

# *Friendship in Art*

Fou Lei and Huang Binhong

Claire Roberts



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# Introduction

This book charts a friendship between two creative individuals who played important and yet very different roles in the evolution of Chinese culture in the twentieth century. In 1943, Fou Lei, a young Shanghainese intellectual, wrote to the 80-year-old artist Huang Binhong, a man more than 40 years his senior. Huang Binhong, also from the south, was then living in Japanese-occupied Beiping (the name for Beijing from 1928 to 1949), isolated in the unfamiliar, politically oppressive city. While the paths of the two men had crossed years earlier in Shanghai, Fou Lei's letter marks the beginning of an intense artistic conversation that continued until Huang Binhong's death in 1955.

As history unfolded, Huang Binhong and Fou Lei both found themselves on the wrong side of cultural politics. Their conversation, conducted through a long-distance correspondence, served to lessen their sense of alienation and uncertainty as they struggled with the fast-changing world of twentieth-century China. Their correspondence provides a window on their innermost lives, both as cultural thinkers and as human beings.

What brought these two men together? Huang Binhong (1865–1955) (Figure 1) was, in the 1940s, an elderly, respected but little understood scholar-painter, a man whose long life straddled the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, a time of unprecedented social and political change in China.

In contrast, Fou Lei (1908–66) (Figure 2) was a confident and cosmopolitan young man who had studied in Paris; he was passionate about art criticism and noted as a translator of French literature. Fou Lei was a member of a generation of idealistic young people who were well versed in Eastern and Western ways, men and women who conceived of China's future as being inextricably connected to an international world.

By virtue of his age and generation, Huang was a living link to the Chinese past. He conceived tradition as a dynamic, living force that was closely connected to language and philosophy, spirituality and the awareness of humanity's place in the cosmos. Fou Lei became acquainted with Huang's paintings following his study of European art. He was fascinated by Huang's cultural erudition and the transformative evolution of brush-and-ink painting that the elderly artist achieved at the end of his life. What interested Fou Lei was Huang's ability to create work that communicated on emotional, intellectual and cultural levels, and which was



**Fig. 1** (far left) Huang Binhong in Beijing, late 1930s.

**Fig. 2** (left) Fou Lei, Shanghai Art College, 1931.

based on a profound understanding and interpretation of Chinese tradition and the natural world. The artistic ideal that both men valued and resolutely pursued—Huang as a practitioner and Fou as a critic—was one that could transcend national boundaries while finding constant sustenance in Chinese cultural roots.

My own interest in the art of Huang Binhong stems from a long-term engagement with the study of Chinese language, begun as a teenager in Melbourne in 1972, the year that Australia and China re-established diplomatic relations.



After intensive language training in Beijing, I studied brush-and-ink painting in the Department of Chinese Painting at the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing (1979–81) and was among the first group of international students to be admitted to the Academy after the end of the Cultural Revolution. In the late 1970s, the teaching of 'Chinese painting' (*Zhongguo hua*) drew on classical Chinese and Soviet Socialist Realist pedagogy, reflecting China's ancient and recent art historical past. Students were taught to work in still-experimental hybrid styles that were traditional in form but embodied contemporary ideology. The synthesis was difficult, both technically and conceptually, and few of my fellow brush-and-ink painting classmates—graduates of China's most prestigious art school—have gone on to achieve international recognition. After completing my studies in Beijing I put aside my own artistic practice altogether and pursued art history in order to better understand the complex nature of Chinese brush-and-ink painting in the twentieth century.

I first became aware of Huang Binhong's landscape paintings through sets of cheap looseleaf reproductions that could be purchased in Beijing book stores in the late 1970s, which I used to cheer the walls of my dormitory room. Huang's paintings were among the few reproductions of twentieth-century Chinese art available that did not contain overt Socialist references. At the time, I developed a curiosity to know more about this artist who created such fluent, energy-filled paintings that did not appear anachronistic and somehow managed to communicate on an artistic level to me, an outsider. Many years later, while conducting research on the brush-and-ink painter Pan Tianshou (1897–1971) in Hangzhou, I was told of the large Huang Binhong archive at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. It was another decade later, while carrying out research in the museum for a PhD on the art of Huang Binhong, that I came across thick wads of letters written by Fou Lei to Huang Binhong. Fou Lei's name was familiar to me as the translator of *Jean-Christophe*, the epic novel by the French Nobel Prize-winning author Romain Rolland (1866–1945), whose work was read voraciously by art students at the Academy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The sheer physicality of the bundles of letters, so carefully kept by Huang despite the moves and vicissitudes of his life, and preserved by the museum because of the artist's decision to bequeath his collection to the state after his death, suggested the significance of his relationship with Fou Lei.

Huang Binhong is one of China's greatest twentieth-century artists. In 1953, at the age of 90, he was declared an 'Outstanding Painter of the Chinese People' (*Zhongguo renmin youxiu huajia*). Qi Baishi (1863–1957), a carpenter-turned-artist who was renowned for his brightly coloured folk-inspired

genre paintings, had turned 90 in 1950, and was accorded the title ‘Foremost Artist of the Chinese People’ (*Zhongguo renmin zhuoyue yishujia*). A qualitative difference is suggested by the carefully chosen terms *youxiu* and *zhuoyue*, which I translate as ‘outstanding’ and ‘foremost’, and *huajia* and *yishujia*, which may be understood as ‘painter’ and ‘artist’, indicating Qi Baishi’s seniority—in terms of both years and status. The phrase ‘Qi of the North, Huang of the South’ (*Bei Qi, Nan Huang*) was coined at this time, encapsulating the official recognition of Qi Baishi and Huang Binhong as China’s oldest and most distinguished living artists.

Huang Binhong was a scholar-painter. He was committed to artistic continuity and the reinvigoration of brush-and-ink painting at a time of profound political change. My interest in him stems from his status as a living link to the elite tradition of literati painting, a tradition that was repudiated by intellectuals of the New Culture Movement in the early twentieth century and later by the arbiters of culture in the Chinese Communist Party. Fou Lei’s interest in the art of Huang Binhong developed from his engagement with European art and literature and his experience of living in France, during which time he was forced to confront his own ‘Chineseness’. Fou Lei was a child of the New Culture Movement, who sojourned in Europe and, after struggling with the political changes that swept through China, committed suicide in 1966 at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. The story of his tragic demise is closely entwined with the crisis of twentieth-century Chinese culture. The act of reaching out beyond his generation and contemporary circumstance to Huang Binhong, an old and unfashionable artist, in order to engage with and consider possibilities for contemporary Chinese art, speaks to the originality of his thinking at that time.

My background as a student of Chinese language and art, and as a curator and research scholar with a long-term engagement with the Sinophone world, has informed the writing of this book. As a former practitioner, historian and curator of Asian art, I am sensitive to the creative and cultural significance of brush-and-ink painting, and the ideas and forces that have shaped its evolution. The views articulated in the following pages arise out of an interest in the situation of brush-and-ink painting in the modern and contemporary periods and a belief in the importance of transcultural inquiry. My approach is based on empirical research and a careful reading of primary texts and images, considered within the context of their time and also within broader contexts of intellectual exploration.

In 2005 and 2008, I attended commemorations held in China for the 50th anniversary of Huang Binhong’s death and the centenary of Fou Lei’s birth.

Those events, marked by large-scale exhibitions, publications and international symposia, attracted scholars and practitioners from the disciplines of art and translation respectively, and measured the contributions of Huang Binhong and Fou Lei against the ever-changing contours of the Chinese cultural landscape. The celebrations and discussions were lively, but there were few opportunities to explore questions that go beyond the relatively self-contained worlds of art and art history, literary translation and linguistics, and the brand of hagiography that such commemorations attract. The effect, in each case, was to limit any substantial consideration of the complexity of the individual lives of Huang Binhong and Fou Lei. Perhaps the twentieth century—a ‘century of crisis’—is still too close for researchers into those turbulent years to be able to conduct fully penetrating investigations. It should be possible, however, to widen the focus of inquiry to embrace the evolution of Chinese culture in the twentieth century, and essay a discussion of problems from an oblique angle rather than head on. This book is one such attempt, grounded in the close reading and translation of a body of texts that have hitherto received scant attention. In pursuing this work, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach to the subject of twentieth-century cultural change through the particular and profoundly revealing prism of friendship between two individuals—a translator and an artist.

Huang Binhong and Fou Lei were cultural mediators and translators, dealers in ideas and approaches to cultural expression; they were also creators concerned with modes of communication, the expression of identity and exchange between cultures. Huang Binhong was at once a scholar, artist, art historian, collector and connoisseur, and Fou Lei had a keen interest in and knowledge of literature, art, music and international affairs. Their thinking was profoundly influenced by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century debates concerning tradition and reform, cultural and political nationalism, cultural iconoclasm and China’s place in the world. They are multi-faceted figures, seriously engaged with the practice of envisioning a better China, whose achievements can only be appreciated beyond the narrow terms of their professional practice. Today, perhaps, we would call them ‘public intellectuals’.

