present context that had broken from the long history in many aspects. So, unlike Wang Xiazhou, Xu tackles the names for the exhibitory sections—namely the "present-day modern national painting" "present-day modern calligraphy" versus the "ancient painting and calligraphy"—to question what made the present-day "modern" painting and calligraphy different from "ancient painting and calligraphy," except for the date of art making. He writes,

> …Let us discuss the modernity or modern-ness embodied in the "present-day/ modern" works…Noticeably, the "modern-ness" of the "modern painting and calligraphy" only means mimicking the old forms. After surveying over 500 scrolls, although each piece has some variation and innovation, they can still be categorized into a few formulaic types…Among the artists who seek a bright breakthrough in the doomed artworld, we can hardly determine whether they truly have discovered some refreshing ideas or simply been opportunistic. However, the group that rigidly "synchronizes the Chinese and the Western" now face inevitable failure. In the exhibition, we can see planes (No. fifty-eight, *Aviation Salvation*), warships (No. 333, *Night Detective in Pizhou*), and modern warfare (No. 434, *Poor City of Shenyang*). In terms of the content, these artists place modern mechanics in a medieval conception of landscapes, and stylistically they adapt the Japanese-style ink-wash technique. It is a good try, but the subject is unfit for the style and concept. The modern war machines are depowered in the evergreen vista, while the natural tranquility and majesty are stained by machinery chaos. The inorganic synchronization falls into a fixed formula and is disapproved by both the traditionalist and the reformist groups, which is so pitiful.[434]

> In contrast, some artists really adopt new painting techniques to depict modern scenes, so their works can be called "real modern paintings." Here, I have to bring up Zhao Wangyun's 趙望雲 work (No. 372, *The Catastrophe in Luxi Painted from Memory*, only one piece) and Shen Yiqian's 沈逸千 *The Shepherd Girl* (No. 208). Also, No. 311 (should be No. 327) [Huang Shaoqiang's 黃少強] *Two Poor Women Embroiderers* shows how naturalistic depiction can reform ink paintings.[435]

[434] Xu Jingbai, "Reviewing … From The Side," 168-169.
[435] Ibid., 170.

In his discussion, Xu condemns the sedulous fusion of the Chinese and the Western painting techniques and the depiction of modern techniques with ink painting material and techniques. Historian Wen-hsin Yeh identifies four sets of dichotomies in common sense that can define Chineseness by othering the non-Chineseness. These dichotomies include "domestic" versus "imported," "native" versus "foreign," "Chinese" versus "Western," and lastly "traditional" versus "modern." The first two sets of comparisons are spatially defined by the national borders, while the latter two are temporally distinguished as China's past and present.[436] Oftentimes, adding the Western and the modern was a convenient means to modernize the traditional and the Chinese product or practice. Xu disagrees with this simple and almost opportunistic way to incorporate the history into the present. Rather, he believes that just like the previous masters portraying their time and life, present-day ink painters should expand the subjects in ink painting by depicting present scenes and further develop painting techniques based on the art philosophy and framework that originated in the Chinese tradition.

It was not only the art exhibitions and museums that incorporated ink art into the cultural superstructure of nation-building, ink painting in art education experienced growth in the enrollment of art students, as well as a more self-reflexive attitude toward art historical writings. In April 1931, Cai Yuanpei presented "On Nationalization of Textbooks" 國化教科書問題 in *Shen Bao*, calling textbooks directly translated from foreign sources "not suitable for the Chinese situation," an "obstacle for compulsory education," and "reluctantly accepted transitional

[436] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in A Republican City," in "Reapprasing Republican China," ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, special issue, no. 150, *The China Quarterly* (June, 1997): 391. https;?www.jstor.org/stable/655342.

methods."[437] The trend of localizing textbooks is evident in comparing Pan Tianshou's second version of the art history textbook *History of Chinese Painting* 中國繪畫史 published in 1936 with the first edition. While the first version of Pan's book was directly translated from Nakamura Fusetsu and Kojika Seiun's *History of Chinese* Painting 支那繪畫史 and kept major arguments unchanged from the Japanese version, the second edition largely relied on Chinese written resources, such as historical art criticisms by artists and scholars over the dynasties. For instance, strictly following Dong Qichang's theoretic division of the Northern and Southern schools, Ming painting was rigidly divided into Wu School -- a derivative from the Southern tradition – and Zhe School – which was associated with the academic Northern style. The rationale and self-interest embedded in the inelastic split between the Northern and Southern schools was originally rooted in Momoyama era Japan's interest in Chinese art theories, and further developed in modern Japanese art historical writing to promote Japanese *nanga* – "Southern painting." Japanese art historical texts on Chinese art had more or less influenced Chinese artists and art historians especially in the 1920s, marked by Chen Shizeng's analogy between literati painting and Western modernist movements, as well as the widespread enthusiasm for Shitao, and Liu Haisu's 1934 *Berlin Exhibition* during which Liu transformed himself into a literatus.

Pan Tianshou's second version of *History of Chinese Painting* 中國繪畫史 hinges on Chinese historical discussion and evaluation of painting. Aside from the previously clear distinction and hierarchy between the Northern and Southern schools, Pan's second version

[437] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Guohua jiaokeshu wenti" 國化教科書問題[discourse on indigenize school textbooks in a nationalist way] in "Minren heci" 名人賀詞 [words from celebrities], *Dadong shuju shiwu zhounian jiniance* 大東書局十五周年紀念冊 [commemorative issue for the fifteenth university of Dadong Book Company] (Shanghai: Dadong Book Company, 1931).

regards Dong Qichang's argument as no more than "an individual's biased preference over in-group styles," which "cannot show the real condition of Chinese painting."[438] At the same time, Pan believes that the Ming academic painters – largely Zhe school – studied from the literati painters and mingled with the Wu school artists, which resulted in the academic painters' delicate but flexible and playful strokes that synthesized the pre-existing stereotypes of the crafty academic, dedicated Zhe, and philosophical Wu schools. In his conclusion, Pan advances the idea that, unlike the argument put forward by the Japanese scholars, since the Ming dynasty ink painting artists have acquired encyclopedic knowledge of previous styles through collections and the printing industry, and they have been able to transcend boundaries between different schools.[439] The historiography of art historical writing identifies shifts in the uses of examples, theoretical frameworks, cultural biases, and sociocultural atmospheres. Pan's new argument not only displaces the Japanese art historians' spokesmanship for Asian art, but also constructs a rhetoric of cultural convergence. The Ming dynasty had been seen as the last pivotal moment of Han civilization, and was therefore and era longed for by early Republican founders in their revolutionary slogan "(to) expel Tatar barbarians, and revive Chinese (Han) civilization."[440] Hence, the notion of a harmonized and integrated art scene in the Ming dynasty echoed and

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[438] Pan Tianshou 潘天壽, *Zhongguo huihua shi* 中國繪畫史 [History of Chiense painting] originally published in 1936, (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1983), 201.

[439] Ibid., 204.

[440] "(to) expel Tatar barbarians, and revive Chinese (Han) civilization." 驅除韃虜, 恢復中華 was first come up with by Sun Yat-sen in 1905, on which Sun elaborates that the Manchurian had been originally a group of non-Chinese people in the East who later enslaved the Han people and slaughtered the unsurrendered, so the revolutionists were to restore the national sovereignty – not just the throne.

legitimized the non-discriminatory, non-hierarchical co-existence of different genres and styles of ink paintings in the Republic of China.

To explain the intellectual milieu in the 1930s, I second historian Ni Wei's argument in *Imagined Nation and State Control*, that nationalistic thinking first permeated the educated groups and middle class, and later penetrated the proletariat through revolutions and movements.[441] Finding similar patterns in Republican China starting from late 1920s, Ni agrees with Eric Hobsbawm's assertion that nationalism and modernity are positively correlated with each other. As was the case in nineteenth century Europe, nationalism emerged after destructive revolutions, and then became a strong social force. Among the nationalistic-minded population, the middle class and the educated people expressed their dissatisfaction with the destruction and negation of revolutions most strongly. As Hobsbawm argues, the developmental trajectory of nationalistic thinking went along with the progress in literacy and development in higher education. The expansion of education and increase in literacy recruited young followers into the previously elite realm of the educated and the intellectual. Schools, especially colleges, were the hotbed of nationalism, where nationalistic thoughts were developed, theorized, and disseminated to ordinary audiences. In other words, the ideologization of art making reflected an overall ideologized intellectual world in 1930s China. The nationalistic awareness was quickly recognized and weaponized by the Republican government after it moved to Nanjing in 1928. In 1930, the Shanghai branch of the Nationalist Party publicized their "Nationalist Literary and Art Manifesto" 民族主義文藝運動宣言 which reads, "Literature and art never come out of an individual's mindset, but they are products of one's life experience which roots in one's nationalist stance…The most uplifting mission of literature and art is to deliver the national spirit

[441] Ni Wei, *Imagined Nation and Systemized State*, 2011.

and awareness that give birth to creative output. In other words, the ultimate meaning of literature and art is exactly nationalism."[442]

In the 1930s, cultural nationalism was mostly reflected in how China's artistic traditions were reexamined and promoted in the name of the newly strengthened and unified Republican state. Thus, patriotism among ink painters manifested itself as cultural nationalism. *Guohua* (literally national painting, or Chinese painting) was developed domestically and displayed abroad, as well as the development of artistic archaeology, the promotion of ethnographic photography, and the exhibitions of premodern art in furthering the goals of contemporary Chinese painters. In the 1930s, the new generation of Chinese painters – the students who studied after the elder masters – moved beyond the preservation of the old cultural tradition and transformed their artistic practice into a fundamental driving force in the construction of China's modern culture. As claimed by art historians Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, with the support and encouragement of the new Republican government, "artists became actors in culturally nationalistic performances of a self-consciously Chinese art suitable for the world stage."[443] This corresponds to what is mentioned in the previous paragraph: "the developmental trajectory of nationalistic thinking went along with the progress in literacy and education. The expansion of education and increase in literacy recruited young followers into the previously elite realm of the

[442] "Minzu zhuyi wenyi yundong xuanyan" 民族主義文藝運動宣言[nationalist literary and art movement manifesto] originally published in Qianfeng zhoukan 前鋒周刊 [vanguard weekly] Issue 2 (1930), in *Wenxue yundong shiliao xuan* 文學運動史料選 [a selected collection of literary movement archives] Peking University, Beijing Normal Unviersity, etc. ed., (Shanghai: Shanghai Educaiton Press, 1979) 79, also quoted in Ni Wei, *Imagined Nation and Systemized State*, 97.