The cultural richness and resonance of the union of writing and painting mark Chinese art as genuinely different from the Western tradition of art-making. Fou Lei and Huang Binhong were drawn together by their deep appreciation of the common origins of calligraphy and painting. As creative practitioners, they worked with brush and ink, image and text, to render complex feelings, situations and

ideals. Huang Binhong developed an abbreviated style of painting that was based on ‘sketch conceptualism’<sup>1</sup> (*xieyi hua*), which he termed ‘simplified brush painting’ (*jianbi hua*), and Fou Lei used painting to provide a metaphorical landscape to express his view of literary translation, declaring that—as was the case with traditional Chinese artists—he valued ‘spiritual resemblance’ (*shensi*) above ‘formal resemblance’ (*xingsi*). A shared artistic sensibility lies at the heart of their dialogue.

Yet the lives and thoughts of Huang Binhong and Fou Lei did not easily mesh with the dominant opinions of their time, including the socialist ideology that was formally imposed on Chinese society after 1949. The values and ideals that they championed were unfashionable and their creative paths went across the grain of the conventional interpretations of history and culture that have shaped China since that time. As a consequence, their lives embody difficult and inconvenient truths—even today.

One of the most frequently quoted statements concerning friendship is attributed to Aristotle: ‘I love Plato, but I love Truth more’, or ‘Plato is my friend, but Truth is my better friend’.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle affirms that, in a choice between truth and friendship, one should choose wisdom or truth and abandon the friend. As Agnes Heller observes, ‘the choice between truth and friendship is a choice not between two virtues but between an absolute claim and the claims of personal love or loyalty’.<sup>3</sup> There is no choice other than to choose truth. In a totalitarian context, however, truth becomes the political ‘truth’. In such circumstances, the operation of friendship is placed under considerable strain and there is an expectation that a loyal citizen of the state will choose political ‘truth’ over friendship every time. This change to the meaning of truth was an acute problem in China for those who had been schooled in Confucian thought and values. Fou Lei and Huang Binhong would have been familiar with the writings of the philosopher Mencius (fourth century BCE), the second originary sage in the Confucian tradition, who said of friendship: ‘In making friends with others do not rely on the advantage of age, position or powerful relations. In making friends with someone you do so because of his virtue, and you must not rely on any advantages you may possess.’<sup>4</sup>

Huang Binhong wrote to Fou Lei in literary Chinese (*wenyan wen*), the language used by literati and scholar-bureaucrats for hundreds of years. His letters are grounded in traditional learning rich with literary and historical allusion. By contrast, Fou Lei wrote to Huang in modified classical Chinese, the language of the educated class in the early twentieth century. His style is characteristic of the Republican period, when language reform was introduced, establishing a ‘national language’ (*Guoyu*) to promote literacy and national unity, and to ease China’s

integration into the modern world. Unlike many of his peers, however, Fou Lei did not view the Chinese written language as backward or incompatible with modernity. He did not agree with cultural iconoclasts who called for the abolition of classical Chinese and traditional-form written characters, a project pursued by the Communist Party in the 1950s with the full-scale adoption of vernacular Chinese and common speech (*Putong hua*) and the introduction of simplified Chinese characters and Official Standard Chinese phonetic spelling (*Hanyu pinyin*). In his letters and writings to Huang Binhong, Fou Lei was determined to demonstrate his own erudition, bridging their generational linguistic separation through the adoption of archaising concepts and phrases. The letters follow Chinese literary conventions and traditional codes of politeness and respect, particularly in the use of flowery opening and closing salutations, complimentary remarks, expressions of self-deprecation when addressing the correspondent and politeness to the recipient. Yet, for all their appropriate formality, the letters are surprisingly direct when it comes to matters of the art world, art-related business affairs and publishing.

It is rare for an artist to find someone who truly understands his or her work—particularly a person from another generation with very different life experiences. Fou Lei's friendship with Huang Binhong gave both men an opportunity to develop their shared interest in Chinese painting and philosophy, art theory and connoisseurship through conversations that ranged backwards and forwards in time. Over the course of 12 years, the two men exchanged numerous letters and Fou Lei amassed a large collection of Huang's paintings, many of which came with the letters in the mail. Huang found in Fou an unusually astute mind and an admiring eye. Fou wrote to Huang with observations and critiques that served to hone his own views on modern art and art history. His perceptive and candid comments enabled the elderly artist to consider Chinese art history and his own work from a perspective informed by an appreciation of modern Western art. In the decade after Huang's passing, and before he tragically took his own life in 1966, Fou Lei did much to ensure that Huang Binhong's posthumous reputation as an artist was secured.

Fou Lei is best known as a translator. Little is known about his role as art critic, essayist and collector of contemporary Chinese art. Yet the fragmentary texts, letters and paintings that remain from his artistic dialogue with Huang Binhong spanning the period 1931–62 provide a way into the mental worlds of both men. These documents of the evolving friendship between Fou Lei and Huang Binhong lie at the heart of this book. Through a careful reading of Fou Lei's writings, we can appreciate his interest in probing philosophical questions, his desire to

solve problems and his frequent and fearless candour in drawing attention to deficiencies. We also come to share his understanding of Huang Binhong's art. While the individual pieces may appear disconnected and opaque in isolation, the introductory remarks in each chapter are intended to provide an illuminating personal and historic context. Together, these writings and paintings are eloquent testimony to a shared experience of the political turmoil and artistic crisis that shaped the lives, art and fortunes of two significant creative individuals.

Their names 'Lei' and 'Hong' mean 'thunder' and 'rainbow' respectively. Their words and images, like thunder claps and rainbows, are products of a stormy time that presented extraordinary challenges for advocates of modernity and tradition alike. Today in China, a diversity of practice is increasingly tolerated in an atmosphere of political nationalism and cultural unity that also embraces the Chinese diaspora. As contemporary Chinese artists, writers, intellectuals and officials continue to navigate complex courses between their own and other cultures, the life and work of these two towering cultural figures from an earlier time who found friendship in art offer a rich legacy.

# 1 Fou Lei: Shanghai and Paris

Prior to the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), Fou Lei was best known in China as one of the greatest translators of French literature. In the minds of readers, his name was synonymous with Romain Rolland and Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), whose novels he rendered into vivid Chinese. Today, he is better known for the letters he wrote to his sons, Fou Ts'ong (b.1934) and Fou Min (b.1937), between 1954 and 1966 and published posthumously as *Fou Lei's Family Letters*. Fou Ts'ong, the eldest son and a gifted pianist, travelled to Poland in 1954 to further his musical career. Fou Min, who excelled in English, enrolled at the Beijing Institute for Foreign Languages in 1959. The letters from their father combined advice and encouragement, life teachings and stern fatherly love. The Cultural Revolution had been a time of empty slogans, when many individual family members denounced one another in order to maintain allegiance to the chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong (1893–1976)—the 'red sun' in people's hearts. In 1981, when the volume of selected correspondence appeared—after Mao's death and the fall of the 'Gang of Four'—the beauty and sincerity of Fou Lei's words to his sons and the depth of his life philosophy resonated strongly with readers. The letters, numbering more than 100, were mostly written to Fou Ts'ong. Many include long disquisitions on music, literature and art, peppered with French and English words, giving readers access to the inner lives of Fou Lei and his sons and prompting them to consider their own family life in relation to the Fou family and the harshness of political reality. The book quickly became a bestseller and has since sold more than two million copies. Few people, however, are aware of Fou Lei's long-standing interest in music and art, his translations of the biographies of Beethoven, Michelangelo and Tolstoy written by Rolland, his work as an art critic and a teacher of Western art history, or his fascination with Chinese painting. While Fou Lei never formally studied painting, sculpture or music, he was sensitive to all expressive media and to the creative worlds inhabited by artists.

Fou Lei was born in 1908 into a well-to-do land-owning family in Yutanxiang (Deep Fish Pond Village), Nanhui—present-day Xiashaxiang—about 40 minutes by car southeast of Shanghai. I travelled there in June 2007, accompanied by a Chinese friend who was also curious to see where Fou Lei had grown up. Our visit was hosted by Wang Shuhua, the local authority on the Fou family's history

**Fig. 3** Fou Lei's family home in Xiashaxiang, 2007.

and founding director of the Nanhui Museum, which includes a display about Fou Lei as one of the district's famous sons. Today, the Fou family's large single-storey courtyard house sits sandwiched between modern two- and three-storey buildings that are an ugly combination of rural functionalism and fantasy architecture (Figure 3).