[443] Andrews and Shen, *The Art of Modern China*, 94.

educated and the intellectual."[444] Following their Japanese predecessors, Chinese ink painting artists developed global awareness for developing the Chinese cultural self-image overseas. This process reinforced China's formation of a nation-state as a territorial state, because the cultural commonality broke down such older categories as birth, regional origin, or ethnicity and connected individuals directly to the state. Of course, that the state actively set up particular organizational-institutional frameworks for cultural development reassured the sense of commonality formed through shared aesthetic experiences.

Conclusion: Public Culture as Public Policy, Art as Ideology

In conclusion, this final chapter investigates the second and last national-level arts exhibition. The facility, formative process, and manifestation of the exhibition encapsulated common awareness of modernity as an experience of spatiotemporal reconstruction, the uniform progress of state- and nation-building, and the future cultural policy for educating the masses. First, the newly built National Art Gallery, in strong contrast to the Forbidden City, was an empty gallery space of no history, no possessions, and no conflict of interests between different parties. It was solely meant to symbolize the progress of nation-building and house the national symbols representing the reconstructed past, selected present, and projected future. Second, in the process of meta-institutionalization, the centralizing party-state intended to further systemize the educational, cultural, and propagandistic institutions to make different institutions operate within a coherent organizational and ideological framework. Two decades prior, intellectual-politicians were discussing whether the Institute for Displaying Antiquities was a religious or educational institution and whether religion should be part of the Ministry of Inner Affairs or the Ministry of Education. The different institutional categorization and affiliation signaled the

[444] Ni Wei, 107-108.

societal function and social role of arts and the museum. This question was settled by Zhang Daofan after the exhibition, when he stated that "The ideology and the imagery are the same thing."[445] Last, and most importantly, the *Second National Arts Exhibition* served as the connection that summarized the past aesthetic and art education, and shed light on the following policies on arts and culture and strategies of social education in visual arts.

First, in the ahistorical, newly built gallery space, historical and newly created artefacts were juxtaposed to reconstruct the history of the new nation-state. A specter of the past was haunting the Republic of China – the specter of the Neo-Confucian social and familial relationships, loyalty to the son of heaven, commonality in religion and morality, and rejection of non-Chineseness. The transformation from the Forbidden City to an *in situ* museum requires two steps summarized by art historian Xu Jian: to remove the old spirit while keeping the form and to keep the form while refilling with a new spirit.[446] The old spirit was the national past, and the new spirit was the reconstructed history on the basis of present experience, which was visually evidenced and enhanced by arts and material culture on display. The palace-turned-into *in situ* museum could be metaphorically seen as a miniature version of the whole nation, in which the old spirit was removed, and the new refilled.

Seeing the first and the second national arts exhibitions in comparative framework, the *First National Arts Exhibition* celebrated the juxtaposition of the old and the present as a sign of cultural continuity and reification of China's cultural identity, while the *Second Exhibition* recollected and reinvented the old into the present tense. In the manifesto "Mission of the

[445] Zhang Daofan, "The Literary and Art Policies," 2.

[446] Xu Jian, *Great Foundations*, 101.

National Arts Exhibition" (1929), artist Xu Shiqi 許士騏 (1900-1993) writes, "Our peaceful and grandiose national spirit shines in the globe. We inherit the past and create the future. Modern citizens are ought to archive the national past and incubate new knowledge…This exhibition marks cultural and artistic renaissance in China."[447] In the "tremendous contribution of the exhibition," director-general of the 1929 exhibition Meng Shouchun 孟壽椿 (1896 – ?) celebrates the side-by-side placement of traditional art next to emerging art as making a spectacular cultural scene because such juxtaposition optimistically reified the continuity of China's cultural identity and "provide(d) foreign sinologists with up-to-date references of our nation."[448] Both Xu Shiqi and Meng Shouchun acknowledged the importance of cultural continuity and warned of the danger of cultural dislocation. This explains why for the ink section of the 1929 exhibition, the critics insisted on the dichotomy of the "traditionalist" versus the "reformed" groups, and the reason that a separate "synthetic" group was identified, while there would be no area merging the traditionalist and the reformed, because the past was supposed to stay unchanged as a way to preserve and maintain tradition. The archived past was the solid foundation for the revival of past glory and artistic "renaissance" (Xu Shiqi's words).

The National Art Gallery was a new form to house the new spirit, and the *Second National Arts Exhibition* presented the new spirit by reinventing the past through new art and by creating new art for future reference. Western-style buildings with minor decoration of Chinese origin – like Cai Zhenhua's interior design discussed in Chapter Three – were located on the Guofu Road, alongside other political, educational, and cultural institutions. It was built for the

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[447] Xu Shiqi 許士騏, "Quangu" meizhan suofu de shiming" 全國美展所負的使命 [mission of the *National Arts Exhibition*] Issue 6, *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition], April 25, 1929.

[448] Meng Shouchun 孟壽椿 贡献 Issue 10, *Meizhan* 美展 [art exhibition] May 7 1929 Issue 10.

new nation-state to fulfill its nation-building aims and the inside was empty, meaning that it was subject to change and always for arts of the nation and for the nation in the present. Inside the ahistorical space, the objects of the past (archeological findings and museum collections), artworks of the present (then-contemporary Western-style painting, ink painting, and sculpture), proposal for the future (the design drawings of architecture, products and commercial arts), art and display of Western tradition, works of hybrid origins, and material culture of Chinese civilization were curated for the present masses and present state. The decontextualized works from different places—worldly or otherworldly, historical or present—were forcefully pulled into this space in the capital city, where they became "national arts." In contrast to the emphasis on the co-existence and revival of ink painting in the 1929 national exhibition, the critics commenting on the 1937 exhibition regarded the art of the present as a transitional point in which the past was freely appropriated and developed into the present. For instance, as cited before, Wang Xiazhou does not categorize the artist as traditionalist or reformist, but approvingly assesses He Lüzhi's work for transcending the past artistic tradition and developing their own style beyond the reach of the old masters.

Second, there were two sets of comparable labels used to categorize arts in the Republic of China: Chinese or national art versus Western or Western-style art, and the official versus the unofficial or independent art. This signal the changing interaction of cultural and structural forces in the field of art. The discourse on "national art," "Chinese art" or "Chineseness" was in fact reactionary nationalism and internationalism that dealt with the new identity of the nation in the modern globe, that not only arts and culture but also the nation was shaped by inner resistant tension and outer pressure. Commenting on the *Second National Arts Exhibition*, artists Ni Yide and Yang Taiyang first came up with the distinction between the official and the independent,

which they regarded as the force to fight against the official and eventually become an anti-official counterpart. To officialize arts and culture, the state and the party first attempted to nationalize arts and culture by distinguishing them from the foreign and from the historical, and by recognizing the distinctively national character of the domestic and the present. In order to be integrated into an institutional system, the art and artist needed to give up the full agency and be reduced to their functional and institutional role as social mediators and educational apparatuses.

Shao Yuanchong 邵元冲 (1890-1936), political predecessor of Zhang Daofan and chairperson of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee, spoke during the inauguration of the 1934 China Association for Cultural Construction 中國文化建設協會, stating that,

> Individualism (capitalism) and historical materialism (Marxism) are the vanguard for the foreign invaders … [T]he only key resolution is to retain our cultural confidence, ensure the spiritual base for our national culture, and set a central principle for cultural (re-)construction, which is "to construct an era-specific national culture in China" … We have to acknowledge time as a key factor in the national culture, because the phrase "Chinese national culture" is often mistakenly associated with the studies of the Chinese classics in an unquestioned, noncritical manner…[449]

Shao's proposal for the "era-specific national culture in China" was spatially and temporarily reactionary. As Shao and many other intellectual-politicians realized, the form of government and the economic base did not originate in the Republic of China, but an influx of foreign ideologies competed with each other in the Chinese society. For instance, without a mature industrial foundation, commercialization and consumerism launched the bourgeois cultural

[449] Shao Yuanchong 邵元冲, " Ruhe jianshe zhongguo wenhua, 1935.2.16" 如何建設中國文化 [how to (re)construct Chinese culture, February 16, 1935], in The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture I (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 40.

revolution in the urban areas. Also, without a developed capitalist society, the idea of alienation and class conflict was widely popularized by Marxist intellectuals. Furthermore, when people spoke about "national essence" or "national art," they were talking about arts and culture that originated in the enclosed dynastic history which had minimal outside influence. In other words, the attributes of the "national" negated the arts and culture created after the state was integrated into the modern global network. Therefore, Shao's speech calls for the reconstruction of Chinese national culture that was not implanted from foreign resources or excavated from some distant, discontinuous history. Shao's message was clear: the nation was the Republic of China, so the national was originated, developed, and perceived in every part within the territorial and historical boundaries of the Republic of China.

From Shao Yuanchong's reactionary notion of "era-specific national culture," to the slogan "making art for the new era" as the mission of the 1937 national arts exhibition, to Zhang Daofan's conception of "the means of expression in politics and art as ideology and imagery," arts and culture were incorporated into a party-state institutional system and became an ideological and political terrain.[450] As mentioned in the second section of Chapter Two, in the conventional historical rhetoric, the Nanjing decade marked a staged success of political tutelage – a provisional government led by the KMT training the people to be aware of their rights and obligations as a modern citizen, while the KMT party centralized power and turned the Republic of China into a party-state.[451] The merging of the political and cultural capitals in Nanjing, the

[450] "Archival Papers on The Preparatory Process, Regulations and Rules, and Meeting Minutes of the Ministry of Education *Second National Arts Exhibition*," Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

[451] Chinese Kuomingtang Party History Committee 中國國民黨黨史委員會 ed., *Sun Yat-sen* 國父全集 (Taipei: Modern China Publishing Hosue, 1989),vol. 3, 412-414.

establishment of the China National Art Association, and the fall of abstract art and rise of representational paintings in the *Second National Arts Exhibition* signified the political institutionalization of art and cultural institutions. From national art to official art, the focus on art was shifted from the cultural to the political, from the elite to the hegemonic, from social solidarity to social control, from nation-building to nation-state-building, and from the institutionalization of art to the meta-institutionalization of the government.