The house faces a canal that was used to transport rice, wheat, peanuts and cotton grown in the surrounding fields to the market town of Zhoupu. No longer owned by the Fou clan, the old house is home to a number of families as evidenced by a multitude of electricity meters. A plaque affixed to the front of the house in 2006 stipulates that Fou Lei's place of birth is an 'immoveable cultural heritage structure protected by the Nanhui District', but the once-handsome façade is in a state of disrepair. It bears the fading slogan 'Defend Chairman Mao!'

High-rise apartment buildings surrounded by fences tower over the flat, productive land in this once rustic and remote area. Our guide, Mr Wang, who was from a nearby town and had visited Fou Lei's ancestral home one year before, was baffled by the dramatic development of new housing estates and had difficulty navigating our route. New roads lead to satellite settlements that will be connected to Shanghai by rail, enhancing local prosperity. Fou Lei belongs to the eighteenth generation of the Fou family, once one of the largest and wealthiest clans in the village.



Fou Lei's father, Fu Pengfei (1888–1912), was a teacher at the Yangjie Girls' Secondary School in Zhoupu. He died tragically young of tuberculosis at the age of 24 in difficult circumstances. Fou Lei was four. Three other children died in infancy. Fou Lei's distraught mother Li Yuzhen (1888–1933) moved with her only surviving child to Zhoupu, known as 'Little Shanghai' because of its cosmopolitan ambience. Fou Lei grew up in a rambling two-level house with his mother, a wet nurse, an accountant and an old family servant. The western end of the rented house was said to be inhabited by a ghost. Today, high-rise apartment blocks tower over Fou Lei's former home, casting long shadows on it and the few remaining old houses of Zhoupu.

Li Yuzhen was a strong and determined mother. Although she could not read or write herself, she expected Fou Lei to study hard and punished him when he did not do so. The methods she employed were unconventional and cruel, such as dripping hot wax into his belly-button or tying him to the leg of the table on which his father's spirit plaque was displayed, forcing him to acknowledge wrong-doing and demonstrate greater filial responsibility. Fou Lei no longer had a father to look up to for authority and guidance, nor siblings to deflect his mother's attention, so he developed into a lonely, aloof and moody child. Fou Lei was named Fou Nou'en at birth. Nou'en means 'to pacify anger' and derives from the early Confucian thinker Mencius: 'Upon King Wen's outburst of anger heaven was pacified.' According to family elders, Fou Lei made a noisy entry into the world, howling loudly and incessantly—a portent, perhaps, of his fiery temper. As a teenager, he started using the name 'Lei', which means thunder, continuing the stormy literary metaphor. From a young age, he was attracted to reading and writing, which offered an escape from the sorrow and troubles of family life.

Fou Lei's early years must also be considered against the complex backdrop of history. The forced expansion of international trade after China's defeat in the 'Opium Wars' (1839–42, 1856–60), followed by the collapse of the Manchu-Qing dynasty in 1911, and with it the centuries-old system of imperial rule, ushered in a period of national uncertainty and soul-searching. The proclamation of the Republic of China the following year laid the foundations for a new society that would draw substantially on Western scientific, technological and cultural knowledge in an attempt to strengthen China's standing in world affairs. Traditional culture, with its emphasis on reverence for the past, was seriously challenged. In 1912, Fou Lei was too young to understand the enormity of the social and political changes around him that would shape his world. He would come to understand that 1912, the year

**Fig. 4** Fou Lei with his mother, aunt and two other women in Zhoupu, early 1910s.

his father died, left a shadow on his heart, marking the beginning of a series of challenges that would continue for the rest of his life.

Fou Lei's aunt, Fu Yi, was a graduate of the McTyeire School for Girls, Shanghai's first public girls' school, established in 1892. Reverend Young John Allen (1836–1907), superintendent of the American Southern Methodist Episcopal Mission, was instrumental in the founding of McTyeire. Allen played an important role in China's Reform Movement through his editorship of the influential *Globe Magazine*, later renamed *Review of the Times* (1874–1907), which published essays on international current affairs and economics. The McTyeire School for Girls was part of his educational legacy, and it attracted the daughters of influential locals. Foreign educators conducted teaching in English and the outlook was distinctly Western. The Song family daughters Song Ailing (married to H.H. Kung, China's minister of finance), Song Qingling (married to Sun Yat-sen, the first president of the Republic of China) and Song Meiling (married to Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang, who became president of the Republic of China), whose lives became so entwined with China's economic and political futures, received their early education at McTyeire.

Fu Yi was a stern mentor. She spoke good English and encouraged Fou Lei in his studies. A photograph taken in a studio in Zhoupu (Figure 4) shows Fou Lei



in the company of four rather formidable-looking women. The bespectacled and scholarly-looking Fu Yi stands in the middle and Fou Lei's mother is seated to her right. The women are dressed in pale coloured jackets and dark skirts typical of the period and set against a refined garden setting that they would have chosen from the photographic studio's stock of painted views. Fou Lei is seated on a facsimile ornamental garden stone and holds a small ceramic dog in his lap, a clever device to control his restless fidgeting. The realism of the grass and potted plants contrasts strongly with the romantic European-inspired landscape backdrop that transports the group to another time and place, as if anticipating Fou Lei's own future travels.

Fou Lei was tutored at home in Chinese, English and mathematics before attending primary school in Zhoupu. At the age of 12, he was sent to Shanghai to continue his schooling—like his aunt, Fu Yi. The following year, 1921, he enrolled at the Collège Saint Ignace (Xuhui Public School), a boarding school founded by the Society of Jesus in 1850. There he developed a love of reading and writing and began to study French, which would become a lifelong passion. Fou Lei was an intelligent but rebellious child. After three years at the prestigious Jesuit school, he was expelled for his resistance to religious studies and moved to the middle school attached to Datong Academy, where he studied English and became involved in student politics. He participated in the May Thirtieth Movement anti-imperialist demonstrations following the shooting of Chinese protestors in the International Settlement in Shanghai in 1925, and the next year is said to have led protests against 'scholar-tyrants' at the school and was threatened with arrest. On hearing this news, Li Yuzhen removed her son from the school and took him to the countryside for his own safety. Fou Lei never went back to the school and, much to his mother's dismay, never graduated.

While Fou Lei's formal education was piecemeal, he was a prodigious writer from an early age, composing short stories and living a rich inner life. He sent work to editors of leading literary magazines, including Hu Jichen (1886–1938) at *The World of Fiction* and Sun Fuxi (1898–1962) at the *New North Weekly*. In early 1926, at the age of 18, he had a three-part short story entitled 'Dream', written in the first person and inspired by family members including his cousin Zhu Meifu (who would later become his wife), accepted for publication and serialized in the *New North Weekly*.

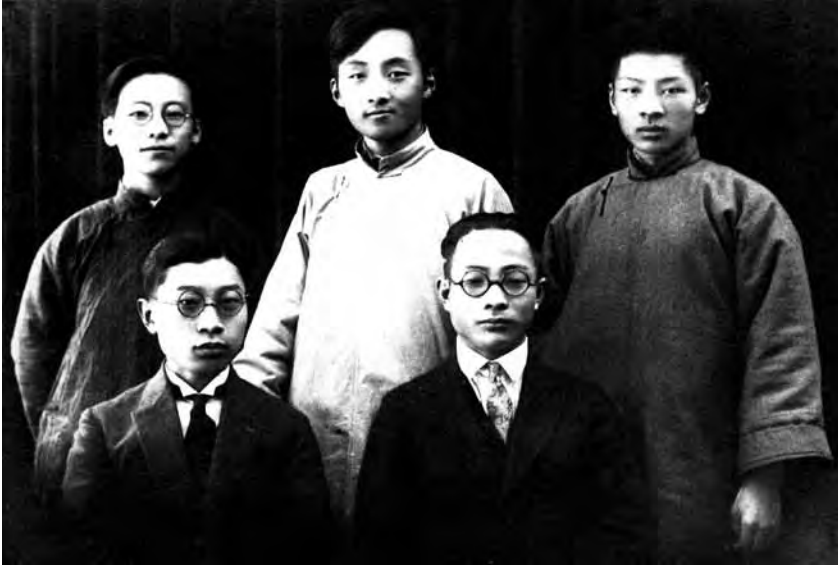
Yet, despite this literary success, Fou Lei was restless and discontented. After hearing about the experiences of his beret-wearing cousin Gu Lunbu, who had travelled to France on a work-study programme, he set his heart on travelling overseas. His mother was reluctant to let him go, but both Gu Lunbu and his aunt

thought that travel would remove him from the unstable political situation at home and set him on a better life course. Eventually, his mother accepted his desire to travel, selling some family property to pay for the journey. Fearful that her son would not return, however, she insisted that he become engaged. Fou Lei had been courting his cousin Zhu Meifu. Before his departure he proposed to her and promised his mother the sojourn abroad would not bring her disappointment.