Last but most importantly, compared to the *First Exhibition*, which admitted an uncanny future and advocated for further artistic experiments, and the two overseas exhibitions discussed in Chapter Two that focused on the present, the *Second Exhibition* defined precisely the stage where the present art making and institutional setting as a social-educational apparatus served as a vehicle for future nation-building. The 1937 "Regulations and Standards for the Subject of Art Making" section of *KMT Party National Central Cultural Undertakings Committee's Prospectus for Advancing Art* 國民黨中央文化事業委員會推進美術事業計劃書 states,

> The value of a piece of art as an object is realized by the artist's self-expression in the art making process and its ability to enlighten the viewers. Therefore, an artwork can generate enormous social influence. The original purpose for art institutions in our nation is to supplement the political and educational sectors. Now, the gradually increasing, complicating, intertwining institutional-organizational sectors of art can enhance and magnify the individual artist's sentiments and advocacy. If a piece of art can transmit sentiments to the viewers and homogenize people's feelings and thoughts, it should be recruited to assist political and educational activities, so the subject of the artwork needs to be regulated…[452]

[452] "Guomingdang zhongyang wenhuashiye weiyuanhui tuijin meishu shiye jihuashu, 1937.7.7" 國民黨中央文化事業委員會推進美術事業計劃書 1937.7.7 [proposal for promoting arts by the central commission of cultural undertakings, 1937.7.7] in The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) 中國第二歷史檔案館 ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi dangan ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 [Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China], 1st ed., vol. 5: Culture I (Nanjing: Jiangsu Archives Press, 1991), 332-336.

The proposal was passed during the No. 417 meeting by the Fifth Central Standing Committee of the Kuomingdang Party in 1937.

The rhetoric in the beginning of this section reads *meishu zhi weiwu* 美術之為物, literally meaning "a piece of artwork as an object," which, according to philosopher Martin Heidegger, is supposed to contain socially encoded value. Heidegger clarifies the distinction between objects and things by arguing that an object becomes a thing when it can no longer serve its common function. When an object is misused, it becomes present to us in new ways through the suspension of its convention.[453] In other words, regulations and standards defined the correct use of the artwork and prevented the misuse of the artwork by ensuring its objecthood through socially-encoded values – to supplement politics and education, to unify and mobilize the gradually increasing, complicating, intertwining institutional-organizational sectors of art, and finally to unify the institutional sectors of art for political and educational purposes.

The committee intended to further interfere with the art making by ordering artists to depict "upholding national spirit," "peace-loving and positive nature," "patriotic heroes and revolutionary achievements," "loyalty, filial piety, benevolence," "virtues such as courtesy, righteousness," and other merits. The section continues,

> (2) Public murals should aim for upholding national spirit by portraying national heroes, historical sages and memorable events; (3) All paintings should reflect philanthropic, peace-loving and positive nature; (4) Figure paintings should focus on patriotic heroes, revolutionary achievements, folk culture from different regions. Artists should avoid decadent, Dionysian, and scandalous stories; (5) Landscape paintings should portray the landmark sites, historical relics, as well as natural beauties with eccentric scenery; (6) History paintings should base on loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faith, brotherhood, and peace, and avoid pessimism and immorality… (9) Designers should exploit the decoration of the daily objects to further promote virtues such as courtesy, righteousness, probity and sense of shame…

[453] Martin Heidegger, "The Thing," in *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2013), 163-180.

The "Regulations and Standards" first situate artwork, art making, artists, and art viewing in institutional channels and settings, meaning that institution-based art was censored, sanctioned, directed, and eventually, officialized. The official art involved state patronage distributed through institutional sectors affiliated with state departments. The marriage between artists and institutions resulted in didactic and nationalistic works in line with the ideology promoted by the patron. For instance, national heroes and revolutionary achievements were the embodiment of the government's authoritative legitimacy; natural beauty in remote areas and folk culture were the quintessence of the geographic and anthropological extension of the country as a whole; the virtues of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and brotherhood were the replacement for religious bonds and the representation of a commonly acknowledged value system, a collective experience, and a unified superstructure. Thus, art became self-referential; as signifiers artworks acquired meaning within the organizational-institutional system's own structurally defined rules, in what Jean Baudrillard refers to as "the law of the code."[454]

[454] Jean Baudrillard, *For A Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press Ltd., 1981), 147.