After the devastation of World War I, the French government encouraged visitors from other countries to assist with national reconstruction. The devaluation of the franc made the cost of living there relatively inexpensive, and the attraction of France as a cultural destination—with its revolutionary past and the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity—resonated strongly in the minds of many young and idealistic Chinese. Chinese educationalists and officials also sought opportunities for workers to gain overseas skills and experience as part of the government programme for social and economic reform. In the early 1900s, various work-study programmes were established and France became second only to Japan as a destination for Chinese workers and students. Many travelled under the auspices of the Sino-French Educational Association, headed on the Chinese side by the former minister of education, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), who had studied in Germany and France. In 1916, Cai Yuanpei had become president of Peking University. The following year he published a major article in the progressive magazine *La Jeunesse* (Xin qingnian), advocating aesthetic education as a key aspect of educational reform and a substitute for religion. Prominent Chinese who benefited from the work-study programmes include the artist Lin Fengmian (1900–91), who travelled to France in 1919, and Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) and Deng Xiaoping (1904–97), who departed the following year.

A photograph of Fou Lei and his friends taken prior to his departure for France (Figure 5) shows Fou Lei (front left) wearing a Western suit and tie while many of the others, including his close friend Fu Yuan (back row far right), wore the traditional-style long gown that was typical dress for Chinese students and scholars. Fou Lei projects a confident, cosmopolitan image, befitting an aspiring intellectual from Shanghai—a place celebrated as the ‘Paris of the East’.

Fou Lei set sail from Shanghai on 31 December 1927. He arrived at Marseilles five weeks later, having stopped off at ports in Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo, Aden and Suez along the way. He was 19 years old. While on board ship, he practised conversation with a young French-speaking Vietnamese passenger and wrote letters to family and friends, recording his thoughts, feelings and conversations. Fifteen of those letters were published in the Shanghai literary



**Fig. 5** Fou Lei with friends prior to his departure for Paris, Shanghai, 1927.

journal *Contribution*, edited by the brothers Sun Fuxi and Sun Fuyuan under the title 'Letters from France', serialized over a number of issues in 1928.<sup>1</sup> In one letter, Fou Lei declares that his aims are 'to go in search of life' and to 'experience what it means to live'.

For the first six months, Fou Lei lived in the historic town of Poitiers in central western France to work on his French. Poitiers is renowned for its architecture—most notably Notre Dame La Grande, one of the finest Romanesque churches in France, and its university, which was established in 1431. Fou Lei took language classes and his elderly landlady engaged him in conversation and helped introduce him to French language and culture. He studied hard, and would relax by walking in the nearby gardens—often in a Chinese scholar's gown (Figure 6), which may also have served the psychological function of keeping him connected to his cultural roots.

He covered his desk with photographs of friends and family. In August, to take him away from his studies and ensure that he saw something of Europe, his landlady took him on a trip to Évian on the southern bank of Lac Léman (Lake Geneva) near the Swiss border. A souvenir photograph taken during this trip (Figure 7) shows him in casual Western dress, hat in hand, standing slightly aloof from four mature women in a grand park.

Fou Lei then moved on to Paris and attended classes in French literature and art theory at the Université de Paris, as well as auditing lectures on art at

**Fig. 6** Fou Lei in a Chinese scholar's robe in Poitiers, France, June 1928.

the Sorbonne and the Louvre. He lived in the eastern suburb of Nogent-sur-Marne with Liu Kang (1911–2004), an art student from Malaysia who had studied oil painting at the Shanghai Art College. Fou and Liu became good friends, playing tennis and visiting art galleries and cultural sites together. Liu Kang loved music and introduced Fou Lei to Western classical music and opera. One of their favourite places was the Louvre Museum, where they undertook their own study of Western art by looking at the impressive chronological displays, examining masterpieces such as Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* on repeated visits, and familiarising themselves with the characteristics of individual artists



and different artistic periods and styles. In early 1929, they were joined by Liu Haisu (1896–1994), an artist and art administrator who had come to Europe from Shanghai with his wife to further his study of Western art and promote a greater understanding of modern Chinese art in Europe. Funds for his trip were provided by the University Council that had replaced the Ministry of Education, through its president, Cai Yuanpei. Liu Haisu was 12 years Fou Lei's senior and principal of the Shanghai Art College. He did not speak French, so Fou Lei became his teacher, translator and guide. More than anyone else from Shanghai, Liu Haisu's presence in Paris—as an ambitious and influential art world figure—would shape Fou Lei's experience.

In 1912, the year the Republic of China was proclaimed, Liu Haisu and others had established the Shanghai Art College, a private art academy and one of the earliest institutions in China to teach contemporary art, including oil painting, life drawing and *en plein air* painting.<sup>2</sup> Prior to this time, Jesuit artists had introduced oil painting and other Western art techniques. The Society of Jesus established an



**Fig. 7** Fou Lei with landlady and her friends in Switzerland, August 1928.

orphanage for boys in Caijiawan outside of Shanghai in 1848 that was forced to move to Tushanwan in Xujiahui after the Taiping Rebellion. In 1867 Jesuit priests and brothers created an art workshop (Tushanwan huaguan) there which came to teach oil painting, sculpture, photography, printing, and trades such as woodwork and metalwork. The purpose of the workshop was to provide children with skills to earn a future living and create religious and secular goods for sale. Early teachers included Brother Jean de Dieu Ferrer (1817–56), who arrived in Shanghai in 1847, and Father Nicola Massa (1815–76).<sup>3</sup>

Liu Haisu and the Shanghai Art College are perhaps best known for the controversy over the use of nude male and female models, a row that erupted in the early years of the college's history and reignited many years later.<sup>4</sup> In the process, Liu Haisu was accused of offending Chinese moral sensibilities and labelled a 'traitor to art'. The high-profile dispute resulted in repeated attempts by officials to ban the use of nude models. Liu Haisu petitioned against the prohibition, arguing that life drawing was an essential aspect of modern art education and had been practised in European art academies for hundreds of years, as well as more recently in America and Japan, without any corrupting influence. He was forced to suspend life drawing classes and was taken to court for giving offence to an official. Eventually, because of this and other problems, as well as an increasingly complex political environment, Liu Haisu fled to Japan and management of the college was taken over by the Board of Trustees. He was later offered an extended study trip to Europe.

Once in Paris, Liu Haisu made contact with a number of his former students, and through them met Fou Lei. They would spend many afternoons together at the Louvre. Liu Haisu made painstaking copies of works by Rembrandt, Titian, Delacroix, Van Gogh and Cézanne. His intention was to understand the techniques used by Western masters and to produce a collection of faithful reproductions that could be housed in a future national collection in China, enabling Chinese to appreciate European masterpieces—albeit at one step removed.<sup>5</sup> While Liu was painting, Fou studied works of art and made extensive notes. He read widely on art history, aesthetics and music. Both men took an interest in the lives of artists and liked to visit house museums. After reading in a local newspaper about the death of French sculptor Émile Antoine Bourdelle (1861–1929)—an assistant to Rodin for many years—Liu Haisu and Fou travelled to his home to pay their respects. They visited the Rodin Museum and travelled out of town to places such as Auvers-sur-Oise where Van Gogh, Cézanne and other artists had lived and worked. They are also said to have met some leading artists, including Picasso, Derain, Kees van Dongen and Matisse.<sup>6</sup> The encounter with Matisse may have coincided with the 1931 exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit, the artist's first Parisian retrospective in more than 20 years, an event held to mark the artist's sixtieth birthday. The exhibition was held from 16 June to 25 July and included over 140 paintings, drawings and prints by Matisse. According to Hilary Spurling, it was 'a dealers' show, prestigious and celebratory, concentrating on paintings from the last decade in Nice, with little attempt to present a coherent survey of what had gone before'.<sup>7</sup>

Fou Lei studied the works of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist artists, and in particular admired the paintings of Paul Cézanne (1839–1906). His first piece of art criticism, entitled 'Cézanne', was written in Paris and published in the Shanghai magazine *Eastern Miscellany* in 1930.<sup>8</sup> In summarizing the significance of Cézanne, whose art marks a turning point in the history of modern painting, Fou Lei wrote: 'In order to appreciate the greatness of Cézanne, you must understand that he is a man of his times. [An artist who is] a man of his times is someone whose work never goes out of fashion, is of the moment and at the same time looks to the future.'<sup>9</sup> Fou Lei's choice of subject for his first essay on art points to a sophisticated artistic taste and an interest in art that probes the inner world of creativity, not just art's reflection of external reality.

There are few extant materials relating to Fou Lei's artistic activities in Paris. One such document is a photograph of Liu Haisu, his wife Zhang Junshi, Zhang Xian (1901–36) and Fou Lei taken in the studio of the 81-year-old artist Albert





**Fig. 8** Fou Lei, Albert Besnard, Liu Haisu, Zhang Junshi and Zhang Xian (R to L) in the studio of Albert Besnard, Paris, May 1930.

Besnard (1849–1934) (Figure 8). The photograph shows four fashionably dressed visitors gathered around a large romantic oil painting of a female nude.

Besnard, who was director of the *L'École des Beaux-Arts*, may not have been a man of his times in the way Cézanne was, but he was renowned for his departure from French academic style. His exploration of effects of light and shadow could be seen in large canvases and murals in the Sorbonne and other places. Besnard must have been impressed by Liu Haisu: he arranged for some of Liu's recent works to be displayed in the Salon des Tuileries and in a solo exhibition before the artist left Paris. The photograph with Besnard also suggests how much Fou Lei and Liu Haisu had to offer one another. Through his knowledge of the French language, Fou Lei gave Liu Haisu access to the world of French culture, while Liu Haisu introduced Fou Lei to leading figures in art and provided insights into Western art from his unique perspective as a practitioner.

Another photograph redolent of Fou Lei's life in Paris shows him gazing from an open upper-storey balcony window onto plane trees, his features illuminated by the late afternoon sun. He looks like a typical Parisian student-intellectual, wearing

**Fig. 9** Fou Lei seated in front of a window with an open book in Paris, 1930.



a white shirt and bow tie, pale-coloured trousers and a striped hand-knitted vest, with an open book on his lap (Figure 9).

Fou Lei loved books and frequented secondhand bookshops, particularly those along the Boulevard Saint-Michel, where he could read undisturbed for hours at a time without necessarily having to buy anything. He would relax by walking in the Luxembourg Gardens at dusk and was captivated by the beauty of the River Seine at night. He began to read French literature, especially works by Roman Rolland, who had won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1915, and Honoré de Balzac, the great French novelist. He tried his hand at translation as a way of refining his French comprehension, beginning with short stories by Alphonse Daudet (1840–97) and the novella *Carmen* by Prosper Mérimée (1803–70). His

translation of Romain Rolland's biography of Beethoven would be published soon after his return to Shanghai.

In the summer of 1929, Fou Lei returned to the French-Swiss border region for three months. He stayed at Saint-Gingolph on the southern bank of Lake Geneva not far from where he had vacationed with his former landlady the year before. He was joined there by the brothers Sun Fuxi and Sun Fuyuan, his friends from Shanghai, who had returned to Paris for further study. Together, they went boating and fishing and toured neighbouring villages. Fou Lei then moved to an alpine chalet where he met up with Liu Haisu and his wife, Liu Kang and Chen Renhao (1908–76). Fou Lei had encouraged them to come on a painting trip. During this time, Liu Haisu painted rural scenes inspired by the works of Van Gogh and Fou Lei completed his translation of a work by a little-known Swiss writer, 'The Legend of Saint-Gingolph', which he had spotted on the bookshelf soon after his arrival. It would become his first self-published translation.

The following year, Fou Lei travelled with Liu Haisu and Liu Kang to Brussels, where they admired paintings by Rubens and other Flemish masters at the Royal Museum of Art (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). They attended the Exposition Internationale de Liège, an event celebrating the centenary of Belgian independence, to which the Chinese government had sent a large display of trade, educational and agricultural goods. There was also an exhibition of some 180 Chinese artworks. Paintings by Huang Binhong, Gao Qifeng, Gao Jianfu, Chen Shuren and Xu Beihong received high commendations from the judges, one of whom was Liu Haisu.<sup>10</sup> This would have been Fou Lei's first encounter with paintings by Huang Binhong.

Liu Haisu and Fou Lei travelled to Italy in May 1931, visiting Rome, Naples and Sicily. Among Fou Lei's surviving personal papers is a document titled '*Passeport (Officiel)*' (Figure 10), issued by the Chinese Legation in Paris on March 1931 to facilitate his trips to Switzerland and Italy, 'on a mission to study art and as Secretary-General of Chinese Artists in France and the Exhibition of Chinese Art in Paris'.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Liu Haisu became aware of the large number of Chinese artists there and became involved with the association for Chinese artists studying in Europe. Liu had also been impressed by exhibitions of Japanese art in Paris, noting the way that countries used art to promote national interests and cross-cultural understanding. Liu suggested that, with the help and support of Chinese artists studying in Paris, the Chinese Ministry of Education could send an exhibition of contemporary Chinese art to Paris, drawn from the First National

**Fig. 10** Travel document for Fou Lei issued by the Chinese Legation in Paris, March 1931.



Art Exhibition held in 1929. He also suggested that an exhibition of contemporary French art could travel to China in exchange. He held discussions with André Dezarrois, curator at the Musée des Écoles Étrangères et Contemporaines à Paris, and an exhibition was planned for 1933.<sup>11</sup> Fou Lei, as secretary-general of the Association of Chinese Artists studying in Paris, was expected to play a key administrative role.

In Rome, Liu and Fou visited the major museums and sites and marvelled at the works of Michelangelo, Raphael and Bernini. Fou Lei thrilled to see the legacy of ancient Roman, Renaissance and Baroque artists and architects. They met writers, academics and Sinologists, and Fou Lei was invited to speak to the Italian Royal Geographic Society on 'The Significance of the People's Army's Northern

Expedition and the Battle between Northern Warlords'. The topic no doubt reflected local interest in the contemporary political situation in China. After his talk, Fou Lei met Enrico Caviglia (1862–1945), a geographer and distinguished Italian general who had been military attaché in Japan and China. He is said to have impressed on Fou Lei how important it was for China to maintain her own cultural traditions.

Back in Paris, Liu Haisu held an exhibition of 40 works completed during his time in Europe, including *Luxembourg Castle in Snow*, which was acquired by the French government. According to Fou Min, Fou Lei was instrumental in persuading the French authorities to acquire Liu's painting.<sup>12</sup>

After making a final visit to the Louvre to look at his favourite paintings once more, Fou Lei left France in August 1931 with Liu Haisu and his wife, travelling by steamer back to Shanghai. Soon after their return, a banquet was held in Liu Haisu's honour, hosted by his great supporter Cai Yuanpei, the former minister of education. Fou Lei was invited too. Huang Binhong was among the luminaries and artists present at the homecoming celebration. It was Fou Lei and Huang Binhong's first encounter.<sup>13</sup> Later in life, Fou Lei would admit that his appreciation of Chinese art arose from his study of Western culture: 'My love-affair with Chinese painting began when I was twenty or twenty-one studying Western art at the Louvre in Paris.'<sup>14</sup>

On 18 September, not long after Fou Lei's return from Europe, Japan invaded northeastern China in a sombre reminder of the political realities that China now faced. The invasion marks the beginning of the Japanese occupation of China and a period of conflict that lasted until beyond the end of the Pacific War in 1945. Political instability and turmoil would ensue for the rest of Fou Lei's life. In some ways, he returned as he had left, without any formal qualifications. But in the four years abroad he had familiarized himself with French literature and Western art history, and at the age of 23 he had laid a solid foundation for his future career as a cultural commentator and translator.

# Notes

## Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> Eugene Y. Wang, 'Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency', in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (eds.) *Chinese Art Modern Expressions* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), p. 103.
- <sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Yao Souchou for drawing my attention to his essay 'The Fall of a President: Friendship, Beauty, Vicissitude', in Alan Cruickshank and Lee Weng Choy (eds.) *Cultural Faultlines: 2005 Contemporary Art Centre of SA Lecture Series* (Adelaide: Contemporary Art Centre of South Australia, 2005), pp. 51–71. See also Agnes Heller, 'The Beauty of Friendship', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 97(1) (1998): 5–22 and Peter Murphy, 'Friendship's Eu-topia', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 97(1) (1998): 169–85.
- <sup>3</sup> Heller, 'The Beauty of Friendship', 7–8.
- <sup>4</sup> D.C. Lau (trans.) *Mencius* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), pp. 223–5.