Conclusion: State- and Nation-building in Transboundary Entanglements

Each case study in the dissertation, from the Institute for Displaying Antiquities (1914-1948) to the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (1937), delineates how art became one major actor in post-conflict nation-building which was empowered by and empowering state-building of the Republic of China (1912-1949) after the violent end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Nation-building is to structure and construct the "shared sense of identity and common destiny… and to counter alternative sources of identity and loyalty" using the power of the state.[455] As the idea of nation-building is conceived as a process of improvement in civic order, the relevant discourse of each chapter focuses on the faculties of imagining and understanding the collective identity with shared cultural and historical criteria.[456] Nation-building in the newly established, turbulent Republic of China was happening concurrently with state-building. The newly established Republic was struggling with the construction of the state apparatus to become a modern nation-state. Each chapter looks into the institutional architecturation, institutional consolidation and expansion of institutional capacity of the state, and the institutional interrelation between nation-building and state-building.

Art as beauty is universal, but art with social and institutional properties is part of a state's civic infrastructure on a national level and always in present tense. The short-lived Republic of China (1912-1949) was constructed on the eroded soil of the estuary where the dynastic history flowed into the modern globe, witnessing the historical moment that "The early

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[455] Rocha A. Menocal, "State Building for Peace: A New Paradigm for International Engagement in Post-Conflict Fragile States?" *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 32, issue 10, (2011), 1715-1736: 1715. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41341196.

[456] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, translated with an introduction by Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 33, 63.

modern system collapsed not because it was flawed, but because it was different."[457] The exchange of objects, goods, people and thoughts through wars, diplomacy, trades, translation, exhibitions, and postal systems introduced a new spatiotemporal dominance of secularism, nationalism, capitalism, industrialism, urbanism, consumerism, and scientism to the masses. The transboundary entanglement and the global modernization shaped the public and civic order in the Republic of China. The teleological discourses on modernity and modernization urged the present political and intellectual leaders to historicize the pastness from the past and reclaim the history for present use. The art and art institutions in the dissertation, including museums, written art history, aesthetic education, paintings and commercial art, featured a crumpled space and a pleated timeline in the social context. The new spatiotemporal network integrated the Republic of China and its art in the power relations and contact zones of the modern globe.

In Chapter One, the formation of the Institute for Displaying Antiquities followed the institutional configuration modeled after those of the Western countries and reconstructed history on the present base for nation-building purposes. The Institute for Displaying Antiquities was a radical sign signaling the commitment of the Republic of China to becoming a disenchanted and culturalistic nation-state in the global network of equal nation-states. Visual democratization of the constructed past entailed a reflection on the strengthened common identity for those who had been radically cut from the past. The public's visual access to the collection housed in the public institution changed the conception of collection, the representation of power, and the relationship between power and visibility. The political and mythological symbols, which could be as small as a five-clawed dragon pattern or as big as the layout of the Forbidden City, were transformed

[457] Mark Ravina, "State-Making in Global Context: Japan in a World of Nation-States," in *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: Japan and China*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2005), 87-104: 95.

into a shared aesthetic experience and a network of cultural signs. As a place primarily to storage and preserve, the Institute for Displaying Antiquities still carried out social educational duties and became a modern temple – a museum. In 1926, the academicization of the collection further conceptualized the artefacts as "national essence."[458] The "national essence," replacing the power and mandate of an emperor, sought a takeover of the un-Forbidden City and became the new cult for the society. The exhibitions in the Institute as the social-educational device constructed the past, taught the masses about the present with the curated past, and proposed the future as the common goal for the masses. "Who controls the present controls the past," and "who controls the past controls the future."[459] The Beiyang government and then the KMT government inherited the material remains of the past, accessed to the historical record, and controlled the communication channels. To construct history was to legitimize the present, to regulate the present, to educate the youth, and to direct the future.

In Chapter Two, the two overseas exhibitions in mid-1930s transformed the pastness into the present cultural system by politicizing and contemporizing it. On the international stage, the *Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart* (1934) centered on the literati tradition to represent the national culture, while the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1935) featured the KMT government as the political and intellectual leader to present a sovereign state with one centralized government. The 1934 exhibition situated cultural nationalism in cultural internationalism which fostered communication between the self-interested states. The Chinese art was displaced in the European context which accentuated the cultural uniqueness through the

[458] "Letters of Appointment and Name List of the Connoisseurial Committee … (December 1926)" in *Comprehensive Collection of Archival Materials on History of the Republic of China*, 1991, 272-273.

[459] George Orwell, *Nineteen Eight-Four (1984)*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949).

Western gaze. In contrast, the 1935 London exhibition visualized China's and Britain's internationalist vision in the rise of geopolitical realism. The London exhibition was the Republic of China's attempt to maintain the liberal internationalism under Anglo-French leadership that fought against the rising nation-statism, militarism, imperialism, and Nazism. In the Chinese context, the displacement of the arts in the West encouraged the Chinese thinkers to associate Chineseness of the exhibits and the curatorial strategies with the nation's self-perception of its status in the world. On the one hand, the thinkers intended to portray Chineseness as a civilization inherited the philosophized image and word of a spiritual pre-industrial society; on the other hand, they also inclined to present the Chineseness of the present fully encompassing all aspects of scientific progress and Western values and pursuing liberal internationalism on the global stage. Both the nationalist and the internationalist endeavors were to situate the national culture in the present and for present use.