## Chapter 1

- <sup>1</sup> Sun Fuxi, a graduate of Peking University, had studied at the French National Art Academy from 1920 until 1925. He provided Fou Lei with introductions in Paris, and encouraged him to write about his journey. Fou Lei's letters were published in *Gongxian xunkan* 1(6)–4(1) (1928). See Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan* (Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 2006), pp. 23–77.
- <sup>2</sup> Zhou Xiang, who had received training at the Tushanwan Art Workshop, is said to have opened his own academy around 1911. The Shanghai Art College (*Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan*, and after many name changes known as *Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao*) was established in late 1912 and officially proclaimed in 1913. Li Shutong (1880–1942), who had studied Western art in Japan, introduced life drawing and *plein air* painting to the Zhejiang First Normal School in Hangzhou in 1914.
- <sup>3</sup> My thanks to Father Jeremy Clarke SJ for sharing with me his archival research on the Tushanwan Art Workshop. See Jeremy Clarke SJ, 'Our Lady of China: Marian Devotion and the Jesuits', *Studies in the Spirituality of the Jesuits* 41/3 (2009): 27–30; and Lynn Pan, *Shanghai Style: Art and Design between the Wars* (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2008), pp. 34–6.
- <sup>4</sup> For a detailed study of archival sources relating to Liu Haisu and the nude model controversy, see Julia F. Andrews, 'Art and Cosmopolitan Culture of the 1920s Shanghai: Liu Haisu and the Nude Model Controversy', *Chungkuksa Yôn'gu* (The Journal of Chinese Historical Research), vol. 35 (2005): 323–72. See also Shi Nan, 'Yishu bantu' Liu Haisu (Beijing: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 2003), pp. 18–44.
- <sup>5</sup> Liu Haisu, *Ouyou suibi* (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2006), p. 9. See also Yuan Zhihuang and Chen Zu'en (eds.) *Liu Haisu nianpu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), p. 92, n. 1.
- <sup>6</sup> See Jin Mei, *Fou Lei zhuan* (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1993), pp. 93–4; Liu Haisu, *Ouyou suibi*, pp. 99–104.
- <sup>7</sup> Hilary Spurling, *Matisse: The Master* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 330.
- <sup>8</sup> *Dongfang zazhi* 27(19) (1930): 85–9.

- <sup>9</sup> See Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, p. 526.
- <sup>10</sup> The exhibition opened on 16 June 1930. Liu Haisu arrived in Belgium on 28 July and judging was held the following day. A larger exhibition was held at the Liege Art Gallery on 5 October 1930. See Yuan Zhihuang and Chen Zu'en, *Liu Haisu nianpu*, p. 97, and Wang Zhongxiu (ed.) *Huang Binhong nianpu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005), p. 256. The medal awarded to Huang Binhong is in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou.
- <sup>11</sup> Liu Haisu, *Ouyou suibi*, pp. 9–14. The exhibition did not happen. Liu Haisu travelled to Frankfurt in 1931 to give a lecture on Chinese painting and was invited to hold an exhibition. He was later involved in organizing a large exhibition of modern Chinese painting that toured in Europe and was held at the Prussian Academy of the Arts, Berlin in 1934. See Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker et al. (eds.) *Shanghai Modern 1919–1945* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2004), pp. 377–8.
- <sup>12</sup> Communication with Fou Min, 30 January 2009.
- <sup>13</sup> Wang Zhongxiu (ed.) *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 272.
- <sup>14</sup> Shi Jianbang, 'Fou Lei yu Huang Binhong: Zhongguo huihua chuantong chuangxin zhuanhua de zhuixun', *Duo Yun* 44 (1995): 111.

## Chapter 2

- <sup>1</sup> Yang Jiang, 'Yi Fou Lei', in Jin Shenghua (ed.) *Jiang sheng hao dang hua Fou Lei* (Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 2006), p. 13.
- <sup>2</sup> Fou Lei, 'Liu Haisu', in Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, pp. 528–31. See also Rainer Maria Rilke, *Auguste Rodin* (translated from the German by Daniel Slager) (New York: Archipelago Books, 2004), p. 31.
- <sup>3</sup> Laloy was a friend of Debussy, and other musicians active in Paris at that time, and wrote with great authority and insight on their work. He translated a number of Chinese plays and short stories by the Qing dynasty writer Pu Songling, wrote a book about opium, and an account of his journey to China titled *Miroir de la Chine* (Mirror of China) was published in 1933. Liu Haisu painted a portrait of Laloy on the journey to Shanghai and made a drawing on which there is a long inscription referring to his friendship with Laloy. See Yuan Zhihuang and Chen Zu'en (eds.) *Liu Haisu nianpu*, p. 102. See also Deborah Priest, *Louis Laloy (1874–1944) on Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 3–4, 10. Fou Lei also refers to Laloy's translation of the Chinese concept *qiyun shengdong* in his essay 'La Crise de L'Art Chinois Moderne' published in *L'Art Vivant: En Chine* (152) 1931, pp. 467–8.
- <sup>4</sup> Fou Lei's biographer, Jin Mei, states that seven volumes were edited by Liu Haisu and only the volume on Liu Haisu was edited by Fou Lei. See Jin Mei, *Fou Lei zhuan*, p. 127. Conversations with Fou Ts'ong, London, 7 August 2008, and with Fou Min, Beijing, 24 May 2008.
- <sup>5</sup> See Ralph Crozier, 'Post-Impressionists in Pre-War Shanghai: The *Juelanshe* (Storm Society) and the Fate of Modernism in Republican China', in John Clark (ed.) *Modernity in Asian Art*, University of Sydney East Asian Series No. 7 (Sydney: Wild Peony, 1993), pp. 135–54.
- <sup>6</sup> *Yishu xunkan* 1(5) (1932): 8. See also Xu Zhihao, *Zhongguo meishu shetuan manlu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1994), pp. 131–3.
- <sup>7</sup> Fou Lei, 'Xunqin de meng', in Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, p. 543. See also Pan, *Shanghai Style*, pp. 70–3.

- <sup>8</sup> See Gloria Davies, *Worrying about China: The Language of Chinese Critical Inquiry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 16–7.
- <sup>9</sup> See Lang Shaojun and Shui Tianzhong (eds.) *Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan (shang)* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999), pp. 200–27; Birnie Danzker et al., *Shanghai Modern 1919–1945*, pp. 373–7.
- <sup>10</sup> Davies, *Worrying about China*, p. 25.
- <sup>11</sup> Lu Xun, ‘The Take-Over Policy’, in Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (trans.) *Lu Xun Selected Works, Vol. 4* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980), pp. 51–3. See also Davies, *Worrying about China*, p. 24.
- <sup>12</sup> Fou Lei, ‘Fou Lei zi shu’, in *Fou Lei quanji, Vol. 17* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), p. 6.
- <sup>13</sup> Published in *Yishi xunkan* 1(4) (1932), reprinted in Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji: wenyi juan*, pp. 532–5. The original French version of this essay is Fou-Nou En, ‘La Crise de L’Art Chinois Moderne’, *L’Art Vivant: En Chine* (152) 1931: 467–8. The essay is accompanied by two images of paintings, a landscape by Liu Haisu and a painting of bamboo by Wu Changshi (printed on its side).
- <sup>14</sup> Julia F. Andrews has drawn attention to problems of dating, chronology and the veracity of information regarding the nude model controversy in her essay ‘Art and Cosmopolitan Culture of the 1920s Shanghai’.
- <sup>15</sup> Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 40.
- <sup>16</sup> Based on D.C. Lau’s translation of Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching* (New York: Penguin, 1980), pp. 96, 67, 101.
- <sup>17</sup> Originally published in *Yishu xunkan* 2(1) (1933), reprinted in Fou Min (ed.) *Fou Lei wenji: wenyi juan*, pp. 544–5.

## Chapter 3

- <sup>1</sup> Since the publication of these volumes, additional letters written by Fou Lei and Huang Binhong have continued to surface.
- <sup>2</sup> Simon Leys, ‘Poetry and Painting: Aspects of Chinese Classical Aesthetics’, in *The Burning Forest: Essays on Chinese Culture and Politics* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1987), p. 7.
- <sup>3</sup> Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 242–6.
- <sup>4</sup> Yan Yunxiang, *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 122–3.
- <sup>5</sup> *Guocui xuebao* 59 (1909). See Wang Zhongxiu, Mao Ziliang and Chen Hui (eds.) *Jinxiandai jinshi shuhua jia runlie* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2004), p. 87.
- <sup>6</sup> For a discussion of some paintings in this collection see Fu Shen, ‘Huang Binhong’s Shanghai Period Landscape Paintings and His Late Floral Works’, *Orientalisms* 18, no. 9 (1987): 66–78.
- <sup>7</sup> Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 186.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 476–7.
- <sup>9</sup> A notable example is Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967), brother of Lu Xun. See Susan Daruvala, *Zhou Zuoren and an Alternative Chinese Response to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), pp. 81–112.
- <sup>10</sup> Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, pp. 413, 458.



- <sup>11</sup> Xu Zhihao, *Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyanlu*, p. 86.
- <sup>12</sup> Hu Huaichen, *Shanghai de xueyi tuanti* (Shanghai: Shanghai shi tongzhi guan, 1935), p. 90.
- <sup>13</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, undated, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999), p. 215.
- <sup>14</sup> Wang Zhongxiu, *Huang Binhong nianpu*, p. 446.
- <sup>15</sup> See Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, 'Traditionalism as a Modern Stance: The Chinese Women's Calligraphy and Painting Society', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 11 (1999): 1–29.
- <sup>16</sup> Huang Binhong letter to Zhu Yanying, see Zhao Zhijun, 'Fou Lei yu Huang Binhong', in Jin Shenghua, *Jiang sheng hao dang hua Fou Lei*, p. 164.
- <sup>17</sup> See James Cahill, *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 1–31.
- <sup>18</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 497.
- <sup>19</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 202.
- <sup>20</sup> Famous sights in Yunnan.
- <sup>21</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 497–99.
- <sup>22</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, pp. 202–3.
- <sup>23</sup> Georges Margouliès wrote extensively on the history of Chinese literature, calligraphy, grammar, and edited and translated an anthology of Chinese literature. Paul Pelliot is a distinguished French Sinologist and explorer of Central Asia who travelled to Chinese Turkestan, Kashgar and Dunhuang 1906–09 and acquired many important manuscripts and antiquities that are now in the collection of the Musée Guimet in Paris. Carlo Zanon is an artist who was attracted to brush-and-ink painting. He arrived in Shanghai in 1931 and also lived in Japan for an extended period. A review of his exhibition in the French *Shanghai Daily* in 1935 refers to the animated simplicity and modernity of his hybrid paintings. (My thanks to Hong Zaixin for drawing this review to my attention). Osvald Sirén was a distinguished art historian who wrote extensively on the art of Sweden, Renaissance Italy and China. Influential books on Chinese art include the seven-volume *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, *A History of Early Chinese Painting*, and *A History of Later Chinese Painting*. Victoria Contag is an art historian who specialized in Chinese painting of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Her books include *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century*. She edited *Seals of Chinese Painters and Collectors of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods* with Wang Chi-ch'ien. Lucy Driscoll wrote *Chinese Calligraphy* with Kenji Toda.

## Chapter 4

- <sup>1</sup> The exhibition was held at the Ningbo Hometown Association Hall (*Ningbo tongxianghui*), 19–23 November 1943.
- <sup>2</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 18 October 1943, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 515–6.
- <sup>3</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, 20 October [1943], *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 206.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8.
- <sup>5</sup> See Fou Lei, letters to Huang Binhong, dated 19, 21 and 24 November 1943, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 520–3.

- <sup>6</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 20 September 1943, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 506–7.
- <sup>7</sup> Huang Binhong, ‘Zi xu’, *Huang Binhong shuhua zhanlan hui tekan* (1943): 4.
- <sup>8</sup> Shi Chongpeng, ‘Lue you xiaci de Huang Binhong’, *Xiandai yishu lun* 1 (1947): 16.
- <sup>9</sup> Cézanne, letter to Émile Bernard, 26 May 1904, in Stephanie Buck et al. (eds.) *The Courtauld Cézannes* (London: Paul Holberton, 2008), pp. 152–3.
- <sup>10</sup> Cézanne, letter to Émile Bernard, [1905], in *ibid.*, pp. 160–1.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- <sup>12</sup> Simon Leys, ‘Poetry and Painting’, in *The Burning Forest*, pp. 14–5.
- <sup>13</sup> Originally published in the *Special Publication for Huang Binhong Calligraphy and Painting Exhibition*, November 1943. Written using the pen name ‘Yishan’. In writing this text Fou Lei drew inspiration from art historical writings and treatises, some of which are cited in the following notes. Fou Lei, *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, pp. 549–54.
- <sup>14</sup> Guo Xi and Guo Si, ‘Lin quan gao zhi: Shanshui xun’ (The Lofty Message of Forests and Streams: Advice on landscape painting), eleventh century.
- <sup>15</sup> Su Shi (1037–1101), ‘Ti Xilinsi bi’ (Poem Written on the Wall of Xilin Temple), 1084. See Burton Watson, *Selected Poems of Su Tung-p’o* (Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1994), p. 108.
- <sup>16</sup> A reference to Guo Ruoxu, ‘Tu hua jian wen zhi’ (An Account of My Experiences in Painting, Preface, c.1080). See Kuo Jo-Hsü (T’u-Hua Chien-wên Chih), *An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile*, Alexander Coburn Soper (trans.) (Washington D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), p. 16.
- <sup>17</sup> A reference to Guo Xi, Guo Si, ‘Lin quan gao zhi’.
- <sup>18</sup> A reference to Zhuangzi. See Lin Yutang, *English Translations of the Chinese Classics: Chuangtse* (Taipei: World Book Co., 1957), p. 21.

## Chapter 5

- <sup>1</sup> Su Dongpo poem, ‘Evening View from Sea Watch Tower’, see Watson, *Selected Poems of Su Tung-p’o*, p. 43.
- <sup>2</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 2 December 1943, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 526.
- <sup>3</sup> See Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 13 January 1944. Fou Lei quotes these words from Huang’s letter to him, dated 4 December 1943. The actual letter is not included in *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*. See *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 532.
- <sup>4</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 17 December 1945, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 547.
- <sup>5</sup> Fou Ts’ong, conversation with the author, London, 30 September 2002.
- <sup>6</sup> For example, Fou Lei, letters to Huang Binhong, 2 December 1943, and 15 January 1944, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 525–6, 532–3.
- <sup>7</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 29 December 1943, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 530–1. See also, Fou Lei, letters to Huang Binhong, dated 25 October 1945 and 8 March 1946, and an undated letter from 1945, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 544–45, 550, 546, and Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, 29 May [1945] and 16 November [1945], *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, pp. 212, 220.

- <sup>8</sup> See Hong Zaixin, 'Shaojie xiren xueshu. Hongyang dangdai guohua: Guanyu Huang Binhong wannian he Su Liwen de yiduan jianjie duihua', *Yishushi yanjiu* (Guangzhou: Zhongshan University Press, 2005), v. 6, pp. 71–103.
- <sup>9</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 14 April 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 551. See also Michael Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art: The Khoan and Michael Sullivan Collection* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), p. 11.
- <sup>10</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 13 April 1947, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 555.
- <sup>11</sup> Chris Campbell (British Council, London), letter to the author, 17 July 2003.
- <sup>12</sup> Eric Newton, *British Painting* (London: Longmans Green & Co., published for the British Council, 1946). First published in 1945.
- <sup>13</sup> Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art*, pp. 4–15 and cat. 53, p. 88.
- <sup>14</sup> Chen Jingzhao (Tan Keng Cheow) was a former student of Huang's and moved to Singapore in 1949. His collection, *Baihong lou*, was auctioned in Beijing in 2004, including many letters and paintings by Huang. See *Zhongguo jinxindai shuhua, Vol. 1, Jiade paimai hui* [China Guardian auctions], Beijing, 16 May 2004, lots 793–5, 799–802, 806–17.
- <sup>15</sup> Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), pp. 9–10.
- <sup>16</sup> Hedley's collection of Chinese art was bequeathed to Michael Sullivan after his death in 1960. See Sullivan, *Modern Chinese Art*, p. 42.
- <sup>17</sup> John Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: The Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p. 42.
- <sup>18</sup> Fou Lei, letters to Huang Binhong, 9 June 1943 and 4 January 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 497–9, 548.
- <sup>19</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, dated 8 March 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 550.
- <sup>20</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, dated 20 August 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 553.
- <sup>21</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, undated, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 215.
- <sup>22</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, dated 13 January 1944, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 532.
- <sup>23</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 20 August 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 553.
- <sup>24</sup> Wen C. Fong, 'Monumental Landscape Painting', in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 121.
- <sup>25</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, 16 November [1945], *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 220.
- <sup>26</sup> Notes from lectures given at the Chinese Painting Research Institute Studio, Government Museum 1937–40, Lecture 13. See *Huang Binhong wenji shuhua, xia*, p. 89.
- <sup>27</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei [1947], *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 224.
- <sup>28</sup> Huang Binhong, 'Shanshui hua yu Daodejing', *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, xia*, p. 395.
- <sup>29</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, undated, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 218.
- <sup>30</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 4 January 1946, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 548.
- <sup>31</sup> Huang Binhong, letter to Fou Lei, undated, *Huang Binhong wenji, shuxin bian*, p. 217.
- <sup>32</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 14 May 1948, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 556.
- <sup>33</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 15 June 1948, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 557.