Chapter Three switched the attention from the intellectual elites to the masses. While the elites were thinking of the globe, the state, the nation, and the society, the masses shared the commonality and formed social coherence around morality, familial problems, everyday objects and individual well-being. Two social roles emerged in the Republic of China: the waged workers in the factories and the middle-class consumers in the department stores, which resulted in the imagined community constructed with working class consciousness and bourgeois ideology. The ultimate democratization of aesthetics was mass art – the institutionalized design and crafts in modern education, mass production and mass market. In the wave of boycotting the foreign products and promoting the national products, some design educators believed that design education should focus more on the industrial aspect than the artistic pursuit, because the mass production could meet the need of the growing number of the salary earners, and achieve

visual democratization of the entire society.[460] The mass production boosted the mass market, and the technologized advising visuality and machine-manufactured products embodied the idea of capitalist realism of the spectator-buyers. Capitalist realism, in a vague interpretation, means that capitalism would be the only viable economic and political system without an imaginable alternative. The foundation for the new ideological construction was the Western modernity on the basis of capitalism and the consciousness of China as a nation-state in the modern globe. Therefore, the industrial and commercial design portrayed the using of the products as a Western, scientific and modern way of life, and the product as the passport of the user's global citizenship. Eventually, the power of consumerism disbanded the spatial and temporal dichotomies and brought a hegemonic consumer identity to the urbanites. Consumerism promoted the culture of overconsumption and the preference to fashion over duration, which cultivated a new value system among the masses. The new wave of National Product Campaign initiated by the 1925 May Thirtieth Movement further made consumption a faithful behavior in national salvation. Politically, nationalism on the basis of capitalist realism resisted the leftist thoughts and enforced the ideological leadership of the KMT government.

In the last chapter, the merging of the political and cultural capitals in Nanjing, the establishment of the China National Art Association, and the rise of representational paintings in the *Second National Arts Exhibition* (1937) all signified the political meta-institutionalization of art and art institutions. From national arts to official arts, the focus on arts was shifted from historical to cultural, from cultural to political, from elitist to hegemonic, from social solidarity to social control, from nation-building to nation-state-building, and ultimately, from

[460]Chen Zhifo 陳之佛, "Meishu gongye de benzhi he fanwei" 美術工業的本質和範圍 [ontology and scope of artistic industry], *Yiban* 一般, Vol. 5, Issues 1 to 4, (July 1928):342.

institutionalization of art to meta-institutionalization of art as an institution. The exhibition was happening in the empty gallery space of the National Art Galley. The inside was empty and there was no pre-existing collection, meaning that it was subject to change and always for arts of the nation and in the present. Inside the ahistorical space, objects of the past (archeological findings and museum collections), artworks of the present (then-contemporary Western-style painting, ink painting, and sculpture), proposals for the future (the design drawings of architecture, products and commercial arts), art and display of Western tradition, works of hybrid origins, and material culture of Chinese civilization were curated for the present citizens. The decontextualized works from different places, worldly or otherworldly, historical or present were forcefully gravitated to the empty space in the capital city, where they became the national arts. The exhibition featured the didactic and nationalistic Western-style paintings in line with the ideology promoted by the state patron. The national heroes and revolutionary achievements were the embodiment of the government's legitimacy of leadership; the natural beauty in remote areas and folk culture were the quintessence of the geographic and anthropological extension of the country as a whole; the virtues of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and brotherhood were the replacement of religious bonds and the representation of a commonly acknowledged value system, a collective experience, and a unified superstructure. Thus, art became self-referential; as signifiers they acquire meaning within the organizational-institutional system's own structurally defined rules.

Most part of the dissertation was finished in the world with minimum transboundary entanglements – the year 2020, which means I could not access to most archival materials and books, resulting in a noticeable proportion of online resources listed in the bibliography and an interval of case studies between the first and second chapters. The dissertation would have consisted of five or six chapters that also cover the development of art institutions in the 1920s

Guangzhou and/or France. The existing chapters talk about events happened the capital of Qing and Beiyang government Beiping (Beijing), the cosmopolitan commercial center Shanghai, the new capital of KMT government Nanjing, as well as Berlin and London. Guangzhou is an extremely interesting city in the history of the Republic of China. Politically, Guangzhou was the hotbed of revolution, that both the 1911 Xinhai Revolution that overthrew Qing and the ambiguous 1913 Second Revolution discussed in Chapter One were originated in the city. The Nationalist (KMT) government was established in Guangzhou twice in 1925 and 1931 to rebel against the Beiyang government and to condemn Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. The first Guangzhou-based KMT government led to the centralized bureaucracy in Nanjing, and the second made Chiang resign from the chairman of the KMT government. Economically, like Shanghai, Guangzhou was one of the oldest port cities. In terms of art, as mentioned in Chapter Four, Guangzhou hosted two large-scaled provincial arts exhibitions in 1921 and 1937, and the selected artworks from Guangdong province in the *Second National Arts Exhibition* outnumbered all other regions. Hu Gentian's memoir was cited in Chapter Four, vividly describing the conflict between the military personnel and the exhibition committee in 1921. There are many Guangzhou-based cases I could pick to fill in the gap between the Beijing-based Beiyang government and the Nanjing-based KMT government, and to delineate the unique relationships between art and warlordism, and between the Chinese export/trade painting tradition and art education as a modern academic discipline.

Besides adding a chapter of a Guangzhou-based art event in the 1920s, I will further enrich the project with the Western influence in late 1920s. The public and civic order in the Republic of China was constructively shaped and deeply influenced by the rest of the world, especially the industrialized Western nation-sates. In Chapter One, founder of the first

encyclopedic museum Zhang Jian proposed for a national museum based on his observation of the cultural construction and social education in "Eastern and Western countries" which all "spent a big chunk of their budget on building schools, libraries, museums in both metropolises and townships."[461] Chapter Two, needless to say, is about the entangled modernities and state sovereignties on the international stage. In Chapter Three, Lin Wenzheng urged a specialized public design institute, stating "Both Eastern and Western countries found specialized institute solely for design and crafts,"[462] and Zheng Ke points out that the well-designed foreign products were rooted in the fact that the "Western society is a liberal, capitalist one where consumerism relies on design to fuel ever greater consumption," so instead of focusing on the national design, the state economic base needed to follow the Western mode first. In Chapter Four, the executive summary for the preparation of the 1937 national exhibition reads, "many modern democratic countries, such as France, America, and the Soviet Union publicly sponsored national arts exhibitions, so of course, the Republic of China cannot be an exception." [463]

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[461] Zhang Jian 張謇 "Shang nanpi xiangguo qing jingshi jianshe diguo bowuguan yi" 上南皮相國請京師建設帝國博覽館議[Proposal to Prime Minister Nanpi for establishing the imperial museum in the capital], *A Complete Collection of Zhang Jian* 張謇全集, Vol. 4, ed. Zhang Jian Research Center 張謇研究中心 (Nantong: Nantong Municipal Library, Nanjing: Jiangsu Antiquity Book Publishing House, 1994), 272-273.

[462] Lin Wenzheng 林文錚, "Benxiao yishu dagang" 本校藝術教育大綱 [the curriculum convergence for art education of our school], *Apollo Journal* 亞波羅, issue 13 (March 1, 1934): 6.

[463] "Jiaoyubu dierci quanguo meishu zhanlan choubei jingguo, gexiang zhangcheng, huiyi taolun deng youguan wenshu"教育部第二次全國美術展覽會籌備經過、各項章則、會議討論事項等有關文書 [archival papers on the preparatory process, regulations and rules, and meeting minutes of the Ministry of Education *Second National Arts Exhibition*], Ministry of Education (Page 1 to 140 /117), Record Group No. 5, File 494 (2), Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC) in Nanjing, China.

The four existing chapters have discussed extensively on the German, British and American influence which includes but is not limited to American scholar Dr. Frank Johnson Goodnow's monarchism (Chapter One), art historian Teng Gu's Germany-based doctoral training (Chapter Two), the ideal of British enlightened patriotism (Chapter Two), American advertising executive Elmo Calkins' idea of consumer engineering (Chapter Three), American educational reformist John Dewey's pragmatism (Chapter Four) and German artist Arthur Kampf's view on abstract painting (Chapter Four). One important international resource is missing: France. Noticeably, many important figures in the dissertation, including Xu Beihong, Lin Wenzheng, Liu Jipiao, Zheng Ke, and Yan Wenliang, received higher education and art training in France. Many students went abroad through the program of l'Institut Franco-Chinois Lyon. To the art students, the French experience offered more than art. They witnessed and experienced different social thoughts and philosophies of art, including communism, pro-military and patriotic French nationalism, fall of modernism, rise of Surrealism, as well as constant tension between Neoclassicism and Romanticism. In mid-to late-1920s, on the eve of relocating the capital city to Nanjing, head of the Ministry of Education Cai Yuanpei traveled in Europe and encouraged the graduates to go back and construct the art education system in China. The return of the French group brought new concepts to the art institutions, as well as to the social and institutional possibilities of art. In my future work, I will add a case study discussing the French influence into the scene of transboundary entanglements in the Republic of China.

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fei diyi yubei fei xiangxia dong zhihe yu yusuan zhangcheng shangwu buhe yingzhun zhaoban deng yin chi zhaoyou"監察院訓令第一八二號奉國府令為柏林中國美術展覽會籌備會呈請補發經費擬酌給國幣六千五百元在二十四年度教育文化費第一預備費項下動支核與預算章程尚無不合應準照辦等因轉飭照由[Control Yuan decree no. 182: the national government considers retroactively pay the preparatory committee of the Berlin art exhibition 6,500 yuan. The payment comes from the annual education and culture budget of 1935. The quote asked by the preparatory committee matches the budget, so the proposal is passed.], *Shenjibu gongbao* 審計部公報 [National Audit Office bulletin], issue 55 (1935): 1-2.

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