## Chapter 6

- <sup>1</sup> See Christina Chu (ed.) *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong 1865–1955* (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995), cat. 50–1; see also *Huang Binhong zuopin zhan* (Hong Kong, 1980), n.p. For other related paintings, see *Huang Binhong shanshui xiasheng ce* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962), plates 22–3; and *Huang Binhong hua ji* (Zhejiang, Shanghai: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), plate 50.
- <sup>2</sup> The essays by Snow originally appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*. See Fou Lei (trans.) *Mei Su guanxi jiantao* (Zhizhi chubanshe, 1947). See also Fou Lei. ‘Women dui Mei Su guanxi de taidu’, *Wenhui bao*, 24–25 April (1947); Fou Lei, ‘Suo wei fan di qin Su’, *Guancha* 9 August (1947): 21–3.
- <sup>3</sup> Yao Souchou, ‘The Fall of a President: Friendship, Beauty, Vicissitude’, in *Cultural Faultlines: 2005*, p. 65.
- <sup>4</sup> The Huang Binhong archive at the Zhejiang Provincial Museum contains a contract for the period 1 August 1950 to 31 July 1951 and 1 August 1951 to 31 July 1952 (03898).
- <sup>5</sup> Theodore H.E. Chen, *Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 95.
- <sup>6</sup> Huang Binhong, ‘Jiushi zashu, yi,’ section 2, *Huang Binhong wenji, zazhu bian*, p. 571.
- <sup>7</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 23 September 1951, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 561–2.
- <sup>8</sup> See Julia F. Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People’s Republic of China, 1949–1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 74.
- <sup>9</sup> In 1954, the name of the Chinese Painting Research Centre (*Zhongguo huihua yanjiu suo*) was changed to the Nationalities Art Research Centre (*Minzu meishu yanjiusuo*) and later to the Chinese Art Research Centre (*Zhongguo meishu yanjiusuo*). Full-time staff included the brush-and-ink painters He Tianjian and Yu Fei’an, and part-time staff included Pan Tianshou, Fu Baoshi, Li Keran, Chen Banding, Jiang Zhaohe and Ye Qianyu. See Shui Tianzhong, ‘Meishu yanjiusuo sishi nian’, *Meishu shilun* 1 (1993): 4.
- <sup>10</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts’ong, 21 September 1954, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 54–5.
- <sup>11</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts’ong, 17 November 1954, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 73.
- <sup>12</sup> Zhu Meifu, letter to Fou Ts’ong, 17 November 1954, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 76–7.
- <sup>13</sup> In old age, Huang occasionally mis-wrote the date on his paintings, recorded in the traditional manner of the 60-year cyclical system using heavenly stems and earthly branches. There is no other record of Fou Lei having visited Huang Binhong in Hangzhou in the autumn of 1953.
- <sup>14</sup> Agnes Heller, ‘The Beauty of Friendship’, pp. 10–1; Peter Murphy, ‘Friendship’s Eu-topia’, pp. 170–7.
- <sup>15</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 28 April 1954, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 563.
- <sup>16</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Binhong, 29 April 1954, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 563–4.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> François Cheng, *Chinese Poetic Writing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 13–4.
- <sup>19</sup> Eugene Y. Wang, ‘Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency’, p. 103.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- <sup>21</sup> Fou Ts’ong and Patsy Toh, letter to the author, 2 April 2005.

- <sup>22</sup> The list (05822) includes *Charlot* by Soupault, *La Cousine Bette*, *Le Père Goriot*, *Albert Savarus*, *Eugenie Grandet*, *Le Colonel Chabert*, 'Honorine' and 'L'Interdiction', and *Le Cousin Pons* by Balzac, *Jean Christophe* by Rolland, *Meipe Ou Les Mondes Imaginaires* by Maurois and Mérimée's *Carmen*.
- <sup>23</sup> Collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (04355). See *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang*, pp. 189–93.
- <sup>24</sup> Huang Binhong, 'Zhongguo huaxue tan', *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang*, p. 191. Huang first uses the English phrase 'There is no new thing under the sun' in 1914. See 'Xin huafa xu', *Huang Binhong wenji, shuhua bian, shang*, p. 88.
- <sup>25</sup> Eliot Weinberger, *The New Directions Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry* (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 2003), p. xv. See also Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (Boston: Shambala, 2004), p. 74.
- <sup>26</sup> Yunte Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 46–7.

## Chapter 7

- <sup>1</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong, 27 March 1955, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 106.
- <sup>2</sup> Zhao Zhijun, *Huajia Huang Binhong nianpu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), p. 184.
- <sup>3</sup> See Andrews, *Painters and Politics*, pp. 176–9.
- <sup>4</sup> Fou Lei, 'Shibie youpai fenzi zhi bu yi,' in *Fou Lei quanji*, Vol. 17, p. 323.
- <sup>5</sup> Wang Gailu, *Huang Binhong xiansheng nianpu chu gao* (Hong Kong: Yilin xuan, 1961).
- <sup>6</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong, 30 December 1962, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 378–80.
- <sup>7</sup> *Huang Binhong huaji* (Shanghai and Hangzhou: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe and Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985). Perhaps in response to Fou Lei's 'Suggestions on Commemorating the Centenary of the Birth of the Late Artist Huang Binhong and on Editing and Printing a Volume of his Paintings', dated 27 June 1962, in September 1962 the Zhejiang Provincial Museum published *Huang Binhong shanshui xiasheng ce* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe), a folio publication reproducing 61 items from the Huang Binhong Memorial Museum collection.
- <sup>8</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Shi Ximin, 26 October 1965, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 737–8.
- <sup>9</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong, 13 April 1966, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 452.
- <sup>10</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong, 3 June 1966, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 453–4.
- <sup>11</sup> The text is a fragment of the original letter and has been dated 12 August 1966. According to Fou Min, the letter was given to Lin Xingmu, a writer in Hong Kong, as reference for an interview with Fou Ts'ong. The last section of the letter was published with the interview. The original letter is now lost. See Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong, *Fou Lei jiashu jingxuan zhushi ben* (Tianjin: Tianjin shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2008), pp. 283–4 and Fou Min, 'Jinian wode fuqin', speech given at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, 8 April 2008 on the occasion of the centenary of Fou Lei's birth, p. 19.
- <sup>12</sup> See Huang Binhong's 1954 painting titled 'Penglai Pavilion' (*Penglai ge*) in the collection of the National Art Museum of China (Guo 00946). A paper label affixed to the exterior of the scroll catalogues the work as exhibit number 53 of the exhibition to criticize black paintings (*Pipan heihua zhanlanhui pin dengjika*) held at the National Art Museum of China. The exhibition, held in 1974, was initiated by Wang Mantian and organized by Gao Jingde. For a discussion of black painting exhibitions, see Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China*, pp. 368–76.

- <sup>13</sup> Huang Yingjia, conversation with the author, 6 December 2001.
- <sup>14</sup> Conversation with Fou Ts'ong, London, 13 June 2003.
- <sup>15</sup> Conversation with Robert Hatfield Ellsworth in New York, 21 May 2003. See also Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, 'Preface', in Joseph Chang, Thomas Lawton and Stephen D. Allee (eds.) *Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy From the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2000), pp. 9–11.
- <sup>16</sup> See Joseph Chang, Thomas Lawton and Stephen D. Allee, *Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2000) and Wen C. Fong, *Between Two Cultures: Late-Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Chinese Paintings from the Robert H. Ellsworth Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- <sup>17</sup> See Li Yao, 'Fou Lei "zicun" yizhu Yuehan Kelisiduofu de liuxi chuanqi', *Zhonghua dushu bao*, 18 June 2008, p. 14; and Liu Jin, 'How Li Was Found in Translation', *China Daily*, 18 November 2008, p. 20.
- <sup>18</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Fou Ts'ong and Zamira, undated fragment, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 454. This is the original English text written by Fou Lei.
- <sup>19</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Liu Kang, 31 July 1961, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 483.
- <sup>20</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Song Ruoying, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, p. 567.
- <sup>21</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Song Ruoying, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 567–8.
- <sup>22</sup> Fou Lei, letter to Huang Yuan, *Fou Lei wenji, shuxin juan*, pp. 672–3.
- <sup>23</sup> Fou Lei uses the term *wu xiong* literally 'my elder brother', a term of respect and familiarity used when addressing a senior member of the same generation.
- <sup>24</sup> The United Front here refers to the cultural policy of Mao Zedong to enlist the help of educated non-Communists to support the newly reconstituted cultural sector.
- <sup>25</sup> See Fou Lei, *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, pp. 568–9. Fou Lei was requested to prepare this document by the leadership of the Literature and Art Department of the Communist Party Central Committee, Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.
- <sup>26</sup> See Fou Lei, *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, pp. 575–7.
- <sup>27</sup> In 1962, China was still experiencing the effects of the famine resulting from the failed policies of the Great Leap Forward (1958–60). The 1959–61 famine is said to have claimed between 15 and 30 million lives.
- <sup>28</sup> Wang Jiwen (ed.) *Binhong shujian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988). See Fou Lei, *Fou Lei wenji, wenyi juan*, pp. 578–9.

## Chapter 8

- <sup>1</sup> Simon Leys, *Chinese Shadows* (New York: Penguin, 1978), pp. 102–3. First published in France under the title *Ombres Chinoises* in 1974.
- <sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of these artists and their work, see Melissa Chiu, *Breakout: Chinese Art outside China* (Milan: Charta, 2008).
- <sup>3</sup> Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), p. 131.

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